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NORTHERN NEIGHBORS

JUNE
1988
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Peace — Work — Freedom — Equality — Friendship — Health & Happiness for all Peoples!



Young people of the Soviet Union are living the famous slogan "The Future belongs to the Youth!" As never before they face their responsibilities as the builders of the new revolutionary Socialism. No longer do they tread dutifully in the footsteps of their parents. It is for them to show their nation, and the peoples of the world, what our future will be.

Memories Living Forever

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Many brand new books for summertime enjoyment on Pages 18-19

NORTHERN NEIGHBORS

The Magazine of Socialism in Action

GRAVENHURST — ONTARIO — CANADA

Canada's authoritative, independent magazine, reporting the U.S.S.R.

This is our 39th year publishing reliable, exclusive news of Soviet developments.

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Editor: Dyson Carter

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I CAN SEE YOU SMILING, MANY MILES AWAY

Quite a few NN Readers subscribe to *U.S. News* (or look it over on the news-stands) and so they saw the May 16 issue with its blazing headline on the cover: "**SOVIETS IN SPACE**".

Then it says: "Why the U.S. should worry about Moscow's conquest of the heavens".

So you started to smile, and if you read the full story inside that magazine you had a hearty laugh.

Why the good feeling? Because you remembered, away way back, to the time when NN predicted that the Soviets would soon send a human being out into Space. And everybody sneered. Until Yuri Gagarin took the trip. And everybody cheered.

No doubt you told friends: "I read it first in NN".

BUT THAT'S NOT ALL YOU READ FIRST

I'm not just blowing our hown here. If you get that *U.S. News* you'll enjoy more laughs. You see, the editor just couldn't bear the thought of promoting the advances of Socialism. So he went on from Gagarin to the USA on the Moon and all the other notable achievements of the USA space program. **But . . .**

But, you've got it. That program is in a sorry mess today. While the USSR is preparing its biggest ever feats: the trip to Mars (you saw it outlined here) and their "shuttle" and their "station".

Moscow's conquest of the heavens, is what the man calls it.

Friends, I invite you to be happy about this, and share your pleasure with anyone who likes to know the truth.

This magazine has made thousands of people feel happy by telling them the truth which, time and again, **has come true**.

Now we're giving you the truth about the Second Socialism Revolution. Some people don't like the facts at all. Never mind. Just file the truth away for now.

When the world sees how socialism is winning, you'll enjoy that.

HOW ARE YOUR OWN IDEAS HOLDING UP?

Funny thing happened on the way to Progressive History. It got filled up to the brim with the revolutionary ideas of . . . well, of a century ago. In fact, this process reached a point when you could hardly use any quotation unless it first appeared before the Revolution of 1917.

Now at long last, thanks to the revitalized thinking of Soviet people, progressives are beginning to grasp a basic truth: what was revolutionary 100 years ago may now be simply **worn out, out of place in today's world**.

Revolutions move forward, they don't stay parked in the past.

If you're interested, go on to Pages 4 and 5 in this NN.

NN's Quote-of-the-Month: "I believe that Socialism is necessary to the world, and that the heroism of Russia has fired men's hopes in a way which was essential to the realisation of Socialism in the future. Bolshevism deserves the gratitude and admiration of all the progressive part of mankind." (*Bertrand Russell, great British writer and philosopher*).

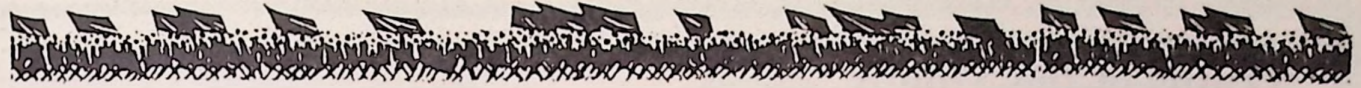
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You'd be surprised to find how many intelligent people "**react**" well to NN if they see it. We'll mail them copies if you'll send us their names. But, if you prefer, our "**Four People Plan**" still works. Send us four names-and-addresses, plus Five Dollars, and we'll send those people NN not just once, but **three times, three issues**.



How would you fit into Socialism now?



Maybe that depends on what you mean by Socialism

As they so often do, Soviet people have been hunting for "quotations" from Marx and Lenin to justify or explain what's now called *perestroika* (restructuring their system).

No way. *Perestroika* is nothing less than a new kind of "social behaviour". Brand new.

This really means that Socialism demands a **change in behaviour** on the part of all its supporters. In USSR, the main problem is to root out the causes of "sitting on their hands." Marking time. They call it *stagnation*.

Many are convinced that the **main** cause of staying put is their long-time belief that **individualism** was harmful to Socialism.

The result was, in **production** they opposed payment according to personal output (individuals were "levelled" by equal pay-cheques). In **politics**, people were strongly encouraged to do what those higher up told them to do (individuals were promptly shut up by decisions coming down from the top of the Party).

As far as "authoritative quotations" are concerned, Marx himself warned against developing a "barracks communism" that treated people like mindless soldiers. But that's what happened in USSR. They're saying openly that people were drilled (from childhood) into obeying orders, and individuals with differing ideas were, in one way or another, kept out of public life and management.

Even now, millions are sceptical of *perestroika* and *glasnost* (openness), and look on outspoken individuals with real **suspicion** and **hostility**.

You may find it hard to stomach this.

How come Socialism, a *revolutionary* system, switched over to opposite behaviour: *conservatism* and *inaction*?

A big part in this was played by "collectives". As you knew, Soviet Socialism operated by people working in groups (collectives). The individual was lost. Very few would stand up and criticize what the collective was doing. So imaginative, talented ideas got the boot, and in their place grew closed, rigid, dogmatic, authoritative behaviour.

The very idea that problems may have **different solutions** became anti-Socialism in their view. So the whole system of *production* and *thinking* ground to a halt. Inevitably, in that atmosphere, the individual who had **progressive ideas** would be calling for **changes**. And the collective wouldn't stand for that.

So revolutionary Socialism turned into its **opposite**.

Over here, in Capitalism, people who believe in Socialism are naturally always in "the opposition." So if you literally grew up fighting against "the established order," then you'll find it hard to picture any form of Socialism as an "established order" that tries to make the individual disappear.

Yet the history of the struggle for Socialism is really a history of **countless individuals** who fought for the finest new ideas backed by the most daring behaviour.

It is tragic, and you might say it's unforgivable, that in USSR they built up an educational system that discouraged people, from early childhood, to think and behave as **real individuals different from everyone else**. And yet that is the very essence of the human race . . . the "different" ones led humanity ever forward at every stage.

They are very busy in USSR these days trying to **explain** why the individual fell out of favor. Especially when Socialism (even in its early days) produced thousands of talented men and women. Some of their sociologists believe the problem arose because, after the Revolution, after overthrowing Capitalism, people began to feel that **there was nothing more to overthrow!**

Twist that idea a little and you find yourself feeling that if any individual **does** want to oppose what's going on then he or she is anti-Socialism

Exactly that attitude affected *millions of progressives outside the USSR*. Countless people of good will were driven out of the socialist-communist movement because their individualistic attitude was branded anti-Socialism.

You could be astonished to find, over in USSR today, that their main drive is to **encourage individuality**. When people go after what they personally want, **they go into action and take others along with them**.

That's *perestroika*. In production. In farming. In the arts. In science. **In every aspect of Socialism**.

They are encouraged by the fact that "individualism" is strongest among their young people. And so healthy is this trend that once it starts it multiplies rapidly. Especially when young people go in for **competition** among themselves.

Once it was believed that competition was a throw-back to Capitalism. But the point is that competition, not for self profit but for the advance of Socialism, has a very strong positive effect on the new system. Socialist competition seems to be on the verge of presenting Capitalism with a new economic threat.

One danger here is exaggerating the power of competition. They remember the unrealistic program for beating the USA in production of meat and milk. Overnight. And when it didn't happen, the Soviet public became apathetic, indifferent to other bold schemes.

Still another problem has turned up. They call it " **nihilism**." In the wonderful new free-for-all discussions they're having, it is easy to become a kind of professional critic or attacker. It's far easier (in any system) to attack than to put forward constructive answers, ways out. As a rule the nihilists have big mouths and small minds, so Soviet people are getting on to them fast.

Finally, to see how you'd fit into their Socialism today, you need to take a look at *history*.

Perestroika isn't so easy for millions over there, because before their Revolution they were burdened by an autocracy worse than any monarchy we've had. The Czars, his nobles, and the all-powerful church, all combined to suppress the people in every way, and make them obedient to authority. That historical situation they "inherited" in Socialism when it began as "the dictatorship of the working-class." Only now are they carrying through what they call *the democratization of Socialism*.

This is penetrating into every corner of their system. On their side they do have a marvellous tradition. It was they who showed the almighty Capitalist system **the way out of human history**, opening the door to our future.

Truths-of-the-Month

Soviet people are taking second looks at some time-worn ideas about Socialism

Leftists in the West will need years to accept some of these changes

Soviet Communists make no bones about this: not only did the Soviet Socialist Revolution of 1917 bring about drastic social, political and economic changes in the former Czarist Empire, but that same Revolution brought tremendous transformations **within the Capitalist world**.

And in the following 70 years Socialism has become the greatest world political force of modern times.

It brought about the **liberation movement** involving hundreds of millions of people.

As a result, one foundation of Capitalism, the **colonial economic and political system, disappeared from Earth**.

And **dozens of new nations were created**.

These sweeping changes, on a world scale, make it necessary to develop **new approaches to revolution**. The ideas that inspired the men who "stormed the Winter Palace" in 1917 are not enough to power the struggles now going on in many lands ... including **our own struggles here** in highly developed North American Capitalism.

New "palaces" not so easily "stormed"

All progressives will remember that in the 'twenties and 'thirties the Left openly talked about the **coming Socialist revolutions** here, there and everywhere.

Soviet people frankly expected such upheavals. Then, when nothing came, "theorists" of Socialism predicted confidently that the system in the USSR would soon put western Capitalism to shame.

Said Khrushchov, "We'll bury you!" He did **not** mean by war but by super-efficient competition. Communists the world over bought that idea enthusiastically.

Again, the "theorists" did their best. Every time Capitalism went into a slump, the orators of Socialism magnified the problems of Free Enterprise and **predicted its doom**.

Today Soviet people see how they had the proverbial wool pulled over their eyes. Especially by Leftists of the West, who pictured blue ruin every time Wall Street got an attack of hiccups. Actually, after World War Two the world's capitalists **expanded production enormously**, and introduced defense (*against Socialism!*) by highly effective measures raising wages, pensions, health care. Plus mountains of **consumers' goods**.

Monopoly, the "final stage", prospered anew

Far from following Lenin's directive, the "highest and last stage of Capitalism" **became re-energized**, at the very time when Soviet people began to realize that they had been dosed heavily with theoretical hot-air.

They'd been assured that Socialism would win by out-producing Capitalism. But it became painfully clear that **productivity** was far higher in the West, mainly because of tremendous scientific and technological advances.

Today Soviet people realize bitterly that there was no reason for them to ignore electronics and the computer revolution (considering their sweep forward into Space), but **their dogmatists kept them from advancing** by using millions of words about Monopoly Capitalism decaying.

What actually happened was that **Socialism** came into a period of **stagnation**. This is the word used by all in the USSR today to describe the latest 20 years or so.

Unfortunately for the Left, Monopoly Capitalism did not stagnate in that period. Indeed, facing pressures from many new nations, and great expansion of production and trade in Europe and Asia, Capitalism became an international system in entirely new ways. The main outcome of this was that multi-national corporations exerted strong influences on "their" governments to **settle the most urgent difficulties** (of trade and finance) through **negotiations**.

This had a **stabilizing effect** on Capitalism.

As one noted Soviet theoretician (Vadim Medvedev) puts it: "**Capitalism still has an ability to survive**".

Since that doesn't fit into Marxism-Leninism you can see why Soviet people now believe strongly that **Socialism and Capitalism will co-exist for a long time to come**.

Even worse heresy: the two systems may cooperate!

East and West are really meeting now

In fairness to Lenin, you must remember that it was he, in the first difficult years of the Revolution, who prophesied that the two systems could peacefully co-exist.

And today, not only the **two major systems** but **all** the many diverse systems are co-existing successfully.

If you co-exist (for mutual benefit) then you can also **influence each other**.

Today there is no doubt whatever that Socialism has **influenced Capitalism**. Mainly to introduce "social" measures once considered ruinous to the profit system.

At the same time Capitalism is **influencing Socialism**: notably by demonstrating how to increase productivity so profitability rises: something keenly desired by Soviet people, who take the profits (if there are any).

These undeniable **economic truths** are revealing to Soviet people how much they still have to do, by way of freeing themselves from dogmas, illusions, prejudices, and **plain ignorance about the world as it is**.

You can sympathize with them as they face these problems. For 70 years they firmly believed that their basic beliefs and attitudes all derived from "the science of Marxism-Leninism", and science isn't mere "faith".

Like the world, Socialism is in a new stage

History will settle the matter in the end, but right now the question is: how did Soviet people get themselves entangled in so many weird problems which really *had nothing to do with the Socialist system*?

Like paying the working people according to certain schedules, **regardless of what they produced**?

Not only was that "non-Socialist" but it was emphatically **anti-Socialist!**

When you raise this with people in Socialist nations other than the USSR, you get bitter frowns or hearty laughs.

Up to quite recently, Soviet people took the view that **they** were doing things correctly; and others, if they wanted to advance with Socialism, **should do likewise, period**.

Gradually, as more people visited back and forth in Socialist nations, people on all sides of the borders could see that Socialism was doing something right in **very different ways**. And doing a lot of things **wrong**.

Clearly, peaceful coexistence didn't always prevail.

Nationality is a vital factor in our world

As you read these lines, doubtless you remember when it was simply not the thing to talk about the national distinctions of different peoples.

In the USSR, people insisted that they were Soviet people. Not Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, Kazakhs or Udmurts.

The fact that the Soviet Union recognized over 100 different nationalities, that was beside the point to them. Everybody was essentially the same. What mattered was whether you were on the side of Socialism or Capitalism. Any view that opposed this was considered to be anti-Marxist-Leninist. As Socialism progressed, we were told, all "national distinctions" would disappear.

As if a Chuckchi from the North Pole would become exactly the same as a Uzbek from hot Central Asia!

This nonsense has nothing to do with Socialism.

On the contrary: as the new system developed, and all peoples enjoyed new freedoms and rights, each nationality would proudly advance its distinctive characteristics, culture, abilities.

This has become one of the powerful attractions of Socialism for hundreds of nationalities.

National differences can strengthen our world

When a black doctor from Zambia stands up in the UNO and supports a blond teacher from Finland, both united in opposition to nuclear missiles, their distinctive characters give **mighty strength** to their world-saving views.

And the more distinctive their nationalities are the more convincing are their arguments!

Multiply that by 100 or 500 and you see how great a force the world's nationalities have become. Indeed, the 100 nations *within the USSR* constitute a super-weapon for Socialism, regardless of whether this is "Marxism-Leninism" or an enormously powerful fact-of-life.

This truth can't be separated from the rising struggle between peoples of the impoverished "South" and peoples of the prosperous "North". Those "southerners" now owe the "northerners" **one million million dollars**.

It's no longer a mere dollar-debt problem. Underdevelopment of half the world is a **serious global situation**. Not only the South but the North realizes that. **Capitalism** sees that it must move to eliminate mass poverty, starvation, disease, ignorance, for hundreds of millions.

And **Socialism will cooperate** in this effort.

Will the systems UNITE for a new world?

It seems only yesterday that the very notion of our two world systems, Capitalism and Socialism, uniting for any common aim, was regarded as contrary to the very basic principles of the socialist "world outlook".

Well, today and for several years past Communist leaders in USSR and its Socialist allies have been laying down as a major task for progressives **the creation of a new international economic order embracing the whole world**.

Freedom from economic discrimination. No more threats of embargoes, boycotts, trade restrictions. Guaranteed fair prices for raw materials, foodstuffs, industrial goods, scientific and technical innovations.

Last but not least: something has to be done to pay back, somehow, that unbelievable sum of a million million dollars. Capitalism will go a long way to recover that money.

But you ask: as long as Capitalism exists, how can you speak of world economic relations that will benefit the peoples of our entire Earth? *There's no other way out.*

Something else the USSR hasn't forgotten. There already exists a **Socialist world system**. In just 70 years it has risen to become an economic factor of enormous influence. **It is growing continuously.**

So when that new system proposes to cooperate with the old order, Capitalism is **listening closely**.

Revolution still knocking on the door?

When this magazine raised the question of what replaces the Class Struggle, in Soviet Socialism, now that they have no hostile classes to struggle against each other . . . the variety of Readers' answers was astonishing.

In essence, these answers were the same as you get in the USSR today. *Nobody has the answer.*

As you know, the revolutionary theory put forward by Marx and Engels predicted that the **working class**, which Capitalism had raised to an ever more powerful position in advanced production, was destined by history to **overthrow Capitalism** and emancipate all society from exploitation.

Ever since, economists and politicians in the West have been pouring scorn on this Marxist revolutionary theory. But it **gained strength** steadily. **Enormously**, when the predicted Revolution worked in Russia.

But very recently two problems have crept in.

