

# NEW WORLD REVIEW

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Ethiopia  
Southern Africa  
The Soviet Peace Movement  
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in the Third World



A shift for the better in US-USSR relations has now become a matter of the highest urgency. Four years of Ronald Reagan's policy of seeking nuclear superiority has endangered the international situation in a way and to a degree without precedent. It has brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

The ominous undertakings of the Reagan administration have heightened the concerns of the pro-peace forces in the world, and compelled them to respond in a number of appropriate ways.

The anti-nuclear movement has swelled in size in many parts of the world. In Western Europe and the US it has become a mass movement. It has expressed unswerving opposition to the Reaganite policy of nuclear superiority and to the deployment of new US first-strike weapons against the Soviet Union.

The USSR has consistently objected to the Reagan administration's nuclear policy and has pressed for negotiations and agreements to limit nuclear arms. Frustrated in these endeavors, it responded by escalating its own preparedness for retaliatory nuclear action.

The USSR has continued to call upon the US for genuine cooperation to reduce the nuclear danger. Time and again it has stated that in this regard it would judge US policy on the basis of "practical deeds" and not "peace" rhetoric.

The USSR's emphasis on "practical deeds" is justified. The Reagan administration began its deployment in Europe of new first strike weapons aimed at the Soviet Union while verbally professing its readiness for "reduction talks."

In mid-October, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko once again urged the US administration to take "practical" steps to reduce the nuclear danger and improve US-Soviet relations. He outlined proposals to that effect in an interview with a *Washington Post* correspondent.

Chernenko's proposals emphasized the need for negotiations and agreements on the following:

- Prevention of militarization of space, including renunciation of anti-satellite systems and a moratorium on testing and deployment of space weapons;
- A quantitative and qualitative freeze of all nuclear weapons including delivery vehicles and nuclear warheads;
- Prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, an initial move toward which would be US ratification of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-American treaties limiting underground nuclear explosions;
- A pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The fulfillment of these proposals is the most realistic way of reducing the danger of nuclear disaster.

An undertaking to ban the militarization of space would forestall a possibly irreversible threat of global annihilation. It would prevent the extension of the arms race to the heavens, where the weapons may even be beyond our effective control.

A freeze of nuclear weapons, both quantitative and qualitative, would mean practically halting the arms race. It would also create a situation favorable to the conclusion of further agreements on disarmament.

Prohibiting nuclear weapons tests would also put brakes on the arms race by halting efforts to improve and upgrade weapons.

A pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is crucially important. It would practically prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by design.

The most recent Soviet proposals are consistent with the USSR's long-standing position in each of these areas. The Reagan administration, on the other hand, has consistently and determinedly undermined all efforts to realize these purposes.

A shift for the better in US-Soviet relations is imperative for world peace and for the survival of life on this planet.

It is time—and long past time—for those responsible for US foreign policy to turn over a new leaf.

T.M.

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DESIGN: THREE TO MAKE READY GRAPHICS

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Cover: *Elementary school children in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Photo by Eastfoto.*



## Economic Summit Stresses Growth, Peace

The member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) held an Economic Summit Conference, June 12-14, in Moscow.

CMEA was founded in 1949. It now has a membership of ten socialist states: Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Mongolia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union.

Ever since the establishment of the Council these states have made tremendous achievements in socio-economic development. In many areas they have even surpassed the industrialized capitalist states. Between 1950 and 1983 their industrial production rose by 14 times while "that of the advanced capitalist states rose by only 3.8 times." Today they account for "one third of the world's industrial and scientific output" and "a quarter of the world's national income."

The Moscow Summit noted the growth of the CMEA countries' economies, their progress in science and technology, the rise in their cultural standard and in the well-being of their peoples, the advance towards equality in their levels of economic development, and the high level of mutual assistance and "joint solution of problems."

The Conference also focused on the tasks and challenges ahead. It resolved to expand and raise the links between the CMEA States. It gave particular attention to the problems posed by the internal and external conditions which arose in recent years.

The Conference emphasized ways to intensify the socioeconomic development of the member states. This would help, among other things, to consolidate the material and technical base of socialist society and to raise the standard of living.

The Conference's decisions stressed "the need to take urgent steps toward ensuring the normal development of political and economic relations in the world." They affirmed CMEA's policy of continued support for the developing states in their effort to boost the growth of their national economies and strengthen their economic independence.

The participants noted that the escalation of the arms race obstructs the growth of economic development and endangers the lives of all peoples on earth. It reaffirmed the conviction of the CMEA states that the halting of the arms race and the undertaking of gradual disarmament are "major conditions" for preserving peace and improving the world economic situation.

The conference emphasized that the deterioration of the international situation resulted from the militarist and aggressive policies of the capitalist powers led by the USA. It characterized the Reagan administration's "Star Wars" program as "basically new" and a "hitherto unseen stage of the arms race." □

## News Briefs

### US Trade Policy Annoys European "Allies"

Washington's efforts to tighten restrictions on Western European trade with the socialist states has annoyed our European allies, according to *The New York Times* of August 11. Of particular concern in this respect is the indication that the US would "consider" increasing the restrictions on the "transfer of technology" pertaining to computers, telephone systems, and military equipment.

Among the European states which resent US moves to impose restrictions on their trade are West Germany, Austria, and France. They deem these moves an attack upon their sovereignty and damaging to their trade interests.

In Belgium, where the government acceded to the demands of Washington and agreed not to send computer-controlled lathes to the USSR, a "crisis" has developed. The

government is being denounced by prominent political and commercial groups for giving in to the demands of the US at the expense of the Belgian economy.

### Pentagon Money Bankrupts States

A study conducted on the expenditures of the Pentagon reveals that the Reagan administration "has hurt the economy by increasing the military budget." The study was prepared by Employment Research Associates, a consulting firm in Lansing, Michigan.

As reported in *The New York Times* of August 14, the study shows the Pentagon, which continues to receive huge sums of tax dollars, has spent money only in a few states. Of the 435 Congressional districts in the country as many as 320 have "registered losses" in tax money allocated to the Pentagon. This figure is higher than that of 1980 which was 302.

Among the biggest losers were Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. California made the largest net gain, which in the fiscal year of 1983 was \$9.8 billion. Virginia, which is the home of the Pentagon itself, made the second biggest gain—\$8.6 billion.

According to Prof. James R. Anderson, who conducted the study, the Reagan administration's emphasis on new weapons is responsible for military expenditures in fewer districts.

Prof. Anderson stated that 40 per cent of the Pentagon budget is spent on strategic weapons, ships, tanks, and aircraft. He noted that this policy has bankrupted the country. It has "diverted resources" from the industries, which are badly in need of capital. It has increased the federal deficit, which is rising by \$500 million a day. It has also sustained the high level of interest rates.

Prof. Anderson emphasized that "militarization and financial stability are not easily made compatible."

## Declare the South Pacific A Nuclear-Free Zone

Leaders of 14 Southwest Pacific States held a forum in which they agreed that the region become a nuclear-free zone. As reported in *The New York Times* (August 28) the leaders of these states will set up a "working party of officials" who would prepare a draft treaty on declaring the region nuclear-free.

The leaders agreed however that it is the prerogative of every state in the region whether or not to accept nuclear-powered ships into its ports.



## CIA Intervention In Elections Abroad

The CIA has a long history of intervention in the electoral process of other countries, according to *The New York Times* of May 13. Its contribution of over \$1.4 million to the

Christian Democratic Party and the National Conciliation Party in El Salvador is the latest example of such an intervention.

Such intervention began in the late 1940s when the CIA's Office of Policy Co-ordination funded some labor and political organizations in Western Europe, which were meant "to serve as alternatives to Soviet- or Communist-inspired groups."

In Italy, the CIA subsidized the Christian Democratic Party after World War II. In Greece it financed various political figures and until 1967 supported King Constantine to weaken the Liberal Center Union Party. In Chile too, the CIA supported "liberal" politicians or candidates. In the elections of 1964 it provided \$3 million to the Christian Democrat candidate, Eduardo Frei Montava, who then defeated the progressive candidate, Salvador Allende Gossens. In the 1970 elections Allende won though the CIA went to great expense to discredit him.

In South Vietnam the CIA heavily interfered in the elections. In the 1971 elections it spent millions of dollars in support of Nguyen Van Thieu.

In 1976 CIA electoral and other interventions were the subject of enquiry by a Senate Select Committee chaired by the late Frank Church.

## Reagan Administration Seeks to Obstruct UN Functions

The US administration has made several attempts to eliminate the activities of some international organizations which are not to its liking: for example, pro-disarmament, anti-colonial, or anti-apartheid forums and statements by UNESCO. Between 1977-80, it abstained from the work of the International Labor Organization (ILO). And now the Reagan administration has stated it will withdraw from UNESCO.

The US has frequently threatened to reduce its financial contributions to international organizations. In September 1983 the US Senate sought an amendment whereby the UN contribution to the UN was to be reduced by 21 per cent beginning the 1st of October of that year and by a further 10 per cent annually thereafter for three years.

Far from incurring financial losses, the US actually profits from housing the UN headquarters. In 1983 the New York City Commission revealed that the city's receipts from the UN and diplomatic missions totalled \$700 million a year. The US contribution to the UN in 1983 was only \$171 million.

Propaganda statements about "exorbitant" US expenses for UN activities accompany Washington's threat to cut contributions. Such statements are totally baseless.

## USSR Introduces Universal Health Exams

The USSR is completing preparations for general prophylactic medical examination of the population.

Different specialists will examine each citizen at least once a year. Different tests will be made including those in-

volving the use of modern instruments which can help to reveal diseases at their earliest stages.

On the basis of the prophylactic examination the population will be grouped into (1) "patients" who have already shown symptoms of disease and need specialized treatment; (2) those who are predisposed to certain diseases and thus need observations and health-building therapeutic treatment; (3) and the healthy people, who will get constant advice on diet, physical exercise, etc. to sustain their health.

Today Soviet health service has enough material and technical basis and sufficient personnel to implement such a project, which is unprecedented anywhere. In the USSR, which has a population of 275 million, there are over 40 doctors and over 130 hospital beds for every 10,000 people. There are about 60,000 medical and prophylactic establishments, located in various parts of the country. These establishments have about 6 million medical workers.

## Jewish Ensemble Triumphs In Moscow

An ensemble from Birobidzhan, the administrative center of the Jewish Autonomous Region in the Soviet Far East, has been a success in Moscow.

The Freilechs, as the ensemble is called, was established three years ago. It has been working to produce modern interpretations of the wealth of folk songs in Yiddish.

## Reagan Moves To Cut Rescue Funds

It was reported in early September that the US Office of Management and Budget intends to cut by at least 50 per cent funds for international programs for rescuing ships and planes in distress.

Instead, the Reagan administration increases funds to escalate the nuclear danger. It favors hiking the military budget for dangerous projects, including the development of killer satellites, lasers and other space weapons.

# Opinions of Note

## Futile Competition

... Our monopoly on the atom bomb was short-lived. The decision to proceed with a hydrogen bomb soon led the other side to develop its own thermonuclear counterpart.

Most recently, the cruise missile program of the 1970s has spurred the Soviet military to a similar effort. Although we are still ahead in cruise missile technology, the Russians are rapidly closing the gap in both land-based and sea-launched cruise missiles.

One does not have to embrace unilateral disarmament to comprehend the futility of this kind of competition. It does not lead to greater security. . . .

We have arrived at a moment in history where a miscalculation in the arms race could have profound consequences. The question is: Are we willing to be students of history or are we simply going to relive our past mistakes?

John B. Anderson

former Republican representative from Illinois  
*The New York Times*, August 28, 1984

## Living with Differences

We must understand that we may well live, and quite possibly will live, with . . . differences for a long time. This may be unpleasant but not lethal. But if we try to break down the process of détente, of disarmament and of building normal relations among nations on these grounds, this may turn out to be both unpleasant and lethal.

