

as well as vocational training into each and every student just as at the factories and plants, and every institute has its corps of party chiefs, sectional and class, for teachers and professors as well as ^{for} students.

At the 22nd Congress in October 1961. Krushchev, ^{realized} prophesied that by 1980 1 out of every 5 persons living in the Soviet Union will have a higher education, this is ~~an~~ unheard of figure, but it is ^{possible} under the system in the Soviet Union.

Foreign languages also hold positions of favor in the Soviet Educational plan. ²⁶ much more ^{is} than in the U.S. in ^{Scientific} fields of vocation, two foreign languages are compulsory over a five year period, in engineering and also medicine at least one language is compulsory. The studied languages in order of importance and popularity are, English, German, French, Italian and Spanish with for Eastern Languages following. The text books from which these languages are learned are very interesting in themselves, they combine politics and education at once, a very common occurrence. An example is that texts in English or German for instance are given on the life of Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, or the structure of the communist party of the Soviet Union, normally the life of Stalin was a favored subject to fill a text book, these books are no longer in circulation. A good text book for English speaking students studying Russian is the one by ^{W. W. R. R.} ~~W. W. R. R.~~, chairman of the U.S.S.R. society of friendship with the United States and England. This book published in 1959 by the Moscow publishing house Lulovski Blvd. 29, Moscow is a good ^{ST. 30} ~~one~~ for ^{ANYONE INTERESTED} ~~anyone~~ in the highly expressive Russian language, political texts are kept to a minimum in this book and only make

25

five year course of vocational and political subjects. ^{Hostels} ~~Residences~~
 for students are located near their respective Institutes, non-
 residential students live here. Often these numbers exceeds the
 rooms and many have to rent rooms in the city. All rooms 15-15
 feet house 5-6 students with just enough room to allow metal beds
 to be placed around the walls and a table and chairs in the middle,
 there is not room enough for closets so clothing is kept in suit-
 cases under beds. Here, except ^{during} ~~at~~ the three-month summers
 vacation, students live and study for 5 years. Common rooms with
 stoves, are also located at the ^{R.F.P.} ~~rate~~ of 1 room to 8 student living
 quarters for ^{cooking} ~~the~~ the cleanliness of linen, and rooms as well as the
 entire dormitory ^{follows} ~~follow~~ the students. The number of students
 in the U.S.S.R. in 1960-61 was 2,396,000 U.S. figure 1,816,000 or 102
 per 10,000. All students in higher educational institution re-
 ceive ^{STIPENDS} ~~allowances~~ or grants of money at the rate of 40 rubles a
 month, regardless of ^{chosen} ~~chosen~~ vocations, for ^{EXCELLENT} ~~excellence~~ to outstanding
 grades a student may receive the maximum of 50 rubles per-month.
 Thus all students are paid to study in the Soviet Union, unlike
 the United States where students must pay tuition to learn. This
 is the reason why the Soviet Union turns out almost three times
 as many engineers 159,000 in 1959. twice as many ^{AGRICULTURIST} ~~technicians~~ 477,200,
^{TECHNICIANS} ~~Technicians~~ and others specialist, this is why the Soviet Union has
 more doctors per 10,000 of population (18.5 ⁱⁿ (1960)) than any other
 country in the world (U.S.A. (12.1) 1960) regardless of the lack
 of dormitory ^{ies} ~~ies~~ and ^{Aided} ~~poor~~ living conditions of the students,
 that we have in the U.S., we could definitely learn from the
 rigorous and highly specialized educational system of the Soviet
 Union. A system which jointly and carefully instills political

25

is instilled in him at an early age and young Russian students are
not to appear rather made bookish than Americans.

Since most women work for a living in the U.S.S.R. (with or
without husbands) they usually leave their non-school age children
in the care of the local "childrens garden" these are highly organ-
ized ~~state~~ ^{state created} ~~state~~ care centers for childrens. Here babies
are fed and cared for, their health is checked periodically by
doctors; diets are recommended and baths given, all for 30 rubles a
month. Young children are given pre-school preparation by trained
day school teachers who receive ⁵⁰ 20 rubles a month in pay. A
director of such a school may receive 100 rubles a month 3,050,000
children in 1959. ^{same case for by these 150,000,000} After the U.S. incident on May 1, 1960 and the
following ~~incidents~~ ^{incidents} between the American government.) ²⁴ And the Soviet
government, Premier Khrushchev invited then President Eisenhower
to come to the Soviet Union and become a director of one of these
"childrens gardens". Since, he said in a speech at the Kremlin
in July 1960, ^{didn't know} "I don't know how to run his country."

Public care centers for young and old are an established principle
in the U.S.S.R. thousands of rest homes, sanitoriums and hospitals
are scattered around the Black and Caspian Seas, the "resort areas"
of the Soviet Union. For any worker to get a reservation for one
of these places he should apply to the ^{FACTORY committee} ~~factory committee~~ for a
"vacation" or ticket reservation, after showing that he has the
right to his three weeks vacation, (30 days for persons engaged
in dangerous occupations or mining) he may buy the "Petovkoo"
from Minsk to the Black Sea, Yalta resort area, for three weeks ^{AT A}
cost ^{of} 70 to 100 rubles, depending on class of service available,

~~MVD~~ and scrape wood houses, seen throughout the Soviet Union and although its 50 minutes from the Kremlin it doesn't have electricity or gas. Inside plumbing is unknown and the only automation is that done with a broom. There are 45,000 collective farms in the Soviet Union of these types as well as 7,400 State farms run ^{DIRECTLY} by the government. Collective farmers ^{AND THEIR FAMILIES} number 65.5 million people ^{OR} 21, ^{1/2} of the total population.

True, the collective farmers may own chickens or pigs or even a cow, as well as his own piece of land, usually $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre, but the isolation and agonizingly hard work in summer and fall affects these "advantages". Nowadays, although still without electricity "collective farms" have wire fed radio programs and 2 speakers in every home, this is part of the propaganda system instigated by ^{STALIN} to "bring the ^{CULTURAL} level of outlying collective farms up to the level of the city dweller". School attendance for the ^{THEY FORGET} ^{ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NO LIGHTS THERE} children of collective farmers is compulsory as it is for all children up to the age of maturity, that is up to the age when they receive their passports, sixteen. Public schools are in general ^{THE SUCCESSFUL} ^{EDUCATIONAL} ^{LEVELS} ^{REACHED} ^{BY} ^{THE} ^{CHILDREN} ^{OF} ^{THE} ^{COUNTRY} ^{SIDE} ^{AND} ^{THE} ^{TEACHERS} ^{RECEIVE} ⁸⁰ ^{RUBLES} ^A ^{MONTH} ^{IN} ^{THESE} ^{GENERAL} ^{EDUCATIONAL} ^{INSTITUTIONS}, discipline from the student's viewpoint is strong. ^{STARTING} school at 7 years he is taught to keep his pioneer school costume, which all students must wear, in neat appearance, is taught to stand rigidly at attention when any adult enters ^{THE} room or when the teacher asks a question. His studies, particularly foreign languages, are not too ^{THEIR} ^{AMERICAN} ^{COUNTER-} ^{PARTS} ^{SINCE} ^{SCIENCE} ^{IS} ^{ALSO} ^{STRESSED} as well as patriotism and Soviet history. ^{COMPLETE} ^{SERIOUSNESS} ^{ATTITUDE} ^{TOWARDS} ^{HIS} ^{STUDIES} ^{OF} ^{SCIENCE} ^{AND} ^{HISTORY}

22

marked for special remarks usually of a criminal nature, immigrants have a short autobiography painted such as, Carlos Ventera, born in Buenos Aires, 1934, resident Buenos Aires till 1955, occupation ~~was~~ student, immigrated to U.S.S.R. 1956. This is enough to insure ^{ALL} ~~any and who needs~~ ^{the PASSPORT} that, Carlos, along with any other of his fellow immigrants will be given the proper treatment and attention, so that he never gets to far away from his registered address, ^{without a good} ~~or reason~~ too high at his work. But otherwise immigrants in the U.S.S.R., ^{RELATIVELY} ~~only~~ French, Spanish, and Eastern European, are treated with more respect than the Russians treat each other, particularly in the matter of being awarded an apartment, any immigrant, no matter how unimportant he may have been in his native country, has much less to worry about ~~concerning~~ ^{concerning} getting an apartment and being assigned to work, ^{Taken} ^{RUSSIAN} his ~~is~~ ^{is} born counterpart, this is part of the nation wide drive to impress all foreigners as to the high level of life in the U.S.S.R.

Twelve miles outside of Moscow is a "show" collective ~~farm~~ for foreign tourist, who ask to see a genuine, average collective ~~farm~~, on it, is almost every imaginable help to man possible, including automatic milkers, feeders, even automatic floor cleaners. The collective farms at this place along with their counterparts at the same ~~is~~ ^{So, T} ~~of place~~ south of Leningrad, ^{have} ~~like~~ well built apartment houses with food and clothing stores built right into the first floors.

For the benefit of everyone who doesn't want to be duped, I suggest you take the Moscow to Brest highway for 24 miles until you come to Kustech where by asking directions you can in five minutes find a real collective farm, a village of the small black

EVEN TRIPS TO MANY CITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION IS FORBIDDEN
EVEN TO THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO TRAVEL THERE TO SEE RELATIVES
ALL CITIES ABOVE Leningrad toward the Finnish border
TALLINN, TAIK, GATOLSKY, BREST ON THE POLISH BORDER, Odessa, ^{INDUSTRY}
SOME CITIES IN THE URBRAIN AND SIBERIA CONNECT WITH ~~INDUSTRY~~

SEA-FORT All cities along the Southern border of the USSR from Moldavia to
India are forbidden without a pass, all cars, trucks and other
private vehicles are stopped at police check points to these areas.
train and plane and bus terminals are not allowed to sell tickets
to these places without being shown a passport or being shown a
valid ~~pass~~ whose owners address is in the forbidden city,
persons already living in these cities may travel freely to and
from them, however, they may not bring others in with out passes;
passes are given out by the local K. B. offices, and one must
apply directly to it.

