

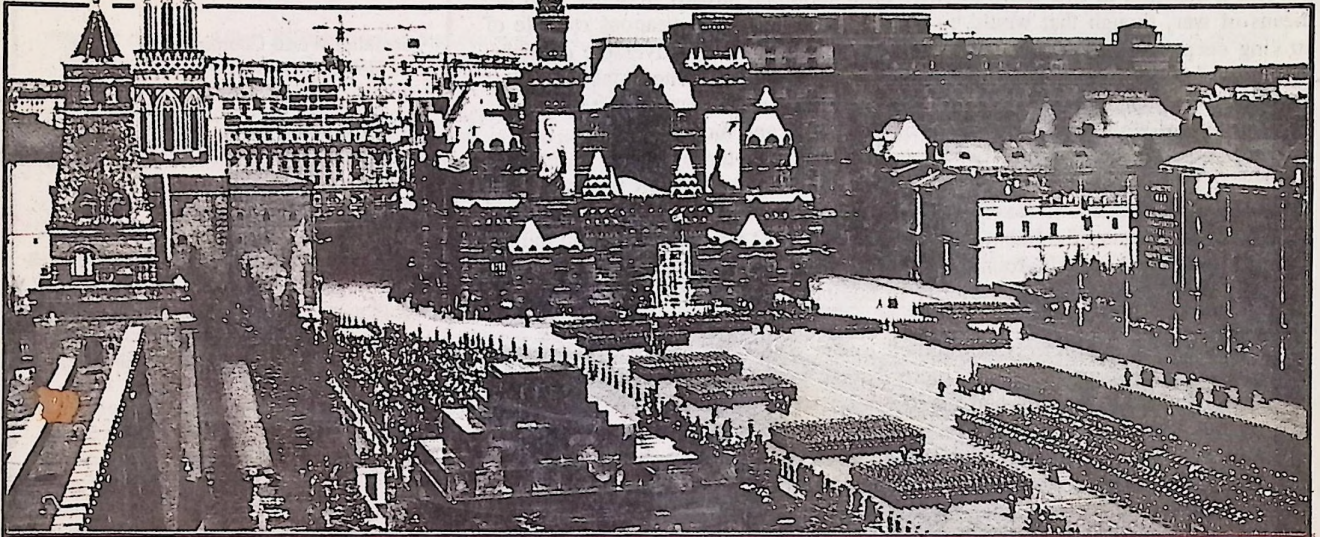
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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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46 Years of US-USSR Diplomatic Relations

Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin: New Proposals for Detente

SALT II: U.S. Cities Speak Out

62 Years of the October Revolution

**Baikal to Amur: Conquering
the Siberian Frontier**

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Pershing Versus Peace

Last month, Leonid Brezhnev added a new set of proposals for military detente in Europe, to the list of more than 100 peace proposals the Soviet Union has made in the last 30 years. On October 6, he offered to reduce the numbers of Soviet SS-20 medium-range ballistic missiles if no new missiles are based on the territory of the NATO countries. The Soviet president was responding to a very serious problem, the Carter Administration's campaign to persuade NATO members to accept highly dangerous types of new weapons on their territory.

In pressing for acceptance of Pershing II missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles, the Carter Administration is urging a giant step toward nuclear war. It is not just a question of 572 more missiles on a continent already bristling with the means of war, though that would be bad enough. These are weapons capable of striking deep into the Soviet Union. Highly accurate and maneuverable in flight, their most logical mission is to strike Soviet military targets. They make the most sense if one is planning to fight and win a "limited" nuclear war, a most dangerous strategy toward which the Pentagon is shifting more and more.

The alleged Soviet superiority supposedly achieved through the "Backfire" bomber and the medium range SS-20 missiles in the Western USSR is a myth. Far from tipping the balance in favor of the USSR, the purpose of the "Backfire" and the SS-20 is to counter the imbalance in favor of NATO which results from the US ring of bases and planes all around the Soviet Union's borders. The US and NATO currently have a two-to-one superiority in numbers of nuclear warheads based in Europe.

An administration sincerely committed to the SALT process would not seek deployment of such weapons, any more than it would go along with right-wing pressures for the MX missile and for increased military spending. Nor would an administration committed to peace respond so callously to the Brezhnev proposal.

On the eve of the 62nd anniversary of the October Revolution, it is important to recall that Soviet Russia was from its founding the world's first nation in which no class or group of people could benefit from war or preparations from war, and that virtually the first act of the new Government was to call for a "just and democratic peace." The entire history of the USSR since has demonstrated that same commitment to peace, tempered by the realism born of the Intervention, the Nazi invasion of the Second World War, and the US-led cold war and arms race.

This combination of persistence and realism has led the Soviets to add to their early calls for complete and immediate banning of nuclear weapons—which were so rudely rebuffed—an extensive list of step-by-step approaches based on the principle of equal security. The Soviets maintain their determination to press in every way possible for the kind of world in which their society can prosper best—a world at peace. Indeed, that is the kind of world in which the great majority of us can also prosper best, the only exception being those in the West who profit so hugely from arms manufacture.

The American people's self-interest lies behind the growing pressure for the Senate ratification of SALT, in which unions, people's organizations, religious bodies, city councils and peace groups are uniting in ever-larger numbers.

Our self-interest demands we intensify the pressure on the Senate as the SALT II treaty moves from committee to floor debate. Our message, by phone, by letter, by postcard and petition, must be:

- Ratify SALT II without changes, and move at once to SALT II talks for disarmament.
- Slash military spending and use the money for jobs and human services.
- Insist the Administration drop plans for new missiles in Western Europe.
- Take Leonid Brezhnev up on his proposals, and start talks.

The 1980 Election activity has already begun. Our elected officials had better be listening. Let's make the message crystal clear: The road to disarmament is the only road to real security.

M.B., November 1979

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Under the Guise of 'Humanitarian Aid'

On October 24, *Pravda* published an interview with Mr. Pen Sovan, vice chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council, and Minister of Defense of People's Kampuchea. Pen Sovan described the successful conclusion of the new Government's struggle against the remnants of Pol Pot's armed forces and "all sorts of subversive and spy groups trained and sent to our country by the US Central Intelligence

Agency." He indicated that as a result, the People's Revolutionary Council is in control of the entire country and is working effectively to normalize the situation.

"As far as the economy is concerned," he said, "the people's power had to start from scratch. The pro-Peking clique had done much damage: three million Kampuchians

(Continued on page 6)

Albert E. Kahn, 1912–1979

The death of Albert E. Kahn, writer and peace activist, at his home in Glen Echo, California, on September 15 is a tremendous loss to the movement for peace, American-Soviet understanding and detente. It is a loss to our magazine, to which he has been a contributor over the years. He was in fact writing a special article on the early days of the revolution for this anniversary issue when he died. Above all, his death is a loss to the many of us who have known him through the years as a dear personal friend.

Albert worked indefatigably for what he believed and fortunately has left us a permanent record in his many writings and books devoted to peace and a more human world, writings which will continue to carry on his struggle and provide needed enlightenment on the history of these times.

As a young man Albert's interest was aroused in the Russian socialist revolution through the involvement of his uncle and his father in the building of the new world. His uncle, the late Albert Kahn, after whom he was named, was, according to *Time* magazine (June 29, 1942) "the father of modern factory design," and "the world's no. 1 industrial architect." When in 1928 the Soviet Union embarked on its series of five-year plans for the industrialization of the country, its economic planners turned to Albert Kahn as the mainstay of their industrialization program. Twenty-five Kahn engineers and architects went to Moscow under a contract that eventually covered nearly two billion dollars worth of building. Albert had taken three younger brothers into his Detroit firm and his brother Moritz, father of the Albert of whom we write, supervised most of the work on the first five-year plan. According to *Time*, the firm was responsible for building some 521 factories from Kiev to Yakutsk and training some 4,000 Soviet engineers and apprentices to carry on their work.

Albert had planned to write an article for us based on the letters written by his father about the soaring enthusiasm and skill that went into this work, started from scratch in a backward, war-devastated land, without either pencils or drawing boards, let alone any well-functioning enterprises, to begin with.

In the period before World War II, young Albert plunged into the struggle against Nazism as executive secretary of the American Council against Nazi Propaganda. He was editor of a weekly newsletter, *The Hour* (1940-41), exposing Nazi espionage in the USA. He worked with every organization supporting the Soviet struggle for collective security and the avoidance of World War II and during the war spoke frequently for Russian War Relief and, after its founding in 1943, for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

With Rockwell Kent, later NCASF chairman, Albert Kahn was among the 40 members of the US delegation to the World Congress of Intellectuals that met in Wroclaw, Poland in August 1948.

This Congress led to the formation of the World Peace Council of today, now headed by Romesh Chandra.

At a meeting of world peace leaders in March 1950, Albert Kahn and Rockwell Kent played leading roles in the committee that drafted the historic Stockholm Peace Appeal for banning the atomic bomb, which was signed by half a billion people on all continents.

Following the Wroclaw Congress Kahn ran for the US House of Representatives from the Bronx on the Progressive Party ticket headed nationally by Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor.

All these activities against fascism, for peace and for better US-USSR relations naturally involved vigorous participation in the struggle against McCarthyism in his writing and speaking. In addition to numerous articles, he wrote a dozen books, many of which became best sellers and were translated into some 25 languages. These included *Sabotage* (1942), in collaboration with Michael Sayers; *The Great Conspiracy* (1946), also written with Sayers, on the cold war against the Soviet Union; and *High Treason*, dealing with anti-labor and cold war campaigns in the US. In 1955, the firm he had established with Angus Cameron, to publish writers blacklisted for Communist sympathies, published *False Witness* by Harvey Matusow, in which Matusow confessed that he had lied as a paid government witness in testifying against persons he identified as Communists.

In 1960 Albert Kahn wrote *Days with Ulanova*, a pictorial biography of that superb Soviet ballerina. He took more than 5,000 pictures of her, which are housed at the Library and Museum of the Performing Arts at Lincoln Center. The biography was praised by a *New York Times* reviewer as a "treasure of a book," put together "with poetic, creative vision." In 1970 he edited *Joys and Sorrows*, the reflections of Pablo Casals, as the cellist told them to him. The book also included photographs by Albert Kahn. The following year came *The Unholy Hymnal*, a study of the falsehoods perpetrated during the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

In Albert Kahn's photographic work in general he specialized in children and some years ago an exhibition of his pictures of children was shown in Friendship House in Moscow. It received a very warm reception from the public and the many groups of children who saw it. In this connection he commented in *Moscow News*:

"How often do I dream of that day when the whole world will be worthy of its children, and nature's loveliness will find its counterpart in the happiness of their lives! And such a world, I know, depends upon one thing above all else—the securing of a true and lasting peace on earth."

Albert Kahn is survived by his wife, Riette, a sculptor, and three sons, Steven, Timothy and Brian, as well as a grandson and two sisters. Our deepest sympathy goes to them at this time.

JESSICA SMITH

Leonid Brezhnev in Berlin: New

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's address on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, delivered in Berlin on October 7, contained highly significant proposals for reducing the risk of war in Central Europe and taking further steps, consistent with the Helsinki Accords, toward a secure peace. The following is a major portion of his speech.

The [Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] adopted a final act which was a charter of security for the peoples of Europe, a charter for a peaceful life and for peaceful relations between states. It is our earnest wish that this charter be carried out in full.

Judging by their words, Western statesmen want the same. Unfortunately, their actions too often go in a different direction. We cannot fail to see facts: the supporters of the arms race use any pretexts, even nonexistent ones, to heat up the situation and accelerate military preparations. In

As for the Soviet Union, I repeat again and again that we do not seek military superiority. We have never intended and do not intend to threaten any state or group of states. Our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in nature. In Europe, just as in all other parts of our world, we want peace, a lasting peace. This is the fundamental basis of our foreign policy, its "backbone." We are pursuing this policy consistently and without deviation.

As Chairman of the Defense Council of the USSR, I can state most definitely that the number of medium-range car-

I repeat again and again that we do not seek military superiority. We have never intended and do not intend to threaten any state or group of states. Our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in nature.

Europe, they want to plant a mine under the very foundation of the structure of peace.

The dangerous plans for deployment of new types of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe give cause for serious concern. To put it plainly, implementation of these designs would fundamentally alter the strategic situation on the continent. Their aim is to upset the balance of forces that has taken shape in Europe and to try to ensure the military superiority of the NATO bloc.

The socialist countries would not, of course, watch the efforts of the NATO militarists with indifference. In such a case we would have to take the necessary steps to strengthen our security. One thing is absolutely clear: realization of NATO's plans would inevitably aggravate the situation in Europe and adversely affect the international atmosphere in general.

riers of nuclear arms in the European part of the Soviet Union has not increased by a single missile, nor by a single plane during the past ten years. On the contrary, the number of launchers of medium-range missiles and also the yield of their nuclear warheads have even been decreased somewhat. The number of medium-range bombers, too, has been reduced. As to the territory of other states, the Soviet Union does not deploy such weapons there at all. For a number of years now we have not increased the number of Soviet troops stationed in Central Europe, either.

I will say more. We are prepared to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in the Western part of the Soviet Union from their present level, but only, of course, in the event no additional medium-range nuclear weapons are deployed in Western Europe.

I also want to solemnly confirm the pledge that the Soviet

Proposals for Military Detente

Union will never use nuclear arms against those states that renounce the production and acquisition of such arms and do not have them on their territory.