... Of course, we do not like much of what the USA is doing in the world and of what is being done in the USA itself. And many Americans don't like much of what we do.





But if everything in the world were done to everyone's liking and if a complete idyll reigned supreme in all things, then probably there would be no need today to speak about disarmament or about building some new international relations.

Georgi Arbatov  
Director, Institute for the Study of  
the USA and Canada  
*Moscow News*, No. 35, 1984

## Sovlets Talk about Peace

Everywhere I went in the Soviet Union, people talked about their desire for peace. I found the Russians to have fear of the West. Twice within this century, the Russian people have suffered the terrible consequences of war. You can hardly be in any meeting without being reminded that they lost 20 million people in World War II. Hardly a family escaped. One Orthodox archbishop asked me to convey his personal concerns about the arms race to President Reagan.

The Rev. Billy Graham  
US Evangelist  
*U.S. News & World Report*, October 8, 1984

## Half a Policy

In her speech to the Republican National Convention, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick outlined half a foreign policy—the peace through strength half. . . .

She ignores nuclear arms control, dialogue and negotiations with the Soviets, allied views of East-West relations and the necessity of coexistence. She seems unaware that the East, too, will pursue a policy of peace through strength and that the result will be an increasingly dangerous arms race.

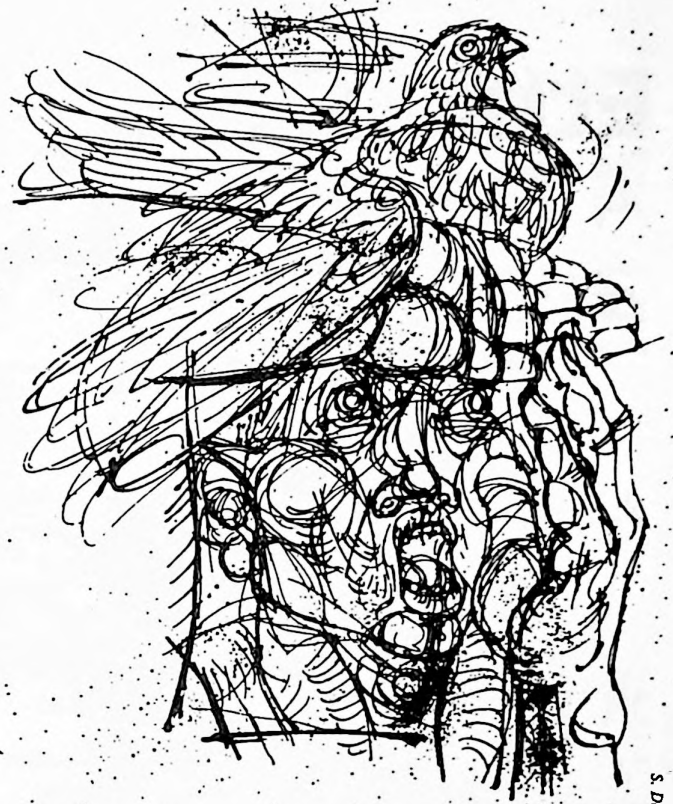
David Linebaugh  
Former Deputy Assistant Director,  
US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency;  
Member of the Committee  
for National Security  
*The New York Times*, September 7, 1984

## Reagan Off the Record

. . . *I just signed legislation which  
outlaws Russia forever.* . . .

Not even his worst enemy would seriously claim that President Reagan would think, on reflection, that bombing the Russians is a joking matter. But what gives pause is that he would make such an idiotic statement without reflection. That is the key to the alarm felt in every corner of the globe as a result of Mr. Reagan's offhand (and theoretically off-the-record) comment.

If this kind of remark could spring from him on the spur of the moment, what kind of reaction could be expected of him in a real crisis where decisions affecting the survival of the world might have to be made in a matter of minutes?



S. Diller

What confidence can the American public have in a man of such shallow, rash and superficial judgment, especially one who has given increasing evidence in recent months of a growing inability to cope with the realities of domestic and foreign policy?

John B. Oakes  
Former Senior Editor of *The New York Times*  
*The New York Times*, August 18, 1984

## Chauvinism Is not Patriotism

. . . to have power in a nuclear world, in a world where modern communications networks lead to ever-rising expectations everywhere demands more than a flag-waving use of troops and economic might; more than a self-preoccupied desire for even greater power and riches, even at the expense of everyone else. It demands sensitivity to the perspectives of all nations. To use power humbly and compassionately, to see ourselves as others see us, and to see others as they would like to be seen, is not only noble and just—it is smart.

Narrow-minded, self-seeking patriotism or chauvinism will undermine a nation, leading it into actions that alienate and embitter others—and in the end, isolating it and threatening its own prosperity and security. Policies that accomplish these ends hardly can be called patriotic.

James L. Huffman  
Associate Professor of History  
Wittenberg College  
*The New York Times*, August 31, 1984

# Ethiopia: *A Decade of Struggles and Revolutionary Changes*

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By Tsefatsion Medhanie

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## *Part I*

**M**any observers agree that in the last decade Ethiopia has experienced "the most profound social revolution" in contemporary Africa. The country has been going through successive phases of fundamental change which culminated in the inauguration of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) in September.

The Ethiopian revolution has been the object of vicious propaganda orchestrated by neocolonial powers in the West, rightwing states in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, and disgruntled Ethiopian groups in exile.

The enemies of the revolution have pinned various labels on the new régime in Addis Ababa depicting it as anything but progressive and popular: "fascist," "neo-imperialist," "Bonapartist," or even "garrison socialist." Some also allege that a "revolution" has been "betrayed" in Ethiopia, thereby suggesting that the new régime played a pre-emptive or even a counter-revolutionary role.

The working people of Ethiopia appreciate the progressive character of the change which has taken place in their ancient land; at the same time, they are also aware of the problems attending this change. Reflecting this attitude, an Ethiopian academician described what occurred in his country as a "genuine people's revolution with genuine problems and genuine objectives." (Negussay Ayele, 'The Ethiopian Revolution - Seven Years Young', in *Journal of African Marxists*, Issue 3, Jan. 1983).

The accuracy of this description is borne out by the situation in Ethiopia today. Ten years after overthrowing Haile-sellassie and the Solomonic Dynasty, Ethiopia inaugurated the formation of a party of working people, which is a landmark in the country's genuine march towards socialism. Indeed, the revolution has achieved highly significant economic and social gains.

Nonetheless, ten years after launching the national democratic revolution, Ethiopia is grappling with some serious problems, not only economic, but also political and in a sense ideological. These problems are the legacies of Haile-sellassie.

Some were perhaps exacerbated by the process through which the revolution developed.

## **Haile-sellassie's Ethiopia**

Ethiopia is situated at the crossroads of Asia and Africa, in the region now commonly known as the Horn of Africa. It is close to the oil-rich areas of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf.

Next to the Sudan, Ethiopia is the largest state in the Horn of Africa. With over 30 million people, it is the most populous.

Ethiopia is a mosaic of nationalities speaking more than fifty different languages. Sizable among the nationalities are the Oromo, Amhara, Tigreans, Somali, Afar, Wollamo and Gurage.

The Tigreans and the Amharas had formed the core of historic Ethiopia (Abyssinia). The other nationalities, particularly those in the southwestern, southern and eastern peripheries, were conquered by Amhara feudalists under Emperor Menelik at the turn of the century.

The conquered nationalities were victimized by a system of tenancy which reduced their situation to virtual serfdom. They were subjected to the political domination of the Amhara aristocrats and precluded from pursuing social, cultural and other aspects of their national development.

On the eve of the anti-monarchic revolution in 1974, Haile-sellassie's Ethiopia was among the world's least developed countries. Its annual per capita income was a meager 80 US dollars. Its infrastructure was poorly developed, displaying a few thousand miles of all-weather roads and a few hundred miles of railway. Its literacy rate was estimated to be 7 per cent. Public health facilities were very scanty, ill equipped and inaccessible to most people. There was one doctor for 750,000 people; half the doctors were concentrated in the capital, Addis Ababa.

The class composition of Haile-sellassie's Ethiopia was typical of a feudo-bourgeois society. At the apex of the structure were the big landowners: the royal family, the nobility, the top echelons of the bureaucracy including the military, and the Ethiopian Orthodox church which was the state religion. Closely related to these were the comprador bourgeoisie acting as agents of foreign capital, and the incipient national bourgeoisie engaged in industrial, commercial and



agricultural enterprises within the framework of the Ethiopian economy itself.

Several groups constituted the middle stratum or the petty bourgeoisie. These included small traders, small producers, teachers, other intellectuals occupying middle level positions in the state and private bureaucracies, and army officers of lower and middle ranks.

At the bottom of the pyramid were the peasants and workers. These were the most exploited and impoverished of social groups. The peasantry comprised about 90 per cent of the population. The small working class was not fully developed and was closely tied to the countryside.

Haileselassie's régime ruled with an iron hand. It suppressed democratic rights and freedoms. It forbade political opposition groups and political parties in general. It jailed progressive opponents and shot demonstrators to death.

From the late 1940s Ethiopia was a US client state. It joined the "Crusade against Communism" and even sent a battalion to fight on the US side in the Korean War. It became the seat of US military bases, intelligence organizations and centers of disinformation.

The US installed the Kagnew military base at Asmara, and the naval base at Massawa. These were used for military and intelligence purposes, including eavesdropping on the

national liberation movements in the region.

Haileselassie's Ethiopia was the largest recipient of US military "aid" in Africa. It played a considerable role in support of Washington's strategy on the continent. It served in the effort to blunt the anti-imperialist character of Africa's national liberation struggles. In 1960 it contributed substantial military personnel to the UN force" in the Congo, which, contrary to the Security Council resolution, was used by the US and its collaborators to overthrow the legitimate government of Patrice Lumumba.

Ethiopia's role in Africa was facilitated by several factors. The main ones were that Haileselassie was a venerated figure who wielded considerable influence on the continent, and that the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa, was the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

Haileselassie's régime was also supportive of US policy in the Middle East. It worked closely with the government of Israel and with that of the Shah of Iran.

Ethiopia was a haven for US and other western corporations which exploited its natural resources and human labor. The laws sustained an "investment climate" most conducive to the plunderous interests of those corporations.

Haileselassie's rule was not always unchallenged. In

*Women from Addis Ababa in a literacy class.*



East/ero

1960 a group of army officers attempted a coup d'état when the emperor was on an official visit in Brazil. Their movement was quashed by elements of the armed forces loyal to Haileselassie.

Throughout the 1960s and in the early 1970s opposition to the emperor and the monarchy in general slowly gained momentum. Some of the growing opposition groups were radical and even professed "socialism".

The main exponents of radical or socialist political ideas were students inside the country and abroad, and after 1970, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in the north.

Since the early 1960s, the students had been the most vocal exponents of progressive demands in Ethiopia. They agitated for an end to feudal exploitation and of the oppression of nationalities. They demanded democratic rights for all people and the liberation of Ethiopia from imperialist control.

The students had been increasingly using Marxist phraseology and Maoist slogans in their protests; but on the whole, even by 1974 they were far from being well-grounded in the theory of scientific socialism, despite the presence of a few elements, particularly among the students in Europe, who were well exposed to Marxism-Leninism.

In the northern region of Eritrea an armed movement for independence had been going on since 1961. In this movement the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) had developed into an anti-imperialist organization. In 1971 it held its first national congress and issued a program which defined US imperialism and Haileselassie's occupation forces as the targets of the Eritrean revolution.

These developments in the ELF further inspired Ethiopian students and other groups to denounce the government of Haileselassie. But their ideological impact in Ethiopia was negligible.