First, to the embarrassment and great irritation of many Soviet people, the workers in Socialism have not shown the predicted response to that system. The shake-up brought by perestroika has shown that the Soviet working-class is **not all that interested in advancing their system**.

If they *have* Socialism and don't care much about *promoting* it economically, then *what's gone wrong?*

Are you still revolutionary if you don't demonstrate your vital interest in the revolutionary system?

Who's going to bring back that spirit of 1917?

Nobody in USSR is giving any answers so far.

Capitalism and Socialism looking at each other

No doubt you've heard many an argument to the effect that workers in our system have changed greatly in recent times, not only here in North America but lately in Britain, West Europe and Japan. Much higher wages than in previous generations have brought millions into a prosperity that used to be restricted to capitalists themselves.

Facts-and-figures can be used convincingly to show that our working class more closely resembles the middle class than it does a "proletariat". People coming over here from Socialism can't help but notice this. It's hard to find any signs of revolutionary spirit in, say, modern auto plants, steel mills, electronics factories.

Indeed, most of the "radical" movements we have now are related to the problems of war and peace, and the activists are most likely to be youth, especially students, who couldn't care less about overthrowing Capitalism.

You may want to add another observation of your own. In talking to people young and old, when did you last hear any thoughts relating to *revolution*?

Who even thinks about overthrowing whom?

In Marx's day the most advanced workers toiled in coal mines, steel mills, textile factories. Today the leaders of production are highly educated and exceptionally skilled men and women in electronics, aviation, communications.

For them, revolutions arise within their work.

You have to put the blame on Truth

Don't look now, but workers in Socialism **do own their system's means-of-production**.

They take the profits from their own labor. *Who, then, are they exploiting?*

Evidently exploitation is okay under Socialism?

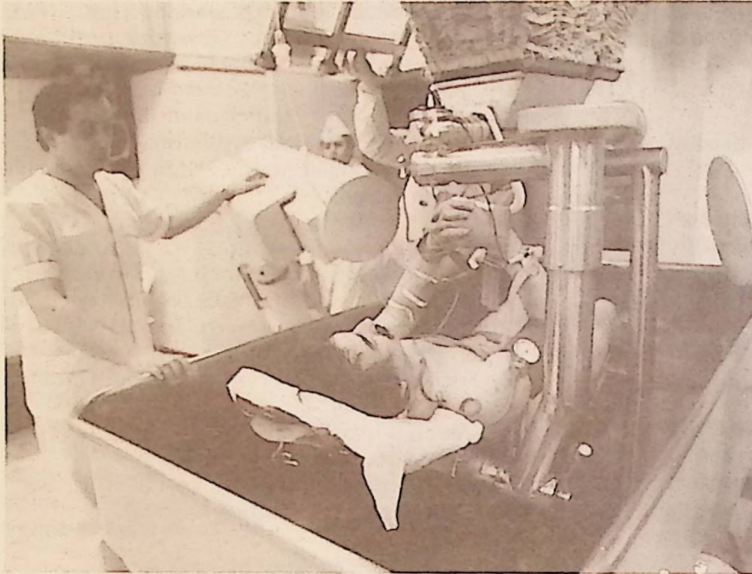
And right now millions of Soviet working men and women are **buying shares** in the enterprises where they work. They'll be paid straight in money-dividends. *Who is exploiting whom?*

Try to avoid a big mistake. Don't blame the present leaders of Socialism for raising such awkward questions. All they've done is make it possible to ask out loud!

And invite you to answer.

Painless removal of kidney stones

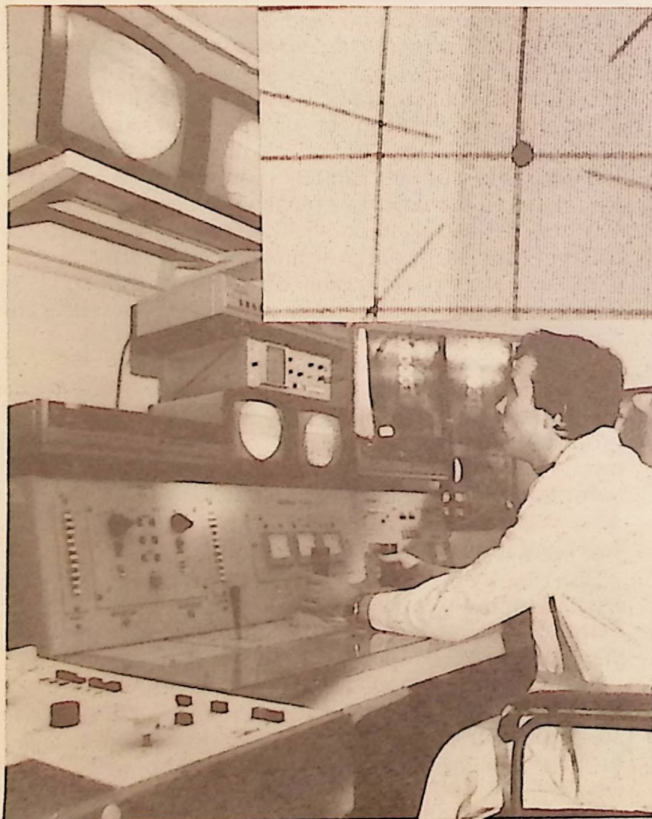
German doctors and engineers developed the first "water gun" to blast kidney stones. New Soviet device is superior.



"Operation" is done on a special table equipped with heavy gauge pipe to stand the pressure and "shock". While the German system costs about two million dollars the Soviet design is comparatively cheap. Note "guns" at left and right of patient, being prepared for "firing".



No anesthetic. No surgical equipment. No knives, forceps or whatever. No pain! A burst of electro-hydraulic energy is focussed on to the kidney stone, accurately placed by means of electronic viewers. Stone is shattered.



The "surgeon" is really an electronics engineer. In right-hand corner of photo above you see how he aims his four "guns" at the stone target.



Ruslan Tsavkilov, 42, previously had stones cut out by surgeons. When they recurred he was lucky to get electro-hydraulic, painless removal.

In Memory of Millions

It began quietly enough. You'll recall reading here in NN that young people were approaching everyone who went to theatres playing certain controversial plays, and asking them to sign a petition.

This was an appeal to the Soviet Government to "allow construction of a memorial dedicated to the victims of lawlessness and political terror of the Stalin period."

Now it turns out that Nikita Khrushchev, who in 1961 exposed Stalinism, proposed "a monument to perpetuate the memory of those who fell victim to arbitrary rule."

Now, 27 years later, the Soviet people are taking up this proposal.

Some prominent Soviet scientists and others have formed a "memorial group".

Most of them have no personal connection with the memorial idea (no relatives who perished during Stalinism). But all feel that a monument is required to impress people with the terrible truths of the past, and the significance of "glasnost" (openness).

Typical are the feelings of Dr. Lev Ponomarev, mathematical-physicist: "Nothing will change unless everybody gets involved. So I decided to promote the idea of erecting a monument to the victims of repression."

This man has four children, and a reporter asked him if he wasn't afraid to join the memorial group.

"I used to be afraid," he admitted, "but now I'm not."

At first, the group was small. In Moscow you could count only 18 members. Intellectuals, teachers, lawyers, students, a worker.

They told people they weren't interested in "playing politics". Just achieving a single goal: the memorial.

They even said that when such a memorial is approved, they will disband their group.

But then the aim of the group began to spread far from Moscow.

In Sverdlovsk the director of a big research institute signed the appeal, along with the head of the Communist Party and most institute scientists. But in Chita, when the appeal was put up on the notice board of a geology institute, the director tore it down, giving no reasons.

From then on the situation rapidly sharpened. Memorial supporters were mostly "rank-and-file", while opposition came from officials at all levels. Many people were afraid of signing petitions, a form of democracy then virtually unknown in Socialism. But many others took up the petitions with enthusiasm.

In Moscow, the prestigious Communist Party City Committee supported the memorial group's idea. But Party people immediately stressed that "perestroika" and "glasnost" should be concerned mainly with economic problems, which are acute.

Where are the Party leaders on this question? Mostly they are waffling. Thus, Yuri Lyubtsev, head of the one Moscow Party district committee, welcomed the memorial group people. He wished them success for "their bold social act". As for practical support for them, he suggested they approach the official "commission on humanitarian issues and human rights".

The commission said "Great!"

Soon it was obvious that this official commission just hoped that the memorial group would go away, period.

Then someone found a way out.

The Ministry of Culture, to be sure. Didn't the Ministry already have a program "Concerning the Construction of Monuments"?

You got it. This program had not a word in it about any memorial to Stalin's victims.

What's more, the Culture Ministry had every new memorial lined up for the next 20 years.

Soviet people are used to 5-Year plans. They can cope with 10-Year plans. But the idea of waiting 20 years didn't send them.

So the memorial group has been winning a lot of support. Just half a dozen young people, "working" a theatre, can get 100 signatures in an evening.

But it's a fact that quite a few individuals, in any theatre crowd, get all upset about this appeal for signatures. They not only refuse to sign but try to discourage others.

Obviously it's a very emotional thing with them. But those who sign usually welcome the opportunity, and keep their cool. A psychologist would have a lot to think about in these encounters.



The memorial "project" has since been picking up speed and spreading widely. The "acceleration" began when people asked the petitioners if they could take a few of the signature forms themselves. It was immediately clear that those extra blank forms were going airmail: many came back fast, from far off places like Rostov, Saratov, Kharkov, Khabarovsk, Sverdlovsk, Alma Ata.

Interestingly, most of these filled-in forms came back by airmail registered; the petitioners take themselves seriously.

And now the campaign is picking up "political speed". In Chita, for example, the Young Communist League newspaper made itself the local "memorial group", kicking off its campaign with an editorial you couldn't misunderstand: "Yes! to the Monument for victims of repression!"

The editor reports that this appeal brought the paper flood of letters. Most people were all for it.

And 255 students at the Chita Teachers Institute offered to contribute money to the memorial.

The campaign has developed to the point where money is important. Nobody doubts that the public would gladly pay the cost.

Cost of what? After all, memorials can be worth millions.

It's good to note that everybody wants the question settled by a public discussion. And already there's a lot to discuss...

Some people insist that a monument is not enough. They feel that the structure should include a large library displaying lists of millions of names of memorialized victims. With biographies. And the sentences passed on them.

"Our history must not be anonymous!"

REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN

While women here are still struggling to win equal rights with men, many years ago heroic Russian girls were giving their lives to the overthrow of Czarism and all its cruelties. Sorry we have so little space to introduce seven of these immortal revolutionaries. But we won't apologize for the photos which come from long, long ago, in treasured albums.



VERA ZASULICH was 28 when she tried to murder the Governor of St. Petersburg. That was in 1878. She did it to avenge a young student who had been publicly whipped for not taking his hat off to the Governor.

Vera belonged to a secret group *People's Will*, seeking to overthrow the Czarist autocracy. She was tried for attempted murder but the jury decided against giving her publicity, and let her go. The Czar ordered her arrested but the students kept the police away. Vera had to leave Russia.

Abroad, she studied scientific Socialism and translated works by Marx and Engels (with whom she corresponded) into Russian. After she gave up her belief in terrorism, Lenin got her to expose such violence as useless and harmful to the people's struggle. And her denunciation just about ended the terrorist movement, so great was Vera's influence.

She continued to promote the truth that terrorism diverted people from effective struggle against the Czar and the capitalist system.

In 1895 Lenin was able to unite the many underground groups to form a secret "League of Struggle for Working Class Emancipation". This had the aim of overthrowing Capitalism.

Vera Zasulich continued in this league after it evolved into the first Russian Marxist-Leninist Party.

Not too many people in the West will recognize NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA, who became Lenin's wife. However, she was a prominent revolutionary in Russia before 1917, and afterwards. Nadezhda's continuous support of her famous husband played a great part in his lifelong leadership of the struggle.

This woman had a brilliant mind, a higher education, outstanding willpower and courage, all of which she devoted to the revolutionary cause.

Even before they met and married, Nadezhda and Lenin (his real name was Ulyanov) worked closely together. She became secretary of the Party's central committee abroad, and all communications between local Party groups and the center were concentrated in her hands.

Aside from Party political work, Nadezhda Krupskaya carried on a long-term research into education in the advanced countries of those years. She felt that a revolutionary movement must be prepared to set up the world's finest school system once the people took power.

In the course of her work this woman wrote eleven books, all of which were advanced in contents and thought. For this scholarly work she was awarded a Doctor's degree in 1936. Actually she was honored for the outstanding volume "Public Education and Democracy", which she had written while abroad.

Nadezhda long outlived her husband, dying in 1939. Every Soviet schoolchild knows of her life (she spent years in exile with Lenin) and her studies.



ROSALIA SAMOILOVA was still in her teens when she took up revolutionary work for the Party Lenin had set up. Much of her work was underground, and she went by the name "Zemlyachka" (means Countrywoman in Russia), from the time she was 17. Not only did she support Lenin's Party but she vigorously carried through his directives about the vital need for a newspaper to lead the struggle.

In those pre-revolutionary days that newspaper was the famed "Iskra" (Spark). Rosalia never ceased to promote this militant paper, which at the time was printed out Russia. This work was vital because with the rise of a Marxist Party many types of oppositionists tried to sabotage it, often using "Iskra" as a kind of forum.

However, by 1903 most workers' groups in Russia accepted the line of "The Spark", which was destined to kindle the great revolutionary flame of 1917. Rosalia's main work then was in the new Leninist "Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party", going into history as the RSDLP.

The girl called Zemlyachka was a leader in the majority membership of the RSDLP, and history decided that the term "majority" would stick: in Russian it is "Bolshevik", and that's what the militant revolutionaries were named from then on.

Lenin once paid her an exceptional compliment: without Zemlyachka the Party would not be able to take one step forward.



INESSA ARMAND was typical of many Russian girls of the "upper classes" who went over to the Revolution. She was the wife of a factory owner when she turned from her life of riches and privilege to join the Bolshevik Party.

After she was arrested for her activities it was decided to have Inessa work underground. But not long after police efforts compelled her to leave Russia. She settled in Brussels to study social sciences and economics. A brilliant student, the young Bolshevik completed an entire University course in one year, and passed all exams with flying colors.

She went on to the famed Sorbonne in Paris, studying political economy, statistics and economic geography. Her life changed in 1911 when Lenin, in a little place called Longjumeau (near Paris), set up a Bolshevik Party school. Inessa did much of the work on the school program.

Millions in USSR remember her as the founder of "Rabotnitsa" (Working Woman), which inspired countless women of the Czarist empire.

Inessa Armand's writings convinced many that Lenin was right: to succeed, the Revolution must have wide support of militant girls and women. And this truth spread widely in the European progressive movement, where Inessa Armand's writings became the core of women's revolutionary activities. She lived to see the Revolution, and died in 1920, aged 46.

If you recognize Lenin's features, you are right: his sister, **MARIA ULYANOVA**, played a unique role in the Revolution. She was the youngest, and when World War One began in 1914 she decided to avoid another arrest (she'd already been to jail for revolutionary activity) and took a course in nursing so she could join the Czarist Army!

She went to war enthusiastically. Many wounded soldiers she helped out of danger. In the crude shelters of those times she nursed them back to life. And she never lost an opportunity to pass on revolutionary Bolshevik leaflets. These appealed to the soldiers to turn the imperialist war into civil war against Czarist Capitalism.

Not many progressives outside the USSR know that as soon as the Soviet Revolution triumphed, Maria Ulyanova was made executive secretary of the Party's newspaper, "Pravda". She ran its busiest section: correspondence with workers and farmers supporting the Bolsheviks. Maria inspired thousands of these "amateur reporters" to send in the world's first "correspondence" covering the real life of the people. One vital aspect of this work was Pravda's protection of those threatened by enemies of the Revolution.

She collected money and food for families that had lost their breadwinner, and donated all money she received for her work.



ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI won historical prominence in the international diplomatic corps, but few who knew her then recognized her as the daughter of a Czarist general. While still very young she was in the Smolny Institute when the Revolution took place, working with Lenin and others in that "headquarters" of Socialism.

On October 25 the Smolny command told the world that all power had been taken over by the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers and Farmers deputies, and that very day Alexandra became the first woman to be made a Government Minister.

In 1922 she was the first woman to represent the Soviet Government abroad, as ambassador to Norway. Later she headed the Soviet embassies in Mexico and Sweden.

This woman occupied a unique place in Socialism's history. For 30 years she served as an ambassador. But she also widely promoted trade and cultural relations between the two world systems.

Thus Kollontai was a truly unique personage in modern history, since she pioneered many of the efforts to break down barriers between the two world systems. To this day some leading industrialists recall her as a brilliant promoter of peaceful co-existence. In this she was greatly aided by her exceptional education: she spoke fluently in seven languages. She visited widely, including USA, and lived to see her principles confirmed. She died in 1952.

LARISSA REISNER's name has been seen in most countries of the world, since her country decided to honor her by naming after her a large freighter. Everywhere it sails people ask *Who is Larissa Reisner?* On board her ship they can find out that she was the outstanding revolutionary of the shipping world.

Already a year after the revolution Larissa was the first girl "political commissar" of the Volga Fleet. In those stormy years of intervention and counter-revolution this young woman fought with the men without ever losing courage or showing fear.

She wasn't wealthy but she did come from "another" class: the intellectuals. Her education made her a valuable member of the early Soviet administration. But it was her character that quickly won her prominence.