Motivated by a sincere desire to overcome the impasse in efforts of many years to achieve military detente in Europe, to set an example of shifting from ideas to real deeds, we have decided, in agreement with the leadership of the GDR and after consulting with other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty, to reduce unilaterally the number of Soviet troops in Central Europe. Up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen,

notification of large-scale air and naval exercises conducted near the territorial waters of other participatory countries of the European Conference remain in force.

We have another suggestion for the West: let us give timely notification not only of military exercises but also of troop movements numbering more than 20,000 men, anywhere in the area defined by the Helsinki Accord.

Consideration should also be given to other ideas directed at strengthening trust between states, at lessening the danger of the outbreak of war in Europe. We continue to regard a

Now it is up to the Western countries. Their answer will show whether they are prepared to take into consideration the will and vital interests of the peoples of the world.

1,000 tanks and also a certain amount of other military hardware will be withdrawn from the territory of the German Democratic Republic during the next twelve months.

We are convinced that this new concrete expression of the peaceful intent and good will of the Soviet Union and its allies will be approved by the peoples of Europe and the whole world. We call on the governments of the NATO countries to properly assess the initiatives of the socialist countries and to follow our good example.

The Soviet Union supports further expansion of confidence-building measures in Europe. In particular, we are prepared to agree on prior notification of large-scale military exercises of ground forces, to be made earlier than provided for by the Helsinki Accords, and starting not at the present level of 25,000 men, but for instance at the level of 20,000 men. We are also prepared, on the basis of reciprocity, not to conduct military exercises involving more than 40 to 50,000 men. It goes without saying that the proposals previously made by the socialist countries concerning

European political conference as the most suitable place for discussing a broad complex of measures of military detente in Europe. It is urgent and timely to prepare and convene such a conference now.

Lying ahead, as is known, are also important talks on SALT III. We are for starting them immediately after the entry into force of the SALT II treaty. Within the framework of these talks we agree to discuss the possibilities of limiting not only intercontinental but also other types of armaments, but with due account, of course, for all related factors and strict observance of the principle of equal security of both sides.

The USSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries of Europe offer a clear perspective—to genuinely ensure that all European peoples may live their lives in security and peace. Now it is up to the Western countries. Their answer will show whether they are prepared to take into consideration the will and vital interests of the peoples of the world. We hope that realism, statesmanship, and finally, simple common sense will prevail. □

"Humanitarian Aid"

(Continued from page 3)

were killed, tortured to death, or died; cities were reduced to stone deserts; economic activity was completely disrupted. The Kampuchean people found themselves faced with the threat of ultimate annihilation."

Despite almost unbelievable difficulties, a hundred million hectares (247 million acres) have been sown with food crops so far, Pen Sovan said. Great efforts are being made to breed poultry and livestock. "Thanks to these measures," he said, "we are in a position to ensure partial self-reliance in food during this first, most difficult year of the republic."

Nonetheless, he said, Western countries are claiming that the new government is unable to ensure the basic needs of the population, and that nearly half the surviving population is faced with imminent starvation. "This propaganda is being used to mask the so-called humanitarian aid rendered by certain international organizations to the remnants of the counter-revolutionary gangs," he emphasized.

"I will cite an example to illustrate what this 'humanitarian aid' amounts to in practice. By last September the republic had received 41 tons of food from international organizations, while according to foreign press reports, the remnants of the counterrevolutionary gangs had been handed more than 1,000 tons of food, along with other goods, via Bangkok. In addition, we have information that certain forces hostile to the People's Republic of Kampuchea are trying to camouflage supplies of weapons and munitions for the Pol Pot men as 'humanitarian aid.'"

Socialist countries and democratic organizations are providing substantial help to Kampuchea, Pen Sovan said. The socialist countries have sent over 200,000 tons of food so far, including substantial Soviet shipments of rice, corn and flour.

"The food problem remains acute, however," he stressed. "We make no secret of the fact that we need aid. At the same time I can assure you that no one starves to death."

In other areas of activity, Pen Sovan indicated that over 40 industrial plants—half the prewar total—have resumed production, though not at full capacity, and the railroads have reopened.

One of the most urgent and difficult tasks is reorganizing the country's health services, he said. All 350 hospitals and polyclinics were destroyed along with all their equipment. Of 683 physicians and pharmacists, only 69 are still alive.

"Thanks to disinterested aid from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries and democratic international organizations, we have opened hospitals in Phnom Penh and in all 19 provinces," he said.

The Pol Pot regime also abolished schools, Pen Sovan said, but despite shortages of teachers, school buildings, textbooks and materials, 250,000 schoolchildren attended school in August.

The Kampuchean official indicated that the foreign policy of his country emphasizes peace, and People's Kampuchea supports international detente and cooperation with all countries. He expressed particular appreciation of the Kampuchean people for the friendship and material help given by the Soviet Union, which was one of the first countries to recognize the new government. □

SALT: The

Cleveland Council Supports SALT

The Council of the City of Cleveland passed the following resolution last June, and directed that it be forwarded immediately to the US Senate.

Whereas, national polls show over 70 per cent of the American people favor an end to all nuclear testing, a SALT II Treaty and more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, the resulting improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union would increase trade and provide American citizens with thousands of jobs; and

Whereas, the resulting reduction in military spending would mean dollars available for domestic and social services; and

Whereas, cities and towns are in dire need of increased tax revenues or face school closings and cutbacks in services; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Council of the City of Cleveland:

That the Senate of the United States be and it is hereby memorialized to ratify the SALT II Treaty, to release military expenditures for public, domestic programs. □

Gary Council Urges SALT Ratification

On Sept. 18, the Common Council of the City of Gary, Indiana, passed the following resolution.

Whereas, the ever escalating arms race and increased expenditure for the military budget contributes to unemployment, inflation and the continued neglect of the myriad domestic and social needs of the people, and

Whereas, after seven years of negotiations between representatives of the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union, there is now pending before the Senate of the United States, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), which has been signed by the President of the United States and the President of the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, national polls show that a majority of the American people favor ratification of SALT II; the US Joint Chiefs of Staff support SALT II; our NATO allies, including England, France, West Germany and Turkey support SALT II; and many of the world's religious leaders including The Pope, Evangelist Billy Graham, Rev. Jesse Jackson and the Rev. Father Theodore Hesburgh support SALT II, and

Whereas, passage of SALT II will enhance prospects for sustained world peace, contribute to continued peaceful relations with the Soviet Union, contribute to increased control over nuclear weapons development, and help to restrain the proliferation of the development of nuclear weapons

Cities Speak Out

among other nations, and

Whereas, passage of SALT II is a crucial step in the process toward an eventual halt to the arms race and the conversion of much needed resources from the military to the urgent needs of the cities and the people for essential services, and finally

Whereas, passage of SALT II, in this International Year of the Child, is the least that a peace loving people can do to insure that the children of this and all other nations can look to a future free of the threat of nuclear war,

Now therefore, be it resolved that the common council of the City of Gary, Lake County, Indiana, calls upon the Senate of the United States to immediately ratify SALT II without amendment, and

Be it further resolved, that we call upon Indiana Senators Birch Bayh and Richard Lugar to work for ratification of

SALT II without equivocation and without amendment, and

Be it finally resolved, that we call upon the President of the United States to cease trading promises of increased military spending for Senate support of SALT II, and to take the immediate steps needed to start negotiations of SALT III with a view toward a reduction of the existing nuclear arsenal and a real reduction in the arms race. □

Chicago City Council Unanimous

On June 1, the Chicago City Council unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas, the United States is the strongest power in the world commercially, industrially, politically and economically, but militarily we remain competitive with the Soviet Union, and

Whereas, for the past seven years, the United States has been negotiating with the Soviets for a strategic arms limitation treaty to deter the escalation of nuclear weaponry, and

Whereas, President Carter is urging ratification of SALT
(Continued on page 30)

Urban League Leader Urges Ratification

The following is a portion of a recent statement by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League.

The real importance of SALT is that it continues the process of detente and strategic arms limitations. It's a long, arduous step by step process, complicated by the fact that neither side fully trusts the other.

But SALT II, if it is approved by the Senate, will lead to further negotiations. And the result will hopefully be a real cutback in deadly weapons systems and in the possibility of nuclear war.

That's why critics of SALT II who reject it because it doesn't bring about immediate disarmament are wrong. They should understand their goals can only be met over a long period of time and through limited agreements of the SALT variety.

Stronger opposition comes from those who fear the treaties will weaken our national security.

There is no evidence the treaty will give the Russians an advantage over us. Most comparisons of the two nations' strategic weapons strengths show a rough parity, and if you throw the NATO allies' arsenals into the balance, there is an edge for the West. But it's an edge we probably don't need, simply because either side can destroy the other, with SALT or without.

Defense experts and military authorities have testified that SALT II will not weaken our security, is verifiable, and is sound. Getting into some of the technicalities doesn't change the big picture.

Most of the discussion turns around whether SALT should be ratified. We also ought to consider what would happen if it is rejected by the Senate, or if it is encumbered

with restrictive resolutions that lead the Russians to back off.

First, the arms race would go out of control. With SALT's restrictions out the window, both sides would go on a binge of strategic arms development that would just take the world to a new, higher level of insecurity.

Second, relations between the superpowers would be destabilized. With detente dead, a new Cold War era would begin, more dangerous than the last one because it would take place between rivals more equally matched, and conducted against a background of disillusionment and distrust bred by SALT's rejection.

Third, our allies would be shaken severely. Our NATO partners are strongly in favor of SALT. Rejection would damage the alliance, and might tempt some nations to adopt neutrality rather than remain dependent on an uncertain and apparently adventurous ally.

Almost as worrisome as Senate rejection of the SALT treaty is the price the Administration may pay to ensure its passage. Already the President has approved the notorious MX missile program, a costly plan to dig twenty-mile long trenches and shuttle heavy missiles around within them so the Russians wouldn't know exactly where they are.

That folly would cost \$30 billion. And that's before the inevitable cost overruns. The only reason for reviving this once-rejected plan is to win support from Senators still on the fence on SALT.

As we get down to the wire, attention will focus on a handful of Senators who will withhold their votes pending even greater concessions in the form of new and unnecessary weapons systems. Giving in might mean winning the SALT battle at the cost of losing the war to restrain the arms race. □

Baikal to Amur: Conquering the Siberian

One of the great anachronisms of our times, preserved with fanatic insistence in anti-Soviet propaganda, is the use of the word "Siberia" to connote nothing but a place of desolation populated by exiled prisoners, a place of punishment with an image supposedly intended to terrify in order to keep people from opposing the Soviet system.

It is time this image was retired for good, along with all the hoary fakeries about regimented Soviet workers, nationalized women, captive nations and other attempts to make socialism look like a kind of penal system. Siberia for decades now has been for the Soviet people the great frontier of hope and challenge, and increasingly the hopes are being realized to an extent beyond the dreams of those who first looked into the possibilities of this tremendous region.

Siberia has every reason to be called the world's greatest treasure house. Locked in its vast wilderness areas, in amounts that beggar the imagination, are every key mineral and natural resource essential to modern economies. The extraction of

these and their use for the even more rapid and richer development of socialism is what the challenge is all about. It has made Siberia an epic of Soviet planning, application of science, and heroic labor.

In recent years the great planned drive to open up Siberia has been dramatized by one of the many projects that are being carried on simultaneously over the enormous spaces between the Urals and the Pacific coast. This is the project that is known as BAM.

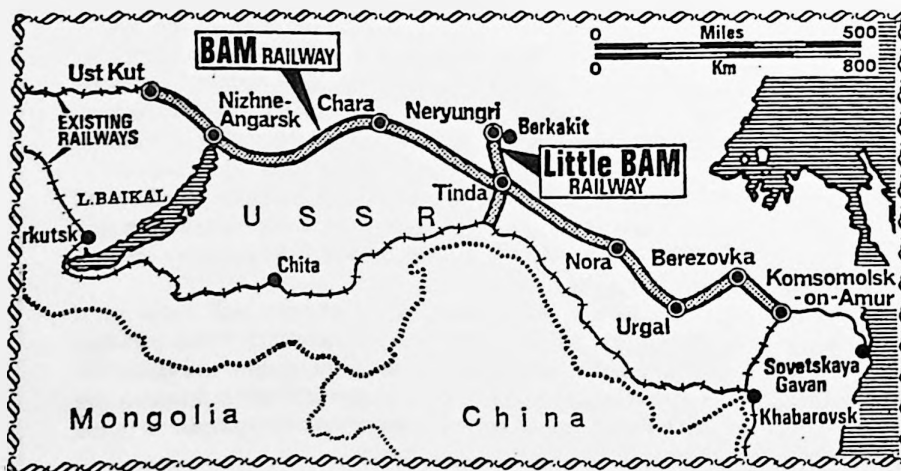
BAM stands for the Baikal-to-Amur railroad, a 3,146 kilometer (2,000 mile) extent of track being flung from Ust Kut, west of Lake Baikal, to Komsomolsk on the Amur River. Running across the wildest and most difficult of terrain, it is one of the great engineering feats of the modern era.

Since the beginning of the 20th century the Trans-Siberian Railway has held a unique place in railroading, a 7,000-mile single line threading its way over a continent. In Soviet times many big industrial complexes have been built up along its route. It runs, however, too far south to be useful for tapping the wealth of Siberia that lies mostly to the north.

The new railroad mostly parallels the Trans-Siberian route, but is being built about 300 miles north of the old line. Western propagandists, quick to distort any Soviet project, have claimed that the whole scheme has been undertaken out of fear that China could easily seize much of the Trans-Siberian Railway, parts of which run near the Chinese border.

Planning for what has become BAM, however, far predates the development of China as an international problem. Re-

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.