### The Anti-Monarchic Revolution

Early 1974 witnessed waves of popular uprisings in various parts of the country. Basically these were symptoms of popular discontent with the injustice of Ethiopia's socio-economic system which, by the early 1970s, plagued not only the peasantry but also most of the urban social groups as well.

These uprisings were precipitated by several factors, of which the most important were: famine, which killed about 200,000 people in Wollo province alone; escalation in the price of gasoline and other commodities; deterioration in the living conditions of the army and others in the middle and lower strata; overwhelming unemployment in the cities; and the threat by the government to introduce some educational "reforms," including payment of tuition for university education.

The February strike by taxi drivers in Addis Ababa "triggered off an avalanche of political change" in the country. The army divisions in various parts of the country mutinied, posing demands which at first were essentially economic. In due course the various army divisions coordinated their demands which became increasingly political in content.

Massive protests and demands by various sectors of the urban population followed the army mutinies. Teachers, students, workers, and Moslems demanding an end to discrimination demonstrated in the cities, sending shockwaves through the tottering régime.

The civilian groups voicing their respective economic



Women learning the alphabet in contemporary Ethiopia.

concerns and supporting the general political demands, including the students and other intelligentsia, were inexperienced. They certainly were not ready to lead a revolution. They had not even worked out the necessary alliances and organization to overthrow the status quo and seize state power.

The military too, particularly those in lower and middle ranks, were politically inexperienced. But they could be easily organized and possessed the physical might to topple the *ancien régime* and seize control.

As the civilian uprisings against the régime heightened, the lower sections of the army became not only more political in their demands but also increasingly organized on the national level. As the leadership of the highest form of this organization there emerged the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and Territorial Army (Derg) which, with its motto *Ethiopia Tikdem* (Ethiopia first), galvanized the movement against the aristocracy. The stage was set for rapid events in this hitherto stagnant society.

As the climax of the events Haileselassie was deposed on September 12, 1974 and the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) took over as the ruling body in Ethiopia.

### Ethiopia Takes the Socialist Road

At the time of the revolution, there was no sign of the existence of a Marxist or Marxist-oriented group in the Ethiopian military. There is no evidence that such a group existed even within the Derg.

There was, however, a radical group in the Derg, some of whose members are said to have been anti-capitalist. Prominent among these was Mengistu Hailemariam, the present chairman of the PMAC and Secretary General of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

Soon after seizing state power the radical wing of the Derg gravitated toward socialistic notions of change. The first phase in this development was the declaration of Ethiopian socialism or *Hebretessebawinet*.

*Hebretessebawinet* was not based on the theory of scien-

tific socialism. It was a socialistic postulate — a blend of egalitarian and moral principles conceived primarily in the cause of patriotism and democracy. It enunciated five basic concepts: equality, self-reliance, dignity of labor, primacy of social interest and territorial integrity.

This is not to underrate the significance of *Hebretessebawinet* in the ideological growth of the new régime. Though essentially utopian and idealist, there is no doubt that it represented the burgeoning of socialist ideas in the PMAC.

In April 1976 the PMAC issued the program of National Democratic Revolution. The program declared, among other things, the adoption of scientific socialism as the guiding ideology of revolutionary Ethiopia.

Several domestic and international factors helped to speed up the process by which scientific socialism came to be embraced by the PMAC:

- Some Ethiopian Marxist intellectuals, particularly those affiliated with the All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement (MEISON), which was then in league with the PMAC, played a significant role. They in effect became the main political advisors to the military leaders. In fact, some among them were the actual drafters of the NDR program. (MEISON, which was led by the French-educated Haile Fida, originated as an organization of students in Western Europe.)

- To some extent the socialist community had its influence in speeding up this ideological growth. The PMAC had already been engaged in a moderate rapprochement with the socialist world.

- The ultra-left detractors of the PMAC contributed to this development in their own way. They purported to challenge the Marxist credentials of the military administration. They perhaps encouraged the PMAC to examine its notions of socialism, and to discard *Hebretessebawinet* in favor of scientific socialism.

The NDR program heralded the development of Ethiopia according to a socialist orientation. It stated the central task of the revolution thus:

To completely abolish feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism in Ethiopia and with the united front of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces to build a new Ethiopia and lay a strong foundation for the transition to socialism.

According to the program, the political objective of the revolution was the establishment of a People's Democratic Republic, to be led by the alliance of workers and peasants organized in a working class party.

Among other provisions, it proclaimed the right of nationalities to self-determination, which it defined in effect as the right to autonomy. It affirmed the right of the nationalities to pursue their economic and cultural development, and to promote the use of their languages.

### Events of 1977: Termination of Neocolonial Ties

In 1977 Ethiopia terminated subservient relations with the US. The PMAC ordered the closure of all US bases, installations and institutions in the country.

These steps were taken following the assumption of PMAC's chairmanship by Lt. Col. Mengistu Hailemariam.

While the PMAC was proceeding to terminate neocolonial ties with the US, it cultivated friendly and cooperative relations with the socialist community. In May 1977 a delegation led by Mengistu Hailemariam visited the USSR and held talks with Soviet leaders. On this occasion a "Declara-

tion on the Foundations of Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between the USSR and Ethiopia" was signed. In addition, a protocol stipulating Soviet-Ethiopian economic and technical cooperation and a communiqué expressing the support of the Soviet people and government for the Ethiopian revolution were also signed.

Soon after, Ethiopia began to receive concrete assistance from the socialist community. The most important and timely of the assistance was the supply of military hardware, which Ethiopia's erstwhile supplier, the US, had refused to provide.

### Imperialism Targets Ethiopia

The US and its allies were startled by what they saw as a clear indication of Ethiopia proceeding to become truly anti-imperialist, allied with the socialist community and the movements of national liberation. Following the ascendance of Mengistu Hailemariam to the chairmanship of the PMAC in February 1977, the US administration of Jimmy Carter began accusing the Ethiopian régime of "human rights" violations and terminated military aid and supplies.

## Ethiopia Steps Up Relief Campaign

The Ethiopian government has stepped up efforts to alleviate the famine problem now threatening almost 7 million lives. This was stated in a UNICEF press release issued on the 12th of October.

According to the press release the Ethiopian government has established a "special committee" to deal with the situation. It has put an "increased amount of its own resources" towards the emergency requirements. It has bought and distributed a total of about 160,000 tons of grain covering the transportation cost to the Ethiopian ports as well as to the relief centers inside the country. It has put 50 military trucks—and plans to put more—at the service of the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) for transport of the food aid.

The government has appealed to the United Nations and other international organizations, and to governments and non-governmental agencies for urgent aid supply. In this connection, Ethiopia's Chief Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation, Dawit Woldegiorgis, arrived in the US towards the end of October.

In recent weeks the Western media have given increased publicity to the famine situation in Ethiopia. There has also been a larger pledge of contributions from private organizations and governments including the US.

It is to be recalled that the Reagan administration deliberately obstructed pledges and the supply of sufficient aid to Ethiopia because the latter has chosen the socialist path or is "allied with the Soviet Union". (*The New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1984). The administration had made various charges the main of which were that the Ethiopian government was "not especially interested" in dealing with the problem and that it diverted the food aid to military campaigns.

Truly concerned observers have actually lauded the relief efforts of the Ethiopian government. As reported in *The New York Times* of October 26, "private relief workers say Ethiopia actually has one of the best famine response programs in Africa."

The Carter administration targeted Ethiopia for subversion on the pretext of "challenging the Soviet Union." It took several interrelated steps aimed at weakening the PMAC





*Tens of thousands of Ethiopians welcomed Cuban leader Fidel Castro when he arrived in Addis Ababa on September 12, 1978. With him is Lt. Col. Mengistu Hailemariam, PMAC chairman.*

and derailing the Ethiopian revolution. It provided support to counter-revolutionary movements like the so-called Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU). Through its surrogates in the region it acted to strengthen the incipient "nationalist" movements in various parts of the country. It maximized efforts to gain full control of the Eritrean movement and utilize it to undermine the "Soviet presence" in Ethiopia. It also made concerted efforts to woo the Somali government (ostensibly socialist-oriented) away from the socialist community and line it up with the rightwing states in the region.

In the middle of 1977 the Somali régime of Siad Barre invaded and occupied a big chunk of Ethiopian territory. With the assistance of the socialist community Ethiopia finally repulsed the invasion in early 1978.

Of particular note in this regard was the assistance rendered by socialist Cuba, which sent military personnel to fight on the side of the Ethiopian revolution in the Ogaden War. A few gallant Cubans gave their lives in that historic episode of internationalist solidarity.

In spite of Somalia's humiliation Washington's attempts to pressure Ethiopia continued. These intensified following the announcement of the so-called Carter Doctrine, and again after Ronald Reagan came to the White House in 1981.

### **The Carter Doctrine and Reagan's Policy**

The Carter Doctrine, announced following the victory of the Iranian Revolution and the frustration of counter-revolutionary plots in Afghanistan, aimed to increase the measures for combating the growing socialist influence and anti-imperialism (dubbed "Soviet threat") in the general area.

Applied to the Horn of Africa, the doctrine meant desta-

bilizing the situation in Ethiopia and undermining its government. For this purpose it called for support to the anti-Soviet "nationalist" movements in the country, increase of the military assistance to right-wing states in the region, and installing new military bases and upgrading old ones in the area.

Reagan's policy toward Ethiopia was a modest intensification of the Carter Doctrine. It was firmly anchored in the concept of linkage and sought to destabilize Ethiopia as a means for combating the "evil empire" — the Soviet Union.

The Reagan administration maximized support to the anti-Soviet "nationalist" movements in Ethiopia. It practically encircled Ethiopia with a myriad of military bases. Such bases are installed in Berbera (Somalia), Mombasa (Kenya), in the Sudan, Egypt, and in the Persian Gulf ministate of Oman. They are all part of the mobile intervention force whose main center in the region is the US base on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia.

The policy of the US and its allies aimed at draining the resources and energy of Ethiopia in wars. It sought to compel the government to concentrate solely on military operations, and thereby frustrate the prospect of socialist-oriented development.

Despite imperialism's efforts, revolutionary Ethiopia has scored remarkable achievements in social and economic reforms as well. □

*Part II of this article, to appear in the November-December issue, will highlight the achievements of the first decade of the Ethiopian revolution, and the role played by Ethiopia's relations with the socialist community, especially with the USSR. It will also touch on some of Ethiopia's problems, including the problem of nationalities.*

# What Lies Behind the Non-Aggression Pact And the Disengagement Agreement?

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By Bernard Magubane

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**T**rying to understand recent developments in Southern Africa is not an easy task. All too often the daily, weekly, monthly and even yearly events tend to obscure overall trends. Moreover, the facts on which to base our conclusions are slim, since diplomatic discussions are carried on in private.

In surveying recent events in the region we have to sort out all the elements, and identify those which are fundamental.

The struggles of the people of Southern Africa in general and Namibia and South Africa in particular have been long and difficult; and the ANC (African National Congress of South Africa) and SWAPO (Southwest African People's Organization) have never expected victory to come quickly and easily.

To carry the struggle to victory requires a clear understanding of the short and long range objectives of the racist régime in Pretoria and its imperialist allies. To achieve this it is necessary to place current events in Southern Africa in their regional and international context.

## A New Situation After the Collapse of Portuguese Dictatorship

Almost ten years ago the Portuguese dictatorship collapsed leading to the victory of the patriotic forces in Mozambique and Angola. The latter event in turn facilitated Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

These developments had a deep impact on the subsequent history of the region. They changed the correlation of forces in favor of the ANC and SWAPO. They enabled nine countries of Southern Africa—Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe—to establish the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). The aim of SADCC is to disengage the economies of these states from the stranglehold South Africa exercises.

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Since 1976 the situation in South Africa and Namibia has taken a dramatic turn in favor of the liberation movement. The 1976 Soweto uprising shook the minority régime in South Africa to its very foundations. The campaign of sabotage waged by the ANC is beginning to take a toll on the South African economy.