It may be explained that in the Eastern European system all
citizens upon reaching the age of 16 years are given a ^{Grey-green}
"passport" or identification papers. On the first page is a photo
and personal information, on the following 4 pages, are places for
the registering of address; this includes ¹²⁹ rented rooms, on the
next four pages are places for making particular remarks as to
the conduct of the carrier, ² place better kept blank, the next
three pages are for registering the places of work, then the next
page is for marriage license and divorce stamps, these "passports"
are checked for a small ^{CHARGE} every five years, a lost passport
can be replaced after a short investigation for 10 rubles, all
persons regardless of ^N nationality are required to carry these ^{AT ALL TIMES}
in the Soviet Union ^{NATIONALITIES} are also marked on the passport, for instance
a Ukrainian is Ukrainian, a Jew is marked Jew, ^{NO MATTER WHERE HE WAS BORN} an immigrant is
marked as to place of birth, as in the cases of the many ^{IMMIGRANTS}
in the U.S.S.R. also on the ~~pages~~ ~~marked~~ ~~special~~ ~~pages~~.

The post office handles all mail coming in and out of the city. Built in 1955, it has 4 columns at its entrance in the Greek style.

Next down the prospect are a clothing store ^{and} childrens store. The central movie house, the best one in Minsk seating 400 people in a small unventilated hall. Next to it stands a shoe store, across from it; the central beauty shop, the main drug store and a Gaspronen (Russian food store), furniture store. ^{NEXT IS} The Ministry of Internal Affairs, whose boss is a tough military Colonel, ^{MINISTER} Nikolay Arsonof of the "peoples militia", he holds the title ^{MINISTER} of Internal Affairs. ^{SUBSIDINARY} around the corner is his ^{SUBSIDINARY} the KGB ^{TOP} committee for Internal Security, (Intelligence and Secret police). ^{THE MINISTRY} Across from ^{THIS} is the ever ~~crowded~~ crowded prospect book shop, across from this is the even more crowded ~~restaurant~~ restaurant, one of five in the city where for two rubles a person can buy fried toungs or plates of chicken with potatoes and fried cabbage, instead of just the "Kotlets" (bread and ground meat patties) or ^{SNITSEL} ~~sausages~~ with ^{ALITTLE} more meat and less bread and beef steak pure (ground beef patties served with potatoes and cabbage and sometimes macaroni. ^{These} are always served in workers dining rooms and stand up cafes for they open at night). ^{AND} sometimes, sweet rolls, coffee, ~~and~~ and fall fruits, salads and tomatoes can also be bought.

~~Trips to ^{MANY} cities of the Soviet Union is forbidden even to those who would like to travel there to see relatives. All cities have been closed towards the ^{FINNISH} border. ^{BREST} into the ^{polish} border, ^{COAST} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~open~~ ^{open} for part~~

17

and structure of the city all ready gives no idea of the condition
of the capital of the ^{RUSSIAN} Belorussian State in 1945, only 16 short years
ago. The architectural planning may be any thing but modern but it is
the manner of almost all ^{RUSSIAN CITIES} ~~cities~~ with the airport ~~services~~
as its eastern boundry we find a large spread out ^{TOWNSHIP} ~~township~~ in
appearance. Only the skyline pieced with factory ~~shops~~ and
chimneys betrays its ^{INDUSTRIAL} ~~industrial~~ background, township I say in
appearance because, the tallest building here is the 9 story
~~block~~ ^{INDUSTRIAL} ~~block~~ ~~building~~ ~~the~~ ~~main~~ ~~street~~, ~~Prospect~~ ~~Stalin~~,
which is over 2 miles long and the only such ^{BOULEVARD} ~~avenue~~ in the
republic, all other streets are narrow rock laid streets, curving
through the city like ^{RIVERS} ~~streams~~ of stone ^{BRANCHING} ~~branches~~ off the main street
~~ending~~ ^{AT} ~~at~~ the other end, by extensive ~~parks~~ ^{PARKS}. The design and content
of this prospect is very reflective of the ^{LIFE} ~~life~~ of this city, from
north to south of this straight as an arrow ^{VAIN} ~~vain~~ of the city in-
cludes in the first two miles, the center ^{DISTRICT} ~~district~~ of the city,
Hotel Minsk and the Main Post Office. The hotel was built in
1950 on the direct order of ^{KRUSHCHEV} ~~Khrushchev~~ who was grieved at the ^{FACT} ~~fact~~
that only one, old, delapidated, hotel existed at that time when
he paid an official visit to this the capital of Belorussia, the
hotel was build in three months, a record for the entire Soviet
Union, ~~and~~ and has over 500 rooms a modern well ^{SERVED} ~~served~~ and
built hotel, box shaped, it serves many tourist traveling from
Germany and Poland through Minsk to Moscow.

Krushev announced that so many building projects were started in 1960-1961 that for a year after the finish of the Congress only special important projects will be allowed to be began in order to give a chance ^{FOR} the completion of sites already started, this is not the only reason, for the demand for raw materials and prefabricated parts far exceeds the supply and in desperation Krushchev called a halt to the construction plans of the present 7-year plan, This ~~will~~ means, especially on apartments, for which there is a dire need.

Most factory workers do not consider themselves in line for an apartment even ^{IF} if they are on the list for at least 4 years. Their priorities are based on experience.

"TOURISTS"

At the 22nd party Congress Krushchev, in his 7 hour key note ^{speech}, for all practical purposes, the only speech, since all others ^{are} ~~are~~ in support of the first speech) revealed that in 1950 200,000 people in the Soviet Union went abroad. This is a gross over-estimate, including engineers and technicians sent abroad, which make up 1/3 of this total. All others are delegations of intelligent scientists, all scientific workers. The 250,000 "tourist" who do manage to go abroad are carefully selected from applicants, the main requisite being "is he loyal and politically prepared?" Any worker at our plant can apply for a tourist trip under the "limited number rules" applying to delegations; for 140 rubles he can go to China for two weeks from Moscow or for 80 rubles go to Chekoslovakia, for more if he passes the conditions he can even get to England, the hitch is (1) that he must be OK'd by the BUREAU ~~Comm-Party~~; (2) he must account for the presence of excess money, since speculation is not allowed in the USSR; (3) he must ^{leave} ~~be~~ behind close relatives, preferably a wife and children, or mother and father; this last is actually the most important. The Russians know that a person will not ordinarily leave a delegation or group of tourists to seek asylum if he knows he'll never see his family again, not alive anyway. Individual tourist who go abroad when and where they want to, because of their own desire ^{is} ~~are~~ unknown in the Soviet Union. Passports abroad are issued only after a 6 month EXHAUSTIVE INVESTIGATION ~~investigation~~ by the K.G.B.

15 rubles. ^{THERE} ~~There~~ ^{CHEAP ONES} are few, however, in stock. They usually cost 30 rubles.

Just before we come to "Stalin Square" the end of the central district along the PROSPECT, we find the two "AUTOMATS" or stand up cafes. These cafes are located across the prospect from one another, the INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL structure is exactly the same in each, both places serve the same dishes at the same prices. Why these were not built at opposite ends of the CENTRAL DISTRICT OR EVEN THE SQUARE, for instance, is not known. Although it would of course be more convenient. The reason is that ^{the} ~~its~~ architectural plans for all the ^{cities} ~~of~~ in the Soviet Union, ^{COME} ~~come~~ directly from Moscow, which, as one can imagine, is a big responsibility ^{FOR THE ARCHITECTS} since, in the USSR, one pays for a mistake with one's head, it seems that the logical reason, is that in building the street so it is the simplest, ^{IT IS} ~~and~~ therefore safest way. Another characteristic and interesting structure in Minsk is the trade union building. This houses an auditorium, offices for the training and costuming of the amateur groups who perform here periodically and a small dance hall. There ^{is} ~~are~~ not, as one might assume, ^{any} ~~any~~ office of any trade union. They do not exist as we know them, (since strikes or negotiations for higher pay or better working conditions are not allowed, of course; suggestions may be made by any worker but these all are handled through the local Communist factory committee and are passed along or shelved as it suits the committee's) An imposing structure, it looks like a Greek temple with figures atop the V shaped roof supported by large white marble columns all around. However, a close look reveals not ^N ~~naked~~ Greek gods but, from left to right, a surveyor complete with scope, a bricklayer holding a bucket, a sports woman in track ^{suit} ~~clothes~~, and a more symbolic structure of a man in a double breasted suit holding a brief case, either a bureaucrat or an intellectual, apparently.

The rest of the prospect for the remaining ^{ENDING AT VICTORY SQUARE} is enclosed with the so familiar square shaped 5 storied apartment ~~buildings~~ it may be that at the present time 60% of all living is in apartments. In 20 years 90% of all living quarters will be in these 5 storied barracks.

down from this call called "springtime is the bakery sh... Here for 13 Kopeck a person can buy unwrapped bredd (white), for 7 Kopecks sweet rolls of different kinds, 20 kopeks black bread (the black bread ^{LOAF} is twice as large as the white is, therefore cheaper ^{PER KILOGRAM} and more in demand. Also black bread remains fresh for an exceptionally longer time due to the hard crust.