On the following pages: Soviet artists' conceptions of BAM workers. P. 9: The First Train, by V. Stekolshchikov, 1977. Pp. 10-11, from top left, clockwise: Scouting Trip, by V. Bakshayev, 1978; Summer Project, by V. Zhemerukin, 1976; Young Enthusiasts, by M. Abdurakhmanov and G. Yaralova, 1978.

Frontier



search and surveying of such a route began as early as the second five-year plan, in 1932-37, and parts of the contemplated line were built before and during the Great Patriotic War, between Khabarovsk and Komsomolsk and between Komsomolsk and Sovetskaya Gavan, the latter a railhead built on the Sea of Japan.

Discovery of colossal mineral deposits in central and eastern Siberia in the postwar period, especially in the 1960s, and new estimates of Siberian forest potentials and of hydroelectric power that could be harnessed, brought renewed attention to the BAM idea.

In July 1974 the decision was made by Soviet leaders to proceed with the project, and work on it began immediately. It is planned to be completed in 1982 or 1983.

The aims of the BAM project are to open up some of the world's richest deposits of iron ore, coal, gas, asbestos, copper, nickel and gold and to make them available for the construction of a huge industrial belt along the rail line; to link this economic region with the Pacific coast and, further, through economic contacts, with the countries of South Asia and the Pacific; and to serve as a springboard for the development of all the Siberian regions to the north, extending to sub-arctic and arctic zones.

Planning involved in this is on a vast scale. The BAM rail-road zone will encompass 1,200,000 square kilometers. At least eight major industrial complexes will rise along the route, including a huge paper plant at Ust Kut, a vast copper complex

at Chara that will exploit the enormously rich Udokan deposits in the northern part of Chita region, a metallurgical complex in south Yakutia built around the Neryungri coal and iron ore deposits, wood processing and mining at Urg AI. All of these are to be fully operating by 1990.

One of the major complexes is already in operation. This is the initial stage of the south Yakutia metallurgical project—the mining of coal at Neryungri, which lies 250 miles (400 kilometers) north of the actual BAM route. It involved the constructing of a "little BAM" spur line upward from Tynda, on the central section of BAM. The whole of this area is affected by permafrost, and in addition the line had to cross the rugged Stanovoi mountain range, from Tynda to Berkakit. The last stretch to Berkakit will be finished, by pledge, one month before the 62nd anniversary of the October Revolution, this year.

The south Yakutia metallurgical complex, when complete, will rival anything in the developed western part of the Soviet Union. There are at least 430 million metric tons of coal in a six-square-mile section at Neryungri, and 60 miles to the north lie six billion metric tons of high grade iron ore. Coal at Neryungri is scooped from a literal mountain of the mineral, part of which will fuel a huge thermal power station (the first stage will be 630,000 kilowatts); part is being exported to Japan, 2.5 million metric tons this year, to hit 12-13 million metric tons by 1982. (It is estimated that in south Yakutia alone there are 30 billion to 40 billion metric tons of coal, indicating

the industrial prospects for this corner of Siberia.)

In the Soviet Union, BAM is called "the project of the century," both for the immense industrial benefits it is yielding and for the sheer logistics involved. The total cost will be above 10 billion rubles. Over 100,000 workers have been enrolled in the BAM construction teams, including 60 nationalities coming from every Union republic. Special vocational schools were set up to turn out the skilled labor for the project.

East, west and central sections of the line have been built simultaneously; the central section has now been linked with the eastern. Nearly two-thirds of the track has been laid, in the course of which 500 million cubic meters of earth have been moved and 400,000 cubic meters of gravel used. Numerous plants have been built on the spot to produce building materials, structural units, welding equipment.

When completed, 200 new railroad stations will have been constructed, of which 64 will become sizeable cities. Along the route are 142 major bridges (the one across the Amur is a mile long, the one over the Lena a third of a mile) and thousands of smaller bridges spanning 3,200 streams and nine great rivers. There are eight large tunnels totalling 32 miles in length, one of 15 miles. Seven big mountain ranges are being crossed.

This is being done over permafrost, swamps, earthquake zones, terrain swept by avalanches. Winter with its blizzards and summer as hot as any part of Central Asia have not slowed the work.

Whole new cities have sprung out of wilderness on the BAM route. Tynda, the computer center of the project, called the electronic brain of BAM construction, had only 5,000 people in 1974. In January 1979 it had 50,000 and will have 100,000 in the coming years. Neryungri didn't exist in 1975; it had 20,000 people in 1976 and will have 50,000 in 1982, 100,000 by the end of the century.

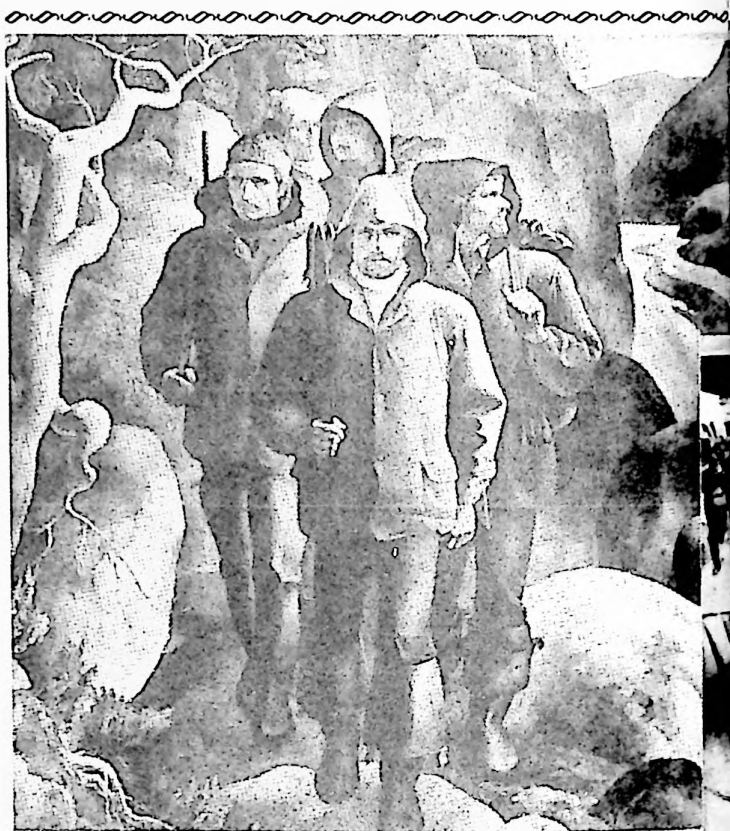
(Tynda, incidentally, a crude settlement five years ago, has a computer capable of 200,000 operations per second; it controls construction of the railroad, delivery of building materials, equipment and its functioning, and watches the design situation.)

The Leningrad Institute of City Designing (Lengiprogor) has the task of laying out the cities along BAM. Its first project was Tynda. Its second is Severobaikalsk, being erected on the shore of Lake Baikal; here uniformity has been scrupulously avoided, in a city of 20,000, with spacious and comfortable flats overlooking the lake. Another Lengiprogor-planned city is Udokan, which will have 100,000 inhabitants.

An important feature of the BAM project is the major attention that has been given to the well-being and amenities of the work force. High pay, a 36-day annual paid holiday, and a free trip every three years to the European or western part of the Soviet Union are only part of this policy. An article in the Soviet journal *Voprosy Ekonomiki* (Problems of Economics) (No. 9, 1978) discussed this aspect:

Social amenities infrastructure will require big investments. People living and working in the BAM zone must be compensated for the adverse climate by the increased comfort of housing and the timely organization of the entire complex of everyday service enterprises, medical and cultural facilities.

The standards of housing provision per capita will be raised to 17 or





19 square meters in the BAM zone and blocks of highly comfortable flats will be built there. A wide network of schools and preschool childrens' facilities will be established. Emphasis will be placed on day-care and boarding schools which will operate one shift and which will provide children with hot meals and will have all conveniences. Kindergartens and nurseries will mostly be five-day care centers and many of them will be of sanatorium type. The standards of medical services will also be raised. The share of spending on housing and communal facilities and other unproductive sectors will range, in the overall structure of the investments necessary for the BAM zone's economic development, from 12 per cent in the Udokan industrial center to 46 per cent in the Komsomolsk territorial-production complex, averaging 30 per cent for the zone. The proposed investment policy for a territory of 1.5 million square kilometers, requiring tremendous expenditures, takes into consideration many years of experience of large-scale investment construction conducted in other areas and also shortcomings pinpointed there.

The priority given to social amenities of the BAM workers does not mean that they are thus relieved of hardships. BAM is a frontier project in every sense of the word, where Soviet workers are enduring the grimmest of weather and wilderness conditions. To be a BAM worker in the Soviet Union today, therefore, is to have great prestige. A citizen on leave wearing a BAM patch on sleeve or breast becomes a center of admiration in the streets of cities elsewhere.

Above all, it is a young work force. BAM, for the most part, is being built by Soviet youth. Up to 75 per cent of the construction teams is composed of youth below the age of 29. They are chiefly Komsomol volunteers. (At the 18th Congress of the Komsomol or Young Communist League in 1978 it was reported that 250,000 youth are working as Komsomol detachments on Siberian projects in general.)

It is a youthful work force with a high educational level. Of the construction teams, 78 per cent have completed secondary education, and 19 to 38 per cent have higher education or specialized secondary education. To keep the level high, there are over 200 libraries in the new towns and work camps along the BAM route, and 70 clubs with recreation and reading rooms.

An interesting feature of the BAM project is the union of literary workers that has been developed among the young builders, made up of young writers who are giving literary expression, in poetry and prose, to the construction work. Prominent Soviet writers frequently visit the project sites, to gather material for their own work and to meet in seminars with the young worker-writers. Some of their work has already begun to appear in Soviet publications, an aspect of the growing interweaving of labor and cultural expression to be found in many phases of Soviet life.

Many of the Soviet youth who answered the call for "shock-unit construction workers" on the BAM project have elected to remain in the new Siberian cities they have helped to build (where the birth rate, incidentally, is up to 50 per cent higher than in other areas). Others, as highly skilled railroad builders, are looking to the other short-term and long-term railroad plans that will branch out from the springboard, BAM, to Yakutsk, Magadan and other Siberian cities and regions. For Siberia, BAM is but the first great pathway to communist development. The response to its challenge indicates the enthusiasm with which the Soviet people are pushing wider the frontiers of their society. □

IGOR MOROKHOV

Socialism, Nuclear Power Engineering, the Environment

The development of modern society is characterized by rapid growth in all spheres of human activity. This growth is based on the achievements of the technological revolution and, primarily, on the power per worker ratio. We unravel the mysteries of nature and score ever greater victories over it. On this foundation mankind's material wealth and well-being are growing. However, as Frederick Engels warned, we should not flatter ourselves too much on account of our victories. "For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first." The negative influence of the development of civilization on the environment, and eventually on man himself, is meant here.

The electric power industry, especially when linked with the metallurgical, chemical or other industries, does the greatest damage to the environment.

Here are some figures: annually more than 200 million tons of carbon monoxide, more than 50 million tons of various hydrocarbons, almost 150 million tons of sulphur dioxide, over 50 million tons of nitrogen oxides and 250 million tons of fine-disperse aerosols are sent into the Earth's atmosphere.

Growth of energy capacities results in a rapid increase in pollution of the atmosphere. In the foreseeable future, if rapidly growing energy requirements are to be met, protecting the environment around large industrial cities and zones from the wastes of power-generating enterprises will become a global problem.

Of course the specific amount of discharge per unit of generated energy can be reduced through better use of fuel, conservation of by-products, integrated use of raw materials in the metallurgical and chemical industries, etc. But this problem can only be fully solved by using new types of energy—for instance, atomic energy.

However, while the use of this or that type of energy is an economic problem, the protection of the environment is also a social problem and, depending on the social system of a country, is solved in fundamentally different ways, depending on who owns the means of production in a country (the land, water resources, mineral wealth), and how natural resources and the benefits obtained from production are distributed.

Capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production and natural resources, and its main aim is gaining maximum profits for the private owners. These profits result from exploitation of the working people and the use of natural

resources for the exclusive benefit of a small segment of society. By contrast, the socialist system, based on ownership of the means of production and natural resources in the form of state property (belonging to all the people), sets as its main goal the satisfaction of the growing material and cultural requirements of all members of society. Contrary to capitalist countries, socialist states approach the development of the power industry and the use of natural resources from planned and comprehensive positions.

The irresponsible nature of capitalist energy producers, as well as the actual situation concerning the safety of nuclear power stations, compel progressive circles of some capitalist countries to come out against the construction of such stations. The conclusion that it is hardly possible to ensure the reliable safety of nuclear stations under capitalism has serious grounds, especially after the accident at the nuclear power station near Harrisburg.

In short, in coming to grips with the problems of the development of the nuclear power industry in various countries, it is not the technical possibilities of ensuring the safety of nuclear stations and the entire nuclear fuel cycle but social conditions, that are decisive.

In the USSR, we do not have the contradictions that loom in capitalist countries, since the care of the country's economic development is closely linked with environmental protection. The state and the whole people stand guard over this. Article 18 of the Soviet Constitution states: "In the interests of the present and future generations, necessary steps are taken in the USSR to protect and make scientific, rational use of the land and its mineral and water resources, and the plant and animal kingdom, to preserve the purity of air and water, ensure reproduction of natural wealth, and improve the human environment."

Measures aimed at preserving and improving the environment are a component part of economic plans, and are ensured by funding. Strict state control is established over this fulfilment, and the non-fulfilment of these plans is regarded as a failure to fulfil the state plan.