South Africa cannot protect its strategic installations, let alone find the insurgents who carry out the acts of sabotage. It has resorted to raiding the neighboring countries in search of the ANC and has organized gangs of bandits who have wreaked havoc on the economies of Lesotho, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Liberal opinion abroad has become increasingly hostile to the white minority régime, which, it is now clear to everyone, cannot win the war against the ANC in South Africa and SWAPO in Namibia. Investors and conservative opinion, though always well-disposed towards South Africa, are also becoming alarmed at the danger of a prolonged conflict bringing a further spread of "communist influence" in the region. South Africa and the US, and the capitalist West generally, never accepted the régimes which assumed power in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Nor do they look favorably at SADCC.

In order to negate these states and the SADCC, the Pretoria régime adopted a three-pronged strategy. First, South Africa, with the strategic support of the US, opposes the struggle for Namibia's independence under a government led by SWAPO. Second, Pretoria seeks to deny ANC and SWAPO rear bases that became available when Mozambique and Angola attained independence. And third, Pretoria aims to suffocate the embryonic nine-nation grouping, SADCC.

When the Reagan administration came into office in 1981 a fourth dimension was added. This was that with the help of UNITA bandits, South Africa hoped to replace MPLA in Luanda with UNITA, or at the minimum, to create conditions for inclusion of the latter in a coalition government.

In December 1983 South Africa launched a campaign code-named "Operation Askari." The campaign was intended to consolidate UNITA's hold in southern Angola, a swathe of territory that the South African Defense Forces (SADF) have occupied and pillaged since 1981. The SADF were frustrated in major battles before they could capture the

strategic towns of Cahama and Carelai.

The cost of the undeclared war against the Frontline States has weighed heavily on South Africa and further weakened its internal situation, already shaken by the militancy of the Black trade union movement which emerged after the massive strikes of 1973, and by the Soweto uprising.

The country has experienced the growing power of internal resistance embracing all sectors of the community, and expressed organizationally in the United Democratic Front. In addition, the ANC, which has been conducting more effective guerrilla attacks, enjoys open support from all sectors of society.

In response, the régime has begun to restructure apartheid. It is seeking to reverse apartheid's obnoxious features in order to strengthen the fundamentals of racial capitalism and ensure the continued exploitation of Blacks.

According to estimates by the British Institute of Strategic Studies, South Africa with its population of 29 million has an army of around 83,000, not counting the 100,000 commandos occupying Namibia. In the event of mobilization it could muster up to 400,000 men under arms. Considering that only whites are accepted into the army and that the white population numbers just 4.5 million, it is easy to see the ex-

tent of the militarization of the racist society.

The military draft includes men up to the age of 55, who constitute the so-called "grandpas' army." The recruitment of women into the so-called army of the "Amazons" has also increased.

The personnel requirements of the SADF have placed a severe strain on skilled manpower, causing further crisis in the economy. The 173,000 soldiers in uniform at any one time are of course removed from the production lines. So are the estimated 27,000 white youths drafted for a two year period.

The arms buildup by the South African régime is having a negative effect on the process of accumulation. To date, the arms industry employs more than 29,000 people. The State Armaments Corporation (ARMSCOR) unites 15 major enterprises and 800 auxiliary plants. Its assets exceed 1.2 billion rands (R 0.85 — US \$1.00).

In the meantime the civilian economy is going through its third year of negative growth. Unemployment among Blacks, the most generalized indicator of misery and poverty, is estimated to be approaching three million. The situation in the bantustans has reached crisis proportions. Indeed, South Africa is in the grip of prolonged and pervasive crisis which

*Wounded Namibian fighters doing gymnastics exercises in Berlin-Buch, GDR, where they were given medical treatment.*



Exifoto



cannot be resolved by peaceful overtures to Angola and Mozambique.

South Africa's economic woes have caused alarms in certain government and commercial circles. In its *Economic Spotlight*, the Volks banking group issued a report stating that the per capita living standard in South Africa has declined by 13 per cent over the past three years, with the past two years being the worst period of recession since World War II.

The generalized instability in South Africa is eroding the faith of important sectors of foreign investors. The latter increasingly doubt the ability of the racist police and military to restore and maintain "peace" so essential for capital accumulation. The prestigious Business Environment Risk Information (BERI) recently advised businessmen to avoid long-term commitments in South Africa. The official French Trade Guide has warned French bankers not to invest in South Africa beyond five years, when it believes there will be "violence and disorder."

To make matters worse, not all whites respond positively to the call of arms despite the accelerating militarization. At least 5,000 recruits fail to show up each year. It is also known that 40,000 whites have left the country in recent years refusing to fight and die in the military ventures of the racist régime.

Botha and the military have realized there is no way they can defend the apartheid system on their own. Hence, they are making preparations to draft the "coloreds" and Asians into the army. In return Botha is offering these two ethnic groups fictitious constitutional concessions.

### **The Non-Aggression Pact and the Disengagement Agreement**

There is no basis for the jubilation of the Western press over the Non-Aggression Pact and the "Disengagement" Agreement South Africa signed with Mozambique and Angola respectively. There is no substance to any claim that the pact and the agreement constitute victories for Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement." The fact is that today in South Africa there is a stalemate produced by the armed resistance of SWAPO and ANC.

Before analyzing the pros and cons of the Non-Aggression Pact and the Disengagement Agreement, and the role of the US, we need to ask this question: If in fact, South Africa's destabilization campaign were succeeding, why would it want to stop short of victory—i.e., short of installing UNITA in Luanda and the so-called Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) in Maputo?

In trying to understand the recent moves in the region, one should not lose sight of the fact that pragmatic engagement of this type has been tried before, first by Vorster in 1974, and then by Botha in 1979. One should also bear in mind that a stalemate in a guerrilla struggle is tantamount to victory for the liberation movement and worsens the demoralization of conventional forces.

The Mutual Security Treaty between South Africa and Mozambique is very specific. South Africa conceded—finally—that it organized and equipped the MNR to destabilize Mozambique, and it agreed to withdraw further support. In the meantime Mozambique told South Africa that the ANC came into existence long before FRELIMO was born and that the struggle in South Africa is spawned by South Africa's internal contradictions. And as always, it insisted that there



*Young Namibian freedom fighters, wounded by South African racists, receiving treatment in Berlin-Buch, GDR.*

were no ANC bases in its territory except for a political office in Maputo.

So who is the victor in the signing of the Non-Aggression Mutual Security Treaty? History will tell. On their part, the ANC and SWAPO have promised to intensify the armed struggle inside their respective countries; and from recent reports it seems they are carrying out their promises.

### **What Precipitated the Pact and the Agreement?**

The timing of South Africa's call for disengagement of forces in Southern Angola may provide a clue to the recent diplomatic drives. This call came after a series of hard-fought battles, in which, most military commentators note, the SADF were shocked by the determination of the Angolan forces and their effective use of recently-acquired heavy weaponry. The SADF were forced to withdraw with their objectives—including the capture of three towns in Southern Angola—unfulfilled.

The SADF withdrawal, encumbered by casualties and heavy rains, was a messy end to an operation which marked the limits of its military capacity. The lines of communication were found to be too long and open to sabotage by MPLA and SWAPO forces; the expense was enormous and the number of casualties was not popular among the supporters of the régime.

The South African press in general and the Afrikaans press in particular have begun to take notice of the number of casualties and are increasingly expressing war weariness. The *Rand Daily Mail* (February 21, 1984) reported that an SADF officer was shot dead by one of his own men deep in the bush of the Ovambo war zone. A reminder of the "fraggings" incidents against officers in Vietnam!

## The Podium



ANYONE CARE FOR  
A KRUGERRAND?

In 1983 respected Afrikaaner intellectuals began to call publicly for a return to a "total strategy" (i.e., not a purely military strategy). The Rand Afrikaans University's Institute of Strategic Studies recently published a paper suggesting that South Africa should accept Mozambique's need to back the ANC politically, and accept the ANC office in Maputo.

The combination of diplomatic pressures on Pretoria to stop regional destabilization and the success of President Samora Machel's mission when he visited Western Europe late last year made it imperative that South Africa at least give the appearance of diluting its belligerence with diplomacy. These European states were angered by the raid South Africa carried out on the ANC office in Maputo during Ma-

Coupled with this military debacle were the international diplomatic repercussions. The Soviet Union had warned that South Africa's direct and indirect military activities were unacceptable. Coming at a time when the relations between the US and the USSR are at their nadir, this did not make things easy for South Africa and its allies.

It is true that Maputo, unlike Luanda, is within easy reach of SADF, and Mozambique does not yet have much modern weaponry. But if South Africa continues to escalate its support of MNR, Mozambique could acquire these weapons; more seriously, it could even call on the strategic support of the socialist countries.

With the US presidential elections coming in November the escalation of the conflict in Mozambique and the possibility of Cuban help for Mozambique could have serious implications. It should not be forgotten that the Western Contact Group collapsed when France announced its withdrawal, and the blame was laid at the US door.

The US policy that had impeded the solution to the Namibian question began to haunt the Reagan administration.

Fears about the future were also haunting the racist régime in Pretoria. South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha

told parliament recently that South Africa was enjoying a sound working relationship with the US under the Reagan administration. But, he said, it was difficult to know "if there will be another president as Reagan" or "if we are walking on the edge of sanctions and boycotts."

With the Reagan policy in Southern Africa in shambles, with the limits of South Africa's military power to shape the events in Angola exposed, and with the security situation in Namibia and South Africa much worse than it looks from the outside, the stage was set for major diplomatic moves aimed at extricating the Botha régime and salvaging US policy in the area.

chel's European tour. They expressed their anger to Pik Botha last December when he visited Lisbon and London. They have been forced to reassess their policy toward the racist régime.

On December 20, 1983, the UN Security Council passed a resolution which called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of SADF from Angola. It was approved 14-0 and was supported by all the Western powers except the United States which abstained. The resolution came in spite of South Africa's offer to begin a withdrawal from Angola.

Unlike resolutions of the General Assembly, those of the Security Council are binding in international law. The demand for South African withdrawal, thus, is as binding as Resolution 435 on a Namibian settlement. Significantly, the resolution made no mention of a withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

All these developments in the diplomatic and military spheres impelled Peter Botha to decide on a strategy of negotiations. However, there are many questions about this new strategy. Will Botha, for instance, take the essential step and permit the holding of free and fair elections in Namibia? These elections, everybody admits, will produce—as *The New York Times* put it—"another Marxist régime on South Africa's frontier."

Placed in its proper perspective, the March 12 accord is not a victory for Pretoria. It is a holding operation, which will give Mozambique much needed breathing space to deal with its social and economic problems.

The negative impact on the ability of ANC and SWAPO to conduct their war of national liberation will be minimal. As the South Africans retreated from their bases in southern Angola, SWAPO activities deep inside Namibia were reported, and just before the signing of the security treaty the ANC blew up storage tanks near Ermello forcing evacuation of the city.

Finally, since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, South Africa has weathered crisis after crisis. But in doing so it has only assured that each succeeding crisis must be deeper and more threatening both to racial capitalism's own survival and to the white settler state. In weathering the previous crises it refused to make the necessary adjustments and concessions, and thus brought more and more people onto the side of the liberation movement, making them increasingly aware of the need not only to get the settler rule off their backs, but also to overthrow the entire capitalist system.

Thus, however one looks at it, settler rule is doomed. In South Africa there is a mounting popular opposition to white minority rule. A thousand developments—strikes, demonstrations, ANC military actions—and new organizational forms are putting enormous strains on the resources of the settler state. □

# Soviet Senior Citizens— Active Members of Society

By Yuri Katsnelson

“For three years now a young student of the Institute of Foreign Languages, Masha Tyukova, has been lending me a hand (gratis) with the household chores. I wondered how she knew that here I was, an old and lonely woman, in need of help. Who had sent this kind young girl to me? It turned out that our neighborhood has a commission looking to the interests of pensioners [retired persons] (again on a free and voluntary basis) in which a remarkable woman, Anna Danilenko, plays a most important part. A pensioner herself, she found the strength and energy to organize student groups with the help of the district Soviet of People’s Deputies to aid the old and sick in our neighborhood. I wish to thank her for her thoughtfulness. . .”