Across from this bakery shop is the confection place. Here is a kid's dreamland of sweets and chocolate, although owing to its climate chocolate costs 4 times as much as in the US (for four ounces one must pay 60 kopecks. Chocolate is much in demand since Russians have a vicious sweet tooth. Here there is always a crowd. Further down we come to the only Department store in Minsk, the "GUM", which means "State UNIVERSAL Store". Here one may buy anything sold in the smaller specialized stores; ^{and} sign on the list for refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and even cars, none of which ~~one~~ can be bought anywhere outright. The waiting list for refrigerations 1952-58/is three months; also ^{the same} for vacuum cleaners. For cars the waiting list is anywhere from 6 months to a year depending upon which of the three existing ~~types~~ ^{PUTS} one PUTS a down payment on. The "Moskavich", which costs 2,500 rubles, is presumed to be the best, so the waiting list is almost a year for that; however the "Victory" and "~~VOLGA~~" ^{"VOLGA"} are a little cheaper and so one can expect it after only a 6 or 7 month wait; cars are bought more or less to order, here. Their styles are not very impressive. The ~~Moskavich~~ ^{Moskavich} looks like a box on wheels, while the ~~Volga~~ ^G looks like a 1938 Studebaker which, by the ^{way}, is what it is modeled after, "American"p reward".

Motorcycles and television sets can, however, be bought on the spot for ready cash. A good high powered motorcycle costs 350 rubles and their quality is apt to be better than the more complex automobile; television sets cost anywhere from 80 rubles for a 6 inch by 6 inch screen to 350 rubles for a well made television of 22 inch screen. Other models, light table models, cost 190 and 145 rubles. Here ready made suits of rough material can be bought. The cheaper, a double breasted blue for 110 rubles or a better made three button suit for 150 rubles, or ^A pair of pants for not less than

contesting to his long years as a laborer, a laborer with his hands,
during the war Crisses, too old to be taken into the army in the first
draft remained in Minsk with his wife when the Germans arrived, lived
here for 8 months, until ~~the~~ things got too hot for him, as it did for
most of the remaining population who didn't support the Germans out-
right, he fled into the deep pine forest with his wife where he served
with the famed Gueilla fighters; as is well known, these people held
most of the territory of Belorussia during the entire 4 years of
occupation by the Germans of Minsk and other points in Belorussia.
One day CRISSES, in talking about the war rolled up his sleeve
and showed me two unmistakable scars - bullet holes. When talking
about Minsk during German occupation, one feels a trickle running along
the neck. There was a chimney in Minsk, he says, next to crematorium.
The smoke from that chimney was as black as death day and night, night
and day, the smoke of that belching chimney never stopped rising over
the ruined skeleton of Minsk. 90% razed to the ground, during the war
with only three major buildings still standing after the war, opera
house, government house and church. These buildings, all except the
Church, which is now closed, are still in use.

PART IV

The reconstruction of Minsk, is an interesting story reflecting
the courage of its builders. In a totalitarian system great forces
can be brought into play under rigid controls and support. The success
of the Russian ^{SAFETY} "SAFETY" is testimony to that. So also is the result
of the reconstruction of Minsk and other cities of the USSR. This re-
construction is still, in part, going on but the design and structure
of the city already gives no idea of the condition of the capital of
the Belorussian State in 1945, Only 16 short years ago, The architectural
planning may be anything but modern but it in the manner of almost all
Russian cities.

Part V With the airport serving as its eastern boundary we find a large
spreadout township in appearance, 1 city only. The skyline pierced
with factory ⁶ looms and chimneys betrays its industrial background
township. I say in appearance, because, the tallest building here is
the 9 story black apparatus house flanking the main street YAKOV STALIN

man-mannered, served his army service along time ago, on the Leningrad front during the war. Married for ten years, he has three children; aged 1/4 he ~~has~~ ^{has} a hawk like nose, bushy eyebrows, profuse straw colored hair, he makes 115 rubles a month, lives fairly well, owns a television, radio and refrigerator in his two room flat with neighbors who share kitchen and bath, A very good arrangement for the Soviet Union. He pays 15 rubles a month rent, has a middle school education, had finished a metal workers course at ~~the~~ night school at the night school facility of the University in 1958. He has been working at this plant for 5 years. A skilled tradesman, he is respected and is a member of the shop production committee, non-communist, He believes in the Policies of the party as do almost all Russians. His hobby is fishing on the banks of the little creek near his home during the summer. Every morning he spends 20 minutes on a bus coming to work, this is the most inconvenient aspect of his otherwise simple and average life. Does he have money, personal belongings? ^{NO} ~~I~~ money, but I have an apartment; that is the most important thing in life. People have been known to do odd, even unlawful things to get even a little higher on the ^{HOUSING} waiting list such as taking the ownership of a baby or two to get special rating. The opening of apartments houses is always done with a great deal of gusto and preparation. Indeed, for the lucky one's, receiving their orders on rooms and flats, it is a big moment, a moment culminating years of waiting and ^{OFTEN} ~~a few~~ years of manipulation, the lucky few get the word to move out of their old quarters, usually one room in oblong buildings, built after the war, which are mostly to be later torn down. As soon as a newly built house is ready, enough to support the rush of happy home owners, it is opened even though their may not be light fixtures or toilet seats just yet. What does that matter! In 1960 there ^{WERE} ~~was~~ 2,978,000 living places built in USSR; USA, 1,300,000 including Hawaii and Alaska.

A FLAT

One man whose family received ^Vnot long ago ~~is~~ ^{is} GRISSES.

At our shop a master, a shock worker and a communist for many years, he is almost 60 years old. Now with dark but greying hair, long nose,

~~and~~ ~~under~~ ~~very~~ ~~old~~ ~~and~~ ~~weighted~~ ~~eyes~~.

million, ⁵ and ¹/₂ half million persons are members of the Communist Party. That is less than 10% of the total population, ^{actually} engaged in production, not counting children and pensioners, etc.

But in order to get to know the workers, how they think, act, hope and have lived, I will take an example from the lower and middle and upper age groups. Starting with the lower.

Usha Shklicavich, born in what is now south western Beleprussian territory; he is 24 years old, makes 90 rubles a month, without deductions, he is married and has a young baby. He and his wife live in a small room in a house, the property of his inlaws. He is on the waiting list for a small flat, "hopes" to receive it in "four or five years", ^{WANTS TO} enters the University night course next year so that he can become a radio engineer. He went to school during and after the war in the east where his family took him during the evacuation. Moved still further east after an all out attempt at a drive by the Nazi's in which his rother was killed. After finishing his schooling at the age of 19, like most Russian boys, he was drafted into the Army, served in Hungary when the ^{COUNTER} ~~country~~ Revolution broke out as a jeep driver, when ^I ~~asked~~ ^{him who} started the war, there, he says "American Imperialists" and "spies". When asked who he killed he says "he didn't kill anyone". When asked who was killed during the Revolution he says "Hungarians". Asked what he thinks of that Revolution, he says "It was a glorious victory by our forces". Shklicavich also tells a story about how ^{HE WAS} ~~he~~ ^{newly} arrived with the occupation forces, was walking down the street when he came upon a group of young Hungarian civilians; one of them was a girl he says, and she looked at me so hard I thought she must of known me. One of the younger people came forward and asked for a match. Just then a Hungarian 'people; policeman' came around the corner." This is probably ^{WHAT} ~~was~~ saved Shklicavich's life. The police ^{MAN} shouted just as one of the younger people came up behind him and hit him on the head; when he ^{RAN} ~~ran~~ away. Surely a revolution of spies and imperialists I jibed.

A picture of a different sort is that cut by AKSONAVICH,

absentees may be duly noted, neither one is allowed. At the collection point, signs, drummers and flags are distributed and marchers formed in ranks. In the city of Minsk on such days, all roads are closed by driving trucks across them, except the prescribed route. This, as well as meticulous attention to attendance, insures a 90% turnout of the entire population. Stragglers or late risers walking through the streets may be yanked into the steady stream of workers by the police or voluntary red armed ~~band~~ "people's militia," any one who argues may be subject to close investigation later on, ^{the} ~~or~~ one thing to be avoided in any police state.

In roughly the same way, a 98% majority of the voting population is always funneled into voting ^{for} ~~to~~ the one candidate ^{the} ~~for~~ one post, one party system, in the Soviet Union. Before State, Republic, or city elections, a "AGITATOR" calls at the residence of each and every person in the city; he inquires regarding the ^{NUMBERS} ~~names~~ of eligible voters (voting age throughout the USSR is Sixteen years) Age, sex, place of work ^{etc.} He insures ~~that~~ that all eligible voters know, when, where and how to vote.) He can explain who are the candidates, although he is forbidden by law to ^{advise} ~~advise~~ for one or the other, and insures the prospective voter that his name will be on the voting register, located at the poll, which he must sign before voting by secret ballot. At the voting poll after signing the register, a person receives a voting list with the names of all candidates for different posts. He may either place an X next to his choice or strike out any name he doesn't like or write in any name he wishes, names written into the ballot are counted but no one can be elected to ^{any} ~~any~~ post ^{or} ~~or~~ office in this manner, it may, however, mean that this person will be a candidate for a chosen post sometime in the future elections. All candidates are approved by the central committee of the Communist party, although a candidate does not necessarily have to be a communist party member (he may be non-party) ~~although~~ the system in the USSR insures that no person rises to any heights at all without being approved by party, even if he has ~~not~~ made an application for the party. ^{at} ~~at~~ the ²¹⁶ ~~216~~

After long years of hard fisted discipline no worker allows himself to be trapped and called out for inattentiveness by the ever present and watchful party secretary and members of the Communist party. This is mostly seen in political information or CENTRAL COMMITTEE party directive readings. At these times it is best to curb one's natural boisterous and lively nature. Under the 6' by 6' picture of Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, the party section secretary stands. ^{IN SECTION} At our ~~side~~ a middle aged poched man by the name of SOBANKIN, an average looking man wearing glasses, his wrinkled face and twinkling eyes give one the impression that at any moment he's going to tell a racy story or funny joke, but he never does. Behind this man stands 15 years of party life. His high post, relatively speaking for him, is witness to his efficiency. He stands expounding from notes in front of him, the week's "Information", with all the lack of enthusiasm and gusto of someone who knows that he has no worries about an audience or about someone getting up and going away.