Our plans call for increasing use of atomic energy, as the cleanest and economically most profitable form of energy available. This is especially true in the European part of the USSR, the country's most industrialized section, where sources of fossil fuels have been depleted.

In the long run atomic power plants will replace heating plants working on coal and mazut, and will be introduced in the chemical industry. Metallurgy will switch over to direct ore reduction, and transport change to hydrogen fuel. This will have a favorable impact on the environment, by ruling out the discharge of harmful pollutants into air and water. The atomic

IGOR MOROKHOV, who holds the Doctor of Science degree in technical sciences, is Vice-Chairman of the State Committee for the Use of Atomic Energy. He prepared this article for NWR at the request of Novosti Press Agency.

plants are certainly far from pollution-free; our data, however, show that the risk of death from cancer for people living near a coal-based power station is about 30 times greater than for people living near an atomic power plant of the same capacity.

Radioactivity is a specific potential danger of nuclear power engineering. Its possible harmful effect on the environment and on people, as the most sensitive link of the ecological chain, can stem not only from the atomic power station proper, but also from the entire fuel cycle. The nuclear fuel cycle includes the extraction of fuel (uranium), its processing, manufacture of fuel elements for the atomic power station, maintenance of the station, the actual production of energy, and, most important, the utilization and the reliable storing of radioactive waste. Radiation and its effects are dangerous in all stages of the nuclear fuel cycle. Since the establishment of the atomic power industry in the Soviet Union safety has been a main focus of attention, and we have a highly efficient system of protection against the harmful effects of radiation.

The main elements of this system are organizational and technological measures for handling radioactive substances, including strict control almost fully eliminating contacts with the environment and people. The permissible doses of radiation are based on the recommendations of the International Commission on Radiological Protection and are calculated to be absolutely safe. In all stages of the nuclear cycle, with strict observance of safety measures, there are no grounds, as shown by experience, for any concern over excessive irradiation either of workers at nuclear enterprises or of people living near these enterprises. For instance: the main danger during the operation of nuclear stations, as far as people are concerned, lies in aerosol pollution by radioactive isotopes of krypton, xenon, iodine, etc. Passing through several purification stages, these continuously formed waste materials of nuclear stations are ejected into air through tall 100 to 150 meter stacks.

The efficiency of this method of containing radioactivity has been checked over many years of operation of Soviet nuclear power plants such as the Novovoronezh, and others.

In the Soviet Union all radioactive waste at nuclear stations is processed. Waste concentrates (still bottoms after evaporation, ion-exchange resins, pulps, the primary coolant during its replacement) are gathered for storage in special capacities.

Much attention is given to the protection of cooling reservoirs against radioactive pollution. Only a limited amount of purified disbalanced water may be dumped into reservoirs from atomic power stations. During the dumping the concentration of radionuclides in them may not exceed the permissible concentration in drinking water.

In the Beloyarsk reservoir created on the Pyzhma River to meet the technical needs of the Beloyarsk nuclear station, the radiation-hygienic situation is favorable. Dosimetric control of many years' standing demonstrates that there is no dumping of radioactive substances into this man-made lake. The State Inspection bodies now allow the local inhabitants to use the Beloyarsk reservoir for recreation, and for amateur and commercial fishing. Recreation centers for three industrial cities have been established on the shores of this lake.

Nuclear enterprises, and especially nuclear power stations, are provided with technical facilities for guarding against possible malfunctions and accidents. Each working reactor is fit-

ted with a faultless automatic emergency shielding system with a safety factor of three or four. As additional measures, in new projects there are systems protecting against external occurrences, such as airplane crashes, explosions of chemical substances, earthquakes, etc. The design of the new stations also incorporates extensive application of computers in the control system.

The safety of the nuclear fuel cycle is secured by the high quality of the design, manufacture and assembling of atomic equipment; control over the conditions of the facilities during operation; the drafting and implementation of effective measures and devices to prevent malfunctions and to compensate for disturbances (or reduce the consequences of these disturbances); and the elaboration and realization of preventive measures to contain the spread, and lessen the radioactive aftermath, of accidents. In all stages of design, construction, commissioning and repair, including unplanned repair after accidents or malfunctions, the clear-cut and scientifically rational normalization of all technological and organizational measures of ensuring nuclear safety is observed.

As shown by a systems analysis and calculations made by Soviet specialists, the emergency protection system at a large nuclear station makes a major accident at it an event of very low probability as compared with other dangers which confront man during his lifetime. The death of a resident living 40 km away from a nuclear plant as a result of a disaster at it is several thousand times less probable than dying in a car crash, and hundreds of times less than death from a natural disaster, such as a lightning-stroke.

Liquid and solid radioactive waste poses the highest danger to man and the environment. The Soviet Union devotes great attention to this problem, since the prospects of building nuclear stations in the USSR will lead to the sharp growth of such waste and will require qualitatively new solutions concerning its containment and isolation. The present-day level of atomic power engineering is ensured by well-tested ways of handling radioactive waste and causes no apprehensions among scientists and citizens.

The USSR is working out new methods and testing them successfully in experimental and industrial conditions. These methods are based on concentrating waste and transforming it into solids by means of bituminization and vitrification. It is then buried in the Earth's geological formations. We experimentally check the pumping of radioactive waste into the Earth's deep geological formations, as is practised in many countries, especially with toxic waste from the chemical industry. The dry method of processing atomic power stations' spent fuel is being tested. If these experiments succeed, this will reduce the volume of radioactive waste hundreds and thousands of times and will sharply simplify the ways of handling it.

We do not deny the possibility of malfunctions and accidents at nuclear enterprises. However, drawing from our own and foreign experience, we are steadily improving the reliability of such enterprises, to prevent malfunctions and accidents.

We are confident that under socialism the nuclear power industry will make large strides and greatly contribute to the economic progress of the USSR without damaging people or the environment. □

Socialist World Its Housing

When nations turn their national wealth into national property and form a socialist society, they replace the irrational economic rivalry of capitalist society with rational, socially rewarding cooperation. Witness the short history of the socialist community of nations.

In its 30 years of development, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)—the socialist world's instrument for international cooperation—has helped its weaker member nations to rise to the economic level of the most advanced. Thirty years ago, the per-capita national incomes of the European socialist nations varied between the most and least economically advanced at a ratio of 3 to 1. The disparity dropped to a ratio of 1.5 to 1 by 1979. All CMEA nations have enjoyed great economic growth. Between 1950 and 1977 their combined national income increased by seven times, agricultural production by 4.5 times, and industrial output by ten times to account for one-third of world production. They continually improved their living conditions, especially in housing. In the 15 years between 1961 and 1976, they built 46.6 million apartments to rehouse 228 million of their 430 million population.

Gradually, as their experience proved the wisdom of long-range planned economic integration, the socialist nations extended their cooperation to various branches of their national economies. At their 25th CMEA session in 1971, they adopted a "Comprehensive Program" for integration of their national resources and defined methods of collaboration in economics, technology and science. Here we will describe but one aspect of CMEA cooperation—the field of construction and housing—as reported in *Arkhitektura SSSR* (Architecture USSR) of May 1979.

Construction was one of the fields the "Comprehensive Program" picked for intensive coordination. Implementing the Comprehensive Program, the CMEA member nations have exchanged construction equipment, materials and products and jointly planned, designed and built complex construction projects in each other's countries.

To expedite coordination in building, the CMEA created a Permanent Construction Commission to work out technical design standards for common use by all member nations. The Commission had standardized working drawings and compiled a dictionary of construction terms to enable designers of the several countries to speak in one technical language.

A basic awareness underlies the cooperation among the CMEA nations: the awareness that, in the long range and in many ways, the growth and development of each benefits all. Hence their mutual economic assistance, through trade as well as free aid.

For example.

When, in 1977, the Socialist Republic of Romania suffered great housing destruction in a strong earthquake, the Soviet Union presented the wounded country with a prefab-panel plant and engineering drawings for high-speed construction of apartment buildings, specially designed for the climatic and

MORRIS ZEITLIN is an architect-planner and writer on Soviet architecture and city planning. He is the author of a book, *Cities Can Be Beautiful*, forthcoming from International Publishers. His articles have appeared frequently in *NEW WORLD REVIEW*; most recent was "Rebuilding the Soviet Village," in the July-August 1979 issue.

seismic conditions of Romanian cities.

The Soviet Union had also presented a series of housing plans to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, specially designed by its Central Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Planning in Housing to suit the physical conditions and aesthetic traditions of the country.

With Soviet aid, the Mongolian People's Republic began construction, in 1978, of a large mining combine and housing for 10,000 people in the new town of Eredenet. The Soviet Union also delivered cement and prefab-housing plants to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Cuba.

Trade, of course, is the chief method of mutual assistance in housing construction among the socialist countries. It has produced a brisk exchange of materials, equipment, know-how and services. Thousands of Soviet apartments have been finished with decorative plastic wall coverings, wallpapers,



Coordinates Construction

and ceramic tile produced in the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and furnished with appliances and furniture produced in Bulgaria and Romania. Hungarian builders are helping Polish and Bulgarian colleagues in construction of shopping facilities of prefab aluminum units. Polish builders erect cement plants in the GDR. A new model housing project was built in Halle-Neustadt (GDR) designed by Bulgarian architects, and GDR designers are planning multi-story prefab-panel housing projects for the Polish Peoples Republic.

Exchange of the newest equipment, products, materials, designs, and experience on joint construction projects quickly disseminates the latest improvements in building technology.

To make the exchange most efficient, the Permanent Construction Commission established a simple system of modules for the planning and construction of residential buildings. This makes structural and mechanical parts produced in any so-



cialist country interchangeable with those of all others. In community planning, as well, the Commission encourages emulation of each nation's best planning ideas by all member nations. It selects, for example, the most rational combinations of housing and community facilities as site planning models for mass produced housing in all socialist countries.

The new integrated design and building standards raise the quality of structures, their inside and outside finishes, and their mechanical equipment—electric, plumbing and heating. In the GDR (German Democratic Republic) and PPR (Polish People's Republic), 93-100 per cent of all homes are fitted with water supply, sanitary drainage, central heating and gas. Other countries are edging up to this level. In 1977, high-rise apartments with elevator service comprised 28.6 to 65.9 per cent of all housing units in the European CMEA countries.

Apartments have been growing in size and comfort. The useful apartment living area (halls, foyers, bathrooms and kitchen excluded) rose in the European socialist countries from 42.3–59.6 square meters (455–642 square feet) in 1960 to 50–70.1 square meters (538–755 square feet) in 1977. In all CMEA countries, mass production of housing constantly increases the number of new apartments and reduces the numbers of residents per apartment.

Rapid site assembly of prefab frame and panel units now dominates housing construction in the socialist world. The share of new housing built in 1977 by this advanced building method varied between 42.1 and 89.7 per cent in different CMEA member countries. In some, the extended use of the traditional, and slow, wood and masonry construction has been a serious obstacle to adoption of industrial building techniques. Architects and engineers in these countries expect to solve the problem by introducing light-weight prefab asbestos-cement, aluminum, and plastic building products. Using these materials for exterior curtain walls and interior partitions should successfully compete with the traditional material and building methods, reduce transportation and labor costs, and speed construction. To boot, the aesthetic possibilities inherent in these materials should raise the architectural quality of individual buildings and projects.

Along with its promotion of construction technology, the CMEA's Permanent Construction Commission has been steadily raising the quality of residential-neighborhood planning. Ever more apartment buildings go up in the socialist countries as units of well planned large residential complexes, complete with modern neighborhood community facilities: shopping services, child care, schools, recreational and administrative.

Continuing experimental research constantly improves the planning of housing complexes. The cities of Gorki (USSR) and Magdeburg (GDR), for example, will begin construction, in 1981, of experimental housing projects, each for 25 thousand people. The plans for both projects used the latest technical achievements of both countries and call for the living and social facilities required in a developed socialist society. Construction and, upon completion, the function of the two projects will be monitored and carefully studied.

Most socialist countries set themselves the goals of securing every family with a comfortable private apartment by 1990 and, in the longer range, a private room for each person. Given peace and hopefully, disarmament, these goals can be reached much sooner. □



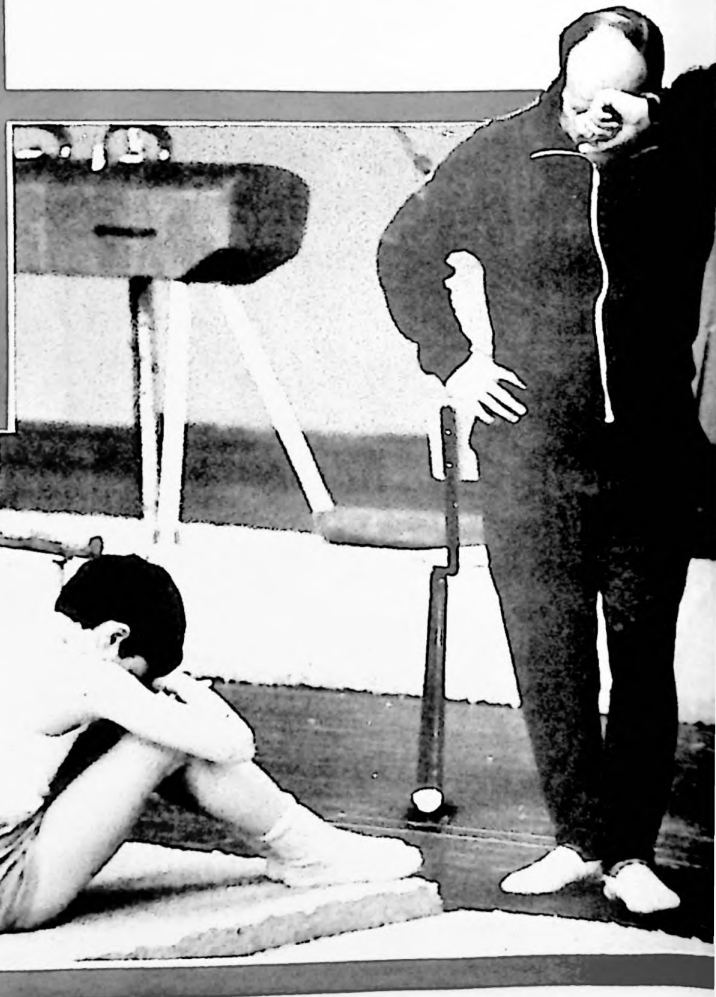
It only hurts when I smile!