The above is an excerpt from a letter printed in the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the leading youth paper in the USSR. That was how I made the acquaintance of Anna Danilenko, one of the many public-spirited pensioners.

People like Danilenko do not feel that society has no need for them once they have retired. On the contrary, according to her, “the realization of our usefulness fills our life with meaning and prolongs it in certain measure, at least that is how I feel.”

One of the distinguishing features of the Soviet system of social maintenance is comparatively early eligibility for retirement: 55 years for women and 60 for men. Besides, in a number of industries considered harmful to the health (mining, chemical, metallurgic, textile and some others) it is even lower by five to ten years. Working mothers with large families are eligible for retirement five years earlier as well as all those who have worked for a long time in unfavorable climatic conditions.

Naturally, many people still retain physical fitness and a desire to continue working at such an age. Besides, the law does not say that once a person attains the pension age he is automatically obliged “to go on a well-deserved rest” as we

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say in the Soviet Union. Today, about one-third of the pensioners, of whom there are more than 50 million throughout the country, continue to work and receive their pension plus their wages in most cases.

The wages are a considerable addition to the family budget since pensions, as a rule, amount to half or two-thirds of their previous earnings (the working people do not invest anything for their future pension). Furthermore, most of the pensioners continue working because they do not want to change their life style, leave the people they have been working with for a long time in a factory shop, a laboratory or some office.

The management and public institutions see to it that the job does not tax the physical strength of the retirees. They provide retirees with easier working conditions (a shorter working day, work at home, and the like).





In its turn, Soviet society stands to gain from encouraging the older workers. The latter, who have worked for many years and know "all the secrets of the trade", share their experience with the younger generation.

Many working retirees are members of pensioners' councils at industrial enterprises and help to organize various forms of vocational training. They also act as mentors by taking personal charge of one or several young workers to whom they pass on their professional know-how.

What about those who cannot go on working after retirement due to poor health? They too have opportunities for an active life. Pensioners' commissions and councils (operating on a voluntary basis) under the district Soviets of People's Deputies are engaged in important work.

Pensioners who are members of World War II veterans commissions ensure that war veterans enjoy the privileges provided them by the state. Commissions dealing with the affairs of young families advise young couples and help them to iron out any problems.

A large group of pensioners form the active nucleus of the social maintenance departments at the Executive Committees of the district Soviets. These departments are in charge of senior citizens living in their districts. They help them through the formalities of getting a pension. They search for older and solitary folk who need additional material assistance.

Svetlana Shashkina, deputy chief of the social maintenance department of the Lenin district Executive Committee of Moscow, says that she cannot imagine the department

working without the regular and most helpful participation of activists who are old in years but young in spirit:

"The council at our department has been functioning for about 20 years. It has seven commissions: care of solitary pensioners, issuance of material aid in addition to pensions, distribution of free accommodations to health resorts (they are provided by the state social insurance bodies) and so on. The pensioners in these commissions know the needs of the seniors living in their neighborhoods and have the opportunity of satisfying these needs."

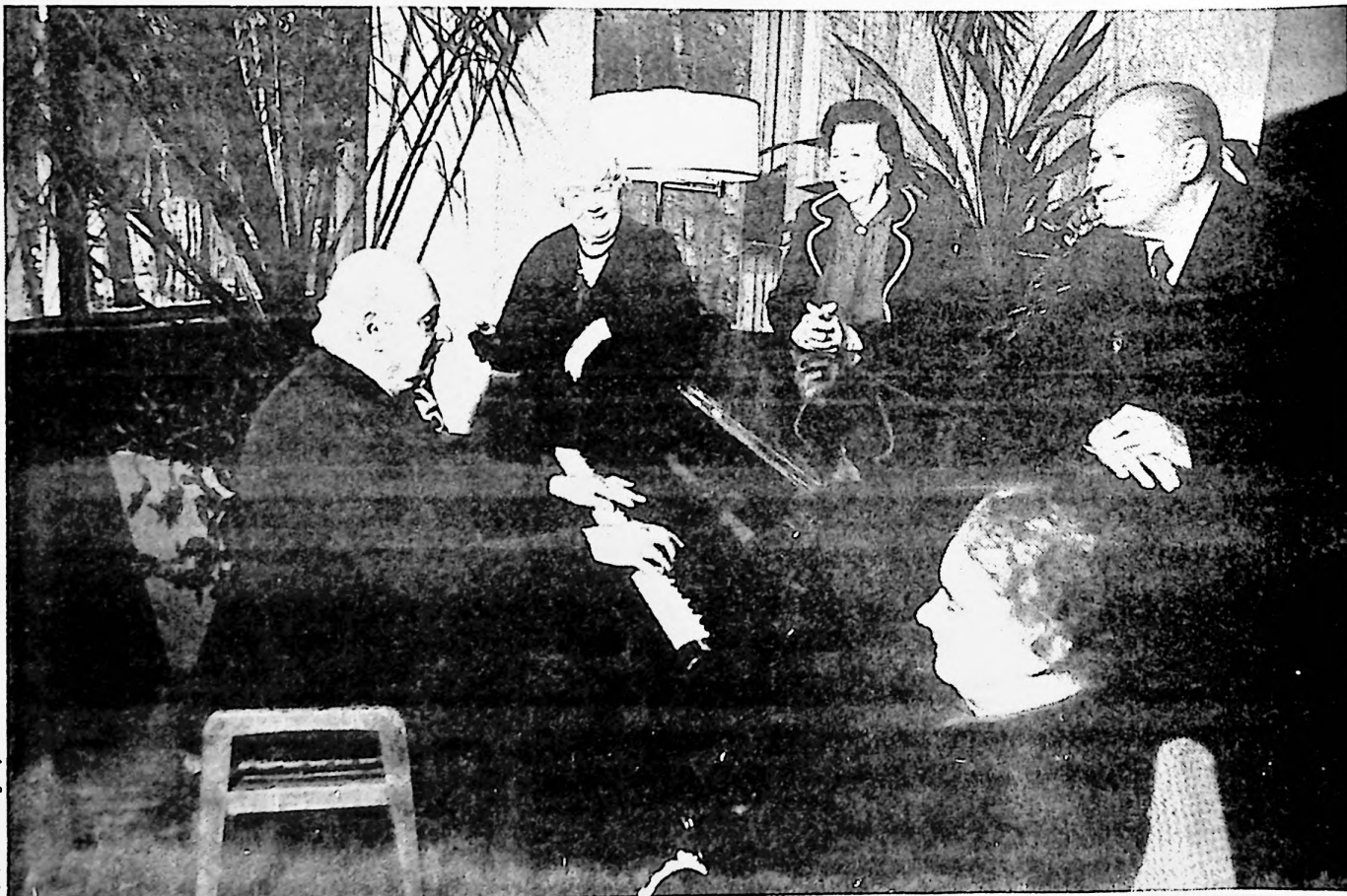
And Anna Danilenko says:

"In all the years I have been working in the commission that cares for solitary pensioners, I have never come across any indifference to their life and needs.

"The district authorities are always attentive to requests regarding delivery of foodstuffs to the homes of solitary pensioners unable to move about freely on account of poor health or placing a retiree in an invalid home or home for the aged on his request where his board and keep are paid for by the state. As for organizing student groups to help the aged, we immediately found support in the rector's office and in the social organization of the Institute of Foreign Languages to which the members of our commission applied."

When I asked Anna Danilenko, who is pushing 80, whether all the social work is not too hard on her, she answered that like her companions on the various commissions she simply cannot imagine life without social activity. □

*Seniors at the Yablochkina State Veterans' Home, in Moscow.*



# The Soviet Peace Movement: *How the Work Gets Done*

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By Marilyn Bechtel

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Part II

*This is the second of three articles based on a visit to the Soviet Union in June by Marilyn Bechtel together with two other US journalists, to study the Soviet peace movement. The group visited Moscow, Ashkabad (the capital of Turkmenia), Tbilisi (the capital of Georgia), and Kiev, Poltava, Donetsk and nearby cities in the Ukraine.*

*NWR gratefully acknowledges the assistance of the USSR-USA Society, the Soviet Peace Committee and Novosti Press Agency.*

*The first article, which featured talks with individual peace activists in the Ukraine, appeared in the July-August issue. The third, highlighting the work of other organizations in the peace movement, will appear in the November-December issue.*

**D**uring the period in 1982 and 1983 prior to the start of deployment of the new US medium-range nuclear missiles, enormous peace marches and demonstrations made headline news in the United States and Western Europe. What was largely not known here, because of a virtual media blackout, was that there were many corresponding actions in the Soviet Union. Among the highlights:

- Peace March '82, held in July 1982, organized by a number of women's anti-war groups in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland together with the Soviet Peace Committee and Women's Committee. Some 700,000 Soviets joined an international contingent of marchers from the four countries, on a route from Stockholm to Moscow and then to Minsk.

- Between May 1 and October 1, 1983, 160 million Soviets took part in some 140,000 mass anti-war activities. In May alone over 50 million people participated in more than 30,000 anti-war events throughout the country.

- On September 1, 1983, "World Peace Day" and the "Day of Trade Unions Actions for Peace," local peace committees and trade unions held more than 34,000 peace demonstrations in which over 20 million people participated.

Knowing from our experiences in the US that organizing such events requires a great deal of planning and detailed work, we wondered how mass actions come about in the USSR. "Of course, they're not a hundred per cent spontaneous," responded Anatoly A. Belyayev, editor-in-chief of the Peace Committee's magazine, *XXth Century and Peace*. "They reflect what people think and how they react to what they hear from our political leaders. Mass actions have their roots in these feelings. A group — often the Peace Committee — puts forward a proposal and people respond. For example, in Moscow last October, 800,000 came out to protest the Reagan administration's starting to deploy Pershing and cruise missiles. Nobody forced them to participate. They wanted to send a message to the US and Western Europe."

Slogans for that Moscow demonstration included such statements as "No to the arms race. Yes to the freeze; No to nuclear weapons West or East; People of other nations — let's not allow Europe to become a nuclear graveyard."

## How the Peace Committee Functions

To learn more about the Peace Committee and how it functions, we talked with its first vice chairman, the historian and political analyst Oleg Kharkhardin. The Committee, he told us, is a non-governmental body, one of a number of popular organizations completely independent of the Soviet government. Founded in 1949, it coordinates the work of the various organizations and individuals who participate in peace activities in the USSR. It has its own broadly representative policy-making structure, and its work is funded by the contributions of millions of Soviet people channeled through the Soviet Peace Fund.

The peace movement's highest body, Kharkhardin said, is the national conference of peace supporters, which meets every five years and elects the 450-member Soviet Peace Committee. The 120 republican and regional peace committees are elected in a similar fashion. Every effort is made to elect committees which are representative of nationalities, occupations, geographical areas, men and women, members and non-members of the Communist Party, religious groups, and other segments of the population, so that activities can be conducted on the broadest possible scale. At least once a year, and sometimes two or three times, leaders of local peace committees meet in Moscow.

Day-to-day activities are conducted by an elected presid-

ium and its executive committee consisting of the chairman (currently Yury Zhukov, political analyst for the newspaper *Pravda* and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet), as well as the vice chairpersons and the secretary-general.

As is generally true of Soviet public organizations, the staff is not large, and most of the actual work is done by volunteers. The headquarters staff in Moscow numbers about 60, of whom 15 to 20 have program responsibilities.