PART III "DEMONSTRATIONS"

In the same way, May Day and other "demonstrations" are arranged as well as spontaneous receptions for distinguished guests. I remember when I was in Moscow in 1950 I was just passing in front of the Metropol restaurant when out of the side streets came a 10 man police unit which stopped all people on the street from passing in front of the entrance, surrounding the crowd and keeping them hemmed in (not detouring the flow of traffic, as would be expected) for 3 minutes, until right on schedule, an obviously distinguished foreign lady was driven up to the restaurant, where a meeting in her honor had been arranged. ^{SHE WAS} taken through the "spontaneous" welcoming crowd, after which the police were withdrawn, allowing the passers by to continue. (INSERT)

At the Minsk radio factory, holiday demonstrations (there are two a year), May Day and Revolution Day, are arranged in the following manner. Directives are passed down the Communist party line until they reach the factory shop and will "Kollective". Here they are implemented by the Communist party secretary who gives instructions as to what time the demonstrators are to arrive at the arrival point ~~of the~~ of the march so that late comers and

...disciplined discipline no worker allows himself to
(cut out for inattentiveness by the present and
...secretary and members of the Communist party. This is
...seen in political information or CENTRAL COMMITTEE party directive
readings. At these times it is best to curb one's natural boisterous
and lively nature. Under the 6' by 6' picture of Lenin, founder of the
Soviet State, the party section secretary stands. ^{IN SECTION} ~~at our~~ ~~side~~ a

P.P. 10.
another instance of this was in 1961
when a Chinese delegation arrived in
Minsk and was driven from the
Railway station to a house on the
outskirts of the city. Even though
it was 10:30 at night all along
the way members of the MVD (security)
forces ran into apt. buildings and
student dormitories ordering people out
on to the streets to welcome the arriving
guests.

although there was no prior notice
of my delegation, another "spontaneous"
welcoming committee met the cavalcade
of black limousines and dutifully
waved back at the darkened cars
with the slightly protruding yellowish
hands waving hands. Friends in the
dormitory when I was ^{visiting friends in the} ~~with~~ ~~foreign~~ ~~language~~
dormitory when I was called out for
this purpose by a security agent. I
went right along with all the others
into the crowd and I know this story
to be not only true, but standard
operating procedure.

they reach the factory shop and mill "Kollectives". Here they are
implemented by the Communist party secretary who issues instructions
as to what time the demonstrators are to arrive, at the arrival point
names are taken well in advance of the march so that late comers and

an average looking
eyes give one the
icy story or
is 25 years of party
witness to his
of him, the week's
sto of someone
about someone
"DEMONSTRATIONS"
ns" are arranged
ests. I remember
nt of the
e a 10 man
n passing in
g them hemmed
ected) for 3
ished foreign
in her honor
welcoming crowd,
ncers by to

(there are
in the follow-
arty line until

work and workings of the "Kollective" one must
 controls, who leads the "Kollective". The answer to that
 one; all plants and factories in the Soviet Union have party
 committees, headed by one graduate of a higher party school whose
 function is to control discipline of members of the Communist party,
 and who, working in conjunction with the directors, of the factory,
CENTRALs all factors pertaining to the work, alterations and pro-
 duction of any given line. It must be noted that officially the party
 man occupies a position exactly equal to the ~~executive~~ head of any fac-
 tory; however the facts point out that he has, due to the fact that
 Communist hold the leading positions in plants, ~~that the party man's~~
 considerable more sway over the activities of the workers than anyone
 else. No suggestion of the party man is ever turned down by the
 directors of our factory, that would be president to treason. The
 PARTY MAN IS APPOINTED BY THE H.Q. OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
 Party man designated who shall be shop and section party secretaries,
 a post well coveted by employed Communists. These Communists in
 reality control every move of "Kollectives". They are responsible for
 the carrying out of directives pertaining to meetings, lectures, and
 party activities in the local cells.

These meetings or "Sabranias" are almost always held at the
 lunch hour or after working hours. The number of meetings of a strict-
 ly political nature is not small, considering that on an average 8
 meetings are held a week and of these you have "young Communist, party
 communist meeting", "political information" and the "school of Communist
 labor". These are every week and are compulsory for all workers. Also
 monthly meetings, include "Production meeting" "General trade Union"
 "Shop Committee" and "Sport Meeting", none of these are compulsory.
 The numbers of meetings held a month average 20. 50% of these are
 political or by-political meetings. Meetings last anywhere from 10
 minutes to two hours; usually the length of "Political information meetings"
 held every Tuesday is 15 minutes. An amazing thing in watching these
 political lectures is that there is taken on by the listeners, a most
 phenominal nature, one impervious to outside interference or sounds.

of workers, they e experienced at work and politic

Most shock workers are men of the older aged groups 40-50, not always members of the communist party, they carry the production load and most of the responsibility of the interlife of the "Kollective".

The remaining 41 workers are divided about half into 18-22 year olds, new metal workers, trying to fulfill their obligatory two years at a factory, before going on to full time day studies at the local University, or one of the specialized institutes, and older workers who have been working at the plant for 4-6 years and occupy the middle number worker levels, 3, 4; these workers are aged about 24-30 and form the mass of laborers at the factory. 70% have families, apartments are few, most occupy rooms belonging to relatives or rooms let to rent by holders of two or three room apartments, often for as high as 20 rubles a month, although rent in the Soviet Union is paid by the sq. meter and 3, 15 meter rooms with kitchen and bath cost ~~only~~ about 32 rubles a month. The housing shortage is so ~~critical~~ ^{CRITICAL} that people count themselves lucky to even find a person willing to let his room, room renting also is the most common form of speculation in the USSR. Often it reaches heights all out of proportion with reality, such as the man who derived 30 rubles a month from letting his rooms in the summer while he himself was living in a summer house ^{OR} "Dacha", in the country. Such speculation is forbidden and carries penalties, including deportation to other economic areas of the USSR for terms of up to 6 months. Still these are the most common instances. Most workers in Minsk come from peasant stock, ~~which~~ ^{which} re-populat^{ed}ing the city at the end of the 2nd WORLD WAR. Like most Russians they are warm hearted and simple but often stubborn and untrustworthy.

The life of the "Kollective" or rather inter-life, since it often touches upon more than just the work, is the most reflective side of the complex working of the Communist party of the USSR. It is the reflection of mass and organized political activity, deciding the actions of every individual and group, placing upon society a course, so strict, so disciplined, that any private deviation is interpreted ^{As} ~~as~~ political deviation and the enforced course of action over the years has been the most comprehensible educational and moral training

... through some strange process have been turned to stone. Turned to stone all except the hard faced communists with roving eyes looking for any bonus-making catch of inattentiveness on the part of any worker; a sad sight to anyone not used to it, but the ~~Russians~~ ^{Russians} are philosophical.

"^{WHO LIKES} the lecture?" "Nobody," "but its compulsory". Compulsory attendance at factory meetings isn't the only way to form spontaneous demonstrations ^{AND MEETINGS,} the "great October revolution" demonstrations, the May day demonstrations are all formed in the same way. As well as spontaneous meetings for distinguished guests. The well organized party men mark off the names of the hundreds of workers approved to arrive at a certain place at a given time. No choice, however, small, is left to the discretion of the individual.

PART II THE EXPERIMENTAL SHOP

For a good cross section of the Russian working class I suggest we examine the lives of some of the 58 workers and 5 foremen working in the experimental shop of the Minsk radio plant. This place is located in the midst of the great ^{THRIVING} ~~training~~ plant which produces some of the best known radios and TV's in the Soviet Union.

The shop itself is located in a two story building with no particular noticeable mark on its red brick face. At 8:00 sharp, all the workers have arrived and at the sound of a bell sounded by the duty orderly, who is a worker whose duty it is to see to it that the workers do not slip out for too many smokes, they file upstairs, except for 10 turners and lath operators whose machines are located on the first floor. Work here is given out in the form of blueprints and drawings by the foreman Zomof and Jr. foreman LAVROK, to workers whose various reliability and skill calls for them, since each worker has with time acquired differing skills and knowledge. Work is given strictly according to so-called "pay levels", the levels being numbered 1-5 and the highest level "master". For level one (1) a worker receives approximately 68 rubles for work, level (2); a worker receives 79.50, for three; 90 rubles, for four; 105 rubles for five; 125 rubles and for masters about 150. These levels of pay vary slightly because workers receive a basic pay of, for 1st level, 45 rubles and bonuses bringing the total to 68 rubles, including reductions for taxes, the basic pay of a master is 90 rubles. Except in instances for poor quality work, bonuses are all-

built factory. He was appointed by the factory Communist party chief, as shop secretary, responsible for shop discipline, party meetings, distribution of propaganda and any other odd "jobs" that might come up, including, seeing to it that there are always enough red and white signs and slogans hanging on the walls. Liebezen holds the title (besides Communist) of "shock worker of Communist Labor," this movement was started under Stalin: a decade ago, in order to get the most out of the extreme patriotism driven into Soviet children at an early age. Indeed, Leibezen is a skilled mechanic and metal worker and for his work he receives 130-140 rubles -- month minus deductions. This shop party secretary, together with the section party chief, usually selects workers for the title "shock worker of Communist Labor." These people are not necessarily Communist party members, although it helps in the same way party membership helps in any facet of life in the U.S.S.R..