Asked by a visitor what she could do for the Socialist Revolution, Larissa said: I can ride a horse. I can shoot. I can write. I can scout and send reports from the front. If necessary, I can die."

She lived through the stormiest times, and saw the early Soviet fleets grow into one of the biggest shipping forces in the world. With her name right there.



Seen anything queer lately?

Soviet scientists do not give the brush-off to people who witness objects and happenings which are scientifically not possible. It's paying off.

Right back to the beginnings of history, humans have been "seeing things" which didn't make sense. In modern times you can date this to 1947, when a responsible business man in USA reported in detail on what he saw outside his plane window: "Objects like huge shiny frying-pans."

That put UFO (Unidentified Flying Objects) into the modern world's vocabulary.

Official science said: No, No! But soon thousands of people were saying: Yes! Look!

Unfortunately, the situation became muddled when many observers insisted that the UFOs were flown by *people from Outer Space*. This made many open-minded scientists reject the whole thing. And, in return, "space fans" set up big organizations, collected fortunes, published all sorts of non-sensical reports.

Very soon, however, the intelligent public in all countries realized that observers who **did see** queer things **did not** connect them with Creatures from Mars, Venus, or wherever. And so, scientists (especially over in USSR) began to make **exhaustive studies** of every report about weirdo observations.

Biggest problem: queer things appear so suddenly that few who see them have any instruments (even cameras) to capture **the facts**.

But then, that used to be true of **Ball Lightning**, also. Now, as you saw here in NN, Soviet scientists take ball lightning very seriously and are pressing research on it, with practical aims in mind.

Researchers over here could be surprised to learn that the official USSR Academy of Sciences continually records and examines an endless flow of observations which, at first sight, seem *too queer to be true*. But in most cases they find that observers are honest, truthful, and usually dependable. Therefore their evidence is studied, classified, and when possible used.

Soviet scientists feel it is significant that so many different observers as a rule describe **exactly the same thing or event**. That's taken as a sign of reliability.



If you're impatient to know how their studies are going in this field, here's the essence:

- A very big majority of queer sightings turn out to be **natural happenings** that most people don't know about; or, **man-made objects** associated with aviation, weather tests or space research.

The latter "queer sights" have increased greatly in recent years.

- The **explained** "things" account for 95-of-100 of all the sightings. Only 5-in-100 reports have not yet been fully identified.

Interestingly, a large number of observers see their "UFOs" at **twilight**. That's because the light of the Sun "shifts" rapidly and can make some objects appear to be moving extremely fast.

Today, many countries send up hundreds, thousands of **balloons**, for weather measurements. These are invariably reported as a wide variety of UFOs.

Just USA, USSR, France, Canada, Scandinavia, launch over 1,000 of these "objects" each year.

All shapes: spherical, tear-drop, tetrahedrons. Some expand high up to enormous dimensions. Some may "fly" for two years. At speeds greater than 10,000 miles per hour. They may go round-the-world several times before self-destructing.

So countless people may sight them, day or night.

Even "crazy" happenings will get scientific attention in USSR. Like goings-on in the house of the Roshchin family, in Nikitskaya, a village near Moscow.

First event: their electric power meter began spinning at an incredible rate. Put their bill beyond their bank-account!

That was around New Year's, so people put it down to partying. Then the power went really wild. The house fuses blew. Water taps came on. A frightening ghostly halo hovered over the meter.

Then, they had it. The dining table turned upside down. A big sugar-bowl soared up and out through the thick window-glass. Followed by a hammer and a heavy jar.

Floods of UFO sightings come in when nations decide on "group flights" of observation balloons. They can take on fantastic patterns as they head for Space.

Nowadays, as more and more countries launch **rockets**, there's a big increase in sighting "unexplainable" objects. Up close to a rocket-launching you see the familiar volcanoes of fire and smoke, but when your "object" is miles up into space the sights are almost infinitely variable.

You could say "almost indescribable", because the vapor-trails of some rockets can assume any shape or form you might imagine. Not rarely, these things (they are **real** enough) appear to be alive.

That's especially true when the vapor gets into the strange gales of wind that blow a hundred miles up above Earth.

Perhaps the worst complicating factor has lately developed, with scientists in several lands doing gigantic "laboratory experiments" up in space. They release certain chemicals (like barium, sodium) and study what effects there are when these "clouds" pass into strong magnetic or electric fields. To the **queer shapes** you can now expect to add **weird colors**.

The growing complexity of sightings has led to the development of several big UFO study groups in USSR.

With the blessings of scientists.

The police were called. Naturally, they couldn't believe. But they were called again when all those happenings started re-runs, and the other villagers took to going to church, with candles.

A climax came when the boy Alyosha was found to have a very powerful "electric field", often exploited by "faith" healers. But how can his field of force pitch heavy objects through windows? Then it came out that exactly the same happenings had taken place in another village, far off, with another young boy involved.

UFOs high in the sky are one thing, but forces that affect human electric fields are . . . well, at least they made it into Soviet papers.

Why this talk about *ANOTHER PARTY* in the Soviet Union?

It's not something cooked up in our media, it's for real. Millions of Soviet people are trying to find a way to set up a political organization having a mass membership.

NN consulted Boris Kurashvili, a leading researcher in the Institute of State and Law. He has strong views on this subject.

Why a mass public organization?

Because there is a "gap" in Soviet politics. They have no mass public organizations which represent the people who are not members of the Communist Party. That's the **big majority** of the Soviet population.

And then, the upsurge in public discussion and action, resulting from *perestroika* and *glasnost*, has given rise to many new organizations that are not using their **full potential influence**; running in circles.

Kurashvili believes the new "party" should have many millions of members. Some, as individuals. Others, as people who already exert influence through bodies like trade unions, women's councils, youth groups, etc.

Each citizen should feel **absolutely free** to take part in the new organization's activity; or to remain simply **watching** what goes on. No demands on people. No check-ups on individual activities.

Question they're asking: would the new "party" welcome people who *favor perestroika*, and others who *oppose it*?

Most people discussing this believe **anybody** should be welcome as a member, provided only that he or she **wants the Socialist system to advance** for the good of the entire Soviet population.

But no one should be excluded because of differing views on how Socialism can best lead the USSR into the future.

Clearly, one of the big problems will be how to welcome as members those people on the "left", who want *perestroika speeded up right now*; and those on the "right" who think the current reorganization is going *too far, too fast*.

Boris Kurashvili welcomes this "conflict", because he sees it as a way to encourage mass public debate. He feels that **different views** should be encouraged, and harm will be done if the new "party" limits itself to uniform views.

Isn't it true that some new organizations in USSR (like "Memory" reported in this issue of NN) are arousing some opposition because of sharp views? Would "Memory" be admitted to this new organization?

Kurashvili is not too decisive about this. He implies that if "Memory" wanted to push views hostile to Socialism, then "it will have to adjust its course". At the same time he thinks "Memory" itself will split up into different groups. Then what happens? Those groups would separately join the new organization? Each seeking to push its own line in appealing for public support?

Obviously, such questions would have to be settled by a kind of "constitution". With a definite "leading body" at its head? How would that be elected?

Would the 15 Soviet Republics (and many Autonomous Republics, Regions, etc.) all want to have "their own" organization and "leading body"?



The Soviet Communist Party has organizations in all regions, in industries, in individual factories and offices. Boris Kurashvili doesn't think the new organization needs such a complex set-up.

Because, he says, it is **not** conceived as "a new Party". Socialism "doesn't have social and class grounds for a second Party". This, of course, goes back to Lenin's view that the working-class holds power in the USSR and only one party is required. But as we've seen here in NN other "classes" **have appeared** in Socialism and they even have problems with "class struggle".

The new organization would play a part by discussing and criticising the Communist Party.

But what about existing mass organizations like the Young Communist League, the tremendous trade unions, the new Women's Councils, and so on?

Well, the new organization would serve as a means to bring all such groups together. **In a mass public, democratic alliance open to members of all the other groups and to every individual also.**

So workers outside the unions could belong. Maybe they have valuable proposals to make?

So, also, have many professionals, including scientists, doctors, engineers, musicians, actors?

One of Kurashvili's proposals is that the new organization should **put up candidates** in Soviet elections. Forming "blocs" of both Communists and non-Communists.

Something never before tried in the Soviet Union is the proposal to have the new mass organization tackle the papers and magazines (maybe radio and TV also?) with the aim of **influencing them in favor of, or in opposition** to certain measures affecting the general public.

No, not through financing advertising but ... well, Mr. Kurashvili isn't too sure about how it would be done.

We've left the hottest idea to the last.

Where will the all-powerful Communist Party fit into a situation dominated by a **still bigger** "mass public democratic alliance"? Especially when that new organization is intended to have its own identity backed by some form of political opinion.

Boris Kurashvili says frankly "I see the possibility of **teamwork** and the probability of various **conflicts**". This would hit hard at the opposition to *perestroika*, which is in essence the stand of bureaucratism.

"You believe such an alliance can be founded in the USSR in the near future?"

"Of course I do. These processes (of *perestroika*) can't do without a new social mechanism.

"The people must be given an opportunity to take an active part in drafting and endorsing fundamentally important decisions.

"The democratic alliance of public forces could become that new social mechanism."

What can they tell us?

about abortions
day care
divorce
wives working

**We could learn from Socialism?
They've certainly tried everything!
And learned plenty from mistakes.**



At the time of their revolution, 70 years ago, every "radical" idea about sex, marriage and "freedom" found backers. And many of their laws-and-rules were very progressive even by today's standards.

They made marriage and divorce available to all (in some countries back then marriage was a privilege not allowed to all women). Husband and wife had equal property rights (as we're just now trying out).

Children born in and outside marriage had full and equal rights (a very big advance).

But in the 'thirties, under Stalin's iron-heel rule, non-socialist "experimenters" tampered with basic personal rights. After 20 years of medical abortions for all women who wished them, the law came down hard in 1936. Abortions illegal!

First result: countless women had their health ruined by illegal abortions. And then: the birth rate *did not increase* as Stalin said it must.

Not until 1955 did Socialism return to a free abortions policy. Surprise! The birth-rate stayed constant, neither up nor down. Evidently the human family wasn't controllable by laws imposed on the people concerned.

Meanwhile, Soviet people had to put up with another of Stalin's brain waves: difficult divorces. This wiped out one of the biggest "private life" gains brought by Socialism. Soon millions of men and women broke up, ending marriages without divorcing. And most of them entered into "illegal" marriages.

Result: Socialism soon had millions of children born outside normal married life. Within five years every fifth baby in USSR had an unmarried mother.

So much for Stalin's "doctrine" that by making "progressive" laws Socialism promoted the advance of that system.

Human beings cannot be forced to make their social system better by courts, cops, parliaments. Or by political parties, however powerful they may be. This was strikingly proved after the war, in USSR, when a whole array of progressive laws were passed to benefit working women.

Especially new rules promoting millions of Soviet women into prestigious jobs like teaching.

Instead of this strengthening the Soviet family, it broke up millions of families, when husbands lost their bossman prestige to wives who were obviously better educated than their men. That was a result no theory or law had considered.

As families became smaller, Socialism tried economic remedies. Millions of mothers soon had their kids in day-care establishments. And family life started going down hill. Nurseries don't provide the kind of loving relationship that's best for children.

More economic remedies! Give working mothers long time-off-with-pay when a child is born. And even longer "leave" without pay but with full job security. Already by 1981 this began to have effect, and a great many young married couples had their first child.

At the same time the Soviet press worked up mass interest in the problem of husbands helping their wives with the housework, so youngest children could be accommodated in day-care facilities.

Which of these factors was most effective no one can say, but the result was impressive: by 1983 the birth-rate in USSR topped 5,400,000 a year, highest since the end of the war.

Best of all, in the view of all who had the progress of Socialism at heart, was the sudden increase in families with two and three children. Scientifically, that kind of family is a must if the population is to be maintained and increased.

What's new in this is not so much the specific measures they're taking but the fact that nothing is changed any more without consulting the public on a great scale. And one of the most outstanding developments came from working mothers and fathers: offer millions of mothers a chance to take easier jobs, and even jobs they can do at home.

Best yet: management, unions and families are going for shorter daily working hours for mothers. Previously, a mother could apply for such a job, but management could turn her down. No longer. Perestroika has broken the dictatorial powers of Soviet management, so if a working mother wants a four hour day; or a non-tiring job; or a job with the work brought to her home; then that's what she will be able to get.

Yes, another variation is soon to be available. Where it is possible, without wrecking the work schedule, women workers (with young kids) can go over to a shorter week: probably four days.

You'll see how many of these new Socialist measures are for their system only. They have millions of jobs waiting to be filled. So whatever is best for the family is economically feasible for them.

How you can BEAT OLD AGE

Soviet specialists have come up with a new approach that's useful to many millions.



Maybe you haven't noted this, but right back to the dawn of humanity people realized that Old Age is a very special period of life.

And not only oldsters were concerned about that. The young, also, could see what was coming for them.

For thousands of years people took a gloomy view of the old ones. But in our time you find a big positive change of attitude towards aging.

Especially in USSR, where they have more very old people than we have, medical scientists find that old age certainly is *different*; but it can be a fine way to live if you know how to handle it.

One vital Soviet finding is that old age is very different to youth, but it can be stable and unchanging for many years.

The familiar notion that we age into "second childhood" by no means implies *infantile* behavior. You may well live *happier* as you regain the spirit of early life.

No doubt you're aware that the former picture of old age, with its illness and dropping out of active life, doesn't hold true any more for hundreds of millions, who keep on usefully working and enjoying themselves.

This is a world-wide change. The scientific fact is that most people used to die before they reached 50; but now the average age is 20 or more years longer.

You should grasp what this means. Human society (regardless of political and economic differences) has been transformed by the presence of millions of old men and women.

However, only in Socialism, where unemployment has been eliminated, can old people go on working if they wish. And, indeed, the longer you keep a job in USSR the better everybody likes you!

This is a new social right: the right to go on working after you have earned retirement.

As you know, lack of that right, over here, is arousing protests of a kind we never had before.

Over in Socialism doctors advise older people to *hold that job*, it's the best "treatment" for aging.

But in our system, also, many older people have found employment that makes use of their experience and the special "wisdom" that comes with later years of life.

But you may ask... "How late?!"

Not so long ago the bible's "three score years and ten" was considered an impossible goal. Men were thought to be old at age 50, women at 30. But in the last century some doctors forecast lives of 85, 100, 125 and even 150.

Compare that with our Bronze Age ancestors who rarely lived past 20. In ancient Rome 23 was a good age. In our grandfather's time you were lucky to live to 45.

Soon the average will be over 100, for both men and women.

For specialists in the Soviet Union, that's just great. Sadly, over here we hear increasing talk of settling the problems of aging with euthanasia and other inhumane "treatments."

Reflecting that approach is the growing menace of "elder abuse."

This is the mistreatment of older people by relatives or attendants in nursing homes. Research at the University of Toronto reveals that physical and mental attacks on older people, mostly suppressed "within the family," are becoming so frequent and serious that public action must inevitably be taken.

The situation is complicated by financial factors: some relatives manage to steal from elderly men and women who are not alert enough to protect themselves.

But these are exceptions. The great majority of older people are able to make a wide variety of changes in their "life-style."

The new Soviet approach is based on treating every older person as a **distinctive individual**. No matter how oldsters differ from one another, they can all take major steps to overcome obstacles to better living; and, equally important, they can develop positive attitudes that will make life brighter.

- Very many older men and women have come to depreciate themselves; this leads to lack of confidence. That's the first "defect" to tackle. A whole new approach to living should be based on the realities of earlier life: often oldsters have valuable knowledge and experience of the kind that's long been known as **wisdom**.

- A major problem in restoring self-esteem is the barrier of what is called **depression**. This condition, in younger people, can be very serious. But in seniors as a rule it can be lessened, and even eliminated, by any and every kind of activity that leaves no time for "the glooms."

- Trouble is, many older people have developed **chronic anxiety**. This can be quite a difficult ailment to overcome, especially when it is linked with one or more physical ailments. (Our new publication on **Anxiety** (No. 523, 95 cents) offers much practical help with this widespread problem.

- "Active" personality problems can spoil life for many oldsters. Especially attitudes of **hostility, grouchiness, pessimism**. These can be systematically faced and overcome; rather, replaced by their "opposites." Younger people quickly react to **cheerfulness** that can be one of the best attributes of old age.

- One really poisonous attitude is "hopelessness;" the feeling that nothing good can come any more from anything. This can be obviously untrue, and you can combat it by listing the "goods" that really have appeared in your life recently.

Mainly, enjoying this day now!

Short route from Europe to Canada

Here's one of the most radical transportation ideas to appear in a long time. Based on new discoveries by Soviet naval experts and weather researchers.

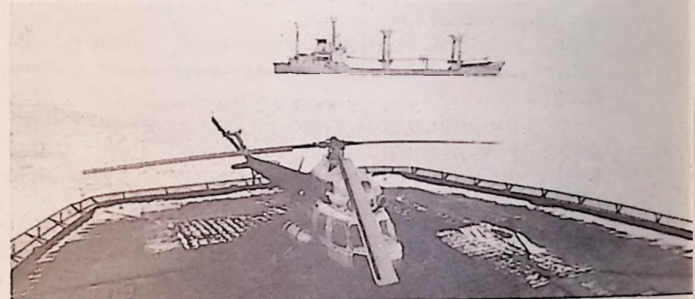
Years ago, Canadians proposed to ship oil very cheaply, in submarine tankers that would travel under the massive ice of the North Polar seas. Too many big problems. But now Soviet scientists believe ordinary freighters can make that trip on the surface, all year.