"We decide what to do, what groups to work with or not work with, what slogans we want to use," Kharkhardin emphasized. "We are really independent, unlike some non-governmental organizations in Western countries which must depend on funds from the government or from foundations."

Among the ways the Committee keeps in touch with people's thinking are the letters it receives, the resolutions passed at various peace meetings, and people's expressions of opinions in newspapers and other media. About 150 to 170 letters are received daily at the headquarters, and sometimes the total reaches 300. Ordinary citizens come up with many proposals, according to Kharkhardin. Some are naive, he said, but many contain very valuable suggestions. These letters and other expressions by individuals and groups provide a constant check on how Peace Committee plans and government and Communist Party policies reflect the Soviet people's thinking, he observed. "If necessary," he said, "the people would correct our views."

### **The Peace Committee and the Nuclear Freeze**

We were especially interested in the process through which the Soviet government's agreement with the nuclear freeze was secured. As Kharkhardin and Peace Committee staff member Mikhail Ilyin described it, it sounded like a good example of what we would call "lobbying." US peace movement participants told members of the Peace Committee at an early stage about the freeze proposal emerging in the United States. The initial reaction of Committee members was quite mixed, and there was a lot of discussion. When the Peace Committee decided the idea was a good one, various members began to discuss it with different organizations and government bodies.

Yury Zhukov, for example, brought the matter up with the Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Commission, of which he is a member. The general reaction was quite positive, but there were many questions, which Zhukov asked the Peace Committee's disarmament commission to clarify.

The Peace Committee also talked with the disarmament experts from the Foreign Ministry (some of whom, like Victor Israelyan, head of the USSR delegation to the UN disarmament conference in Geneva, are also Peace Committee members). The Foreign Ministry reportedly raised many more questions. Among them was a very fundamental one: why should the Soviet Union get involved with advocating a limited measure like the freeze when the government had already presented a number of much more concrete and far-reaching proposals? The Peace Committee persisted, however, because the Soviet people's letters in response to media discussions on the freeze indicated they found the concept very appealing.

### **Paying the Bills: The Peace Fund**

One of the biggest problems faced by organizers of peace activities in this country is who will pay the bills. In the Soviet Union that problem is solved through the activities of

the Peace Fund. Established in 1961 in response to the upsurge in spontaneous contributions for peace sent by Soviet people to the Peace Committee as well as to other organizations and various publications, the Fund has received donations from about 90 million people since its founding. It not only funds peace activities in the USSR, it also provides support for international peace conferences and activities held in the USSR, such as the 1973 and 1977 world congresses in Moscow. Additionally, it helps support international conferences elsewhere, such as the World Assembly for Peace and Life in Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1983. The Fund also cooperates with other Soviet organizations to send food, medicine and other aid to developing countries and liberation movements.

Like the Peace Committee, the Fund's national leadership structure is as broadly representative as possible of different elements in the USSR's population. According to its Executive Secretary, Thomas Grigoriev, there is a branch of the Fund at every factory, farm or other workplace, and each district and region has its own Peace Fund organization with two or three people in charge. More than half these local leaders are war veterans. About five million people throughout the country work on a voluntary basis to help manage the Fund.

"It is a basic principle of the Fund that all contributions are voluntary," Grigoriev emphasized. These may come from individuals or from groups of workers or farmers. One of the most popular ways to contribute is the "peace shift." Wages from such a shift, earned on a working day or by volunteer work on a day off, are sent by a work team as a collective contribution.

Other contributions originate from special performances by theatrical companies, musical groups or individual performers, or from special sales of their works by artists and sculptors. Poetry readings by popular poets and writers before audiences of thousands at Moscow's biggest sports arena, with all income donated to the Fund, have become a tradition. Among Soviet cultural figures well known in the West who have made substantial donations are composer Dmitry Shostakovich, authors Konstantin Simonov and Alexander Chakovsky, and poet Robert Rozhdestvensky.

Children also participate. They may collect scrap paper and metal for recycling, or harvest medicinal herbs and sell them to a pharmacy. Youngsters at Pioneer Camp hold fairs and sell toys and craft items they have made. Young people put on concerts. "Sometimes youngsters send money they have saved from their allowances," Grigoriev said. "But we don't value such contributions as highly as those they have earned through some activity."

During our travels we heard accounts of a number of specific ways contributions were made. (Several, from the Ukraine, were discussed in the first article in this series, July-August 1984).

In Ashkabad, we met Kadir Kadirov, a young construction worker and active Peace Committee member whose team of young workers of different nationalities includes a symbolic member, a man who was killed in Minsk during World War II. The team members perform their symbolic colleague's work quota in addition to their own, donating his wages to the Fund. As part of his work with the Peace Committee, Kadirov also speaks to students at a number of schools each year.

Abadan Seitkulaeva, editor of *Women of Soviet Turkme-*





Students at Middle School Number 656 in Moscow signing the Appeal for Peace and Disarmament.

nia, told us the magazine annually publishes a special issue for peace, and donates the revenue it brings in to the Fund.

"One day," she said, "a woman came to our office — a woman who had worked hard all her life and who had to overcome many difficulties during the early years of Soviet power. She had received many awards for her work as a shepherdess. Though she was well past retirement age, she said she kept on working so she could give her pension to the Peace Fund. When I visited her home town, Kushka (on the border with Afghanistan), recently, I met her again. She was well, still working, and happy she could keep on sending her pension to the Fund. She is only one of many people like that here."

The head of the trade union organization at Tbilisi's Computer Plant, Avtandil Tsanava, said that the plant holds its own *subbotnik* (day of voluntary work on a Saturday) every year to raise money for the fund, in addition to the city-wide *subbotnik* with the same objective. Tsanava said the plant Peace Committee works out its plans "around the table," as decisions are often made in Georgia, and then talks with the management, "which always agrees."

During a tour of Manavi State Farm outside Tbilisi, we not only learned more about how money is raised, but gained some insight into what "around the table" means. After a look at the lush grape arbors and a chat with the vineyard workers, we were taken high on a hillside overlooking the

farm, where there was a guesthouse which had once belonged to a local nobleman. As we surveyed the magnificent view, we noticed a group of workers standing near the house. They told us their team had raised 1,200 rubles the year before, by putting on a concert. They had decided to do this "around the table," they said.

Questions such as how they arranged for facilities, found the performers and publicized the concert were on the tips of our tongues when the farm chairman interrupted to invite us into the guest house for dinner. Before us, in the banquet room, was spread a veritable feast — shashlik, chicken, fish, vegetable dishes of all sorts both hot and cold, great loaves of braided bread, trays heaped with fruit, pitchers brimming with home-made wine.

And then we found out how the work team had arranged its concert. The very men with whom we had been talking turned out to be an outstanding amateur vocal ensemble in the Georgian tradition of unaccompanied male singing groups. As they serenaded us throughout the meal, we understood why they were so well thought of as to be able to raise 1,200 rubles.

### Assistance to People of Other Countries

The Peace Fund also cooperates with other organizations to provide help to civilians in other countries who are the victims of wars. Together with the Afro-Asian Solidarity

Committee, the Peace Committee and the Women's Committee, the Fund sent food, household goods and clothing to the people of Kampuchea (Cambodia), whose country was totally devastated during the years of the Pol Pot dictatorship. These same organizations have also provided very substantial aid to the people of Vietnam, including construction of a mother-and-child center in Hanoi. In recent years a campaign, "For the children of Vietnam," to help the parts of the country damaged by the Chinese invasion of 1979, was conducted by the Fund together with the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

The Fund has also sent food and medicine to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the African National Congress of South Africa, and other national liberation movements. Its annual contribution of 100,000 rubles to the Organization of African Unity aids civilians in the newly independent areas of Africa as well as victims of apartheid.

The Fund, together with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, has sent aid to the people of Southern Lebanon and to Palestinian refugees. It pays for children of Palestinian refugees to vacation at Camp Artek in the Crimea. Working with the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, the Fund helps families of political prisoners in Chile and El Salvador, and families of the victims of reactionary régimes in various countries. It also sends aid to people suffering the effects of natural disasters — for example, financing the construction of new housing and equipping kindergartens after an earthquake in Peru.

According to Peace Fund chairman and chess champion Anatoly Karpov, many donations to the Fund have been earmarked in the recent period to help the people of Nicaragua, Angola, Chile, Lebanon, and the Palestinian people.

Among the countries receiving substantial help in recent years has been Afghanistan. Soviet experts, supplies and financial contributions, including those through the Peace Fund, provide food and clothing to help offset the economic disruption caused by the activities of the US-and Western-supported rebels. Major programs assist the development of agriculture, industry, transport and power, as well as health and education.

Three Soviet republics border Afghanistan: Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Tadzhikistan. Uzbek, Turkmen and Tadzhik people live on the Afghan side of the border. During our stay in Ashkabad we asked about Turkmenian relations with Afghanistan.

The artist Izzat Klychev, chairman of the Turkmenian Peace Committee, had visited Afghanistan in April 1984 in connection with the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the April Revolution. He said of his visit to people in remote rural areas: "I saw their daily life, and how they did their work by hand and with crude tools. We were at this stage sixty years ago, and now we have overcome the economic and social problems with which they are still struggling."

The Turkmen Academy of Science helps prepare materials for Afghan schools, Klychev told us. Many delegations of Afghan professionals, farmers, workers, intellectuals and Moslem religious leaders have visited Turkmenia.

Some of the funds collected in Turkmenia are earmarked to go to the Afghan Red Crescent Society (the Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross). The republic recently sent a substantial shipment of medical supplies to treat Afghan youngsters. "A lot of Afghan children whose parents have been killed by the rebels come to Turkmenia for their vacations because the climate is the same," Klychev said. "We also send a lot of literature to our fellow Turkmen across the border, since we speak the same language." Publications from the 1920s, when Turkmen writers and poets called on the people to fight back against the turmoil caused by the British-supported counterrevolutionaries, are of special interest in Afghanistan today, he observed.

The magazine *Women in Soviet Turkmenia* is also very popular across the border. Its editor, Abadan Seitkulaeva, noted that many families have members on both sides of the border, and visits back and forth, sometimes lasting several weeks, are common.

Turkmen professionals and skilled workers also spend time in Afghanistan: Seitkulaeva noted that the republic's Minister of Irrigation goes there every year to help develop the irrigation system.

As is the case with the Peace Committee, the letters the Peace Fund receives with contributions reveal a great deal about people's thoughts and feelings. One from a young girl in Baku seemed to me to sum up the blending of concern for peace and solidarity which I found typical. "I have sent a postcard of protest to Brussels, to NATO," she said, "and written that I'm 11 years old. Let them know that the Young Pioneers of our country are also for peace. I've also sent money to the Peace Fund and I'm not at all sorry that I'm left without a doll now. The Palestinian children not only have no toys, they have no homeland." □



Soviet Peace Committee

# Youth and Education in a Changing Society: The Case of Socialist Bulgaria

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By Wilfred Burchett

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**D**esigning an educational system geared to the fast-changing needs of society, satisfying those needs and guaranteeing creative satisfaction for the end products of the system — the students — is a universal problem. It is one which has grown in intensity with the swift advance of science and technology and shrinking markets in the West. The fact that in such economically advanced countries as the USA, England, France and others the unemployment rate is incomparably higher among young people, especially school-leavers, than the overall national rate, is symptomatic. Cases of suicide by young people despairing of a place in the future were reported toward the end of the 1970s.

Contributing to students' dissatisfaction was the fact that many graduated to find their diplomas were useless. This was especially true among students of the humanities, but also among those from the scientific and technological faculties. Their knowledge and capacities did not correspond to the demands of modern industry for newcomers equipped with highly sophisticated techniques.

In view of the universal character of this "mismatch" problem, it is of some interest to see how it is confronted in an advancing socialist country like Bulgaria.