Factory meetings of the "Kollectiv^{ives}" are so numerous as to be staggering.

Take for instance during one month the following meetings and lectures are scheduled: 1 prof. Union; which discuss the work of the prof. union in gathering dues, paying out receipts on vacations orders, ect. (p. 24.); political information (4) every Tuesday on the lunch hour; Young Communist Meetings (2) On the 6 and 21st of every month; production ~~committees~~ (1) made up of workers, discussing ways of improving work; Communist party meeting (2) a month called by the section Communist party sec.; the school of Communist labor meeting ⁽⁴⁾ (compulsory) every Wednesday, and sport meeting, 1 a month, non-~~compulsory~~ ^{COMPULSORY}, a total of 15 meetings a month, 14 of which are compulsory for Communist party members and 12 compulsory for all others. These meetings are always held after work or on the lunch hour. They are never held on working time. Absenteism is by no means allowed. After long years of hard discipline, especially under the Stalin regime, no worker will invite the sure disciplinary action of the party men and inevitably the factory party ^{committee} because ~~he~~ ^{of} trying to slip out of the way or giving too little attention to what is being said.

A strange sight indeed is the picture of the local party man delivering a political sermon to a group of usually robust simple working men

...deductions. Further on, others are fitting tubes and parts around the picture tube itself, all along the line there are testing apparatus with operators ^{OR.S} hurriedly affix SNAP TYPE testing currents, and withdrawing the snapps that fitting out a tester's card, pass the equipment back onto the conveyor, speed here is essential.

The Communist party secretary here, as in most shops, has promised to increase production by ^{2%} ~~5%~~ in honor of the coming end of the third year of the current 7 year plan. Now the televisions are carried around the conveyor to go back down the line where others sit to complete the process, the smoke from the careful soldering doesn't keep the girls from chattering away and that, coupled with the boys at the end of the line, testing the loudspeakers, makes for a noisy but lively place, with the laughter of girls mixing with music and occasional jazz programs, which the testers favor for purely personal reasons until the foreman looks his way.

As we go out we see crates of the finished product with the well known, "made in Belerussia," stamp.

One of the most interesting things in observing Russian life and conventions, is the personal relationship to each other; there exists a disciplined comradeship springing from the knowledge that in Soviet Society the fundamental group is the "Kollective" or intershop group. These groups with the shop or section party chiefs and foremen, are the worlds in which the Russian workers live. All activities and conduct of members is dependent upon the will of the "Kollective".

In the shop where I worked, the experimental shop, of the Minsk Radio and Television factory, there were 58 workers, including the party shop secretary, who is a Communist worker assigned into ~~the~~ ^{THE} shop by the factory Party ~~secretary~~ ^{SECRETARY}, the Master foreman, assigned by the Shop production head who is assigned ^{IN TURN} by the Director of the Factory, and ~~1 Junior Fore-~~

The key person in the shop, as everyone appreciates is COMRADE Libezen, 45 years old, the party-secretary. His background is that after serving his allotted time in the ~~army~~ ^{YOUNG COMMUNIST}, before the war he became a member in good standing of the ~~CPUSA~~ ^{COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION}. During the war, he was for a short time, a tankist, but his talents seemed to have been recognized for that job so

of the materials. These workers are awarded
 the maximum for workers. Automatum is now
 a fairly large number of factories, especially the war indus-
 try. However for civilian use, their number is still small.
 At this plant at least one worker is employed in the often crude task
 of turning out finished, acceptable items. Often one worker must finish
 the task of taking ^{the} edge of metal off plastic and shaving them on a
 lathe. There is only so much potentiality in presses and
 steps, no matter what their size.

The lack of unemployment in the Soviet Union may be explained by
 one of 2 things. Lack of automation and a Beaucroatic corps of 1-5
 foremen in any given factory. These people are occupied with the tons
 of paper work which flow in and out of any factory. Also the number of
 direct foremen is not small to the ratio of workers in some case 1-10,
 others 1-5, depending on the importance of the work.

These people are also backed by a small army of examiners,
 inspectors and supply checkers and the quantity control board. These
 people number (without foremen) almost 300 people, total working
 force 5,000 -- 3-50 without foremen.

To delve deep into the lives of the workers, we shall visit most of
 the shops one after another and get to know the people. The largest
 shop employs 500 people; 85% women and girls; females make up 60% of the
 work force at this plant.

Here girls solder and screw the CHASSIS to the FRONT
 attaching, transistors, tubes and so forth. They each have quotas de-
 pending upon what kind of work they are engaged in. One girl may solder
 5 TRANSISTORS in FOUR MINUTES while THE NEXT GIRL SOLDERS
 15 wire leads in 13 minutes. The pay scales here vary but slightly with
 average pay at 80 rubles without deductions. Deductions include 7 rubles,
 general tax, 2.50 rubles for bachelors and unmarried girls and any deduct-
 ions for poor or careless work. The inspectors may care to make further
 down the line. They start teams of two, mostly boys of 17 or 18, turning
 the televisions on the conveyor belts right side up, from where there has
 been soldering to a position where they place picture tubes onto the
 supports. These boys receive for a 39 hour week, 65-70 rubles, not

...istrict one block north of the main thorough-
 ...ies from the center of the City with all facilities
 ...for the mass production of radios and televisions; it em-
 ... 5,000 full time and 300 part time workers, 58% women and girls.
 ...factory employe 2,000 soldiers in three of the five mainshops, mostly
 ...these shops are fitted with convair belts in long rows, on either side of
 ...which sit the long line of bustling women.

500 people, during the day shift, are employed on the huge stamp and
 pressing machines; here sheet metal is turned into metal frames and
 cabinets for television and radios.

Another 500 people are employed in an adjoining building for the
 cutting and finishing of rough wood into fine polished cabinets. A
 laborer's process, mostly done by hand, the cutting, trimming and the
 process's right up to hand polishing are carried out here at the same
 plant. The plant also has its own stamp making plant, employing 150
 people at or assisting at 80 heavy machine lathes and grinders. The
 noise in this shop is almost deafening as metal grinds against metal and
 steel saws cut through iron ingots at the rate of an inch a minute.

The floor is covered with oil used to drain the heat of metal being worked
 so one has to watch one's footing; here the workers' hands are as black
 as the floor and ^{skin} to be eternally. The foremen here look like the
 version of "John Henry", tall and as strong as an ox. He isn't
 really, but he gets the work out.

The plant has its electric shop, where those who have finished long
 courses in electronics work over generators, television tubes, testing
 experiments of all kinds. The green work tables are filled high here.
 Electric gadgets are not too reliable here, mostly due to the poor quality
 of wires, which keep burning out under the impact of the usual 220V
 voltage. In the U. S. it is 110V.

The plastics department is next. Here 47 women and three physically
 disabled persons keep the rod hot liquid plastic flowing into a store of
 tubes, turning out their quote of knobs, handles, non-conducting
 tube bases, and so forth. These workers suffer the worst condition of
 work in the plant. an otherwise model factory, for the Soviet Union, due

PART 1 THE COLLECTIVE

Russian Workers is governed, first and foremost, by the "komsomol", the smallest unit of authority in any given factory, plant or enterprise. Sectional and shop cells form a highly organized and well supported political organization. These shop committees are in turn governed by the shop and section party chiefs who are directed by the factory or plant party secretary. This post carries officially the same amount of authority as the production director or president of the plant, but in reality it is the controlling organ of all activities at any industrial enterprise, whether political, industrial or otherwise personal relations. The party secretary is responsible for political indoctrination of the workers, the discipline of members of the Communist party working at the plant and the general conduct and appearance of all members.

The Minsk Radio and Television plant is known throughout the Union as a major producer of electronics parts, and sets. In this vast enterprise created in the early 50's, the party secretary is a 6'4" man in his early 40's -- has a long history of service to the party. He controls the activities of the 1,000 communist party members here and otherwise supervises the activities of the other 5,000 people employed at this enterprise in Minsk, the capital of the 3rd ranking Republic of the U.S.S.R.

This factory manufactures 87,000 large and powerful radio and 60,000 television sets in various sizes and ranges, excluding pocket radios, which are not mass produced anywhere in the U.S.S.R. It is this plant which manufactured several console model combination radio-phonograph television sets which were shown as mass produced items of commerce before several hundreds of thousands of Americans at the Soviet Exposition in New York in 1954. After the Exhibition these sets were duly shipped back to Minsk and are now stored in a special storage room on the first floor of the Administrative Building -- at this factory, ready for the next International Exhibit.

I worked for 23 months at this plant, a fine example of average and

PART 1 - THE COLLECTIVE

The lives of Russian Workers is governed, first and foremost, by the "collective", the smallest unit of authority in any given factory, plant or enterprise. Sectional and shop cells form a highly organized and well supported political organization. These shop committees are in turn governed by the shop and section party chiefs who are directed by the factory or plant party secretary. This post carries officially the same amount of authority as the production director or president of the plant, but in reality it is the controlling organ of all activities at any industrial enterprise, whether political, industrial or otherwise personal relations. The party secretary is responsible for political indoctrination of the workers, the discipline of members of the Communist party working at the plant and the general conduct and appearance of all workers.

The Minsk Radio and Television plant is known throughout the Union as a major producer of electronics parts, and sets. In this vast enterprise created in the early 50's, the party secretary is a 6'4" man in his early 40's -- has a long history of service to the party. He controls the activities of the 1,000 communist party members here and otherwise supervises the activities of the other 5,000 people employed at this major enterprise in Minsk, the capital of the 3rd ranking Republic of the U.S.S.R.