Kids 'n'

And so for our 62nd anniversary centerfold, and looking ahead to the '80 Olympics, we combine two of our favorite themes. The pix are all from the USSR, but the captions are entirely ours!



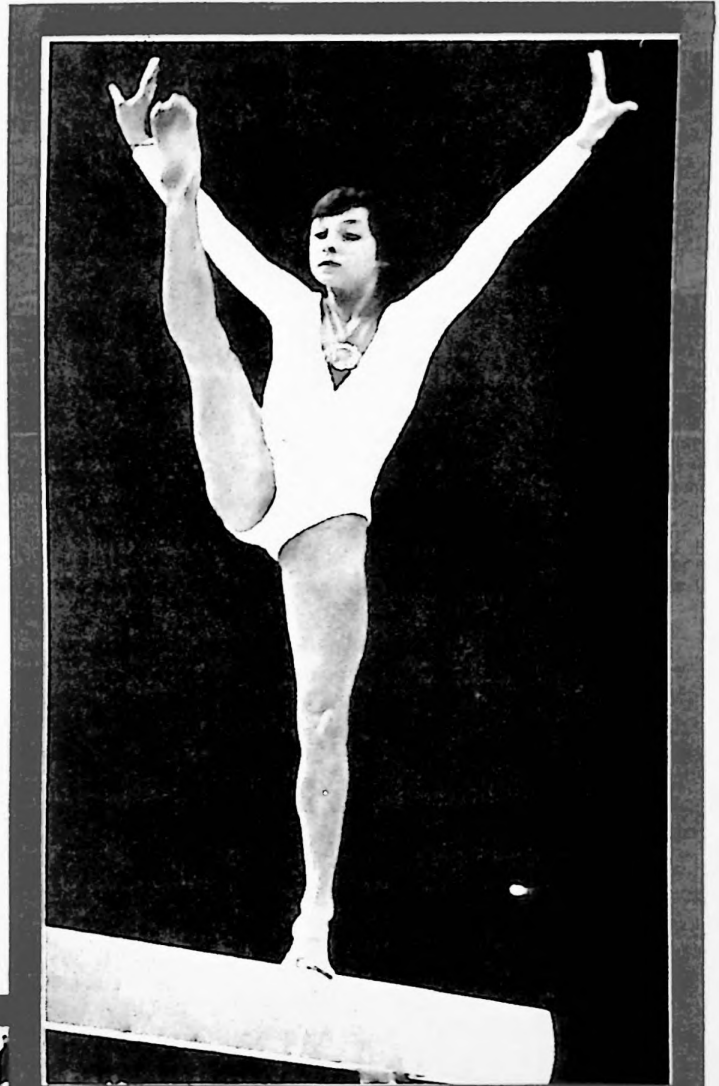
Wow! It sure looks cold down there!



It's at moments like these that we know what "dedication" means.

Sports

An ounce of perfection . . .



I wouldn't want to be that ball right now!



On February 5, 1960, the Soviet Government adopted a resolution on the founding in Moscow of a People's Friendship University to train specialists for developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The university was later named after the outstanding African national liberation leader Patrice Lumumba. The creation of the university was an expression of internationalism and fraternal solidarity with the peoples of the developing countries fighting for economic independence, cultural advancement and social progress.

The founding of the university was consistent with the policy of the Soviet Union since 1917. Even in its early years, the Soviet republic, despite great economic problems, granted scholarships to students from a number of countries of the East to study at Soviet institutes.

After World War II, when the world's colonial system began to collapse under the onslaught of the growing national liberation movement, the Soviet Union arranged particularly close and fruitful cultural cooperation with Asian, African and Latin American countries. In 1956 the granting of scholarships to students from developing countries for training at Soviet institutions of higher education and specialized secondary schools was put on a regular basis. In 1957 there were 134 students from developing countries at Soviet universities and technical schools, whereas in the 1979-1980 academic year there are about 30,000.

At present 300 Soviet universities and specialized secondary schools train foreign students. The Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University occupies a special place. It opened on October 1, 1960, when 539 students from 54 countries began to attend Russian classes there. The original main departments—medicine, engineering, pedagogy, agronomy and law—opened on September 1, 1961.

The most difficult problem was that of working out methods of teaching for mixed classes composed of students from many different countries and with different political persuasions, national traditions, culture and history. It was necessary to work out organizational methods which would enhance the role of the student body in all university activities.

The Soviet Government, the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education and other Soviet higher educational establishments have provided a great deal of assistance to the university. Their help was particularly valuable during the earliest years. Major Soviet universities including the M. V. Lomonosov Moscow State University supplied prominent scientists, instructors, and organizers. The state provided vast allocations of funds for purchasing advanced teaching facilities. The university's library was stocked by the Soviet Academy of Sciences Library, the V. I. Lenin State Library, the library of the M. V. Lomonosov State University and other institutions in Moscow.

By the first graduation year, 1965, 3,200 students and 140 postgraduates from 82 countries had attended the university. Its 76 faculties had a teaching staff of 735, including 44 professors and doctors and 208 associate professors and holders of a

VLADIMIR STANIS, Doctor of Economics, is Rector of the Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University. His article appears in NWR through the courtesy of Novosti Press Agency.

Patrice Lumumba Univ

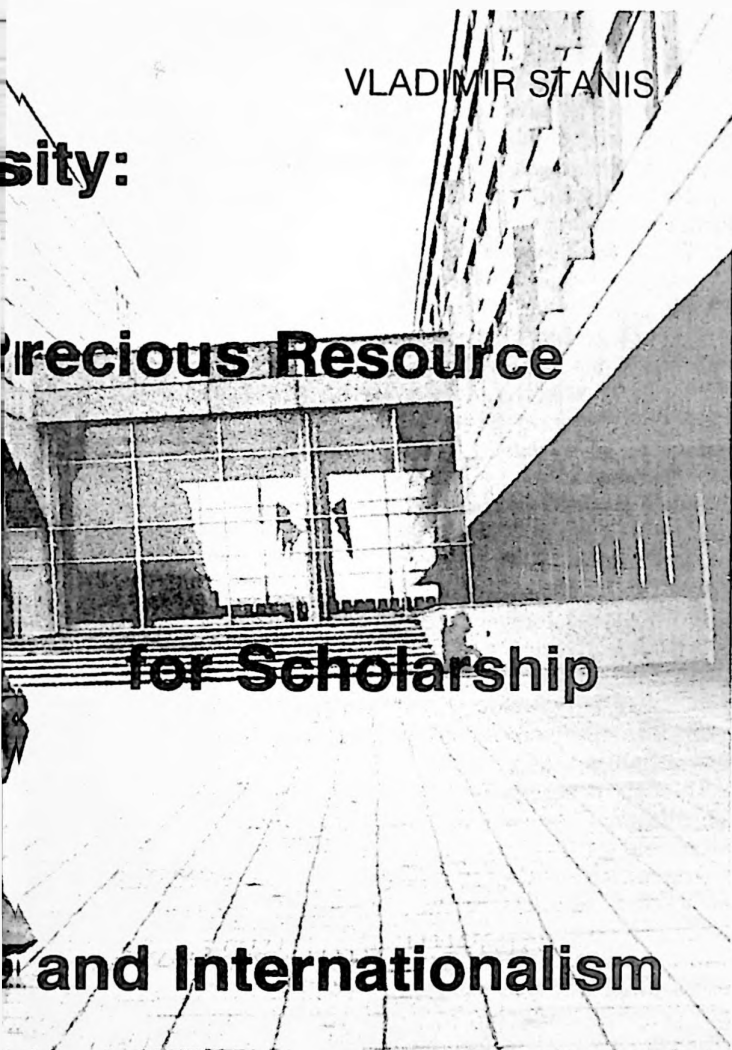


candidate's degree [equivalent to a Ph.D. in the US—Ed.]. There were about 140 laboratories with sophisticated equipment.

Earlier this year, the university held its fifteenth graduation ceremony. It has now graduated a total of 8,640 students who have returned home to work in 110 countries. After taking a postgraduate course, 664 students have become holders of a candidate's degree.

The list of the departments of the Friendship University and the range of specialties taught reflect its specific purpose: to train specialists most needed by the developing countries. The university now has nine departments: preparatory, physics, mathematics and natural sciences, history and philology, economics and law, medicine, agriculture, engineering, and advanced training. There are 84 sub-faculties and staff and students combined number 9,700, including about 6,500 students, postgraduates and trainees from 103 countries. In addition, about 200 Russian-language teachers attend advanced training courses there at any one time.

The academic process at the university is based on the experience of the Soviet higher school. The university also ab-



VLADIMIR STANIS

University:

Precious Resource

for Scholarship

and Internationalism

sorbs everything progressive and advanced that is to be found at institutions of higher learning abroad.

Foreign students are first enrolled in the preparatory department, where they learn Russian well enough to continue their studies at the principal departments, to which they transfer according to their own choice a year later. At the same time the preparatory department further develops their knowledge of general educational subjects such as history, physics, chemistry and mathematics, because the school background of many freshmen is not up to the requirements of the university.

All graduates of the preparatory department may enroll in the first-year course of any main department and learn the specialty of their choice. The course of study lasts five years in all departments except medicine, where it is six years. Academic activities include lectures, laboratory and practical classes, seminars, scientific consultations, academic and production training, visits to factories, collective farms and research institutions, preparation of term and graduation papers, and independent studies at libraries and laboratories.

The curriculum emphasizes those fields of science, technology and production which are particularly important to the Asian, African and Latin American countries. This is especially true of academic plans and curricula in such specialties

as practical health care, agronomy, economics and economic planning, geology and prospecting for minerals, and civil engineering. For instance, the course on soil studies in the agricultural department deals with all the basic types of soils in tropical and subtropical areas and there is a rich collection of soil samples from those regions. The course on agrochemistry analyzes the particular features of using fertilizers in tropical conditions. There are special courses on tropical livestock breeding and animal diseases found in tropical areas. All courses in the department of medicine include a study of tropical medicine. Training is organized so as to teach students theoretical knowledge and practical skills in their chosen fields, and also to enable them to work as managers and to teach their specialties.

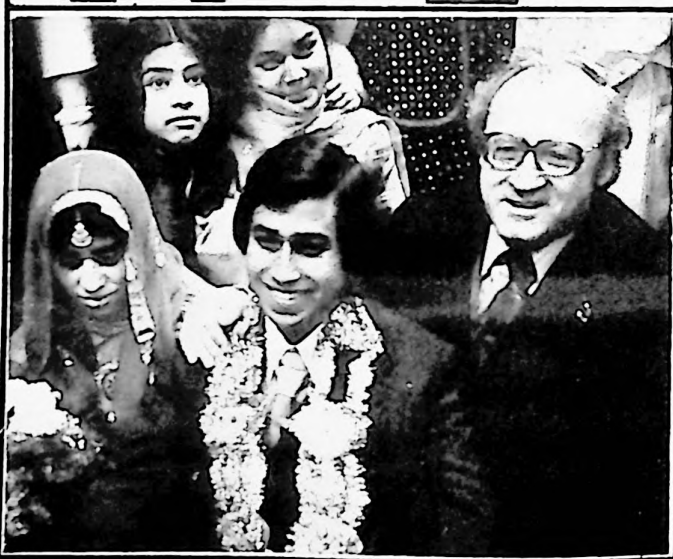
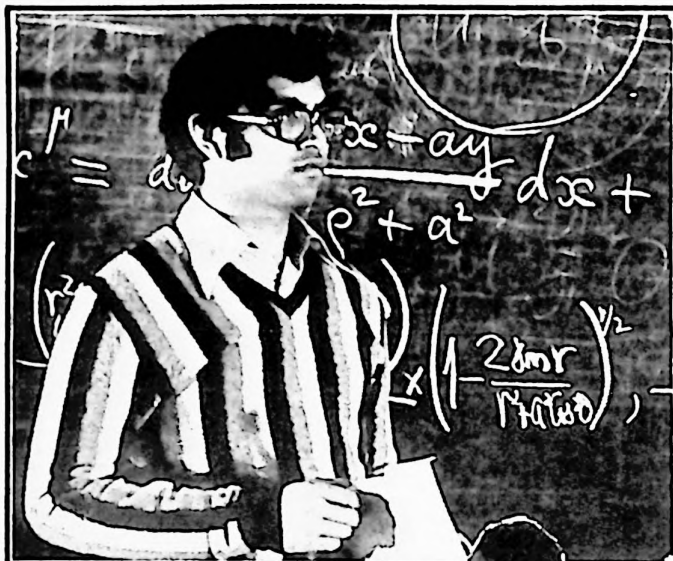
Sometimes students return to their homeland to undergo pregraduation training. For instance, agricultural students go to Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Reunion, the Sudan, Tanzania, Ethiopia and other countries. Indian mining students from the engineering department return to their home country for pregraduation work. Medical students work at hospitals in Nigeria, Ethiopia and a number of other countries.