The super-powerful nuclear ice-breaker "Rossiya" operates efficiently for leading freighters across the North Pole.



This is a "port" on Chuckchi Sea where massive ice build-ups are far worse than out in the polar ocean.



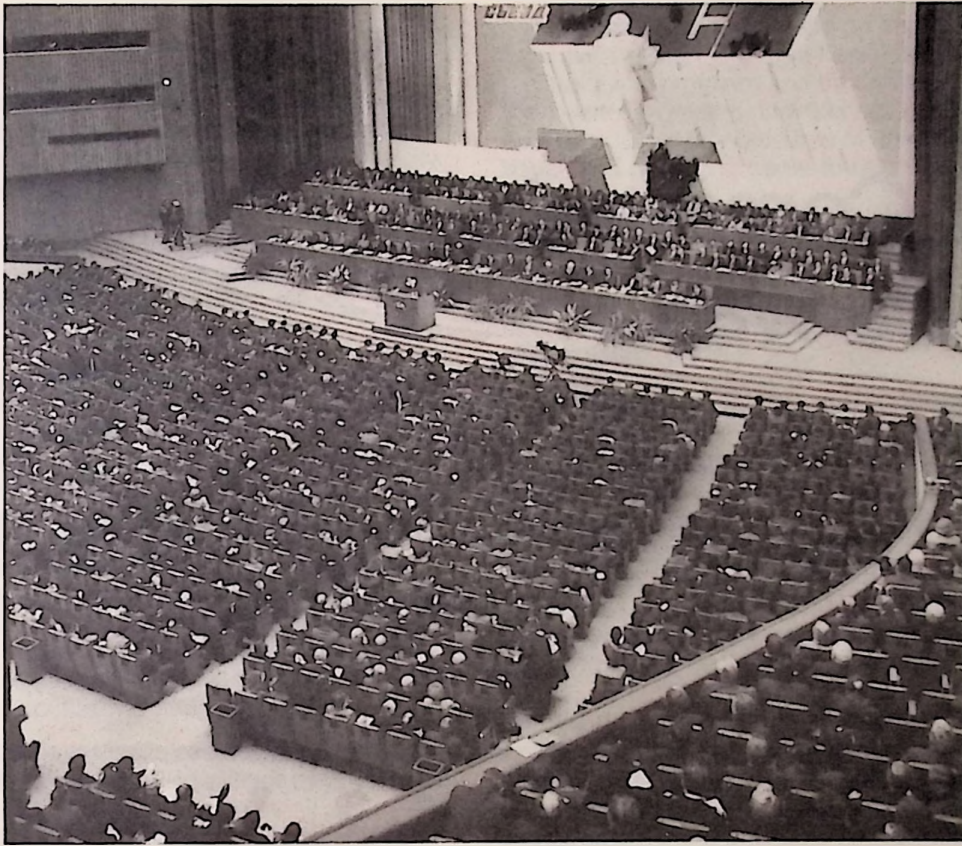
Soviet navigators have the advantage of widely using helicopters in the extreme north. You see here a kind of moveable "base" for helicopters where they can be held during impossible wind conditions. Copters are used also to transport necessities to ships.



Already Soviet freighters and ice-breakers have broken all records for extending the navigation season in polar waters. Today this route is the sole means for transporting masses of cargo to developing Siberian regions.



Hard to believe that the "Lenin," world's oldest Arctic fleet ship has experienced no breakdowns in those 21 years, but fuel has been saved in those 21 years, but in contrast with the massive oil tanks required, the advantage: nuclear breakers don't fear weather.



*Soviet Communists
Point the way*

"Soviet Communists Point The Way" is first offered in Canada as a Supplement to the June 1988 issue of the magazine *Northern Neighbors*.

Soviet Communists Point the way

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union met in late May, 1988, and approved the document which is to be presented to the nation-wide Communist Party Conference in June. The full text of this document, with no deletions or editing, is presented here in this "NN" Supplement. To obtain more copies see back cover.

Our country is going through profound revolutionary reforms of historic significance, initiated and organized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th Congress set the Party's course towards acceleration of social and economic development, towards all-round renovation of Soviet society, towards raising socialism to a qualitatively new level. This innovative strategy was deepened and concretized at the January and June 1987 Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee, during celebrations of the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution, and at the February Plenary Meeting this year. This laid down foundations for the theory and scientific policy of the restructuring of every aspect of society's life.

The purpose of restructuring or perestroika is fully to reveal the humanitarian nature and constructive vigour of socialism. Attainment of this objective is inseparable from promotion of democracy and openness, from self-management of the people, radical economic reform, moral cleansing of society, and from discovery of the creative potential inherent in the free and all-round development of the person.

What are the first results of perestroika? What needs to be done to remove the obstacles, to give a new and powerful impulse to the revolutionary process of renewal, to make it irreversible? The answers to these questions which keenly concern Communists and all Soviet people must be given by the 19th All-Union Party Conference, which opens in Moscow on June 28, 1988.

The agenda of the Conference is as follows: 1) progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the main results of the first half of the Twelfth Economic Plan period and the tasks of the Party organizations in

deepening the process of perestroika; 2) measures to further democratize the life of Party and society.

The issues being submitted for the consideration of the Conference are of vital significance for the Party and the country. We must give a realistic assessment of what has been done, approach achievement from positions of serious critical and self-critical analysis, see how the decisions we adopted are being carried out, focus on priority issues, sum up positive experience and define the prospects for our advance.

These theses of the CPSU Central Committee are being offered as a platform for discussion.

1. Perestroika has produced a fundamentally new ideological and political situation in society. It has become a reality and is gaining in strength, spreading in width and depth and extending to every stratum and sphere of life of society. The February 1988 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee described the ideological essence of the ongoing processes as a revolution in mentality, as ideological renovation. A salient feature of our time is the appearance of a real pluralism of opinions, open comparison of ideas and interests. Thanks to this, the Soviet people are now in a position more fully to exploit their intellectual and moral capacities and to join more vigorously in public life.

The platform of perestroika is politically consolidating the working class, the farmers, the intellectuals, all social forces. The Soviet people, by their work and social activity, are giving increasingly effective support to the revolutionary changes in the country. This is today's main trend in social development, the most important result of perestroika's first stage.

At the same time, perestroika is a conflicting process, proceeding as it does through difficulties and the struggle between the old and the new. Survivals of the conservative and bureaucratic mentality have proved especially tenacious. Adherents of dogmatic concepts of socialism are slow to yield. Attempts are being made to preserve the old, high-handed methods of running the economy and other spheres of life.

Without dealing with these negative phenomena, it is impossible to advance further and accomplish the major tasks of perestroika. We must raise the theoretical level of ideological and political work and deepen the creative discussions on the burning issues of socialism. While backing diversity of views, the CPSU Central Committee stresses that discussions can be fertile only if they are carried out on the basis and in the name of socialism. They must not lead to political confrontation, to disunity of social forces, because that would complicate the solution of problems vital for our entire society.

This also applies to many sensitive issues of history, interest in which has unusually grown of late. The Party will consistently conduct its policy of openness and glasnost, of free discussion of problems of our past and present, for only such a policy promotes moral improvement of Soviet society and its cleansing of everything that is alien to its humane nature.

We are by no means indifferent not only to goals and values of socialism, but also to means of attaining them, to the human price that has to be paid for them. It is our Party and civic duty to rehabilitate those who in the past fell victim to unjustified political accusations and illegality.

We need a constantly operating mechanism for comparing views, for criticism and self-criticism in the Party and society. The undoubted gains of the policy of openness are to be consolidated and multiplied. With the one-party system, which has historically evolved and established itself in this country, and is being closely combined today with processes of democratization, this is a matter of vital importance. A Leninist-type approach is essential here. In condemning factionalism, Lenin was definitively against persecution of his Party comrades for thinking otherwise. A constant and constructive political dialogue, the civilized way of conducting discussions, wide information available on matters of domestic and foreign policy, and study and account of public opinion have to become part and parcel of the Party's life.

2. Matters of economic and social development have featured prominently in the Party's activities since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee.

The years of stagnation put the country on the brink of an economic crisis. An extensive, spend-away system of economic management fully exhausted itself. Its structure and technical level are at variance with modern requirements. The commandist-administrative methods of management became a serious brake. Production, its efficiency, and living standards of the population ceased to grow. Many social questions were neglected. The finances of the country became seriously disrupted and the sense of responsibility of personnel and labour discipline slackened.

The Party was faced with a difficult task, one of taking the country out of the doldrums, of improving the economic situation, of putting development at the service of the people, of working out and implementing a set of long-term measures

to speed attainment of the advanced frontiers of world scientific, technical and economic progress.

As a first step, considerable work was done to introduce elementary order and to tighten discipline in the national economy, to set greater demands on personnel, and to remove the more glaring instances of bureaucratic methods standing in the way of people's normal work.

A practical start was made on implementing a new structural policy, with the emphasis on further scientific and technological progress and modernization of engineering as the basis for raising the technological level of the entire economy. Specific measures of an economic and organizational kind are being taken to raise the quality of products.

To counterbalance the "residual principle" used in the past in allocating funds for the development of the social sphere, more money was assigned for housing construction and health care, for the development of public education, the strengthening of the material base of culture, and for other social aims.

The main stress was placed on the development and real implementation of a radical reform to ensure transition from the predominantly administrative to economic methods of management, on increasing the interest of collectives and individual workers in the results of their work. The Laws on the State Enterprise (Association), on cooperatives, and on individual enterprise, which were adopted, marked major milestones along that road. Large scale work began across the country to transfer enterprises to profit-and-loss accounting, to progressive forms of organization and stimulation of labour, to self-management. These forms are unfettering the initiative of work collectives, the enterprising spirit of people, prompt them to work with maximum effect, help extirpate wage-levelling in all forms, and are putting the process of democratization on a material foundation.

The Party set the course towards full application of the potential of the collective and State farms through the development of diverse contract forms, establishment of a wide network of cooperatives within the framework of existing farms and in conjunction with other enterprises and branches of the economy.

Certainly, two to three years is not long enough to implement radical economic reforms. We are at an early stage, in a sort of transition period. It is only from this year that the Law on the State Enterprise and other decisions relating to the economic reform have begun to operate, and even they are not functioning at full strength, for they were put into effect in the middle of the five year period, with old prices, in the absence of wholesale trade in the means of production, in conditions of continuing scarcity of goods. The major programmes of technological progress that have been drawn up and put into operation will not bring returns at once.

And still positive shifts are taking place. The main thing is that we have been able to halt the growth of negative tendencies that threatened to grow into a crisis situation, to reverse these trends and to create certain prerequisites for further steady advance.

This is not only a question of raising the rate of growth in industrial production, in increasing the commissioning of fixed assets and improving other quantitative indicators. The important thing is that these rates have been achieved on a more sound economic basis. For the first time the entire increment in national income last year was obtained through

labour productivity. Early encouraging results have appeared in the development of prototypes of modern equipment and technology. There has been some increase in agricultural output.

The situation in the social sphere has changed too. Over the past two years the average monthly wages of industrial and office workers have gone up by almost 6 per cent, and labour remuneration of collective farmers, by 8.9 per cent. The amount of housing annually completed for tenancy, compared with the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, has grown by 15 million square metres. The death rate has declined and the birth rate has risen, with the measures against alcoholism and drinking contributing to that in no small degree.

Positive results are here to see, but they do not give grounds for speaking about a radical turn in the country's social and economic development. The economic structure is still heavily handicapped, bearing a manifestly spend-away character. Targets for national income growth and resource saving are not being met. Engineering is developing more slowly than was planned. There is still a shortage of high quality electronic goods, and progressive constructional materials.

Especially intolerable are failures to meet assignments for accelerated growth of consumer goods production. Difficulties remain in food supplies for the population. Targets for increasing the output and raising the quality of consumer goods, for raising goods turnover, have not been achieved. Commodity-money imbalances and the deficit of the state budget are having a negative effect on current production and the course of the reform itself.

The potentialities that opened up with the start of the reform are being put to obviously insufficient use. The conference is to look into the causes of that. Evidently, despite all difficulties of changing over from one system of economic management to another, a good deal stems from the conservative and backward mentality of some of our economic executives and whole collectives, from a striving to cling to habitual ways and methods, to live and work in the old way.

One cannot fail to see that measures to implement the economic reform are being to a considerable extent paralysed by the bureaucratic position of some Ministries and departments, of economic bodies. In many instances, the old ways of administrative diktat are being preserved under a guise of state-placed orders, economic normatives and other new methods of management. Perestroika at the level of branch Ministries is clearly behind perestroika at enterprise. In view of this, we must uncompromisingly condemn moves that distort the essence of the economic reform and are directly or indirectly undermining the Law on Enterprises.

Life is also posing such a serious question as promotion of economic competition as an antidote to monopoly, stagnation and conservatism.

In the context of this situation, the activities of the USSR State Planning Committee, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the USSR Ministry of Finance, branch Ministries and other Union departments, economic bodies in Republics, enterprises and organizations, must be analyzed and assessed. This is especially important in view of the forthcoming transfer of enterprises in all branches to cost accounting and self-financing. In drawing lessons from the initial stage of perestroika, we must

accelerate solution of the problems which decide the full application of the principles of the economic reform. We must accelerate transition to wholesale trade of the means of production, carry out measures to improve the credit and finance system, and prepare carefully and conduct in good time a reform of prices and pricing. Without that, it is impossible to introduce really full cost accounting at enterprises, ensure full autonomy of work collectives, develop the cooperative movement, and raise the efficiency of the economy and ultimately the prosperity of the people. It should be stressed also that revision of retail prices must be done without detriment to the living standards of the population.

An effective social policy is one of the chief priorities in the Party's activity. This is why it is vital to highlight the social purport of economic development while elaborating the 13th Five-Year Plan. Special attention should be given to quickly meeting the Soviet people's need for quality foodstuffs. It is also important that the market gets a big range of quality consumer goods, that a modern sphere of services is created, housing construction accelerated, and that existing public health and education programs succeed.

One of the main tasks is to step up the efforts for environmental protection and improvement of the ecological situation in the country.

As decided by the 27th CPSU Congress, the number one production task is the program for accelerated development of key mechanical engineering branches, electronics, instrument making, and machine-tool construction. Next year we have to start more resolutely and radically changing structural policy in the field of production and investment and taking rigorous economy and resource saving measures.

It is quite possible to reach the targets set in the 12th Five-Year Plan and raise our economic and social sphere to a new qualitative level. Hundreds and even thousands of Soviet work collectives have considerably raised labour productivity and achieved world-beating levels under the new conditions of management. Not only individual enterprises and associations but whole branches are keeping the set pace according to all indicators. Thanks to better management, certain regions and Republics have performed better than average in food supplies and goods and services for the public. The paramount task of all economic executives and all work collectives is to follow the example of advanced enterprises, use their experience, eradicate parasitic attitudes, and show their own initiative.

3. Restructuring stipulates the all-round development and maximum use of the intellectual and spiritual potential contained in progressing science, education, and culture.

The Party's economic and social strategy is based on speeding up scientific and technological progress and, first of all, mastering the achievements of its present stage linked with the development of advanced technologies — microelectronics, robotics, informatics, biotechnology — and also the development of materials with preset qualities, instrument making, etc.

Positive shifts are taking shape in the development of Soviet science and technology. Higher standards are put on the technological level of products. The terms for introducing up-to-date items into production have been reduced. The network of technological research organizations has become more flexible. There have appeared fundamentally new structural entities: inter-sectoral technological research

complexes, engineering centres, and task forces. More than 500 research and production associations have been established. Investments in research and development have grown. It is also important that research organizations are becoming an integral part in the system of cost accounting.

But no substantial changes have taken place in scientific and technological progress. Effective mechanisms have not yet been found for reflecting work collectives' interests in this important sphere. The material base of Soviet science continues lagging behind. Many executives still consider only the benefits of the moment and fully rely upon higher ranking bodies.

The mainstream for influencing technological progress lies through restructuring an economic mechanism which is supposed to ensure the steady perfection of production and maintain the quality of items at world-beating levels.

The call of the day is more resolute measures in perfecting the management of technology and overcoming departmental barriers. Inter-sectoral associations that are not directly subordinate to Ministries are one of the new organizational forms. They make it possible to ensure strict succession between research, technology and equipment, investment, production, sales, and services. Work collectives will be able to more promptly renew equipment and technology without any delays and departmental coordinations.

Technology issues have to be viewed in the general context of social development. The social impact of large-scale projects needs to be carefully studied if we are to avoid grave ecological and moral consequences. The latter must be reduced to a minimum or excluded altogether.

The new tasks facing society at the present stage considerably raise the role of science in all processes of restructuring. The present level of society's development calls for a major breakthrough in all natural, technical, and social sciences. The USSR Academy of Sciences is expected to make a growing contribution to this.

Socialism today cannot successfully develop without advancement in science and technology. This progress coupled with socialism, in turn, becomes a mighty lever for social rejuvenation and onward movement.