## Education and Jobs: The Basic Outlines

Almost 42 per cent of Bulgaria's 86,000 students in the 1981-82 academic year were in the scientific-technological faculties and specialized institutes. How could they be as-

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*This report is extracted from a manuscript by world-renowned correspondent Wilfred Burchett, which was near completion at the time of his death in 1983. Burchett, author of Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War, a book which played a crucial role in vitalizing the anti-war movement in the mid-1960s, lived in Bulgaria during his later years, and acquired a deep knowledge of that country.*

*On September 9, 1984, Bulgaria celebrated the 40th anniversary of the popular uprising which overthrew the fascist régime and proclaimed a People's Republic. NWR presents this material as a tribute to that anniversary.*

ured a place in the future? It was a question I put to Professor Ilcho Dimitrov, at that time rector of Sofia's prestigious Klement d'Orchrid University. A plump man in his forties, with massive head and grey sprinkled hair, he typifies the new intellectuals of modest origin who have risen to the most eminent positions.

He is well known as a brilliant research worker in modern history. To my question, he replied: "The State Planning Commission informs us five years in advance what specialists they will need at the end of that period. Our educational program is geared to this, but with provisions for modifications of the requirements within that time span. Before their final exams, those studying the targeted specialties are sent to the corresponding enterprises to ensure that they are on the 'right track.' During the first year after graduation there are often more applicants than places in the fields and geographical areas desired by the students. This is partly due to weakness in planning and partly because the graduates want the choicest types of jobs or work in enterprises where they have done their practical studies. It is not because of an overall shortage of jobs. By the end of the first year those who have not found jobs become less choosy, partly because they fear that the new wave of graduates may fill the places they have been refusing."

I asked if graduates could work at places and locations of their own choosing. "In all fields except medicine," he replied. "It is considered desirable that for the first three years after graduation the State can assign newly fledged doctors to specific hospitals or areas where their services are needed for the public health network. In this way tendencies for doctors to concentrate in Sofia and a few other big cities are avoided and the country as a whole is well served. As many of the students come originally from the countryside, there is no great problem with this. Efforts are made to allot the graduate doctors to their home areas.

"For those who are urban-raised we get them acquainted with rural life. Yesterday, for instance (our conversation took place on July 13, 1981,) our students left on what we call 'brigade work.' Before each new year's courses start, they go off in groups to take part in some manual labor, mainly harvesting work but also in construction and other areas where labor is in short supply. Contacts with the local people are very useful, especially in the first year of studies. It is a new



social experience for both. The students get paid for their daily work. As education is free, what they earn is, in fact, pocket money. It's not much but at least keeps them in coffee and cigarettes. So they leave quite cheerfully to devote a part of their summer vacation to do practical work outside their usual orbit of activities. From our viewpoint it is an essential element in preparing them for life and work outside the classrooms and laboratories."

### **Flexibility and Change**

Referring again to the question of educating students for the realities of the world in which they are going to work, Professor Dimitrov spoke of the facilities for recycling in the enterprises and refresher courses in the institutes of higher learning. "But the important thing is to turn out students who have in themselves the necessary flexibility and aptitude for reconversion." He pointed out the apparent contradiction between the requirements of the scientific and technological revolution for personnel with narrowly specialized qualifications and the tempo of progress demanding those who could rapidly readjust. If students were not adequately prepared from a psychological as well as a scientific viewpoint there could be setbacks in their general development.

As to whether student-candidates had a free choice as to which university or institute they attended, Prof. Dimitrov said: "Of course. Apart from this university there are 27

other establishments of higher learning, all of which are accessible to those who have qualified for higher education. Students can also change their university during their studies. The majority get subsidies of 50 to 80 leva per month, irrespective of their family income. Students who are mothers receive the minimum wage of a worker, 100 leva per month. Tuition is free.

"Because financial considerations are no impediment to study everyone wants to go to university, so we have had to introduce entrance examinations. In certain faculties the competition is very tough — up to twenty applicants for every place. In theory, all applicants have an equal chance based on performance at the entrance exams. In practice those who come from established intellectual families have a natural built-in advantage. But our aim is that students accepted for higher education should reflect the social composition of the country. There are now preparatory classes for university entrance at secondary school level which equalize the advantages. Those from worker-peasant backgrounds have equal chances with other contenders. An interesting point is that when we introduced this system we reserved half the places resulting from the entrance exams for women. Some thought we were being over-optimistic, but in fact the young women won more than half the places."

Professor Dimitrov laid great emphasis on the necessity of turning out all-round graduates, proficient in their chosen

*Young Bulgarians in Sofia studying foreign languages with the help of modern equipment.*



Eastfoto

specialty, adaptable to change and with a broad general culture including education in aesthetics — knowledge and appreciation of artistic values in all spheres of life. The aim of education should be to produce a “harmonious personality,” as he expressed it. “We think that education in aesthetics influences attitudes to work, to everyday life and human relations. In presenting this to our students we stress three spheres in which aesthetics applies: in daily life — the environment in schools and places of work; obviously in the development of all fields of art; and in the influences exerted on the general public as expressed in matters of taste in the expanding consumer tendencies of our society. There is a special educational program in aesthetics worked out here in cooperation with other universities.”

Professor Dimitrov gave me some historical data. In 1939, 25 per cent of the population were illiterate. In 1945 the total of those engaged in creative activity — the arts, literature, theater and other forms — was about 2,400. In 1981, there were 22,000 professionals and about 500,000 amateurs participating in nation-wide artistic activities, from folk music and dance ensembles to orchestras and national opera and theater. There are about 170,000 teachers employed in education and over 70,000 scientific workers engaged in research. “So we really have come a long way in a comparatively short time.”

### Current Goals and Trends

The Minister of Education, Professor Alexander Foll, in his late forties, is a man of distinguished bearing and resembles many of his counterparts in the West. He comes from a family of intellectuals; his father, Nikolai Foll, is famed for founding a highly esteemed school of dramatic art for children. My opening question when we met at the Ministry of Education dealt with current trends and to what extent they represented a rupture with the past.

“We consider the past a good guide for the problems posed in a fast-changing world,” he replied. “Our people have always had an insatiable thirst for education. Parents made great sacrifices — even selling precious strips of land to ensure that at least one member of the family got as much education as they could pay for. Knowledge of this stimulated pupils to be very diligent in their studies. On the other hand, all leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party from Dimiter Blagoev in 1891 to Todor Zhivkov in 1981 at the 12th Party Congress, have laid great stress on high quality education for all. The result of the considerable efforts made from government and Party down to students and pupils is that our country is on a high educational level judged by any international standards.”

The present stage in education, the Minister explained, was defined in the Theses approved at a Plenary Session of the BCP's Central Committee in 1979: “These formulate,” he said, “the general aim of education in the period of building a developed socialist society. That is to produce an all-round personality with an outlet for all his creative capacities. As for future trends, the educational structure is flexible enough to change in accordance with its new aims, tasks and functions. It can ensure continuity in the educational process and can cater to the needs of the community and the individual abilities and strivings of young people. This entails a direct link between education and activities in all other social spheres.”

Among changes introduced in the Theses are: lowering



*On the grounds of the University of Sofia.*

primary school entrance age from seven to six years; a five-day school week instead of six days as previously; and the opening of two experimental schools in which polytechnical subjects would be taught, starting from the first year. The aim is to fuse classical education with the basic elements of scientific and technological knowledge at an early stage to ensure a smooth transition to the specialized faculties and institutes. As further evidence of the dynamics of Bulgarian society, Professor Foll described “the conversion of the higher educational establishments into complex scientific and educational centers, essential to improving the quality of training for highly qualified specialists with university education. This involves training them in adequate basic scientific knowledge plus specific expertise in certain fields.”

Because of the great variety of specialties now taught in the higher educational establishments, achievement of these aims must clearly make heavy demands on the teaching staff. Professor Foll insisted however that “a graduate must be able to move straight into his own specialty but be versatile enough to adapt to other fields without too much delay. True, this also demands new qualities of the teachers. But to supply competent cadres for the educational network at all levels, raising the scientific standard of education to build up a modern material and technical basis for the tasks ahead is of supreme importance.”

I asked if the insistence on scientific and technological training was not at the expense of the humanities. His rather academic reply was that it was not:

“The study of the humanities is constantly improved and is linked with other aspects of the educational process. The improvement is carried out not by just increasing the number of courses but by raising the theoretical level of teaching, by broadening students' general knowledge and equipping them with methods and criteria to become well-versed in social processes and phenomena, including the maxims and tenden-

cies of artistic creativity. Our aim is to blend the two profiles of secondary education — the academic and professional-technical — into one."

### Content of Programs in the Humanities

Regarding the principles on which improved study of the humanities is based, Professor Foll said: "Particular attention is paid to the arts, to Bulgarian language, literature, history and geography. New subjects have now been introduced into this same cycle such as ethics and fundamentals of law from the 8th grade, the fundamentals of aesthetics for the 9th and 10th grades. Subjects dealing with such themes as 'man and art' and 'man and society' are planned for study in the 11th and 12th grades of the new type school."

"Is it possible for someone well versed in, and enthusiastic for, the humanities to move smoothly into the scientific-technological field?" I asked.

"In fact," replied Professor Foll, "the needs of socialist construction and the scientific-technological revolution cannot be met unless we succeed in the all-round development of abilities and talents. Better education and a higher cultural level are more than ever necessary for an optimal performance in all human activities, including increased labor productivity. Those with a high culture and versatile knowledge do well in today's sophisticated production techniques. There is no contradiction between being proficient in the humanities and in the fields of science and technology."

"Aren't the students somewhat uneasy about the continuing changes in the educational system, including the attempted synthesis between the humanities and the sciences?"

"Our young people are eager to achieve full and rapid expression of their capacities; they strive for independence and originality. It would be difficult to identify any past generations with such elevated and varied intellectual interests as the present one. And certainly none with such possibilities of satisfying those interests. We do not regard our young people merely as the promising element in building the new society. We try also to create the optimum conditions for their self-expression. They understand that this must occur through creative labor. Their willingness to take part in this is based on several factors: theoretical, practical and professional training; educational influence of the family, school and social organizations; possibility of choice of a stable profession. They are also proud to take part in building a new society which is taking shape before their eyes."

### Changing Trends Among Youth

Much of what Professor Foll had to say on this subject, especially his remarks on the interests of young people in science and technology and an obsession to add to their store of general knowledge, I have confirmed through following the development of children from my wide circle of Bulgarian friends. Passionate pleas of parents, often revolutionary intellectuals, for their children to take up more purely intellectual pursuits have, more often than not, fallen on barren soil. Toddlers and many unborn during my first visits to the country are now into everything from micro-electronics and molecular biology to atomic physics. Nearly 20 years ago, for instance, a well-known journalist, by then an ambassador and a long-time friend, pleaded with me to persuade his daughter to study philology. A brilliant linguist himself, he had set his heart on this. I spoke to the girl and ended up persuading her father to let her study electronics which was

what she had set *her* mind on. She turned out to be as increasingly brilliant in her subject as he was in his!

"The dynamics of our times," continued Professor Foll, "the vast store of easily accessible information, the environment that has been created for young people, increases the scope of their knowledge and their interests. It develops their abilities and social consciousness."

"When you refer to environment," I asked, "are you talking about the generally improved living conditions and the availability of education up to secondary school leaving standards, or are there other factors?"

"There are examples such as the student city in Sofia, where students and teachers live in a community, with special flats for married students and only nominal fees for such services as gas and electricity. Most other things, including rent, are free. There are many youth clubs and holiday homes, centers for sport and tourism, summer camps for rest and work; technical, art and musical circles. Environment in the sense that I use the term includes the facilities for young people with similar interests and tastes to get together in congenial surroundings and apply those interests and tastes. In this way we create the conditions for an all-round spiritual growth, creative self-expression and active rest."