The culminating event of studies at the University is the graduate's public defense of his or her diploma project before the State Examination Commission. Students may present their diploma projects only after they have fulfilled the academic program. The subject of the diploma project is usually a problem related directly to the economy, industry, agriculture or culture of the student's home country. For instance, Faraj Yousef al-Sarmout of Syria, who in 1970 defended his diploma project on the "High-Dam Hydroscheme on the Euphrates River," later participated in designing this project in his country.

Graduates who have successfully defended their diploma projects and passed state exams are accorded the degree of bachelor in their specialty and given a diploma in Russian, and in either English, French or Spanish according to the graduate's choice.

Specialists with diplomas from Patrice Lumumba Friendship University can be found in nearly all the developing countries because practically all of its graduates return home. Many hold prominent positions in various branches of the economies of their countries, become major specialists in industry and agriculture and head large educational and scientific centers.

Among these is candidate of technology Carlos Maldonado Mendoz, who is in charge of projects at the Mexican Oil Institute. Thakur Dewendra Nath is assistant director of the Research Institute of Mining in Janbad, India, and Muhammad Abdulla Zakari from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen heads a department of the National Bank in Aden. A number of our graduates have become leading state officials. Thus, Donatien Okombi heads a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of the Congo, Victor Agadzi is in charge of the department of epidemiology and infectious diseases at Ghana's Ministry of Public Health, and engineer Subarna Bikram Thapa is the director of the Nepalese Oil Corporation. Many graduates teach their specialties, thus



The photos: various scenes of work and play at Lumumba University. Directly above, our author, Dr. Stanis, with students from Bangladesh.

passing on their knowledge and experience to the new generation of youth in their homeland.

Right after its establishment the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University began to take shape also as a major research center. Its teaching staff includes prominent scientists of world reputation, among them Professor Ahmed Iskanderov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor Temirbolat Berezov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Professor Yakov Terletsky, winner of the Lenin, State and Lomonosov Prizes, and Doctor of Technology Lev Deryugin, laureate of the Popov prize established by the USSR Academy of Sciences. Over 70 per cent of the teachers in the main departments have academic degrees. In addition to their teaching, they engage in research, assisted by their students. The latter are united in the student scientific society.

Over a third of the students join this society in their second year. They study the newest advances in science and technology and learn to conduct research on their own. Members of the society have the opportunity to attend lectures by prominent Soviet and foreign scientists, to familiarize themselves with the research conducted at the institutes and laboratories of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and at the research laboratories of industrial plants in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities, to attend specialized exhibitions, etc. The range of their activities is very broad.

Through its postgraduate courses and special short courses for trainees, Friendship University trains highly-qualified research and teaching personnel for schools of higher education and research institutions in Asian, African and Latin American countries. Postgraduate students and trainees have vast opportunities to do research. Boupba Bouniong from Laos, postgraduate medical student, wrote in the weekly newspaper *Za Rubezhom*: "The opportunities for research provided by this university can hardly be found at any other educational establishment. If a postgraduate medical student needs, say, computers or knowledge of the laws of hydraulics for his work, he can immediately call upon the assistance of other departments."

Topics of postgraduate theses are usually specific to the developing countries. For instance, in 1975 Farhat Salim al-Jamal from Lebanon defended a doctoral thesis on "Vulnerability of Apple-Tree Varieties to Pests in the Subtropics." M. M. Sarat Bandaranayake from Sri Lanka wrote his thesis on "The Problems of Intensifying Agriculture in the Republic of Sri Lanka." The materials and conclusions of U San Lin's thesis, "Fundamentals of the Comprehensive Utilization of Burma's Water Resources," have been used in drawing up the state plan for development of Burma's power industry.

There are about 100 international and national organizations of students, postgraduates and trainees at Lumumba University. The most important are student councils of faculties, dormitory councils, national associations, women's committee, the international club board, the sports club board, councils of student scientific societies, and the editorial board of the newspaper *Druzhba*. The Student Council is the main body of

student self-government. It pays attention to studies, helps to organize the normal course of instruction, assists the departments in organizing student scientific groups, and welds the students into a firm international collective. The council sets up committees dealing with studies, cultural affairs, everyday life, sports, the press and external relations, which examine all questions of student life and can invite to their meetings representatives of faculty, administration, and students. Chairmen of student faculty councils are members of the university council, the highest body of self-government, and thus participate in directing all the university activities.

National associations of students have an important place in university life. At present there are more than 70 of them. Each has its own structure and elective bodies, and functions on the basis of regulations drawn up by the students themselves, in accord with the university constitution. The associations promote the academic progress of their students, take part in scientific conferences, symposia, sports competitions, tourist groups and entertainment teams for trips to other Soviet cities, and recommend their members for various public organizations of the university.

A great deal of attention is paid to the health of students and their physical development. Young people coming to Moscow from tropical and subtropical countries undergo a period of acclimatization and changes in their rhythm of life. Often they have never experienced winter with its sharp extremes of temperature. Their diet at the university also differs both in composition of foods and their caloric values, and in the distribution of meals throughout the day. Bearing all this in mind, the university looks after the health of students from their first day until the end of their studies. The university has a health center staffed by various specialists and equipped with the most modern apparatus. The main emphasis is on preventing illness. Students are required to have an annual checkup, and are given advice on staying healthy and adjusting to their new environment. Health services and treatment are completely free for foreign students, as they are for everyone residing in the Soviet Union.

The university provides the opportunity for a great many sports activities. Participants in the "Druzhba" sports club frequently earn certificates as volunteer coaches and referees, and continue their sports activities on their return home.

Established as a concrete expression of the Soviet people's international solidarity with the countries which have recently thrown off the yoke of colonialism, Patrice Lumumba Friendship University is a great multiethnic body, whose typical feature is friendship among students. This friendship has withstood the test of time over the past 20 years. Students of the university respect one another's language, culture and customs and build their relations on the basis of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance. There could be no other atmosphere in the university, which functions in the USSR, a country where all nationalities, big and small, maintain bonds of fraternal friendship and respect representatives of other races and peoples.

For 20 years now this institution has borne with honor its name of Patrice Lumumba Friendship University. □



ALFRED J. KUTZIK

Social Security in the Soviet Union: Human Rights Under Socialism

We are pleased to publish, in this anniversary issue, Dr. Kutzik's comprehensive survey of arguments concerning the Soviet social security system, and the actual facts about care for the aged, the sick and disabled in the USSR. We expect that this article will become a basic reference for students and others seeking information about social security in socialist societies, and for those who are working to alleviate the crisis of our own social security system.

The major theme of anti-Soviet criticism has always been the supposed absence of freedom in the Soviet Union. In the early decades of the world's first socialist state, this criticism was accompanied by grudging admission of the extraordinary improvement in the standard of living of Soviet citizens as compared to pre-revolutionary times. In fact, by mid-century the trite capsule critique of both the Soviet Union and socialism was that they provided economic and social security at the cost of civil and personal liberty.

After World War II, as the United States and other capitalist countries were once again beset by their customary economic and social problems while the Soviet Union and other socialist countries developed rapidly without depressions and unemployment, the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist party line changed. It was now maintained that, even in the Soviet Union after three decades, socialism could not provide the basic necessities of life for those it also deprived of freedom.

Since the late 1940s we have been bombarded by the commercial communications media with sensational stories about Soviet emigrés who "chose freedom," along with sober statistical articles invidiously comparing the relative purchasing power of US and Soviet workers. By now "everybody knows" that shoes costing the equivalent of four hours of average US wages cost several days of average Soviet wages, while an automobile costs perhaps two months' and two years' average wages, respectively. However, these articles did not note that the major reason for these purchasing power and wage differentials—which, despite exaggeration, do exist—was that much that US citizens have to purchase with their wages is available to Soviet citizens free or at little cost: health care is free, education at all levels is free, rent is subsidized at no more than three to five per cent of income, subway and bus fares are subsidized to cost no more than the equivalent of five cents, four-fifths of children's day care costs are subsidized, etc.

In addition, all or part of the income which many Soviet

citizens use to pay for their rent, transportation, clothing, food, etc. comes not from wages but from cash benefits received from the Soviet social security system by the aged, the permanently and temporarily disabled, large, low-income and single-parent families with children, and others. The role of these social security benefits has been studiously neglected by anti-Soviet students of the Soviet Union.

But recent worry about the US social security system, in combination with a new questioning of capitalism and interest in socialism, appears to be turning the attention of the establishment's opinion-moulding institutions to Soviet social security. Last year *The New York Times* suddenly discovered that the largest Soviet social security program, pensions for the aged, is inadequate and inequitable to the point of inhumanity. An 1,800 word front-page bylined story from its Moscow correspondent in the *Times'* nationally-circulated Sunday edition* characterized these pensions as "lag(ging) far behind those in . . . capitalist European countries" and resulting in "deprivation," "poverty" and even starvation ("clearly not enough to sustain life"). It also attacked "the complicated rules which allow some pensioners to go on working reduced hours at their jobs after retirement but make it impossible for others"; that "old or disabled people who had worked 20 to 25 years required for entitlement to a full pension often get only a small fraction"; and that there are "millions [of 'men and women of retirement age'] who receive nothing." The story supported these assertions with selective data derived from interviews with pensioners, Soviet newspaper articles and government statistics and—most revealingly—"a study of the [social security] system to determine the most common victims of old-age poverty" conducted by "a group of dissidents in Moscow." However, every one of these assertions (and practically every statement in the story) is contradicted by studies done by US and Soviet social security experts. The facts, confirmed by these

ALFRED J. KUTZIK, Ph.D., was until recently on the faculty of the University of Maryland School of Social Work and Community Planning. Among his publications is "Social Provision for the Aged" in Donald E. Gelfand and Alfred J. Kutzik, eds., *Ethnicity and Aging* (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1979).

*Craig R. Whitney, "Old-Age Pensions in Soviet Leaving Many Impoverished," *The New York Times*, November 19, 1978.

studies,* are that all retired persons ineligible for the regular pension for former wage-earners receive special "fixed pensions" or "monthly allowances"; that, except for occasional bureaucratic mix-ups, the 30 million aged and 16 million disabled pensioners get precisely the pensions they are entitled to; that all of them are not only permitted but encouraged to continue to work full-time or part-time while receiving from 25 to 100 per cent of their pensions—and that pensions in the Soviet Union provide more benefits at less cost to beneficiaries than social security programs elsewhere.

The misapprehensions and misinterpretations which permeate the *Times* story are exemplified by the following passage:

Workers are constantly being assured that the state-run retirement plan, with its noncontributory pension payments, is the most advanced and generous in the world. Actually, the benefits, which average 50 to 55 per cent of a retired worker's last monthly pay, lag far behind those in such capitalist European countries as West Germany, where old age pensions have increased from year to year to keep up with the cost of living. Moreover, a Soviet pension, once set, is never increased, though retirement is usually 55 for women and 60 for men.

Actually, the benefits, which average about 65 per cent and range from 50 to 100 per cent of latest pre-pension earnings with the lowest paid workers getting the highest percentage, are indeed the most generous in the world. The social security systems of capitalist countries, including our own, typically provide an average retirement benefit of 25 to 30 per cent of final pre-retirement earnings. West Germany is the principal exception (although the report suggests it is typical) providing an average of about 80 per cent. However, its apparent superiority to the Soviet average of about 65 per cent does not stand up to scrutiny by those with knowledge of the West German and Soviet social security systems.

As the story notes in passing, the Soviet system has "non-contributory pension payments," *i.e.*, all benefits are completely funded by the government. The partially government-subsidized West German system requires very heavy tax contributions by pensioners throughout their working lifetime. In 1977, the (constantly increasing) social security tax on West German workers was 17 per cent of their wages, more than double the present onerous US tax. Even if one does not add to this the 17 per cent matching contribution by West German employers, which even conservative economists admit comes out of the insured workers' pockets, the superiority of the noncontributory Soviet pension, in terms of economic benefits both before and after retirement, is evident.

This becomes more evident when one contrasts the different age requirements for receiving pensions in the two countries, since how long one receives a benefit determines to a large extent how much one receives. Again, this outstanding feature of the Soviet system is barely mentioned by the story: the retirement age of 55 for women and 60 for men is the lowest in the world, and even lower for those in strenu-

*The most recent ones are *The U.S. Social Security Mission to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (Washington, D.C.: US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Social Security Administration, 1972) and Mikhail Zakharov and Robert Tsivilyov, *Social Security in the USSR* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978). Unless otherwise indicated, all references are to these two publications.

ous or dangerous occupations (thus, construction and railroad workers get pensions at 55, miners and women textile workers at 50). In West Germany, like our own country, social security retirement benefits become available for all at 65 with reduced benefits an option at 63, ages which many who have paid social security taxes throughout their working lives do not reach.

The story also suggests the superiority of the programs in West Germany and other capitalist countries on the grounds that their "old-age pensions . . . increas[e] from year to year to keep up with the cost of living," while "a Soviet pension, once set, is never increased." This is unfounded on two counts.

In the first place, there is no need for cost of living increases for pensions in the Soviet Union since the cost of living does not rise in its socially planned and controlled economy. As expressed in the 1972 report on the Soviet system by US social security experts: "Although there is no provision for automatic adjustment of benefits . . . there has been little if any price inflation in recent years so that the purchasing power of retired persons' pensions has not been adversely affected."