The humanistic principles of our policy are aimed at ensuring society's spiritual progress and boosting people's cultural and educational standards. Much attention has in the last three years been paid to the development of education at all its stages and levels. Problems of restructuring the system of general, specialized, and higher education were examined at the February 1988 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Our higher and secondary schools are lagging far behind the needs of the time and scientific, technological, and cultural progress. Vigorous efforts by all society are needed to assure an improved quality of development.

More and more favorable conditions are being created in the course of restructuring for Soviet culture to advance, for people to refine morally and intellectually, for talents and gifts to win through and for civil qualities to dominate. Our intellectuals are making a weighty contribution to the accomplishment of these tasks. Earlier existing and newly-established artistic unions and associations have stepped up their activity. The artist's responsibility for the destinies of the country have become an even more topical problem.

4. The CPSU's policy for restructuring and speeding up the country's socio-economic development has from the very outset been linked with democratization of Soviet society and affirmation of the people's socialist self-government. Very important shifts have taken place in this respect. Thanks to truthfulness, openness, and greater criticism and self-criticism, the country's life has become more vigorous, democratic processes are being launched in production management, and resolute steps are being taken to combat inertia and outdated structures. But what has been done up to now is only a prelude to the accomplishment of an extremely significant and complicated task — profound and all-round democratization of the Party and society.

An unbiased analysis of the achievements in the economic, social, and cultural spheres over the past three years and the problems emerging in the course of restructuring testifies to the need for reforming the political system of Soviet society. The aim is to really draw broad sections of the population into running all state and public affairs and to complete the formation of a socialist law-based state.

It is vital to strengthen and develop the fundamental principles of socialist statehood born of the October Revolution. These principles and, first of all, the power of the people with the Party in the vanguard, are an indispensable condition for our country's subsequent social progress. Restructuring is called upon to free the political system of Soviet society from all that is linked with the consequences of the personality cult, administrative regimentation, red tape, working people's alienation from government, and deviations from the Leninist norms of Party and State life. It should go on dynamically and lead to timely rejuvenation, with due regard for the changing conditions of domestic and international life.

5. Restructuring presents in a new light the CPSU's role as the guiding and organizing force in Soviet society.

The CPSU Central Committee proceeds from the Leninist concept of the Party as the political vanguard of the working class and all working people. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the Party is called upon to work out a theory and strategy of social development, domestic and foreign policy, and the ideology of socialist rejuvenation. It must also carry out political and organizational work among the people and properly educate and place personnel.

The Party acted in this very way in Lenin's lifetime and under Lenin's leadership. But after Lenin's death, deviations from the Leninist principles started. Freedom of discussion, traditional for the Party, was curtailed. Foundations of collective leadership and inner-Party democracy were violated. This vicious practice remained in the years of stagnation to some extent or other. The absence of limitations on elected office upset the natural rejuvenation of personnel. Some executives started thinking that they had been appointed to their posts for life. They considered themselves infallible, abused power, and neglected the interests of rank-and-file Party members and working people.

Such a situation gravely affected the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, the government, local Party organizations, and all Communists. Party bodies increasingly tackled current economic and administrative management problems, substituting for the Soviets and other State bodies. This had a negative impact on the implementation of the

Party's basic functions, weakened its political and ideological influence, and sharpened many social development problems.

The Party had the courage to critically examine the situation. It has launched restructuring and is step by step transforming itself and inner-Party life. One of the most urgent tasks is to establish such political mechanisms and guarantees that would rule out in the future possibilities for violating the Leninist principles of Party leadership in society.

Taking account of the views expressed at Party meetings, in work collectives and in the press, the CPSU Central Committee believes it expedient to consider the following suggestions during the Conference.

To restore in full measure the Leninist understanding of the principle of democratic centralism in accordance with which freedom of debate should be ensured at the stage when issues are discussed and concerted action ensured after a decision has been passed by a majority.

To proceed in the relationship between the Party and the state from the Leninist principles of a precise delimitation of their functions. All Party organizations should act in compliance with the Constitution of the USSR and with Soviet laws. Party committees should not pass resolutions addressing direct instructions to state and economic bodies, or to public organizations. The CPSU shall steer its political course via Communists working in bodies of state authority in all spheres of society's life.

Proceeding from the tasks of the CPSU as the political vanguard and from deep-running changes in society, the activities of primary Party organizations should be restructured radically. While remaining the political nucleus of each collective, they should not supplant work collectives and their bodies in the discharge of the functions provided for under the Law on the State Enterprise, the Law on Cooperation and other legislative acts. Acting primarily via Communists and working in the midst of the people, Party organizations should ensure that every work collective copes in full with the functions entrusted to it, and exercises its democratic rights.

The role of Party meetings, Party Committees and every communist in implementing the decisions of the Party should be reconsidered from that viewpoint. The atmosphere of openness, debate, criticism and self-criticism, Party comradeship and discipline, collectivity and personal responsibility should be restored in full measure. Current developments in the life of Party organizations are proceeding precisely in this direction. They should be supported and developed in every way.

Questions of the qualitative composition of the Party ranks and the performance by communists of their vanguard role are being widely discussed in the Party and society. In this connection the view is expressed that the practice of regulating the growth of Party ranks by "order" runs counter to real requirements of the development of the Party itself and of all society.

The common view is that demands on those joining the Party should be made decisively more exacting so that really worthy people with superior political, moral and business qualities, convinced fighters for the program goals of the Party, can join its ranks. The opinion of the work collective

concerned absolutely must be taken into consideration.

To consider during the conference the expediency of conducting in the period before the next CPSU Congress the discussion of the social and political posture of every communist, this being an effective means for self-purification and for making the Party stronger. The discussion of communists' work at open meetings of Party organizations shall promote activity by them and a personal contribution to the life of their collective and to the cause of perestroika.

In the light of the experience accumulated since the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, changes should be made in the procedure of forming elected Party bodies. Genuine competition, wide-scale discussion of candidates and voting by secret ballot should become a norm. What matters here is not the post one occupies, but one's ideological, moral and business qualities, one's political authority and one's active stance in advancing perestroika. During the elections to all Party Committees communists shall have the right to nominate a number of candidates exceeding that of the committee membership.

Such a procedure of nomination, discussion and election of Party committee members and secretaries could be applied to the process of forming Party bodies from the level of District and City Party Committees to the Central Committees of the Parties of the Union Republics and at the CPSU Central Committee level.

All Party Committees starting at the District and City level shall be elected for a standard term of five years. Simultaneously a Communist shall not hold an elected post in the CPSU for more than two terms in a row. Election for a third term in a row shall be possible only on the initiative of communists and shall require a preliminary decision on admission to the elections. Such a decision shall be passed by no less than three-fourths of the membership of the Party Committee concerned. The voting shall be by secret ballot.

Special responsibility in affirming the Party as the political vanguard rests with the CPSU Central Committee. It should develop and consolidate in every way the principles of collective leadership in its work so that all members of the Central Committee can participate in deciding principal questions related to the political course of the Party on a basis of wide-scale discussion. The Conference is to consider possible suggestions concerning new forms of collective work of the Central Committee members in-between Plenums. All this should eventually be directed toward enhancing the role of the Party's Central Committee.

To provide for the possibility for a partial replacement of Central Committee members in-between Congresses and assure a continuing inflow of fresh forces. Decisions on this score should be made by a qualified majority. Voting should be by secret ballot.

To introduce the necessary structural and personnel changes in the Party with due account of the Party's growing role as the political vanguard and with due account of delimiting the functions of Party committees from those of state and economic bodies. The principle of strict subordination and accountability of Party functionaries to elected Party bodies should be followed, while bureaucracy, Communist conceit and unwarranted secrecy in Party life should be fought decisively.

The Party's personnel policy demands serious renewal in the conditions of democratization. A formal approach to the selection and distribution of cadres is becoming outdated. The organization of cadre training and retraining, cadre education and the recommendation of both communists and non-Party people for ranking posts should become the principal method of work of Party Committees. Election results should determine the final settlement of personnel questions.

It is expedient to consider during the Conference the question of improving control and auditing work in the Party. At present the Party has the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and the Party Control Committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee. The suggestion is made that there should be one body in the future which should be elected by the Party Congress to oversee the compliance of communists with the demands of Party discipline and of the CPSU rules and monitor the financial and economic activity of Party bodies.

All these proposals should be directed toward a consistent observance of the democratic principles of Party life, enhance the spirited character of the Party and its ability to lead the process of revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and set the pace of perestroika.

6. The main guideline for making our society and State more democratic is restoration in full measure of the role and powers of the Soviets of People's Deputies as plenipotentiary bodies of popular representation.

Lenin discovered in the Soviets, born of the experience of the revolutions in Russia, a political form according with the nature of socialism. Being representative bodies of power and organizations with a mass public membership, the Soviets organically combine the principles of statehood and self-government. Having an immense democratic potential, they have demonstrated their viability and corroborated the correctness of Lenin's discovery.

At the same time we notice serious shortcomings in the work of the Soviets and the dissatisfaction of the working people with their performance. As a result of known deformations, the rights and powers of the representative bodies have been curtailed and they remain under unwarranted tutelage from Party Committees. In many cases Ministries and departments decide matters of economic and social development over their heads. Not infrequently Executive Committees and officials employed by them usurp functions of the Soviets, while Deputies are left to sanction pre-looked decisions. It is vital to change this situation radically and reinstate the Soviets in their real governing powers by turning over to them all specific questions of State, economic, social and cultural life for consideration and decision.

Material and financial possibilities of local Soviets should be substantially broadened. It is important to ensure the formation of local budgets on the basis of long-term norms with emphasis made primarily on augmenting budget receipts of local Soviets from enterprises and economic agencies located on their respective territories. Local bodies of State authority should be made fully responsible for and independent in deciding matters related to the development of their respective territories. Broad use should be made of profit-and-loss accounting, contractual and other forms of relations with enterprises and agencies, no matter to whom

the latter are subordinated. Consistent efforts should be made to preclude intervention by higher bodies of State authority and management agencies in the process of making decisions within the competence of local Soviets situated lower down the line, and also to preclude numerous unnecessary coordinations.

The correct relationship between local Soviets and Councils of work collectives acquires special importance. The basic premise here is that a Soviet of People's Deputies coordinates the drafting and implementation of plans for social development of enterprises, collective and State farms, the promotion of democratic principles in production management, and defence of the interests of the population from what Lenin described as excessive departmental zeal.

Changes in the functions of the Soviets and the need for a more careful and competent study of questions shall make it essential to extend the duration of their sessions. A number of Deputies should be relieved, either for the entire duration of their term or periodically, from their official and production duties so that they can work in the Soviets, standing Commissions and constituencies.

The Soviets should work in an atmosphere of the greatest possible openness. Members of the general public and media representatives should be free to attend their meetings, and the electors and the public should be kept systematically informed about the results of their work.

Genuine primacy of Soviets over Executive bodies should be ensured. It should be stipulated that officials employed by Executive bodies accountable to a given Soviet cannot simultaneously be Deputies to that Soviet. This rule should be applied to persons making up the Council of Ministers of the Republics and, with only a few exceptions, to members of the All-Union government, as well as to judges, State arbiters and Procurators. Officials should be appointed to Executive bodies by the Soviets, and as a rule only after standing Commissions make corresponding conclusions to this effect.

Local Soviets (with the exception of those at village and settlement levels) should establish Presidium that could concern themselves with organizing the Deputies' work, coordinating the activities of standing Commissions and Deputies' groups and which in-between sessions could supervise the work carried out by Executive Committees. It is expedient to concentrate the attention of Executive Committees on economic, administrative and executive functions.

To ensure better continuity and efficiency of Deputies, the standard term of all Soviet of People's Deputies in the country should be fixed at five years.

The transfer of power in its entirety, from the bottom through the top, presupposes that the role of the country's supreme body of authority should grow radically. In its structure and activities due account should be taken of the accumulated experience of the functioning of our political system, including the procedure of work of Soviets' Congresses and of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR — a practice that took shape under Lenin. Various versions and suggestions are possible here. Some of them have already been put forth during the current debates: on extending the duration of sessions of the supreme body of authority; on delimiting precisely the powers and making up for the lack of functional individuality of the chambers; on electing a

number of Deputies directly from public organizations that make up the political system of our society, and so forth.

To observe the Leninist principles of State life, a rule shall be introduced according to which no one may hold an elective government post for more than two terms, i.e. for 10 years. Election for a third term running can take place on Deputies' initiative, with obligatory preliminary decision on allowing the nominee to run for elections, taken by no less than 75 per cent of Deputies of the Soviet involved, by secret ballot.

The Constitutional premise shall be strictly observed that one person may not be Deputy of more than two Soviets at a time.

The necessity to dramatically enhance the role of Soviets requires an election system reform to guarantee free nomination of candidates, and wide and multi-sided discussion of the nominees at public meetings and in the mass media.

Elections must naturally proceed from the will of the voters, who give preference to principles, efficient and dynamic persons able to become worthy representatives of the people in Soviet State bodies and to express the whole range of the people's social, ethnic and occupational interests.

The new conditions enhance the role of the Soviet government, the Supreme Executive and Administrative State body, in exercising domestic and foreign policies, governing the country, and the elaboration and implementation of plans and long-term programmes for economic, social and cultural development.

The conference shall pay due attention to the restructuring of the State management system, with account for the democratic change under way in the Soviet community, and the radical economic reform. The formation of economic, organizational and legal conditions for efficient performance of all offices and organizations shall become the main purport of the work of State bodies. The structure of the apparatus and the number of its officials must be brought into correspondence with those functions, with unnecessary sections abolished. The performance of management bodies needs strict supervision by Soviets, the People's Inspectorate and community activists to do away with command and pressure management, the bureaucratic spirit and red tape. Wide publicity and openness in management are also highly effective here.

Perestroika and democratic change in the Soviet community requires the Leninist principles of organizing the inspection to be fully implemented, to become a genuine, truly efficient vehicle of direct and immediate participation by workers, peasants, intellectuals and representatives of all other social strata in the running of state and social affairs.

It seems expedient, in this connection, to set up a unified system of State and public inspection under elective ruling bodies. Supported by its groups in work collectives and territorial units, such a system can largely promote the implementation of current national tasks.

7. The restructuring of the political system requires timely measures discussed and adopted to further improve the

Soviet Federation. The brilliant results of the Leninist nationalities policy over the 70 Soviet years are evident to all.

We have done tremendous, historic work to overcome inter-ethnic strife, guarantee the right of nations to self-determination, revive and encourage ethnic cultures, and boost the progress of what used to be backward national outskirts. A unified national economic complex has taken shape and functions successfully as the material basis for the unity of Soviet peoples.

Practice has shown, at the same time, that inter-ethnic relations require constant attention, as does the progress of every ethnic entity. A political line to satisfy all ethnic communities' interests and promote their rapprochement and mutual aid, alongside an internationalist ideology incompatible with nationalism and chauvinism, provide the basis for the solution of inter-ethnic issues.

All Soviet Constituent Republics and autonomous units have built on their economic, cultural and manpower potential. Ethnic awareness is duly growing. The independence of Constituent and Autonomous Republics and other ethnic administrative units must go hand-in-hand with their responsibility for national State interests. Herein lies the way to further progress of ethnic communities, to closer friendship between them, and the consolidation of the Soviet nation. Herein is our strength and the guarantee of prosperity for the Soviet Union as a whole and for every ethnic entity.

Decentralization and concession of as many management duties as possible to local bodies fully concerns every form of Soviet ethnic entities' statehood and autonomy, with strict observance of Constitutional premises and the Soviet legislation, which guarantee the rights of Constituent and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and national districts.

Political institutions whose duty it is to spotlight ethnic interests and bring them into mutual accord shall grow more active. That is a topical demand.

Ethnic entities which have no statehood and no territorial units of their own are entitled to more possibilities to express and satisfy their demands.

Inter-ethnic issues shall be settled on the basis of genuine democracy, in the spirit of perestroika. Such is the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee. Whatever their ethnic background, communists have always been the heart and the cementing force of the great socialist union of the Soviet peoples: a sublime and responsible mission, which will remain just as vital in the future.

8. The process of consistent democratic change in the Soviet community will complete the formation of the law-based socialist state as a form of organization and workings of political rule which fully corresponds to socialism and socialist democracy. Legality, supreme and triumphant, which expresses the people's will, is the pivot of such a state. State and Party bodies, mass organizations, work collectives, and all officials and private persons shall proceed from strictly observed legality in all their actions.

As we add the concept "law-based" to the characteristics of our State, which belongs to the whole people, it should

be emphasized once again that the State is responsible to its citizens, just as they are responsible to the State. Constant concern with strengthening the guarantees of Soviet citizens' rights and freedoms is the duty of the State. The latter premise pertains to further extension of social rights (to work, leisure, education, health protection, social security, etc.) whose harbinger the Soviet Union has been for the whole world. It also implies material and juridical conditions for the exercise of Constitutional freedoms (freedom of speech, the press, conscience, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations, etc.) and firmer guarantees of personal rights, such as the inviolability of the person and the home, and privacy of correspondence and telephone conversations, to name but few.

We must make further headway along those lines to implement all intrinsic potentials of socialist society and eradicate the distortions and deformations we owe to deviations from the Leninist principles of statehood and to authoritarian government methods alien to the socialist system.