This factory manufactures 87,000 large and powerful radio and 60,000 television sets in various sizes and ranges, excluding pocket radios, which are not mass produced anywhere in the U.S.S.R. It is this plant which manufactured several console model combination radio-phonograph television sets which were shown as mass produced items of commerce before several hundreds of thousands of Americans at the Soviet Exposition in New York in 1958. After the Exhibition these sets were duly shipped back to Minsk and are now stored in a special storage room on the first floor of the Administrative Building -- at this factory, ready for the next International Exhibit.

I worked for 23 months at this plant, a fine example of average and

77
...ng use to a more or less definite scale, a worker
demand to be tested for a higher pay level at any time. Only skill
is "a barrier" to higher pay. The foreman and shop head all receive
about 120 rubles basic pay but much higher bonuses ^{are} awarded to the best
shops by the factory committee for good production standards.

Our shop head Shephen Tarasavich Velchok is a stout open faced and
well skilled metal worker who, although he hasn't got a higher educa-
tion which is now a prime requisition for even a foreman's job, ^{HE}
managed to finish a 4 year night school specialty course and through
the help of the director of the factory, Mr. UKAYVICH
became shop head in an important segment of ^{THIS} large plant, employing 5,000
people. Shephen has ^{ON} almost bald head except for a line of hair on
the left side of his head, which he is forever combing across his shiny
top. Aged 45, he is married with two children aged 8 and 10. It may be
explained that Russians seem to marry much older than their American coun-
terparts, perhaps that can be explained by the fact that in order to re-
ceive an apartment, people often must wait for 5 or 6 years and since
security is so unstable, until a commonly desired goal is reached, that
is, an apartment for oneself, most Russians do not choose to start
families until later in life. Shephen is responsible to the factory
committee and director for the filling of quotas and production quan-
tity. His foreman Zomof is 38 years old, has a wife and 15 month old
baby, not too long ago moved out of his one room flat without kitchen
or private toilet, into a newly built apartment house and flat of two
small rooms, kitchen and bath, a luxury not felt by most Russians. A
tall thin man with dark creases in his face, his manner, nervous, spontan-
eous and direct, betrays his calling. His job, keep the working on the
premises going as quickly and efficiently as possible. His Assistant,
Jr. Foreman Laveook, is much younger, ten year younger, enigmatic,
handsome, quick, he climbed to his post through a night school degree
and a sort of rough charm, which he instinctively uses in the presence of
superiors. The shop's mainstay is composed of 17 so-called "Shock
workers" whose pictures hang on a wall near the stairs so that all
might strive to imitate them. Usually of the 5 level or master class

1
The COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BETRAYED ITSELF!

IT HAS TURNED ITSELF INTO THE TRADITIONAL LEVER OF A FOREIGN POWER TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, NOT IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM OR HIGH IDEALS, BUT IN SERVILE CONFORMITY TO THE WISHES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND IN ANTICIPATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S COMPLETE DOMINATION OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

THE FORSTER'S AND ^{THE} FLYNN OF ^{THE} ~~UNITED STATES~~ SUBSIDIZED COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE ~~UNITED STATES~~ HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE WILLING, GULLIBLE MESSENGERS OF THE KREMLIN'S INTERNATIONALIST PROPAGANDA.

THERE CAN BE NO INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARCH-BETRAYERS OF THAT MOST SUBLIME IDEAL.

THERE CAN BE NO SYMPATHY FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TURNED THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM INTO A VILE CURSE TO WESTERN MAN.

THE SOVIETS HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES UNSURPASSED EVEN BY THEIR EARLY DAY CAPITALIST COUNTERPART, THE IMPRISONMENT OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE, WITH THE MASS EXTERMINATION SO TYPICAL OF STALIN, AND

The COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES HAS BETRAYED ITSELF!

IT HAS TURNED ITSELF INTO THE TRADITIONAL LEVER OF A FOREIGN POWER TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, NOT IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM OR HIGH IDEALS, BUT IN SERVILE CONFORMITY TO THE WISHES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND IN ANTICIPATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S COMPLETE DOMINATION OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

THE FORSTER'S AND ^{THE} FLYNN'S OF THE ^{UNITED} STATES HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE WILLING, GULLIBLE MESSENGERS OF THE KREMLIN'S INTERNATIONALIST PROPAGANDA.

THERE CAN BE NO INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARCH-BETRAYERS OF THAT MOST SUBLIME IDEAL.

THERE CAN BE NO SYMPATHY FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TURNED THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM INTO A VILE CURSE TO WESTERN MAN.

THE SOVIETS HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES UNSURPASSED EVEN BY THEIR EARLY DAY CAPITALIST COUNTERPARTS, THE IMPRISONMENT OF THEIR OWN PEOPLES, WITH THE MASS EXTERMINATION SO TYPICAL OF STALIN, AND

2
and the individual suppression and regimentation
under Khrushchev.

The deportations, the purposeful curtailment
of diet in the consumer slighted population
of Russia, the murder of history, the proscription
of art and culture.

The Communist movement in the U.S.,
personalized by the Communist Party U.S.A.,
has turned itself into a "valuable gold coin"
of the Kremlin. It has failed to denounce
any actions of the Soviet Government when
similar actions on the part of the U.S. Government

bring pious protest. Examples:

Condemned:

United States

Atom Bomb Test

Cuba

Natl. Manuvers

U-2

Comm-0

Negro Lynching

Not Condemned:

Russia

Atom Bomb Test

Hungary

Warsaw Pact Manuvers

S. Cuba

Eastern Germany

Genocide

ONLY BY DECLARING ITSELF TO BE, NOT
 ONLY NOT DEPENDENT UPON, BUT ~~OPPOSED~~ TO,
 SOVIET DOMINATION AND INFLUENCE, CAN
 DORMANT AND DISILLUSIONED PERSONS HOPE TO
 UNITE TO FREE THE RADICAL MOVEMENT FROM
 ITS INERTIA.

THROUGH THE REFUSAL OF THE COMMUNIST
 PARTY U.S.A. TO GIVE A CLEAR CUT CONDEMNATION
 OF SOVIET PIRATICAL ACTS, PROGRESSIVES HAVE
 BEEN WEAKEN INTO A STATE CLASS OF FIFTH
¹⁰⁰ COLUMIST OF THE RUSSIANS.

IN ORDER TO FREE THE HESITATING AND
 JUSTIFIABLY UNCERTAIN, FUTURE ACTIVIST FOR
 THE WORK AHEAD WE ~~MUST~~ ^{MUST} REMOVE THAT
 OBSTACLE WHICH HAS SO EFFICIENTLY RETARDED HIM,
 NAMELY THE DEVOTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.,
 TO THE SOVIET UNION, SOVIET GOVERNMENT,
 AND SOVIET COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

IT IS ^{READILY} ~~READILY~~ FORESEEABLE THAT A COMING
 ECONOMIC, POLITICAL OR MILITARY CRISIS, INTERNAL
 OR EXTERNAL, WILL BRING ABOUT THE FINAL
 DESTRUCTION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, ASSUMING
 PREPARATION
 THIS, WE CAN SEE NOW ~~SEE~~ IN A SPECIAL
 PARTY COULD SAFELY WARD AN INDEPENDENT COURSE OF
 ACTION AFTER THE DEBACLE, AN AMERICAN COURSE

4.

STEADFASTLY OPPOSED TO INTERVENTION BY OUTSIDE,
RELATIVELY STABLE FOREIGN POWERS, NO MATTER
FROM WHERE THEY COME, BUT IN PARTICULARLY
AND IF NECESSARY, VIOLENTLY OPPOSED TO
SOVIET INTERVENTION.

NO PARTY OF THIS TYPE CAN
ATTRACT INTO ITS RANKS MORE THAN A
MINIMAL NUMBER OF FUNDAMENTAL RADICALS.
IT IS NOT THE ^{NATURE} OF SUCH AN ORGANIZATION
TO ATTRACT SUCH A MEMBERSHIP, AS LET'S SAY,
THE REPUBLICANS OR EVEN THE SOCIALIST
PARTY, BUT IT IS POSSIBLE TO ENLIST THE
AID OF ^{DISENCHANTED} MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST
PARTY AND EVEN SOME FROM MORE "RESPECTED",
(FROM A CAPITALIST VIEWPOINT) PARTIES.

BUT WHEREAS OUR POLITICALLY FRIENDLY
TALK LOUDLY NOW, THEY HAVE NO CONCEPT OF
WHAT TOTAL CRISIS MEANS.

THE ^{FACTION} WHICH HAS THE GREATER BASIS
IN SPIRIT AND THE MOST FAR-SIGHTED AND
READY ^{MEMBERSHIP} SECTION OF THE RADICAL FUTURIST, WILL
BE THE DECISIVE FACTOR.

WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN VIOLENTLY
OPPOSING THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WHY SHOULD WE
MANIFEST OPPOSITION WHEN THERE ARE

FAR GREATER FORCES AT WORK, TO BRING ABOUT
THE FALL OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, THAN
WE COULD EVER POSSIBLY MUSTER.

WE DO NOT HAVE ANY INTEREST IN DIRECTLY
ASSUMING THE LEAD OF GOVERNMENT IN THE EVENT
OF SUCH AN ALL-FINISHING CRISIS AS DISSENTING
AMERICANS WE ARE MERELY INTERESTED IN
OPPOSING FOREIGN INTERVENTION WHICH IS
EASILY DRAWN
A ~~REASONABLE~~ ~~FEASIBLE~~ CONCLUSION IF
ONE BELIEVES IN THE THEORY OF CRISIS.