Alexander Foll, like Professor Ilcho Dimitrov, ranks among the country's most distinguished historians. His specialty in research is to help discover the past of what are frequently referred to as the "mysterious Thracians." He spends his summer holidays — for the past seven years — at a Thracian site near the Turkish frontier where extensive excavations are being undertaken, financed by the Cultural Committee of the District People's Council in Burgas and the Bulgarian Academy of Science. Professor Foll's "active rest" thus consists in helping to excavate underground tombs and bath-houses as part of "a step-by-step process to establish scientifically much of what hitherto remained a closed book regarding the Thracians, their Gods, their religions and rites, their art and legends." Many books have been written on this subject, including a two-volume study on recent discoveries, to which Professor Foll has contributed, as well as to other publications specializing in "Thracology."

His activities in two major specialties are very typical for today's Bulgarian intellectuals. Leisure time is not entirely spent in sun-tanning on the Black Sea beaches or skiing in the Bulgarian Alps, although such activities are officially encouraged for health reasons. Much time is spent on practising the all-round capacities which have been acquired and which have become an example in the education of young people. They are an essential part of the "creative satisfaction," integrated with community needs, which represent the hub of the Bulgarian educational system. □







## REVIEWS

# Working to Build Communism

By Victor Perlo

*The Territory*, by Oleg Kuvayev. Moscow: Progress Publishers, Inc., 1982. 390 pp., paper, \$4.00. Available from Imported Publications, Inc., Chicago, Illinois.

This is a story of big men . . . geologists and workers and herdsmen . . . the countless pioneering men of labor who made the Soviet Union the great country it is. It's the living story, with all the complications, beauty, tragedies, comradeship, genius, and above all stubborn, bold, risk-taking hard work — that lies behind the formal phrase: "building Communist society."

It's the story of the search for gold in Chukotka, in the extreme northeast of Siberia, not too far from Alaska which had its gold rush 90 years ago. But what a difference! Venturesome individuals struggled, fought, faced bitter hardships, to get the gold of Alaska for their individual enrichment.

Teams of men, with millions of rubles behind them, planes, equipment of all sorts, searched for the gold of "The Territory". But with all the backing, it's still tough, dangerous work in extremely difficult natural conditions. They did it because the country needed gold to buy foreign currency, to speed the opening up of Siberian oil, raising living standards, exploring outer space, defending the country against Pentagon madmen.

The author doesn't spell out the motivations. It's made clear, however, in quotations about gold from Herodotus to Lenin, and news clippings telling of the escalation of gold prices from 1967 to

1973 — the year before the book came out.

And Chinkov, nicknamed Buddha, chief engineer of Severstroi — at the Settlement — took to Moscow the 3 kilograms of gold Kutzenko panned on the River Elgai, to convince Deputy Minister Sidorchuk to support the next year's search, against the opposition of the immediate chief at "the Town" — (Magadan?), who didn't believe there was gold and tried to block Chinkov.

Don't forget — even then those 3 kilograms were worth tens of thousands of dollars. And they were gotten in just one spot. Later Sidorchuk visited the Settlement, and went with Chinkov to visit one of the expeditions. There's the meeting between the big chief from Moscow and the worker Gigolov, nicknamed "Yog" . . . "the man who found the 350-gramme nugget that made us start winter panning. And he was the one who panned the first good sample."

Yog raised his cap. Sidorchuk nodded affably.

"That wasn't my big achievement," Yog said suddenly. "Tell him I gave up the booze so as not to spoil our luck. In order not to undermine the strength of the national currency Gigolov heroically refused the glass of hooch he was offered. Wasn't that the case?"

And Yog goes on to tell about the relation between the chiefs and the workers:

"The chiefs can't sleep because they're worried about production. If they go to sleep, the whole project will collapse. But what is production? It's a tree! And it's the workers that grow it."

Yog rolled his eyes and indicated the size of the "tree" with a great sweep of his arms.

Then he and Sidorchuk exchanged racy jokes.

It's the story of the mutually beneficial interaction of the Russians and the native people — the miners and the reindeer herdsmen. The herdsmen have gained much from the revolution: "Kyaye's memory retained the smells of herbs, ice, spring snow, the flight of a frost-coated raven and its hoarse cry across the snows, the fall of a wolf brought down by a bullet, the taste of deer meat, of blood, and the taste of young antlers . . .

. . . Life could not be either good or bad. It was simply varied. . . It was absurd to think that money could improve it. Kyaye himself had a good deal of money. His herdsman's wages kept accumulating in the bank and he had nothing to spend it on. He could have spent it on Tamara. But in summer she lived as befooled the daughter of a herdsman of a tribe of real people, and in winter her keep was paid by the state. Kyaye himself needed nothing but tobacco, tea, sugar and a little spirits. When he drove into the Settlement on Cape Banners he bought anything he fancied: a watch, a radio, a coat with an astrakhan collar. And then he gave the things he had bought and found joy in making them gifts. He knew that the young people would live differently. That was bound to happen."

Kyaye finds geologist Baklavov, on a long, crucial, solo expedition. He was lying, sick and delirious, in his pit, doomed to die if not rescued. In the *yaranga*, student Tamara, Kyaye's granddaughter, gives Baklavov modern medicine, nurses him back to health. Baklavov, as a result of his explorations, develops the theory that gold is to be found at places where two geological faults join. Chinkov risks millions of rubles on that theory. It works, and success brings fame to Baklavov. He is thinking:

"Most of the values that people regarded as the unshakeable foundation of their lives were for him and his friends almost meaningless. The house, that was also a man's castle . . . none of these things matter to him and his friends . . . for the lads in his Administration the main castle was their work, which had to be done as well as possible. That was a castle that would never let you down, unless you surrendered it

yourself. And none of them would do that, because they loved it."

At the end author Oleg Kuvayev sums up his philosophy:

"If there existed a force that could bring back all those connected with the Territory's gold, all those who died on the trail, disappeared on the mainland, who took refuge in the comfortable, standardized 'life that everyone lives,' they would all repeat those years. Not for the money, because they would know what money is worth while a man is working in the Territory, and not even for the sake of duty, because a real sense of duty is intrinsic, not verbal, and not for the sake of fame, but for the sake of the not yet known which is the mainspring and prime mover of man's life as an individual . . . If you believe in the crude fury of *your* work you will always be able to hear from times long past the cry of the digger nicknamed Yog: 'We can do it, lads! We can do it!'

"This day we live is the consequence of yesterday and all our tomorrows are born of our todays. Then why, we may ask, were you not on those tractor-drawn sledges? And why was it not your fate that was sealed by the frosty February wind? Where were you? What have you been doing all these years? Are you satisfied with your life?"

End of book.

It's so convincing because the author lived that life for his 20 adult years. He worked the territory, and other far northern places, as a geologist, and in the 1960s started writing stories about his experiences. This book, published in 1974, was a best seller, and in 1976 won the first prize in a nationwide competition for the best book about the Soviet working class.

What a tragedy, what a loss, that Kuvayev had died a year earlier, only 39 years old! □

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*VICTOR PERLO, well-known Marxist economist, writes frequently for NWR. Among his many books is Dynamic Stability: The Soviet Economy Today, written together with Ellen Perlo, and published by Progress Publishers, Moscow.*

## Taking the Socialist Path

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By Richard Lobban

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*Taking the Socialist Path: Revolutionary Socialist Development in the Third World*, by Gordon White, Robin Murray and Christine White. The University Press of Kentucky, 1983. 278 pp., index.

This book is truly a collective effort. Two of the three editors are contributors, but four additional writers make this a seven-person piece of scholarship. It covers diverse subjects including a selection of "third world" nations which have embarked on programs of revolutionary socioeconomic development in order to annul the vestiges of colonialism and lend authentic content to their independence.

The works on the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) by Fred Halliday, People's Korea by Jon Halliday and on Mozambique by David Weld, are especially welcome since these important examples are often neglected in discussions of this topic. Other countries represented are Cuba, Vietnam and China.

The work under review excludes nations such as Nicaragua, Benin, People's Congo, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Kampuchea. Hence, though it covers a wide range of experiences in anti-imperialist development, it cannot be considered comprehensive.

The work provides country profiles, general bibliographies, two short appendices, chronologies and an index. To help achieve a sense of integration, each contributor was guided by several questions and themes. The only lack of continuity or consistency in the arguments relates to the individual views expressed in the case studies. Here there is appropriate diversity; for example, there is not complete agreement about the definition of socialism, but the overlap in understanding is sufficient to avoid serious problems.

White quickly dispenses with the clichés of anti-revolutionary theory

which have assigned peasants the role of revolutionary group rather than urban industrial workers. Likewise, the discussion of the "dependency" model is appropriately brief. The book is serious and frank; it is well-written and avoids narrow partisan perspectives but preserves a radical commitment both to development and to scholarship. The authors are pleased to record the "enormous strides" in revolutionary socialist development and the promise this holds for the future.

The emancipation of women and their social and political roles are addressed as a measure of socialist development. The seriousness with which this often neglected issue is tackled is a strong feature of the book. The class approach to women's issues, the sexual division of labor, work at the household level, and the existence of independent women's organizations reveal the depth, or lack of it, in efforts to achieve fundamental sociocultural revolution.

Fred Halliday takes the case of People's Yemen as the "Cuban model" in the Middle East. The abundance of pertinent details gives the reader a clear idea about the practical difficulties involved. Of particular interest is his perspective on the controversies which surrounded the struggle within the leadership in 1978.

Halliday praises the advances in the role of women, especially when compared to the neighboring countries in the Arab peninsula, but he notes that this active drive for equality is not yet complete. The respect for religion and the efforts to curb consumption of the drug *qat* are seen as meaningful efforts to apply revolutionary cultural values.

The crucial support provided by the Soviet Union guarantees the PDRY's survival and contributes to realization of its long-range aim to build socialism. The Yemeni leadership modestly states that it has only reached an advanced transitional stage in this regard.

This long article by Halliday and the theoretical chapter by G. White comprise about 40 per cent of the book. While this is a rather hefty share, the reader is well served by these chapters.

The chapter on Mozambique was read with the recent setbacks in this nation's foreign policy in mind. For revolutionary intellectuals these new relations with the state of apartheid and with the African National Congress of South Africa are disturbing, though it is premature to make a final judgment. Wield reviews briefly the basics of history from the late colonial period to the present. The dramatic breakdown of colonial society, the creation of mass organizations and the restructuring of the state and party are the strong features of this chapter.

An insightful analysis of People's Korea is provided by Jon Halliday who discusses the gap between internal and external images of this nation. The successes are particularly astounding given the savage oppression by Japanese colonialism and the massive destruction during the 1950-53 Korean War. He credits the Soviet Union with crucial support during the latter period.

G. White probes the events in People's China after Mao. He raises critical questions and presents a mature analysis of the policy which kept China from playing a more influential role in the Third World. Maoist theory and practice have been shown to have been in error and the present leadership is purportedly engaged in cautious corrections. The author gives a balanced account of the Soviet role in supporting China in an earlier period.

Carciofi deals with Cuba in the 1970s and its heroic challenge to US domination in its efforts to build the first socialist nation in the US' shadow. The development strategy in Cuba has been to seek to break out of the monocrop production and to stress industrial diversification. It is not necessary, presumably, to note the severe hardships that this has meant in terms of internal economic austerity, threats from the United States, and the need for very substantial support from the socialist nations, especially the USSR.

Finally, C. White discusses Vietnam, focusing on agricultural development as an example of socialist policies in practice. The historical review of the struggle traces the roots of this development policy, and special attention is paid to the rise of Sino-Soviet tensions over Vietnam.

White concludes that the Vietnamese example reveals an advanced and rather successful application of Marxist theory and practice. There are also high marks given in the areas of science,

technology and intellectual freedom.

In sum, this a fine collection. It is painfully honest at times, but in the spirit of constructive criticism.

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