With this end in view, a deep-going juridical reform is necessary. It is called upon to radically improve the work of all bodies whose duty it is to consolidate legality and protect the democratic principles of statehood, and citizens' rights and freedoms.

The first priorities of that reform include dramatic enhancement of the role of justice, and strict observance of democratic principles in court procedure, of contestation of the judicial process, of the principle of equality of the Parties, of publicity and presumption of innocence. There is a noteworthy proposal to increase the number of People's Assessors (jurors) for especially important cases.

Procurators' offices need new work patterns, which would correspond to Leninist concepts, to efficiently observe unified application of laws, firmly protect Soviet citizens' rights and interests, and safeguard the observance of State and social discipline. Judges, Public Prosecutors and investigators shall have guarantees against any pressure or interference with their work. They are subordinate to the law — the law alone.

Legality will also be strengthened by a resolute increase in the militia's responsibility for combating crime and misdemeanors, by expanding the competence of State arbitration bodies, and encouraging the activities of the bar. Juridical services in the national economy require major improvements, as does the organization of universal legal education.

The improvement and codification of Soviet legislation demands a vast and concerted effort. On the one hand, outdated laws and numerous departmental instructions running counter to the demands of economic and political reforms have become part and parcel of the braking mechanism and have to be cancelled. On the other, we need a set of new laws to promote the interests of the people, their collectives and organizations. To update Soviet legislation, we must firmly adhere to the following principle: everything is permissible unless prohibited by the law.

9. For the political system of socialism to function meaningfully it must rely on a ramified network of public organizations which will express and satisfy the interests of various social, professional, and age-based groups.

Trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives and other public organizations, research associations and artistic unions are called upon to vigorously contribute to perestroika in all of its areas, restructure themselves and reassess their standing in society and the role they play, and tap their potential to the full in the new conditions.

Perestroika brought into existence women's and veterans' associations, the Soviet Culture Foundation and the Children's Fund, and many public initiative bodies. These came as expression of the workers' patriotic sentiments, of their desire to immediately contribute to the revolutionary renewal of society, ensure broader access to the values of the national and world cultures, improve the life of the people, protect the environment and historical values.

Talking about public organizations, we cannot but see that formalistic and bureaucratic attitudes are still there. Attempts have been made to contain independence of such organizations and order them about. There are efforts to make public organizations into State-run agencies and over-staff them. This is something that destroys public initiative.

The main avenue of progress for public organizations is creative initiative of rank-and-file people and encouragement of self-government. As more democracy is introduced inside public organizations, steps should be devised to give them a bigger say in the political process. They should use their right to initiate bills, send representatives to the bodies of power, be partners of the State in pursuing social programmes, in solving the problems of housing construction, health care, labour, social security, education, leisure, provision of amenities, trade, day-to-day life, etc.

There is a need to formulate right now a legal basis for the operation of public organizations, voluntary societies, and independent associations. The political criterion to go by is that any public activity should be recognized as long as it stays within the Constitution and does not jeopardize the progress of our Soviet socialist society.

10. The Soviet perestroika effort has emerged as a world factor. Capable of promoting peace by definition, it needed such a foreign policy as would adequately express its humanistic essence, call for more democracy in our international ties, and for a new role for this country where the international division of labour is concerned.

A critical analysis of the past has been made to show that our foreign policy, too, did not escape dogmatic and subjective attitudes. It trailed behind fundamental changes that occurred in the world and missed chances to reduce tensions and enhance understanding among nations. In our bid for military-strategic parity we occasionally failed to use opportunities available to attain security for our nation by political means, and, as a result, allowed ourselves to be lured into an arms race, which could not but affect this country's social and economic progress and its standing on the international scene.

Foreign policy relies on a new mode of thinking, one that is consistent and based on research and free from historically hackneyed stereotypes. The new mode of thinking reflects the realities of the modern world. Versatile and controversial as it is, a world that questions the very survival of humanity

and yet contains a formidable potential for coexistence, cooperation, and a quest for political solutions to urgent issues.

The new political thinking has made it possible to advance a number of major ideas that have captivated an alarmed world. The main ones are a programme for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, a system of comprehensive security, freedom of choice, a balance of interests, a "common European home," a programme to overhaul relations in Asia and the Pacific, defense sufficiency and a non-offensive doctrine, international economic security, buildup of national and regional security through arms cuts, readiness to mutually put an end to the presence of foreign troops and bases in alien territory, confidence measures, an idea for direct involvement of the authority of science in world politics.

Such is our creed in foreign policy. We have announced it without imposing any conditions or dogmas on anyone. We have announced it inviting everybody to participate in joint reflection and quest and do it on the basis of national and humanity's interests.

In disarmament we have offered far-reaching decisions and shown readiness to compromise in a major way. This has enabled such significant breakthroughs to happen as the Geneva Summit and, especially, the Reykjavik Summit. These two meetings broke the deadlock on the process of negotiations and made a heavy impact on the entire international climate.

The whole style of our foreign policy has changed. Its distinguishing feature is dialogue. There is an unprecedented intensity of contacts at leadership level with the outside world, as represented in heads of State and ordinary citizens. This has signified a "fresh discovery" of the Soviet Union. And for us — feedback, a chance to know and understand better the world and correspondingly build our policy, furthering the formation of international relations which are civilized and contemporary.

The priority trend is with the socialist countries. Together with our friends we have set about a comradely clean-out of the encrustations of formal attitudes and showiness, and in action have linked the principles of equitableness, independence and non-interference with the objective reality of the multitude of national forms in socialist society. Our internationalist contacts are built on a basis of mutual benefit, a balance of interests, common responsibility for the destinies and prestige of socialism, and augmentation of its role in world development.

Over the years of perestroika relations with a large number of states, neighbouring and remote, have been improved or inaugurated. And relations have been spoiled with none.

We have stated anew our inter-relations with such eminent forces influencing the world process as the communist and social-democratic among other political parties, the non-aligned movement, and intellectual quarters embodying the authority of science and culture.

Events have shown that the new political outlook correctly reflects the urgent requirements and imperatives of the modern world. It has evoked hope, opened the road to a major

breakthrough in human conscience, and increases the real thrust of public opinion in the world.

The arrival of the new outlook in international politics has been crowned with big practical achievements: the INF Treaty was signed and the Geneva Agreements have initiated the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan.

The definite improvement in Soviet-American relations, symbolized by the Summit meetings, gives grounds to reckon on a fundamental turn toward eradicating the nuclear threat. The multilateral process of negotiations which we have actively promoted is bringing near a ban on chemical weapons and opening up an opportunity to ease the dangerous confrontation between the two most mighty military alliances — the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty — and to reduce conventional forces in Europe.

We are not casting aside the militarist danger which lurks in the essence of imperialism. Soviet defence construction is defined by this and the efficiency of it henceforth should be supplied by parameters of quality in respect to technology and personal staff alike. The realities of the contemporary world and permutations for objective factors born of war lead us to think that the security of states will more and more be removed from military correlations to the sphere of politics with pre-eminence for law, human morality and fulfillment of international obligations.

The radical economic reform and our new approach to commerce have produced the first shoots needed for more efficient involvement of our country in the world economy.

The three years of perestroika allow us to respond to the paramount question worrying our people and the nations of the world. Will we send back the threat of war? Yes, certainly. The direct threat of a war involving the major powers has diminished. The international position of the Soviet Union has markedly improved, and through heightened trust in our country rather than an increase in might. The world situation has acquired more stability and predictability. More real is the prospect of bridling the arms race with all its consequences. The burden of military expenditure will decline.

An opportunity has opened to offset the threat to peace on a broader social and political basis than ever. A chance to lay the ground and have global problems resolved in conjoint efforts by the world community. The Party will actively and persistently act for these goals.

* * *

The path to a brand new state of society and a new face for socialism lies through revolutionary restructuring and democratization in the ideological, economic and social spheres, through reform in the political system.

We must reproduce in full deep significance the principles of scientific socialism whereby a person's actions rather than words are the main factor in material and cultural development and are the goal he sets himself.

The Party will build its policies with distinct orientation on the humanitarian principles and targets of socialism, and will seek to accomplish by humanitarian and democratic means.

Naturally, real life and the dialectics of social development will add plenty of new aspects to current ideas about the ways to socialist reforms, allowing us to clarify and enrich. Several questions will require amendments to the Constitution and Legislation, and some new decisions in Party Congress.

Advancing these considerations for discussion, the Central Committee anticipates active participation by communists and all workers. This will enable the 19th All-Union Party Conference to adopt well-considered measures which will speed resolute onward progress and confirm perestroika as revolutionary and irreversible.

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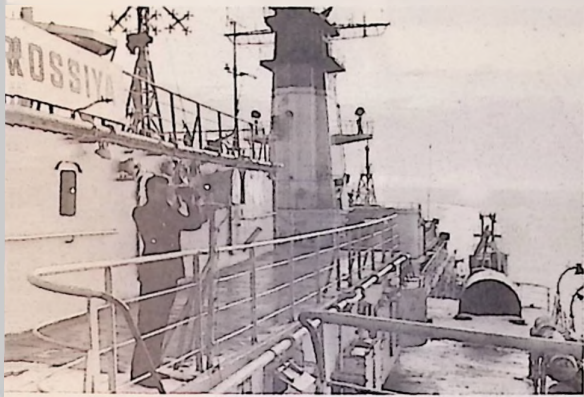
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cross the North Pole



...ntly in any kind of ice conditions and will be ideal

Although USSR has spent years developing the North Polar Sea Route "on top" of the Soviet Arctic regions, up to now their meteorologists and seamen concentrated on the coastal waters, leaving the icy and stormy central polar ocean alone. Engineer V. Kupetsky, from the Chukchee port of Pevek (you saw this region in March NN) reversed that approach. He studied the "cyclones" (giant climate "machines") and concluded that these gales must disperse the worst polar ice, out in the ocean.

The relatively open water, he predicted, would extend from Canada's polar sea right across to the Soviet "polynya."

His complex mathematical approach dealt with the four gigantic cyclones that whirl clockwise and counter-clockwise above Asia, Canada, the Atlantic and North Pacific. One "pair" drives vast masses of ice towards the shores of Chukchee, another does the same opposite Greenland. Near the coasts these cyclones pile up impenetrable barriers of heavy ice. But that's not how they act everywhere near the North Pole.

Strangely enough, several Soviet expeditions, dating back to 1973, had been able to sail across the pole following a specific route. The giant Soviet nuclear icebreaker Sibir made that trip in 1987. The voyage was uneventful even in a season when the ice was terrible everywhere in coastal waters.

Engineer Kupetsky and reporter Ilves did it again last spring, in a motor ship and ice-boat. So open was the ice that they saw seals in it. Wide cracks appeared very often, obviously suitable for navigation by ordinary freighters. It even turned out that well-kept ice charts of these waters had long recorded big areas of open water, frequently, in winter.

In other words, ships can sail across the roof of the world, across the North Pole itself, without encountering any prohibitive ice.

The super-powerful Soviet nuclear ice-breakers would guarantee a safe and fast passage of freighters through this remarkable route.

It's by far the shortest and fastest route for shipping from USSR, and all Europe, to Canada and thence to USA also.



Another nuclear "work-horse," the "Sibir," leading a long convoy through the ice.



...rst nuclear-powered ice-breaker, has
In that time of service with the Soviet
owns. Indeed, it's nuclear power plant
e have no figures on how much diesel
the "Lenin" takes only "shovels" of fuel
ired by standard breakers. Biggest
nning out of fuel in the most terrible



Left: believe it or not, they're sitting on the North Pole, after being taken there in comfort by the "Sibir." Right: two nuclear specialists surveying the "Sibir" for any possible radiation.





Have you forgotten how to enjoy a good laugh?

Leftists are notorious for not paying attention to anything funny. Even progressive cartoons are grim. Well, people laugh a lot in Socialism. Especially today. Leonid Treyer sees the funny side of perestroika. What he tells us is strictly for laughs.

Say what you like, life has become more interesting (in USSR). You see one guy get fired, and the next guy winds up in the clink. Here you read about a Soviet mafia, then comes a story about corruption.

A quiet Soviet Republic in the South turns out to have as many "godfathers" as Sicily. You read the papers and the truth takes your breath away. If you want to borrow a literary journal from the library, you've got to wait six months.

Everybody rushes to breathe in the new freedom for fear it might stop any time.

Meetings are so impassioned that you can't doze off any more. Anyone can speak up, not just those on the prepared list. And the things they say! Once they would have been called renegades. Today they get applause!

Unrestrained democracy takes getting used to. I personally need to get used to it. "No!" was the rule for so long that I get suspicious when anyone says "Yes!" I feel like a domesticated goose that's been given permission to fly.

Occasionally I feel like shouting something rude and accusing, but then a voice inside me says: "Stop! What if this is just another curve in the road of our history? Shut up!"

So I shut up.

I'm frightened. I've seen a lot of those renegades. Even in my sleep my hand goes up when I hear "All in favor?"

Called upon to condemn, I condemned. Called upon to support a cause, I obliged.

I never went inside a voting booth lest someone think I'd crossed out a name on the list. That's why my organism is slow to respond to democracy.

They elected a new director the other day. There were two candidates. One was the real thing: approved by the higher-ups. The other was an imposter, so voters had a choice. Interestingly, I liked the imposter better. Young, brainy, a born director. I was about to speak up in support of him, but remembered just in time: suppose he doesn't win? Dead right, they elected the other guy. The new director bears me no grudge.

I never quarrel with my bosses. True, doing what I'm told has become difficult. Once before a meeting my boss said: "Do me a favor. Roast me at the meeting. You know the spirit of the times."

I looked at my boss in disbelief. Thought he was testing me. "I'm sorry," I said, "I'll do anything for you but there's nothing to roast you for, and I'm not capable of lying." So I got out of it.

It used to be simpler, of course. Your boss couldn't care less what you thought. Now he seems interested. "What's your view," he says, "I'd like to know what you think."

For all I know I don't have a view. Why should I say what I think if I don't know what the man asking me thinks? So I don't say.

Take protest letters. I've always wanted to protest but I kept it to myself. Like the Complaints Book. Even if I have to spend half a day in line to get some piece of paper certifying this or that, I never go into hysterics.

When our apartment heat went off for all of January I was as tough as an Arctic explorer on an ice floe. Not a peep out of me. I never wrote or called to complain. I was certain my country wouldn't leave me in the lurch. I was right! By May they had fixed the boiler and our heat was back on.

Today people sign petitions. Factory workers, tenants, commuters.

I'll sign without reading. But why raise a ruckus over every trifle?

An enthusiast I know stopped me the other day. Asked me to sign a protest against pulling down an historic house where the poet Tyuchev lived. I told him straight that I hadn't read Tyuchev's poems, so I couldn't sign.

Where's the guarantee they won't ask me one fine day if I took part in some seditious act? They can keep those petitions for years! Ready for the right moment. Who was muddying the waters? Ah! Here we have neat list of their names!

So I avoid discussions and never react to jokes, just in case. When everybody laughs, I make a kind of snort as if I'm blowing my nose, and step aside.

Last month I did volunteer guard duty. Suddenly I see this kid carrying a sign: "We are not slaves!"

"You have permission to carry that?" I asked. "Who approved the wording?"

He said: "The truth doesn't need anyone's approval!"

"What does truth have to do with it since we ended slavery long ago? Go on home. Do you want a foreign tourist to pop up here with a camera?"

Wasted ten minutes with him. Had to call the police.

My seventh-grade daughter almost gave me heart failure. "Help me," she said. "Problem. How fast can an object go if its braking mechanism is as powerful as its accelerating motor?"

"What are you babbling about. For jokes like that I won't be allowed out, even to Mongolia!"

My nerves are shot. Why? Because I'm a victim of the stagnation period. But I never panic. Man can adapt to anything. Even freedom. All you have to do is wait, and see how it all turns out. . .



Why that new worried look in Washington?

Capitalism is still their sacred way of life. But the system is changing. The White House can see how USSR is being "restructured," but the view from Socialism isn't comforting to Free Enterprise.

Basically, Capitalism remains as it always has been: a system of exploitation. But along with exploiting the labor of "their own" workers, the West's capitalists now exploit vast populations in under-developed lands.

Not so good. Hundreds of millions *want out of any form of exploitation*. And Capitalism, especially as directed by Washington, no longer has the clout which, up to now, made Uncle Sam the world's champion bully-boy.

One change that brings nightmares to many billionaires these days is the **regulation** of big-scale capitalist operations by **the state** and even by **groups of financiers**. Soviet economists see this as a swiftly growing trend which strikes at the heart of Capitalism's "freedom."

On a world scale the "trans-national" corporations find they can "plan" their activities. Already they turn out over 1,000 billion dollars worth of products... **very much more** than USA's total exports!

That major change reflects another. USA now has **rivals**, in Europe and Asia, who are very successful in going their own way without asking Reagan's advice.

One of the big new fields of economic activity is in **science and technology**. No longer can Washington press buttons and mobilize high-level brains for working only in USA laboratories. Radically new discoveries, **and products**, are appearing all over the world.

Soviet observers especially stress the real revolutionary effects of *micro-electronics, biology-technology, materials that surpass the most costly metals*. "Deals" in these fields are growing twice as fast as traditional trade.

Actually it is now difficult just to keep track of the sweeping changes resulting from the Science Revolution. Overnight some huge production centres become **obsolete**. Multi-million-dollar machinery is being **miniaturized** down to desk-top dimensions. This changes radically the **ownership** of mass-production, and USA is not doing well that way.