— THE REPLACEMENT OF A SEPARATE, DEMOCRATIC,
PURE COMMUNIST SOCIETY IS OUR LEAD, BUT
ONE WITH UNION-COMMUNES, DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIZING OF PRODUCTION AND WITHOUT
REGARD TO THE TWISTING PART OF ^{MARKSIST} ~~LENINISM~~
COMMUNISM BY OTHER POWERS.

THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE PERSONAL ^{PROPERTY} ~~PROPERTY~~,
RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE AND FREEDOM OF TRAVEL
ISS. (WHICH HAVE ALL BEEN VIOLATED UNDER ALLIAN
"COMMUNIST" RULE) MUST BE STRICTLY OBSERVED.

RESOLUTIONS AND PATIENT WORKING TOWARD
THE AFORESAID GOALS ARE PREFERRED RATHER THAN
LOUD AND USELESS MANIFESTATIONS OF THE TEST.

SILENT OBSERVANCE OF OUR PRINCIPLES IS OF
PRIMARY IMPORTANCE.

BUT THESE PROFFERED TACTICS NOW, MAY PROVE
TO BE TOO LIMITED IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THEY
SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH STUNNED,
INDISISION OR FEAR, ONLY THE INTIMIDATED
FEARLESS COULD EVEN BE REMAINLY AFFILIATED
OUR DOCTRINE, AND YET THIS DOCTRINE ALTHOUGH
THE ^{UTMOST} ~~UTMOST~~ RESTRAINT, A STATE OF BEING
IN ITSELF INJUSTICE IN POWER.

THIS IS STOICISM, AND YET STOICISM
HAS NOT BEEN EFFECTED FOR MANY YEARS,
AND NEVER FOR SUCH A ^{PURPOSE} ~~PURPOSE~~.

THERE ARE ORGANIZATIONS ALREADY
FORMED IN THE UNITED STATES, WHO HAVE CLAIMED
THEY SHALL BECOME EFFECTIVE ONLY AFTER
THE MILITARY DEBACLE OF THE UNITED STATES,
ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE MINUTEMEN,
OR THE OPPOSITE OF A STRONG COMMUNIST
BUT THESE PERFORMERS ARE SIMPLY PREPARING
TO REDEFEND IN THEIR OWN BACK YARD, A SYSTEM
WHICH THEY TAKE FOR GRANTED & WILL BE DEFEATED
MILITARILY, A STRANGE THING TO BEAR FROM PATRIOTS.
^{ELSEWHERE}

170

THESE ARMED GROUPS REPRESENT HARD CORE
AMERICAN CAPITALIST SUPPORTERS, THERE WILL ALSO
BE SMALL HARD COMMUNIST AND PROBABLY ^{FASCIST} ~~FASCIST~~ GROUPS.
THERE WILL ALSO BE ANARCHIST AND RELIGIOUS

GROUPS AT WORK.

HOWEVER, THE BULK OF THE POPULATION WILL NOT adhere to any of these groups, because they will not be inclined to join any of the old factions with which we are all so familiar.

BUT THE PEOPLE WILL NEVER EXCEPT A NEW LEADER, PRESENTED BY POLITICIANS OR OPPORTUNIST.

LEGALLY, THEY WILL BE ~~PRESENTED~~ ^{DEEM} IT NECESSARY

~~TO~~ TO OPPOSE THOSE SYSTEM OF

GOVERNMENT AGAINST WHOM THEY HAVE BEEN EDUCATED

~~EDUCATED~~, BUT THEY WILL BE ~~FORMER~~ ^{FORMER} ADMIRERS RESEMBLING THEIR ~~FORMER~~ ^{FORMER} CAPITALIST MASTERS ALSO.

STEADFASTLY OPPOSED TO THE REVIVAL OF THE OLD FORCES THEY WILL SEEK A NEW FORCE.

THIS WILL BE THE SENTIMENT OF THE MASSES. ^{THE} MANIPULATING

OUT ANY ORGANIZATION CLEARLY

WORDS ^{MAY} SWAY THE MASSES

THIS IS WHERE A SAFEGUARD IS NECESSARY.

AND NOT ONLY A SAFEGUARD, BUT A SAFETY VALVE, TO SHUT OFF OPPORTUNIST FORCES FROM WITHIN, AND FOREIGN INTERESTS FROM WITHOUT.

THERE CAN BE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR ORGANIZATION

AND PROGRESSIVE WORK ~~OR~~ ^{THE} ~~OR~~ ^{THE} TOWARDS

THE AFFIRMED IDEALS AND GOALS.

8.

WORK IS THE KEY TO THE ~~THE~~ FUTURE DOOR, BUT FAILURE TO APPLY THAT KEY BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE ARMED OPPOSITION IN OUR HYPOTHETICAL, BUT VERY PROBABLE CRISIS, IS AS USELESS AS TRYING TO USE FORCE NOW TO KNOCK DOWN THE DOOR.

~~A SECURITY - VALUE - REVISION~~

ARMED DEFENSES OF OUR IDEALS MUST BE ACCEPTED ^{DOCTRINE} AFTER THE CRISIS, JUST AS NOW REFRAINING FROM ANY DEMONSTRATIONS OF FORCE MUST BE OUR DOCTRINE IN THE MEAN TIME.

NO MAN, HAVING KNOWN, HAVING LIVED, UNDER THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST AND AMERICAN CAPITALIST SYSTEM, COULD POSSIBLY MAKE A CHOICE BETWEEN THEM, THERE IS NO LIFE, NO FREEDOM, OPPRESSION THE OTHER SCARCITY. BOTH ARE IMPERIALISTIC INJUSTICE, TINTED WITH THE TASTE OF SLAVERY.

NO MAN CAN TAKE THE ATTITUDE

"THERE ARE TWO WAYS BEYOND RECOGNITION: SUICIDE AND DYING."

WHICH IS THE BETTER WAY TO LIVE IN AMERICAN

... THE WORLD SYSTEM ...

... THIS ...

... RELATIONSHIP ...

... THE ...

... DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION ...

... THE ...

... NATIONAL MEASURES ...

... THE ...

... CRISIS ...

FOUNDATION, OPPOSED TO BOTH WORLD SYSTEMS
 AS THEY ARE NOW
 THIS THEN IS OUR IDEAL.
 MEMBERSHIP IN THIS ORGANIZATION IMPLIES
 ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SIMPLIC
 DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION ABOUT THIS
 MOVEMENT TO OTHERS AND ACCEPTANCE OF
 THE IDEA OF STOICAL READINESS IN REGARDS
 TO PRACTICAL MEASURES ONCE INSTITUTED IN
 THE CRISIS.

The new ERA.

IN MINSK THERE WAS A 35 FT. ~~ST. ST.~~ ^{MONUMENT} TO STALIN WHICH STOOD EVEN AFTER THE FIRST DENUNCIATION OF STALIN BY KAMUSCEV, UNLIKE THE MONUMENT OF STALIN IN LEINGRAD WHICH WAS TAKEN DOWN IMMEDIATELY. THIS IMPRESSIVE BRONZE AND MARBLE STRUCTURE HAS STOOD FOR AS LONG AS IT HAS DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF RICHARD STALINIST SUCH AS COLN. PETRO-KO. ~~OF THE~~ ^{THE} OVER. OFFICE IN MINSK AND OTHERS. HOWEVER, AFTER THE 22ND CONGRESS MEETING WHEN KAMUSCHES AGAIN DENOUNCED STALIN, ON NOV. 5. TWO DAYS BEFORE THE NOV. 7 REVOLUTIONARY CELEBRATIONS, A FORCE OF 100 MEN DESCENDED UPON THE STALIN SQUARE ~~FOR~~ (NOW LEIN SQUARE) AND WITH BULDOZERS AND PILEDRIVER ~~IT~~ COMMENCED TO TEAR UP (NOT SALVAGE) THE STRUCTURE. THEY MUST HAVE BEEN VERY ENTHUSIASTIC BECAUSE NEXT DAY THEY HAD REMOVED THE 10 TON BRONZE ~~ST.~~ FIGURE OF A MAN REVERED BY THE OLDER GENERATION AND LAUGHED AT BY THE SARCASTIC YOUNGER GENERATION.

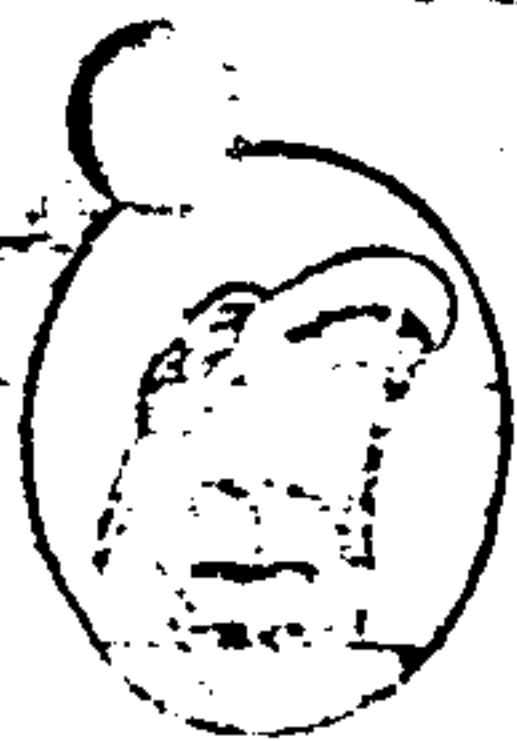
THE MOST REMARKABLE THING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF THIS GIANT MONUMENT WAS THAT WORK WAS CEASED ON THE 6TH OF NOVEMBER. BUT STARTED AGAIN ON THE 7TH THE VERY DAY THE BIG PARADE OF WORKERS CAME BY. THE MONUMENT WAS RIGHT ACROSS FROM ITS REVIEWING STAND AT IT WAS

built to be.