Since there were price increases in the Soviet Union last year, this position can be questioned. However, while the price of certain luxury items like furs and health-impairing items like alcoholic beverages were raised in 1978, this was more than balanced by the simultaneous lowering of the price of ordinary clothes, refrigerators, etc. To illustrate the actual cost of living situation in the Soviet Union: the minimal rents and utility charges have not gone up, respectively, since 1928

The superiority of the noncontributory Soviet pension, in terms of economic benefits both before and after retirement, is evident.

and 1948; the similarly subsidized low prices of meat and dairy products have not changed since 1962; and 95 per cent of food and 90 per cent of non-food items sell at the same price in 1979 as in 1970. On the other hand, during this decade the retail price index in West Germany increased by almost 100 per cent and rose even more in the US and other capitalist countries, where periodically upgraded social security benefits have only belatedly if at all kept pace with inflation.

Secondly, despite the report's assertion that Soviet pensions "once set (are) never increased," the Soviet social security system has for some years raised the level of minimum pensions for the aged (and the disabled) whenever the level of wages has risen. Making up for the absence of such a policy before then, in 1971 the minimum pension in effect since 1956 was increased 60 per cent for collective farmers and 50 per cent for all other pensioners, old as well as new. Both minimum and maximum pensions for collective farmers and the disabled were increased in 1973 and 1974 and further increases are scheduled for 1980. In addition, the

supposedly immutable Soviet pension can be raised on an individual basis. As concisely expressed in the 1972 US experts' report: "A pensioner who continues to work in a factory or office for at least two years with higher earnings [than before receiving the pension] may have his benefit recomputed."

The size of both minimum and maximum retirement benefits and their relation to the cost of living (prices) and the level of living (wages) is the accepted basis for evaluation of

The Soviet retirement age is the lowest in the world. In West Germany and the US, benefits become available at ages which many who have paid social security taxes throughout their lives do not reach.

the adequacy of any social security system's provision for the aged. The *Times* story correctly informs us that

Soviet official statistics say it takes 50 rubles a month . . . for a person to keep fed, clothed and housed. Yet the legal minimum is . . . 45 rubles a month, and millions not entitled to full pensions get even less. The maximum monthly pension is 120 rubles . . .

To begin with, who are these millions who get less than the minimum 45 ruble pension? As has been mentioned, a comparative few who have never worked receive lower "fixed pensions" (which have recently been substantially increased for the disabled of all ages). However, the largest number of aged former wage-earners who get less than the general 45 ruble minimum are collective farmers. As the story also correctly informs us (in as negative a manner as possible):

Collective farmers were not even included in the system until 1964. Now they are about a third of the total and their minimums are even lower than those of industrial workers: 28 rubles a month. . . .

The truth of the matter is that both before and after 1964 collective farmers were not part of "the" system because they have always had a separate social security system of their own. Prior to 1964 it was a form of mutual aid, subsidized by government, but primarily financed and administered by each collective farm; since then it has been a governmental system very much like that of industrial workers and other employees.

Tradition and the limited financial but greater non-financial resources of farm life combined to make the size of pensions lower and age of retirement higher for collective farmers. However, since the latter's new social security system went into effect in 1965 these differentials have been greatly reduced and will soon be totally removed. On January 1, 1968 the retirement age of collective farmers was lowered five years to the same as that of other workers. In 1971 the minimum pension for collective farmers was increased by 66 per cent, from 12 to 20 rubles. It has since been increased an additional 40 percent to 28 rubles* and by 1980 will—as the *Times* report reluctantly informs us a full column after the

last-quoted passage—be increased close to 100 per cent to equal that of other workers. That the 12 million collective farmers receiving old age pensions are "about a third" of the total of old age pensioners is not, as the story suggests, evidence of inequitable treatment but the opposite. For collective farmers constitute only one-fifth of the Soviet workforce.

More important for the story's indictment of Soviet social security than the relatively small and decreasing number of those who get less than the 45 ruble minimum is the supposedly miserable condition of the tens of millions who do get the minimum or even the almost three times larger maximum pension. Such intense suffering of the USSR's 30 million old age pensioners has escaped the notice not only of other correspondents past and present but also of the US experts who since 1958 have studied the Soviet social security system first-hand. The latter have, indeed, seen a need for improvements, including increasing the size of pensions, but have unanimously found that the system was meeting the basic needs of the population, aged and non-aged, with increasing adequacy.

In 1968 the most extensive and well-documented US study† found that "benefits are frequently inadequate":

Current Soviet pensions are equal to only a fraction of the minimum wage and to even a smaller fraction of the average wage. It is clear that pensioners on the average, are living below the standard they enjoyed before [retiring].

But it did not attribute this significant degree of inadequacy to the Soviet social security system, much less the Soviet social system. On the contrary, from a careful historical review, the study concluded:

The transformation and achievements in social welfare since 1917 represent substantial progress: the metamorphosis of a backward, punitive [tsarist] system to one that compares favorably with those in other advanced countries. That this has been achieved in the relatively short period of 50 years, in the midst of rapid industrialization and monstrously devastating social upheavals and wars, makes the transformation even more impressive.

It further concluded that:

the weaknesses that exist in the Soviet welfare system are not unique. For example, these same weaknesses exist in the United States. . . [where] social insurance provisions do not cover all people for all risks, and are often inadequate in amount or in duration, or both.

Published before the massive improvements in Soviet social security of the past decade, neither the study's then valid criticism of the level of Soviet pensions nor its even-then-questionable equation of the Soviet and US social security systems are tenable today.

During the period since 1968, both US and Soviet social

*"In addition to state pensions, the aged and disabled [collective farmers] receive an average of 300 rubles a year [from their farms]. The plots attached to their houses are plowed, firewood is delivered for the winter, the house is repaired, and food for their animals is allotted" (Oleg Laine, *People's Well-Being*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1978, p. 37).

†Bernice Q. Madison, *Social Welfare in the Soviet Union* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968).

security expenditures have greatly increased: the latter by about 150 per cent but the former by about 200 per cent. Similarly, the average size of Soviet pensions increased by about 50 per cent and US retirement benefits an average of about 100 per cent. However—disregarding the concomitant 100 per cent increase in individual US social security contributions—Soviet price stability maintained the full 50 per cent pension increase while rampant US inflation reduced the real increase in retirement benefits to about 20 per cent. The true level of benefits in each country is brought out by comparison of their relation to the level of wages and the cost of living.

While 1968 Soviet pensions were 100 per cent higher than those of 1956, the minimum 1968 pension of 30 rubles was, indeed, a substantially smaller fraction of that year's minimum and average wages than the present ratio. However, it was already a substantially larger fraction than the 1968 US minimum benefit of \$44 was of our then minimum and average wages. Presently, the USSR's 45 ruble minimum pension is about 75 per cent of their minimum wage, while the US minimum benefit of \$133 is about 25 per cent of ours. On the other hand, the present Soviet maximum pension of 120 rubles approximates 75 per cent of that country's average wage, while the US maximum benefit of \$536 comes to about 50 per cent of ours.

It can be argued that comparison of the relationship of benefits to wages in these two countries is invalid since the relatively low wage levels in the USSR do not correspond to the high ones in the US. In fact, the *Times* story seriously contends that not only the pensions of retired people but the "earnings . . . (of) the fully employed" are "clearly not enough to sustain life." For this reason, analysis of the relationship of social security benefits to the cost of living in both countries is particularly important.

Assuming that the 50 rubles a month which the *Times* report notes "Soviet official statistics say" are needed "for a person to keep fed, clothed and housed" is the Soviet "poverty level," the 45 ruble minimum amounts to 90 per cent of this. In contrast, the US minimum benefit of \$133 amounts to about 50 per cent of the official Social Security Administration's "poverty index" and 25 per cent of the Department of Labor's spartan "low income urban worker's family budget," which is more comparable to the Soviet standard.

The difference between the low but livable Soviet minimum pension and the sub-subsistence level minimum US retirement benefit is epitomized by two individual cases. The *Times* story supports its contention of the deprivational effects of the minimum Soviet pension with details about an 80-year-old Muscovite named Militsa Andreyevna who lives on this 45 rubles a month. We are told that there is "a clutter of jars and bread and cheese in her room," that her "tea is accompanied by a meager spoonful of plum jelly, a slice of bread and an inexpensive children's candy" and she is quoted as saying: "The rent is only 2.5 rubles a month," and "somehow I manage to put a little money aside for my funeral."

The AP and UPI wire services reported on July 26, 1979 that a 91 year-old Mrs. Mattie Schultz was imprisoned overnight in San Antonio for stealing \$15.04 worth of food from a supermarket. Mrs. Schultz, who had been receiving the

monthly minimum social security benefit of \$125 plus a monthly Veterans Administration widow's benefit of \$113—thereby almost doubling the social security minimum—is quoted as saying:

I have to pay \$75 a month for rent, my utility bill is about \$18 and I have medical bills. I can't buy much food, just milk and cereal. . . . I guess I just got a little desperate and a bit hungry. . . . I just pray that God will come and take me out of this world.

Evidently, the crucial difference between these two cases is not so much the amount of cash benefits received but the availability in the Soviet Union and unavailability in the United States of other social welfare programs like free health care and subsidized, price-controlled rents, utilities and food. This country's social security health insurance program for the aged (Medicare) only pays for an average of 38 per cent of the health costs of its beneficiaries, while medical assistance for the poor of all ages (Medicaid) is not available to someone with as high an income as Mrs. Schultz. Neither is the food stamp program for which she had applied.

While this country has some excellent non-profit homes for the aged, most of the institutionalized aged are in profit-making, cost-cutting nursing homes whose generally poor to atrocious care is so well-known as not to require comment—other than that it has to be paid for by the aged from their social security benefits, welfare grants or personal funds. In the USSR institutional care is provided at no cost by over 1,500 government homes for the aged (and disabled), 500 of which were built between 1966 and 1975. They have a ratio of one staff member to every three residents, including "work and activation therapists" as well as medical personnel. All residents receive the same quality of treatment and accommodations irrespective of their work records. While provided with food, clothing, medical care and other essentials, they also receive up to 25 per cent of their pensions to meet personal needs and up to an additional 50 per cent to enable them to contribute to the support of dependent members of their family. The 300,000 residents of these institutions amount to less than one per cent of the USSR's aged

The 45 ruble minimum is 90 per cent of the Soviet "poverty level." In contrast, the US minimum of \$133 is 50 per cent of the official US poverty index.

population, as compared to the well over 1,000,000 in US institutions who approximate five per cent of our aged. Part of the 400 per cent greater rate of institutionalization of the aged in this country is undoubtedly due to sociocultural differences, but most of it is the result of better provision for the Soviet aged (and non-aged), ranging from more adequate low-cost diets to free preventive and supportive as well as curative health care.

An additional important factor is the widespread availability in the Soviet Union of services for the aged and disabled in their own homes. The aged or disabled person who is unable to look after himself is provided with hot meals at home; his flat is cleaned and medical treatment provided.

Help at home is provided by medical, social security, municipal service and public catering establishments, and also by trade union and youth organizations and voluntary organizations of pensioners themselves.

Social security for the aged, however essential, is only a part of a social security system. Both the US and USSR have what we call "workmen's compensation" and they call "compensation for industrial injury and occupational disease." Workmen's compensation provides a maximum benefit of two-thirds the statewide average wage in ten states and half the average wage in most others, thereby falling below the "poverty level" in 35 states. About half the states have set time limits on benefits, even for those with permanent, total disability. About half the states allow employers the option of covering their workers with workmen's compensation and exclude small employers altogether, while two-thirds of the states do not cover agricultural and domestic workers or do not do so on the same basis as others. The Soviet program covers all workers equally and provides up to 100 per cent of the individual's wages for as long as the disability or disease prevents customary employment.

The USSR also has a "temporary disability allowance" providing 50 to 100 per cent of wages (depending on length of time employed) during absence from work due to non-work connected injury or illness, etc. Such a government program exists in the US in five states, requires employee contributions and replaces an average of about 30 per cent of lost wages after one week of disability for as short a period as 20 days. On the other hand, the US has an unemployment insurance program in every state which provides similar benefits for from 20 to 39 weeks, while the USSR has no such program—and no unemployment.

The USSR, like all other developed countries, capitalist and socialist, has two major programs which the US does not have: a children's allowance and maternity benefits. The children's allowance provides 12 rubles a month for each child in families earning 50 rubles or less; larger sums for the children of unmarried mothers irrespective of income and smaller sums for the fourth and additional children in all families regardless of income and status. The closest US

Even more significant than the obvious superiority of the Soviet Union's social security system is the direction in which they are developing.

equivalent is the disgraceful Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, which provides poor one-parent and some intact families welfare grants that average one-half the inhumanly low "poverty index." While the Soviet children's allowance program is limited in coverage and benefits compared to those of countries like Czechoslovakia, France, Norway and Poland, its maternity benefits program is unsurpassed among the 85 countries in which such programs exist.

In addition to all medical expenses and lump sum "layette" and "nursing" grants, this program provides a cash benefit equal to 100 per cent of the mother's earnings for eight weeks before and after childbirth and (beginning in 1980) a portion of her wages every week until the child is one year old. During the period she is at home, the mother's job, seniority and social security benefits are protected. In the United States, only Rhode Island provides 50 per cent of mothers' earnings for up to six weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth and New Jersey 51 to 59 per cent for up to four weeks before and after. The US Supreme Court recently ruled that women fired because of pregnancy are entitled to unemployment benefits.