Soviet economists see opposite trends, also. The USA's gigantic "trade deficit" is, to them, an **advantage for Washington**. Because, so far, the mighty USA banks have retained the right to print unlimited billions of USA dollars (paper bills), thus "depreciating" the dollar. This attracts billions in other currencies, used to help reduce the enormous budget deficits Washington keeps running up.

So there are now **two enormous deficits**: one arises from **trade** (USA selling far less than it buys from other nations); and the other caused by spending vastly more than is taken in (by taxes).

These twin deficits represent a very serious **change in USA's financial status**. At the same time, these threats to the stability of Capitalism have roused fierce opposition in Washington's major allies. Formerly, they could protest. Now their opposition has markedly toughened: European and Asian financiers are demanding a **radical change** in the financial games being played by USA.

The world oil market is contributing to these problems. Formerly, USA "ruled" petroleum marketing. Now the drop in oil prices is bankrupting even wealthy Texas.

In all this you can see why USSR economists regard the situation as unprecedented in the history of Capitalism.

The system in the richest nation is becoming unstable.

While the financial and trade maneuvers of USA are aimed at winning advantages over its allies, actually the methods being used (especially the collapsing of the USA dollar's value in other currencies) are *shifting Washington's instabilities to all of Capitalism's partners*.

In 1987 Washington agreed to ease the situation. An elaborate apparatus was set up to stabilize, or at least control, the wild fluctuations in dollars, pounds, francs, marks and yens. Multi-million-dollar computers, using communications via space-satellites, worked 24 hours a day, literally using millions of dollars per minute.

The result was a **total failure of "stabilization."**

Again Soviet analysts drew attention to the fact that not only is USA hovering on the brink of financial instability, but all the major nations of Capitalism are in **the same storm-tossed leaking boat**.

The worriers in the White House hate to go to bed, for fear those computers will go beyond the failure of their "programs" right into total financial collapse.

Never before have the best brains in Capitalism had to stare disaster in the face.

But in the view of Soviet observers, this situation is *not the worst facing Capitalism*.

The worst is their desperate need to plan!

As this is written the so-called "Group of Seven" is in Toronto in another effort to plan the unplannable system. Just the fact that they are meeting again reveals that the capitalists **absolutely must plan**.

No wonder you can see grins over in USSR. The only forms of workable planning which capitalists have used so far are **their mutually-profitable deals with Socialism!**

This year, quite a few giant corporations can report very successful arrangements with USSR and other Socialist countries. On a restricted basis, for sure. But it's all very promising. *And unquestionably stable*.

One remarkable idea now making the rounds is that the Socialist countries may have worked out a way to help the Less Developed Countries to cope with their multi-billion dollar debts. The big banks of Capitalism would go to almost any lengths to solve that crucial problem.

One main obstacle: massive **debts** can be resolved **only when massive disarmament programs begin**. So far, USA is the hold-out. But time is grinding forward towards the only fate that history holds out for armaments.

One historic advance: Washington is haunted by the day-by-day facts about Capitalism-Socialism relations. Economically, USA and its allies can *never again live in isolation from USSR*.

And because money is Capitalism's soul, improved economic relations will inevitably bring the two systems closer in other ways.

Confrontation is out. Some form of global economic relations is the handwriting on the wall, and they'll get that message even in the White House.

Prescriptions for symptoms of Doubt and Depression

If the news these days gets you down, you're in good company.
Here we've got six reading remedies that could fix you up.

WORKERS ARE GETTING TOGETHER

The appeal of Socialism to workers here in Capitalism is greater than you might think. This short report **proves** it. You follow a big group of French and Soviet workers through a visit-and-conference. Hardly anything they didn't discuss, in frankness and friendliness. Many photos.

A cure for down-in-the-dumps.

"Democracy at the Work Place"

Ideal for showing around — \$1.00

SIGHT FOR THE BLIND

First booklet on famed operations performed by Soviet eye-specialist Fyodorov.

You can't read this, and see the pictures, without feeling that *people can be wonderful to people!*

Here's your powerful answer to those who think the two systems can't cooperate. For the good of humanity.

"Meet the Third Millenium Without Spectacles" — \$1.00

A FAMOUS JEWISH WRITER YOU NEVER MEET IN OUR PAPERS

If you believe the Western press, Soviet Jews are lined up trying to get out of Socialism. Jews in Capitalism always line up to see and hear this talented poet and editor, *Aron Vergelis*. Now you can travel with him and learn how millions of Soviet Jews want only to **stay home**.

If you are Jewish, this book will cure you of pessimism. If you aren't Jewish you'll see how viciously Soviet Jews are slandered, over here.

So many photos, so many ideas expressed by others, that you'll feel as if you've found the tonic that works for you.

"A Traveller's Encounters" — Aron Vergelis — Bargain at \$2.00

TROUBLE WITH DEMOCRACY

We're never told that our democracy has problems. You get frank truth when you raise that question in USSR.

No beating-about-the-bush. This shows you why democracy has run into difficulties in their Socialist system. What they're doing about that you may like, or dislike.

This can be very refreshing indeed!

"Promoting Democracy"

by Lukyanov — \$1.00

STAR WARRIORS TELL IT

Ronald Reagan won't have much more time to use the White House for promoting "Star Wars". You should send him a copy of this astonishing book. Better, let others see it after you tell them what's in it.

Amazing documented facts (and photos) about the scientists who see through the fraud of USA's "defense initiative."

"Homo Sapiens and Star Wars" — \$1.00

WILL INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISE WORK BETTER THAN SOCIALISM?

If you've ever felt like going into business for yourself, well, here you discover that **many people in Socialism** have that same feeling today. Our papers have given brief news about this, but now you can see for yourself how they're strengthening Socialism by introducing Private Enterprise. Yet it's **not Capitalism**.

Then what? If you enjoy being surprised and enlightened, here you'll get more than you've ever seen in such small dimensions.

What you're facing here is the biggest question of our century!

"The Pros and Cons of Individual Labor" — Essence of Perestroika — \$1.00

(You get another assortment of new "prescriptions" on page facing this)

One fact, one idea, can make your day worth living

Soviet people, too, have "bibles" to uplift them. But all their bibles are written by the people themselves. Six such books here.

TELL ME THAT VOLGA STORY!

Why have tens of millions visited the battleground of Stalingrad? No doubt at all, still more millions will go there in every year to come. Why?

Stalingrad decided the fate of the human race. Here you find this in ways you haven't seen before. How Socialism wrote The Volga Story.

"The Battle of Stalingrad"

Photos, maps. \$1.00

WORSE THAN NUCLEAR WAR?

This one "speaks the unspeakable." War using the new chemical weapons could be more terrible than nuclear missiles. If you doubt that, you need the facts in this latest report.

Dreadful truth is that small nations can arm themselves with the most ghastly killers ever conceived.

"Chemical Weapons"

Photos, figures — \$1.00

HOW USA TRIES TO RULE WITH ITS "BIG STICK"

How many people know this: in the past 40 years USA has fought or threatened to fight once every two months! Shook the Big Stick 240 times!

It's not enough to blast Reagan for his aggression. You must go right back to "Teddy" Roosevelt. The seizure of Panama. And Truman shaking his Atomic Bomb. And now chemical weapons. And now Star Wars in space.

You may find that this short book will help you see through the news more clearly than ten "expert commentaries". What's better: This one is sensibly optimistic about busting that stick.

"History of the BIG STICK Policy" — Brand new view — \$1.00

HOW ARE THEY DOING IN SPACE?

USA had another "disaster" in explosion of a rocket-fuel plant. So other nations have still more reasons why they should deal with Socialism in space.

But USSR doesn't want space rivalry. Space cooperation! It's not just a "political" question. Here top Soviet authority tells it to you straight.

"Deep Space and Terrestrial Problems"

by Roald Sagdeyev — \$1.00

ONLY PEACE CAN FEED THEM

You've been told a thousand times that if we slash armaments we'll be clobbered by a world Depression. Right now we already have a world shockingly stricken by famines, disease, illiteracy.

This can't keep up much longer. Even the West sees that now. You can see it vividly with the facts here.

"Disarmament and Development"

Answers warriors — \$1.00

HOW THE HATRED OF RACISM CURSES OUR WORLD TODAY

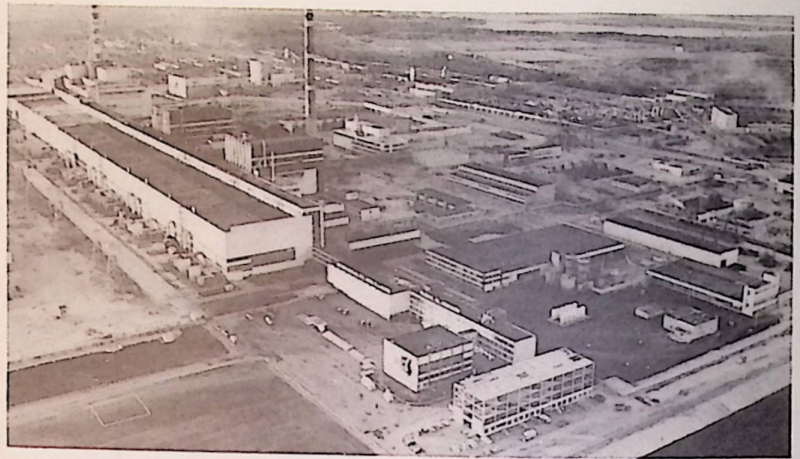
We're not exaggerating when we say that this remarkable little book is the most devastating exposure of life in "the great USA" right now. Comes at an ideal time when Washington's election campaign will desperately try to deceive black people.

But we white people are also the victims. One page of this book can make you see how the crimes of racism are the foundation of the "democratic" political system in USA.

The racism of the homeless, the hungry, the hateful!

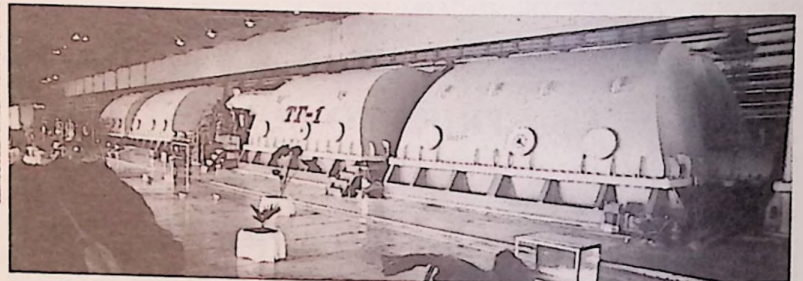
"The Boomerang of Hatred" — The American way-of-life — \$2.00

(Our books sell out fast—Surest way to order is to use P-26)



Here's the Chernobyl scene right now, viewed from a helicopter. Hardly looks like a disaster area. Of the four big nuclear power units in this station, two had no damage and a third was shut for routine service and repairs. Can you see the devastated unit?

Here's the power unit that caused the worst nuclear accident in history, in power production. But now the entire station is buried in tremendous "tomb" that seals in its radiation forever.



The first and second units of the Chernobyl station supply power to this machine-room where four giant generators work continuously.



Hard to guess, but these skilled workers are on a production line, assembling highly sensitive nuclear radiation sensors for use in the power plant.



Above: Mrs. Olga Lakhuba and her family moved from the danger zone to Zdvizhevka, near Kiev. The baby was born there. No one in the family got any radiation.



Left: There was no trouble with Reactor No. 1, operated by Valery Lomakin.

Another look at CHERNOBYL



When Peter Walker, Britain's Minister of Energy, visited Chernobyl recently, he went right into the control rooms. What he (white gloves) and others have seen there we report in condensed format. So you can think *rationally* rather than *emotionally* about the worst-ever nuclear power accident.

- First, second, and now the third Chernobyl power units are back in full production.

- But on the station's grounds you can see where the fifth and sixth units were to go. Both are cancelled for good.

- The closed village of Pripyat has re-opened and hundreds of shift-workers now live there. Workers prefer this to bussing into the plant every day. Pripyat is being restored to its place as a modern small Soviet city.

- Two years ago, as you know, the world heard many wild predictions: right up to the "forecast" that every living thing in a vast area would sooner or later perish. Aside from 30 who died in the explosion, not one human or animal has died from the effects of the accident.

- Farms are producing again, foods are being processed normally, no one is getting any radiation.

- But this is due to the strictest control over areas which still may be radio-actively dangerous. "Life as usual" hasn't been restored to areas close to the plant.

- But the truth is: right in the plant's grounds the level of radiation now is hundredths of a "rem", which is less than what you get when you stand near a monument made out of granite.

- The 500 people living in Pripyat get 0.04 rems of radiation per hour, an extremely low "dose".

- The reactor that blew up (the fourth) was buried with hundreds of radiation-detectors, and these now show that the sealed equipment is steadily losing its radio-activity.

- Reports over Western radios, that the buried unit has "exploded" or "erupted", are pure fabrications, intended to upset people living as far away as Kiev. No foreign scientists have found any evidence of "eruptions".

- Two years ago some 24,700 people were evacuated from the "radiation zone", receiving 9,770 new houses. But now 1,600 have decided to return to their old homes, convinced that there is no longer any danger.

- At first, tens of thousands of tons of food were brought into the area, to guarantee no-radiation diets.

- The Soviet nation spent 288 thousand million dollars in food, housing and cash grants to evacuated families.

- Back in 1986 "estimates" appeared in the Western press, about the "final" death toll from Chernobyl radiation. The figures ranged from tens-of-thousands to millions (!). Soviet and foreign medical scientists now agree that the maximum death rate from Chernobyl will not exceed one hundredth fraction of one per-cent in the radiation "zone".

- The Chernobyl accident is having no effect on USSR's plans to increase its nuclear-power output. Today their "nukes" give about 16 percent of their electricity

- Besides, they will expand the use of nuclear power to generate heat (replacing oil, gas, coal). Cities of Gorky and Voronezh will be first to get this heating-service.

- But one such experimental plant is giving excellent service to the people of Chukotka (far-Eastern polar region).

- Soviet scientists don't agree with the stand taken by some environmentalists, that nuclear power is "finished". Countries rejecting nuclear energy are those who have none now. Sweden claims to be cancelling one station; but at same time that country is actively studying Soviet and other nuclear safety systems.

- Far more serious is the terrible danger from burning more "fossil fuels" (oil, coal, gas). Just the acid rain menace will soon become an extreme danger to human life and agriculture. Today nuclear power supplies some 17 percent of the world's requirements: if that were turned backwards to non-nuclear fuel, the result would be a catastrophe for our planet.

- As this is written Dr. Frank Press, President of the National Academy of Sciences (USA), is warning that the opposition to nuclear power in USA is very dangerous. Fossil fuels are threatening the environment on a world scale, and there's no assurance that oil reserves will meet the needs of the next generation of Earth's inhabitants. Press is confident that nuclear stations can be made completely free from the danger of accidents.

- The much-publicised "nuclear waste problem" is being solved, on schedule, in USSR. Their scientists favor treatment of waste right where it is produced.

- In general they treat wastes as liquids, to be stored; concentrate some of them; turn them into solids.

- They're achieving success with the two extremes of high-level-radiation and low-level-wastes such as clothing. Even very hot wastes are handled with cooling systems.

- Bulky liquid wastes are concentrated by evaporation; then sent to special storage in concrete forms lined with stainless steel; these are huge (200 to 5000 cubic yards) but can be discarded after some 20 years of radiation decay.

- They also use on a large scale bitumen (asphalt) to solidify liquid wastes; at the Leningrad plant this has worked very well since 1985, with preliminary treatment by "ion-exchange resins" and special filters. Plus bitumen. This gives a waste that rules out any contamination of the environment. Several big Soviet nuclear plants are now changing over to this "waste management".

- Many kinds of solid nuclear waste are being safely handled by long storage in reinforced concrete chambers. But a new system first burns this type of waste, greatly reducing its size and improving reliability.

- Along with other countries USSR is speeding work on "vitrification" of wastes (converting it into glassy material, in high-temperature electric furnaces). Such material is ideal for burial in very deep natural rock formations, in natural or man-made chambers.

- Soviet scientists and engineers share the optimism of many experts in the West, who are confident that new high-tech procedures will be developed for eliminating entirely the waste-radiation problems.

Millions more are joining in their drive

Hard to see why our media didn't say a word about this. Maybe because *it couldn't happen here?* The truth is that even the swindling that went on in Socialism in recent years is being rejected by the people.

More than 17,000 swindlers of public funds, in the Kazakh Republic alone, in the past 12 months have **admitted their crimes** without being charged . . . and have **returned all the money** they took.

Over \$14,000,000!

Yes, more of these types did not come through voluntarily, and have been charged with theft. But the influence of perestroika is strong, and swindling Socialism is now offensive to the public.

When workers at the big "Lenin's Precepts" State Farm, near Moscow, were faced with the prospect of boosting production or going bankrupt, they decided to **buy the Farm by means of shares**.

Overnight 208 people bought shares priced at 50 to 10,000 roubles (the maximum allowed). The total of 250,000 roubles paid for cattle sheds, latest machinery, hot-houses, etc. This investment was decided by the shareholders, on the basis of the best returns they could expect from their labor.