Even more significant than the obvious superiority of the Soviet Union's social security system, including its principal program for the aged, to that of the United States (and the more advanced systems of capitalist countries like West Germany) is the direction in which they are developing. The limited but constant progress of US social security—from an essentially private individual retirement pension in 1935, to a

The progress of socialist social security is a manifestation of the progressive nature of socialism, just as the crisis of capitalist social security is a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism.

true social insurance program for working people and their families in 1939 and the disabled in 1956 with a mixed private-social health insurance for the aged added in 1965 accompanied by continuous expansion of coverage and liberalization of benefits—is now slowing down and in danger of being reversed. The Carter administration, after having "saved" our social security system from bankruptcy by greatly increasing the regressive tax on employees, now advocates saving it some more by reducing benefits to the disabled, widows, and dependent children and eliminating the general minimum benefits, while outgoing Secretary of Commerce Kreps suggests saving it even more by increasing the age for receiving retirement benefits to 68 or higher.

The general retrenchment in the capitalist countries is dramatized by the fact that West Germany, with the oldest and most developed capitalist social security system, has recently reduced government funding by 50 per cent.

On the other hand, the Soviet social security system and other programs and policies directly related to the social welfare of the Soviet people are continuing to expand and improve. As expressed by President Brezhnev in a 1976 policy statement:

From the estimates . . . in 1976-1990 the country will roughly double the material and financial resources it had in the preceding fifteen years. New possibilities are thereby being created for the solution of the basic socioeconomic problems. . . . This concerns, notably, a further rise of the Soviet people's well-being, an im-

provement of the conditions of their work and everyday life, and considerable progress in public health, education and culture, in fact everything that helps . . . improve the socialist way of life.

During the past fifteen years per capita real incomes have approximately doubled, while the total volume of material benefits and

The Soviet social security system is "a living example to the peoples of all countries, and the educational and revolutionizing effects of this example will be immense."

services has increased approximately 2.4 times. This gives an idea of the scale of tasks that can be set for the next fifteen years. . . .

During the next five years [1976-1980] it is planned to increase the wages of factory and office workers by 16-18 per cent, and the incomes of collective farmers from the socialized economy by 24-27 per cent. The benefits and allowances to be received by the population from the social consumption funds [for health, education and welfare, including social security] will grow by 28-30 per cent.*

So confident is the Soviet Union of the ability of its socioeconomic system to provide the benefits and allowances needed for the well-being of its population that its new Constitution adopted in 1977 unprecedentedly guarantees citizens of the USSR (along with "the right to health protection," "the right to education," "the right to housing," etc.) "the right to maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner." It actually specifies the major "forms of social security" by which this is guaranteed, from "retirement pensions" to "care for the elderly and disabled" (Article 43). That this confidence is well-founded is evidenced by the improvements in Soviet social security in the last three years, which have increased allowances for the disabled since childhood, increased children's allowances for large families, constructed more homes for the aged and disabled, provided partial wages for mother's caring for children until the age of one, etc. But most importantly in terms of the millions of people and billions of rubles involved, in 1980 the minimum pension of collective farmers will be made equal to that of other workers at a new level for all higher than the present 45 ruble minimum, in keeping with the increase since 1976 of earnings of industrial and office workers by about 12.5 per cent and of collective farmers by almost 25 per cent.

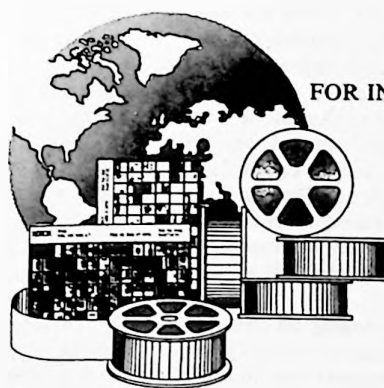
Just as the crisis of US social security reflects the general crisis of capitalist social security, the progress of Soviet social security reflects that of social security elsewhere in the socialist world. For while the oldest, largest and strongest socialist state naturally has the most well-developed and well-funded social security system, the newer socialist states from Bulgaria to Viet Nam are developing along similar

*Leonid I. Brezhnev, *Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Home and Foreign Policy* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1976), pp. 48-49. About 40 per cent of "social consumption funds" go to social security.

lines, with non-contributory,* increasingly comprehensive, constantly improving benefits and services. But ultimately, as the statement of Brezhnev quoted above brings out, the progress of socialist social security is a manifestation of the progressive nature of socialism, just as the crisis of capitalist social security is a manifestation of the general crisis of capitalism. This is why, in this period of inflation and depression as the present rulers of the capitalist countries, including our own, attempt to "adjust" their social security systems so that working people pay more and get less from them, at the very time that the expanding economies of the socialist countries are enabling them to improve their social security systems, the latter are bound to be increasingly attacked by establishment media. Despite these attacks, Lenin's observation about the USSR clearly applies also to this institution most clearly embodying socialism's dedication to fundamental human rights: the Soviet social security system is "a living example to the peoples of all countries, and the educational and revolutionizing effect of this example will be immense." □

*An exception is the contributory program of the German Democratic Republic based on its lengthy historical tradition.

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No Alternative to Peace

Russia and the United States, by Nikolai V. Sivachev and Nikolai N. Yakovlev. University of Chicago Press, 1979. 301 pp., \$12.95.

It is heartening to see a book like this one appear from a major American university press—a study by two Soviet scholars on the basic war-and-peace subject of our age, the history of US-Soviet relations. That sort of thing does not happen every day, although publication by US companies of Soviet scholarship in all areas is undeniably on the increase.

As we now observe the 62nd anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, a survey of the relations between the USA and USSR is most timely. Relations between the two countries go back, of course, to a period long before 1917, and the introductory chapter of this book discusses the fourteen decades prior to the Revolution, during which the connection had its ups and downs, but which also saw, for the most part, little cause for hostility on either side.

Of course, at the time of the Revolution things changed drastically. From the very beginning, the new Russia was treated with a mixture of patronizing contempt and ignorant, arrogant manipulative meddling, perhaps best epitomized in American Ambassador David R. Francis' demands that the Kerensky government arrest Lenin and, later, that it transfer power to General Lavr Kornilov, whose counterrevolutionary putsch "was a disappointment to Francis and the ruling circles of the United States as a whole."

Looking over the succeeding six decades, one could perhaps add that the Kornilov affair has remained a disappointment to those groups, who are now, as then, incessantly preaching their warped version of "human rights" to the world while continuing to conduct their old policies of covert intervention, political doubletalk, and economic and military blackmail, all with the unspoken assumption—accepted, fortunately, by fewer and fewer foreigners and US citizens—that the United States has a God-given right to set

others straight, because the latter are not—allegedly—competent enough to do the job for themselves.

The propaganda continues to din forth, but as Sivachev and Yakovlev remind us, the same patterns of response were evident sixty-two years ago. The vaunted "human rights" campaign with its saccharine solicitude for emigrés and "dissidents," no matter who and no matter how benighted and manipulated, was already in full swing at that time. Ignored then, as later, was the momentous, central reality of our era: that the real emigrés and dissidents are the multiplying millions intent on leaving the capitalist system forever, whether their individually customized biographies are ever published or not; the true "dissidents" are not the vastly overpublicized minority of fortune-seekers, drop-outs and assorted celebrities, whose readymade confessions of personal grievance and failure clutter the remainder shelves of the discount bookstores.

Yakovlev and Sivachev recount the story of Soviet-American diplomacy from the doomed armed intervention of the early twenties, with all its accompanying and conflicting rationalizations, through the period of the rise of fascism to recognition of the Soviet Government late in 1933, when factitious objections about alleged war debts and the extension of trade credits continued to impede artificially the development of normal relations. Then, as now, issues were made from non-issues; if they could not be found, they were created. The syndrome is perfectly symbolized in Washington's current perception of a "threat" in Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's promise to withdraw 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from Eastern Europe if no new intermediate nuclear missiles are deployed in Western Europe. It was symbolized, also, in the hoax about "Soviet combat troops" in Cuba, supposedly preparing to land on the shores of Puerto Rico or Key West. And it was symbolized also in December 1939 by a "moral embargo" on the USSR during the Soviet conflict with Mannerheim Finland, even in the shadow of the "Phony War," and as financial and material resources continued to flow from the

West to support the Axis war machinery.

The Soviet Union had concluded non-aggression pacts with a number of non-Axis states, for years, before it finally found itself compelled, in the face of interminable Anglo-French footdragging and appeasement, to conclude such a pact with Germany in August of 1939. It was not that pact that triggered World War Two, as is still occasionally claimed. If any *one* thing triggered that war, which of course was already in process with Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia and the Japanese onslaught on China, it was the very same pattern of Western gamesmanship and hypocritical maneuvering, vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, which has been played out more recently by Messrs. Kissinger and Brzezinski. There were numerous opportunities to forestall that war with collective security arrangements, but the "balance-of-power" experts in Washington and London knew better. The chapter "On the Eve of the Second World War" in this book can only make one hope against fear that a similar chapter, on a later and far more terrible disaster, will never have to be written.

The Second World War, which never had to be fought, was fought and won, principally, by the Soviet Union, which had done all it could to prevent it. Sivachev and Yakovlev's chapter on "The Battle to Save Civilization" gives its due to the Western contribution to the common effort, peripheral and dilatory as that contribution often was. The authors make it clear that geopolitical rather than humanitarian concerns were paramount with the Western policy-makers, and that Soviet military power, throughout the war, was, in the Far East, as in the European theater, relied on as a means for the advancement of specifically Western strategy, just as Kerensky's troops, incidentally, had been analogously relied on during the earlier war. The American planners had assimilated the "theory of Giulio Douhet, formulated at the very beginning of the 1920's, that strategic bombing played the decisive role in the attainment of victory." That, of course, had as its corollary the aim of having the Red Army do as much of the fighting on the ground as possible, since air superiority could, presumably, enable its wielders to clean up later. But things did not work out so smoothly. The allies, particularly the British and Americans, had to scramble to be in any kind of favorable strategic position at war's end. Two crucial years' delay of the often promised second front had not paid off.

And what about Lend-Lease assistance to the USSR, in the aggregate amount of about \$10 billion? Well, "from the United States (together with deliveries from Britain) there were received 9,600 pieces of ordnance, 18,700 planes, and 10,800 tanks, which constituted 5, 12, and 10 per cent, respectively, of the production of these kinds of military

equipment in the USSR. In addition, the United States sent the USSR raw materials, foodstuffs, and means of transportation. Lend-Lease was a definite help to the Soviet people during the war years. Its total volume constituted about four per cent of gross Soviet production in the years 1941-45." But the Soviet Union was knocking the stuffings out of over two hundred and thirty Nazi and Nazi-satellite divisions on the Eastern Front during most of the war, while the other major allies were dealing with, at the most, two or three dozen divisions.

The story of who won the war is clear, no less clear than who was responsible for it. But the story of who won, or lost, the peace that followed is still inconclusive. It is one of the major marvels of our epoch that those who so noisily compliment themselves on the efficiency and practical expertise of their economic system should have wasted the assets and lives of mankind with such ruinous and unprecedented abandon. As we listen to

the daily din about a new Soviet "Cuban troop" threat and Warsaw Pact military superiority from the Drew Middletons and the Bernard Gwertzmans, with their CIA- and Brzezinski-inspired handouts, let us not forget who lost the peace and who won the war the last time around. And let us never forget the most important strategic and military equation of all: socialism and human liberation cannot be suppressed with more armaments, and capitalism cannot be sustained by them. Those who seem increasingly incapable of controlling their own economy are in no position to control the world and its future development.

Clearly the only realistic alternative is that of peaceful coexistence, a mainstay of Soviet foreign policy since the autumn days of 1917. As authors Sivachev and Yakovlev conclude, "The USSR and the United States are nations with opposite socioeconomic systems. It is not a question of concentrating on the differences—we, the Soviet people,

could say many things about conditions in the United States—but rather a question of learning to live in peace on one planet the dimensions of which are being steadily and rapidly reduced by scientific and technical progress."

"The advocates of each of the two contending systems are convinced their own social and economic system best serves the cause of all mankind. . . . Clearly, each country sets great store by its achievement and can say a great deal about the other's shortcomings and failures. But it is essential they should prove their point by material progress; it will take a long time until the world can see which side is correct."

DAVID B. BUEHRENS

DAVID B. BUEHRENS, former Editorial Associate of NWR, is currently a doctoral candidate in American Literature at the City University of New York.

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Cities Speak Out

(Continued from page 7)

II for the following reasons:

1. It will enhance prospects for sustained world peace,
2. It will substantially improve United States security,
3. It will contribute to continued detente which allows the US to compete peacefully with the Soviet Union,
4. It will contribute to increased control over development of nuclear weapons,
5. It will help restrain proliferation of nuclear weapons among other nations,
6. Continued negotiations to further control nuclear weaponry would be difficult if not impossible if after seven years of negotiation, SALT II should be rejected,
7. The American Joint Chiefs of Staff urge adoption of

the treaty,

8. SALT II gives the United States guaranteed means for monitoring what the Soviets do with their nuclear weaponry.

Whereas, if SALT II is rejected and the Soviets continue their buildup to 3,000 nuclear devices, it will cost the United States \$30 billion annually to keep peace, and

Whereas, it is hoped that with limitations on strategic arms, the United States will be able to divert its resources in greater proportions to the social needs of our nation, and

Whereas, it is important for the President to be able to show the Soviets when he meets with Brezhnev at Geneva later this month, that the American people want peace with the limitation of nuclear weaponry, now

Be it resolved that the City Council of Chicago wishes President Carter success in his negotiations for a strategic arms limitation treaty, and memorializes the United States Senate to ratify SALT II after full debate. □

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