"Dividends" paid to each shareholder depend entirely on the total farm output that is sold. So there is a **strong incentive** to increase the Farm's production. That was missing when the farmers were simply told to go to work for fixed wages.

Imagine: only now are the three million Soviet public school teachers setting up their own Union. No more bossing by local "education boards". Teachers themselves will settle nearly all school problems.

This broad concept of democracy in schools doesn't exist in lands where the tax-payer runs most vital school affairs.

The little Turkmenian Republic is really applying perestroika. Mainly by shutting down 16 government ministries and **releasing over 5,000 "administrators"** so they can fill jobs in productive enterprises. The Turkmen are in advance of some of the leading Soviet Republics.

Many "joint companies" are starting up in USSR. Latest are:

German Heineman firm (after seven years of cooperation) will join with Ordzhonikidze Plant to make advanced **factory equipment**.

Ashok Company of India has set up one of USSR's most popular restaurant supply firms **making Indian foods**. First year's profit is over \$160,000.

Giant Xerox (British) firm, in Soviet factory (in Sukhumi), will make 10,000 **high speed copiers** this year, based on Soviet-Xerox new designs. For world market as well as USSR.

In a land where most people are into one or another organization, it's remarkable that since the coming of perestroika Soviet people have set up **30,000 unofficial groups, societies, clubs!**

Young Communists make up 7-of-10 members, Communist Party members only 4-in-100. These organizations reflect the Soviet public's rejection of the low level of citizens' participation in political and social life.

Majority have positive social aims. Almost as many are "leisure" groups. A small number (like youth "punks") are anti-social.

Impossible to "classify" them since they already number **more than 200 big organizations**, all with different goals! Probably never before in history has there been such a huge and swift rise in democratic public action.

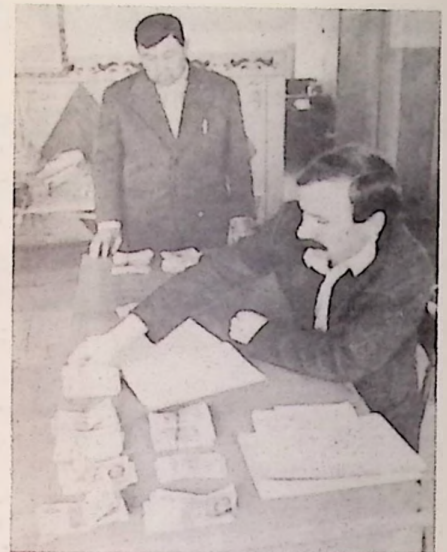
Up to now, a child wanting to take up sports had to show marked abilities, to get into some official training program. That's changing fast. Thousands of coaches are inviting **all boys and girls** (talented or not) to take up whatever sport they fancy.

Low fee charged is no obstacle. Coaches are amateur athletes who welcome the extra money they earn in spare time.

Big winners are the young people who gain health, enjoyment.

Many Soviet people think the biggest of perestroika's changes is seen on their TV. From a very boring level, TV in the 15 Republics has risen to become a powerful force in democratizing Socialism.

Exposure shows, youth programs and controversial discussions are



most popular. Exchanges with other countries are highly effective.

So far, no commercials to help defray the soaring costs, though Soviet TV does carry sales talks sometimes.

The Moscow Narodny Bank was founded back in 1911. It has greatly expanded its work since perestroika began. Now MNB ranks with the **500 largest banks in the world**.

Current big deal: it will finance a big British truck plant to be built in a Soviet truck center. Entire output already sold to another British firm.

MNB surprised western bankers when it invested 30 million pounds in the remarkable English Channel Tunnel now under construction.

MNB anticipates a 40 percent jump in British-Soviet trade by 1990.

The big and very popular football club, Dnepropetrovsk, has gone over to a commercial operation, first in the USSR.

Earlier, the team was chronically "broke" and couldn't finance vital tournaments and training facilities its fans wanted.

Players are enthusiastic, since their pay is now going to be based on performance. Ample pension deals also will be made. Many other Soviet teams are watching, but so far their rigid management has turned down all proposals.

In an unprecedented move the City Soviet (Council) of Ust-Kamenogorsk (in Kazakhstan) stopped the construction of a big chemical plant that would employ 1500. Reason: planners had not allowed for new housing for all those production workers, plus stores, schools, services.

The action got a fast response and now the revised plans have been approved, showing that the shut-down was fully justified.

A victory for public opinion over bureaucratic management.

News is what makes their newspapers popular

You can see why they don't need crime and sex stories

Experienced auctioneers were astonished when *Fauna*, the big Moscow animal-pet club, packed a factory sports center for a pussy-cat contest and auction. At first "ordinary" cats went for a few dollars, but soon the bidding started for some 120 prize animals (chosen by judges). Some went fast at \$500. Dr. Marina Yagubova, a Moscow physician, got the kitten she wanted for \$1,360. This pedigreed sky blue Persian goes by the name Antony al-Korona. Mother comes from East Germany, father is a Czech pussy.

New woodworking plant at Ust-Ilimsk (Siberia), built by Soviet-Japanese teams, is a beautiful multi-colored sight in the dense forest. Just getting into production, its profit rate is 16 percent per year. Each worker turns out lumber worth \$120,000 per year, about double the present industry average. Staff of 163 includes six Japanese engineers. Contract for 30 years.

Kiev Botanical Gardens scientists have scored a real break-through. They've bred dwarf banana trees. Already in production at collective farm in Poltava region, these trees grow only 10 feet high. But they yield 50 kg (110 pounds) of choice bananas per year. Big state farm near Kiev is now propagating them. Potential returns are huge.

Researchers of Academy of Sciences have made a daring experiment, by transplanting particles of the hypothalamus, from newborn mice, into the brains of grown mice. The latter are now living three years compared to two-year normal life-span. Hypothalamus is that part of brain which controls vital functions: metabolism, hormones, body's "immune" system, etc. Next step is to try it on other animals. Then humans? If it works the normal life-span of people would be 200, perhaps 300 years. First true rejuvenating treatment ever successful.

Books by famed revolutionaries, like Bukharin and Rykov, are reappearing in Soviet libraries after many years locked away on Stalin's orders. Work being done by new Commission For Transferring Books From Specialised To Public Libraries. They're working through about 4,000 books per year (!) and have already turned over to public use more than 3,500. Some of these works are by outstanding non-Soviet revolutionaries who lived in other countries after 1917. Many long-believed falsehoods are being exposed by facts that were hidden, even from scholars, for generations.

USSR is so far behind in use of video that they're opening "video clubs" to accommodate maximum number of viewers. The country has only 500,000 video recorders now in use, compared to many millions elsewhere. But they're going to concentrate on highest quality productions rather than merely "copying" movies and TV shows. This year over 1,000 video clubs will open in Soviet cafes and disco clubs.

Famous Soviet bone specialist, Gavril Ilizarov, has volunteered to organize treatments for thousands of Palestinians, mostly youngsters, who have suffered terrible injuries at hands of Israeli soldiers. This surgeon's methods are especially effective in restoring limbs with shattered bones, the usual "wounds" inflicted on Palestinians.

The Kharkov Automobile Institute has made an unusual discovery. In its classes for foreign-language students the Institute teachers found that noise can be helpful in "resting" the brain while practicing foreign languages. This helps both hemispheres of the brain to keep active. Also pleasant noises (bird-calls) can help to fix foreign words in the memory permanently, without strain.

The Fyodorov eye operations, reported several times here in NN, have won world-wide acclaim. By end of 1987 over 300,000 people have had normal eyesight restored either in USSR or in other lands where Fyodorov's methods are used. And this is only for starters. Hundreds of specialists each year now come to see the Fyodorov system in action, in Moscow and other Soviet centers, including mobile (trailer) hospitals.

The Evangelical Christian Baptist Church, which our media long claimed to be "persecuted" in USSR, now has 5,000 separate "communities" with membership from 30 to 5,000. Total membership 500,000. This church is also active on an international scale, and last year sent millions of pounds of needed medicines to Angola. Much medical aid was also channelled through other countries to the people of Nicaragua and Ethiopia. This comes as no surprise, since the Evangelical Baptists have long been known for their "social" work in USSR and abroad.

Chemists at the Leningrad Textile Institute have converted a useless factory waste, from manufacture of synthetic-fibre carpets, into a remarkably productive "textile soil." Takes the form of a carpet about an inch thick. Vegetables and flowering plants grown on the carpets get nutrients from solutions specially prepared for each "crop." System has worked well in Soviet space-ships. Now it's recommended for use down in mines, in subways and even in hospitals where its germ-free qualities are preferable to the dusts of natural soils.

Housing is still a problem in USSR, and the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) discloses the cause. The main construction ministries all failed badly to finish the planned number of apartments in areas where they did fulfill their regular building assignments. This reveals that perestroika, with its emphasis on everything that has a "social" impact (affecting the life of the people) is either poorly grasped or ignored by many in the field of management. But in some places, like the Volgograd and Urals regions, the proper attitude has given people so many apartments that a final end to the shortage is really in sight. No reason it should not be finished within 3-to-4 years.

First aircraft in world powered with cryogenic fuel, has flown successfully in USSR. This TU-155 liner burned a combination of liquid hydrogen and liquid natural gas. Held at extremely low (cryogenic) temperatures. A new engine used the fuels: the NK-88. This historic flight (April 15) marked a new era in flying. Hydrogen is the only fuel available everywhere on earth, from water. It is ecologically ideal, no pollution. USSR is now intensively developing this engine, the plane, and the required fuelling centers. Will undoubtedly be outstanding feature of world congress on "Hydrogen Today" in September.

The world-wide abortion dispute is in for a shock. The Ivan Pavlov Medical Institute in Leningrad has announced that a new magnetophore drug (sensitive to magnetic forces applied outside the body) will stop pregnancy. Has no side-effects. Requires no surgical intervention of any kind. Absolutely painless. Immediately, the Institute was approached by medical companies in USA, Japan, Italy, with a view to obtaining licenses.

Soviet nuclear engineers are building a fast-neutron reactor, in the Transural Region. It's first in new series of 1,600 MW nuclear power plants. Efficiency of this type of plant is very high: one gram (fraction of a teaspoon of nuclear fuel) is equivalent to burning a ton of coal, and there is no pollution of the environment. New stations are part of a major drive in USSR to replace polluting heat systems with clean nuclear fuel. Fast-neutron reactors also conserve uranium supplies.

Highest quality peat from Byelorussia, now marketed by West German firm "Delta," and other firms in Italy and Austria, is proving to be exceptionally valuable as a "soil" for several crops. Workers in the peat plant developed new methods of preparing this material for farm use. Delta is taking peat worth \$1,300,000 this year.

Ukrainian farmers near Chernobyl are doing pretty well, two years after that accident. Total grain crop is sharply up. But no, it's not due to any "gene mutation" caused by radiation. The region applied widely the new "family contract" system of work, and this boosted their harvest.

World's first "nuclear nature preserve" has been set up close to Chernobyl. For first time, scientists can follow the genetic effects of radiation on many plants and animals. So far, no such effects have been recorded, but biologists caution that some effects may not appear for several years. Up to now, science had no way of studying this, since an experiment on the scale of Chernobyl would be prohibited.

You help others when you tell them your views

These are stressful times for many who believe in Socialism, and it's good for you to share your feelings here.



"The truth hit me like a bolt out of the blue. This friend was really upset and told me he couldn't believe what they did in the Soviet Union recently. 'It's the end of them!' he said. Suddenly I remembered back to 1941. People couldn't believe what Hitler was doing to the Soviet Red Army. After all the wonderful things we'd been told about it. Well, you know what happened. Wonderful things! Inside of a year the Soviets had Hitler on the run. The war was the end of fascism, not Socialism!" K.V.D.

"After the exposure of Stalin a correspondent went to Sayers, co-author of the famous book 'The Great Conspiracy Against Russia', asked him will he change anything in it now. His answer was 'There is nothing to change, the book is still accurate about the past, today, and tomorrow.'" G.K.

Note from NN: Soviet people certainly would not agree with that view.

"In your last issue you showed a picture of a folk choir that uses a unique spinning-wheel lyre, one of the rarest folk instruments. Please give me more information on this musical instrument, I must have one." E.L.G.

From NN: So far, no luck here. We're trying. Maybe some Reader knows of such a lyre over here? Surely someone must have brought one over.

"I'm sending this donation in memory of my husband Anton Leniew, who died a year ago. I'd like him to be remembered as a Reader who very much appreciated NN. I enclose my own renewal also." N.L.

"I'm sorry to hear that some Readers are disappointed in Socialism. What they don't see anywhere is that Soviet people are 'giving up' on their system. When Canada is taken over by USA our few social programs will be in a real mess. Look how old Capitalism is, and it has never yet worked. Socialism is just 70 years old and has been working very well, with only some things lagging behind. They look after their people. I look forward very much to NN." F.M.

"The anti-Sovietees are having a field day reporting on problems the Soviet people are facing. Where are the successes? Silence! Except in our NN. I think we need NN more than we ever did so keep it up." G.S.V.

"I am for Socialism. But I can't understand the Communist Party of the Soviet Union not being critical long ago. Or the C.P.s of other countries. To die for Socialism is one thing but to kill so many Communists in the name of Socialism? Must have been very dangerous to be a Communist in USSR." J.H.

From NN: Those are questions they're asking over there. We hope to publish their answers fairly soon.

"Read latest NN cover to cover, at my leisure, since I was recovering from a burst appendix operation in hospital. Just got there in time, taking a taxi. First letter I've written, but wanted reports, order enclosed." A.J.T.

"NN is the only paper that keeps us fully informed. Our son never believed much in NN before, but now when he comes over the first thing he asks for is to see the magazine. Peace for all humanity!" V.A.T.

"I can see no reason to continue the criticism of Stalin or anyone else who can't talk back." P.H.

From NN: We pass on the criticism of Stalin being voiced and documented now in USSR. Many of the 20 millions Stalin did away with are now "talking back" in the documents of their tragic fate.

"Here's my donation. Not big but I'll send it as long as I live. Soviet people worked hard and gave their lives to get a better living for the world. I hope they'll 'win over' the world so all people can enjoy a better life. My only trouble is that I may not live to see that, I'm pretty old." W.B.

"I will not believe that Soviet people voted to pay for medical care. What happened to free medical service?" G.P.

Reply: As NN explained, their economy didn't make billions of profits needed to pay for 'free' service. No taxes to pick up the tab. So people now are paying.

"Found NN's article 'They're restoring Socialism to its highest principles' very interesting. I've been an active Union man for many years and think that perestroika Socialism has many close parallels with trade unionism world-wide. The directives come from the grass-roots people in all walks of life. Keep up the work and include scientific and technological reports and more on Ukraine." N.H.

"Israel is USA's 51st state and will treat the Palestinians the way it treated the Indians. USA's goal is eventually to control the whole Mid-East and in time the world. Capitalism's appetite for power and money will never be satiated. The world will some day thank the USSR and canonize Mr. Gorbachov. My wish is to meet Mr. Gorbachev and some day shake his hand." A.P.

"NN's cover in April was great. And the map of your center-fold was a wonderful idea. Here's my donation and orders." A.A.L.

"Here's a helping hand from me. Keep up your work in NN. I believe it is the only truth in this world. Love to all, including Maggie." A.G.

"NN's article on 'Why did Socialist countries clean up at the Olympics?' falls short in promoting the new concept of world politics. The Winter Olympics was the greatest thing in sports because it was for Peace and Friendship." D.R.

I've been having a good laugh since I read your report on them firing thousands of bureaucrats. Well, thousands are going to be fired over here, too. They are all those anti-Soviet experts who made big money attacking the USSR for many years. Now that the Soviets are doing their own 'exposing' the 'kremlinologists' here will be out of work." L.M.

"We are not free-enterprisers so we can't let NN go down the drain. We want the truth about Socialism, not profits. Yes, we're very happy to have Mikhail Gorbachev today in world politics. He is our hope for a future." E.H.

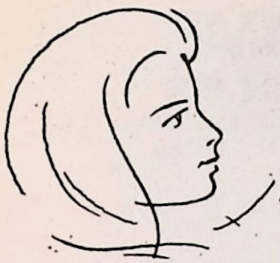
"Thanks for sending out my order so promptly. Got it long before I expected it would get here." G.F.

"Think I have a pretty good idea why Socialism in the Soviets is not keeping pace. We have the answer right here in Canada. Look at all the government employees who belong to unions. They can't be fired without the whole lot going on strike. I really believe that Socialism is great but we also need some private enterprise to give people incentive to work." H.W.S.

"Teddy Roosevelt said 'Aggressive fighting for what is right is the noblest sport in the world'. Whenever I send a donation like this to NN I think of it as a sport. I look for all valid leads to the better world that is coming our way. NN has been a valid leader all these years." J.D.L.

"I see that many now speak against Stalin. I disagree. He was the great man of the hour. Had a very difficult time, fighting enemies from within and without. Traitors have to be controlled or they will destroy." E.C.

"If the millions Stalin executed were all enemies of the system then it was not worth defending. But I'm sure most of them were splendid people. Isn't that why their descendants are now up in arms about Stalinism? I want NN to keep on reporting this problem which concerns us all, not only USSR." F.K.V.



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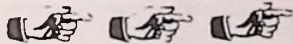
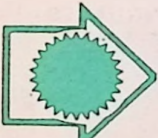
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