In full view of all the digni-
and workers going by the destruction of
Stalin and the symbolic ~~the~~ ending of
Stalinism ~~is~~ (frustrated hopes) was
concluded.

But Belarussia as in Stalin's
native Georgia is still a stronghold
of Stalinism.

and a revival of Stalinism
is a very very possible thing in
those two republics



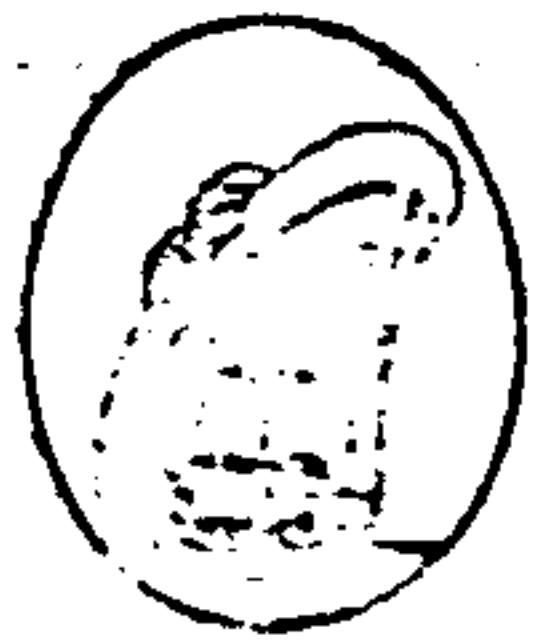
Holland America Line

There have already been a few organizations who have declared that they shall become effective only after conflict between the two world systems leaves its world country without defense or foundation of government, organizations such as the Minute Men for instance, however, they intend are preparing to simply defend the present system and reinstate it if injured after mutual defeat of both systems materially which is more or less taken for granted.

These would groups will represent the remaining hard core of financial American capitalist supporters.

There will undoubtedly be similar representations of this kind by Communist groups in Communist countries.

There will also be many diverse religious segments of nations.



RMS

27

Holland-America Line

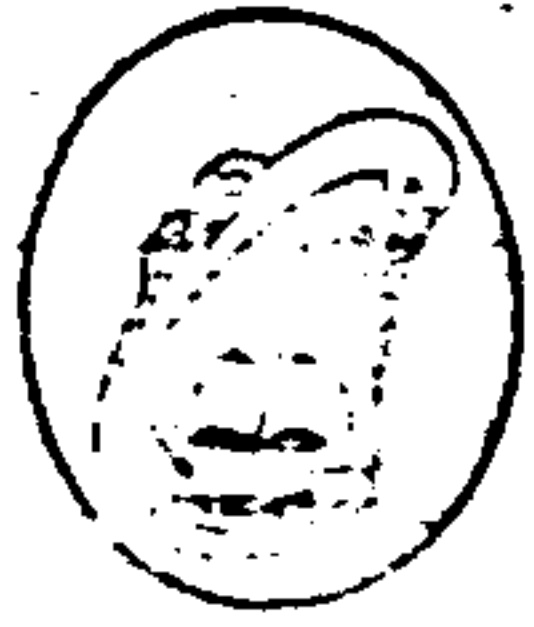
their own ethnicities and through larger memberships than the minute men set.

However there will also be organized pacifist and quite probably fascist and splinter groups. However all these, unlike the minute men and communist partisan groups, will be unarmed.

The mass of survivors ~~to~~ will probably however, will not belong to any of these groups. They will not be fanatical enough to join extremes, and will be too disillusioned to support either the communists or the capitalist parties in their respective countries. After ~~the~~ atomic war,

they shall seek an alternative ~~to~~ those systems which have brought them misery.

But their thinking and education



Holland-America Line

will be steep in the traditions of these systems they will never accept a "new order" complete beyond their understanding, ^{any more than they would} logically, they would deem it necessary to oppose to old systems but support at the same time their cherished traditions.

I intend to put forward just such an alternative.

~~In the event that it would mean~~

On making such a declaration I must say that in order to make this alternative effective, supporters must prepare now ~~for it~~ in its event the situation presents itself as the practical application of this alternative

in this way the ^{mischievous} men and their narrow support of capitalism have been most for-sighted, however they present only a ^{mischievous} resistance force which ~~is not what we would want~~ what is needed is a contracted and practical group of persons ^{with} ~~desires~~

RMS. 1B

Holland-America Line

When I first went to Russia in the winter of 1959 my funds were very limited, so after a certain time, after the Russians had ascertained that I was really the naive American who believed in communism, they arranged for me to receive a certain amount of money every month or it came indirectly through the Red Cross as financial help at political imprisonment but it was arranged by the M.V.D.. I told myself it was simply because I was broke and everybody knew it. I accepted the money because I was hungry and there was several inches of snow on the ground in Moscow at that time but what it really was was payment for my denunciation of the U.S. in Moscow in 1952 and a clear promise that for as long as I lived in the USSR life would be very good. I didn't realize all this, of course for almost two years.



RMS 29

Holland-America Line

As soon as I become completely disappointed
 with the ^{land man} ~~land man~~ and stated ~~my~~ ^{my} ~~disappointment~~
 with the ^{overseas} ~~overseas~~ Embassy in Moscow for
 my return to the U.S. my "Red Cross"
 allotment was cut off. To understand
 this was not difficult since all correspondents
 in and out of the Embassy is censured
 as is common knowledge in the
 Embassy itself.

I have never mentioned the fact
 of these monthly payments to anyone.
 I do so in order to state that
 I shall never sell myself intentionally,
 or unintentionally again to anyone again.

as for the fee of \$ _____ I was supposed
 to receive for this _____ I refused.
 I made pretense to expect it only because
 otherwise I would have been considered
 a crack pot and not allowed to appear
 to express my views. after all who would want
 money???



RMS. 11

Holland-America Line

~~been~~ ^{the} matter

~~we~~ ^{well} we

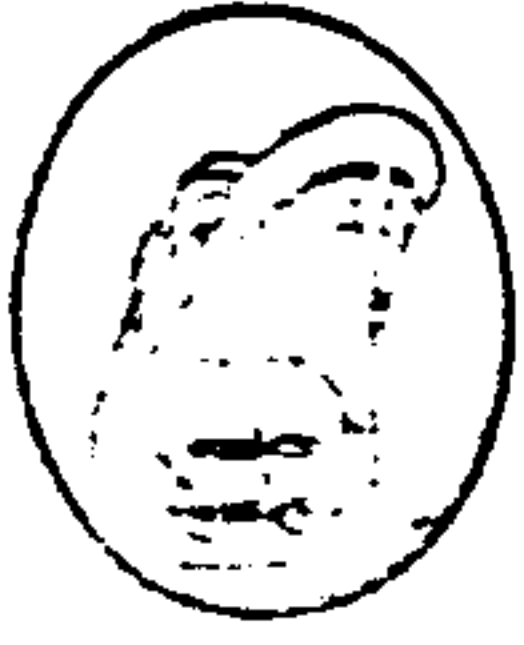
community level, Marx and Engels advocated a centralized state which would later 'withers away'.

but in this ~~matter~~ Engels was mistaken again.

as history has shown time after time state remains and grows whereas true democracy can be practiced only at the local level, while the ~~central~~ ^{central}

its administrative, political or supervisory remains this can be no ^{real} democracy
(a loose confederation of communities at
(a national level with ~~central~~ ^{central} ~~administration~~ ^{administration})
exists what so ever.

in equal division ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~power~~ ^{power}, with safe guards against co-optation of communities there can be democracy, not in the centralized state delegating authority but in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~local~~ ^{local} ~~level~~ ^{level} equal, ~~local~~ ^{local} ~~level~~ ^{level} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~power~~ ^{power} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~decentralized~~ ^{decentralized} ~~administration~~ ^{administration} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~developing~~ ^{developing} ~~democracy~~ ^{democracy} at the local level.



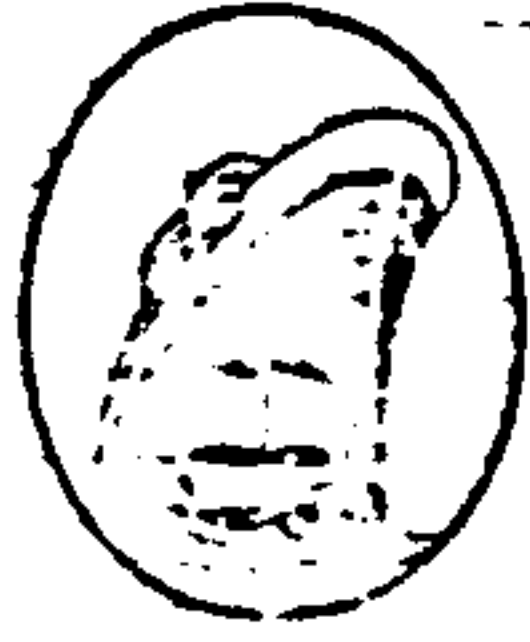
RMS

Harvard America Line

capital committee of bureaucrats and
 on top of all that a last final
 C.K. has to come from, irrevocably the
 person ministry of foreign affairs!!
 the winning away of the state as well
 envisaged was a unforeseeable mistake
 pointed out by many ~~in~~ critics of war.

The second mistake Engels and Marx
 made ~~was~~ much more obscure but funda-
 tally just as important.

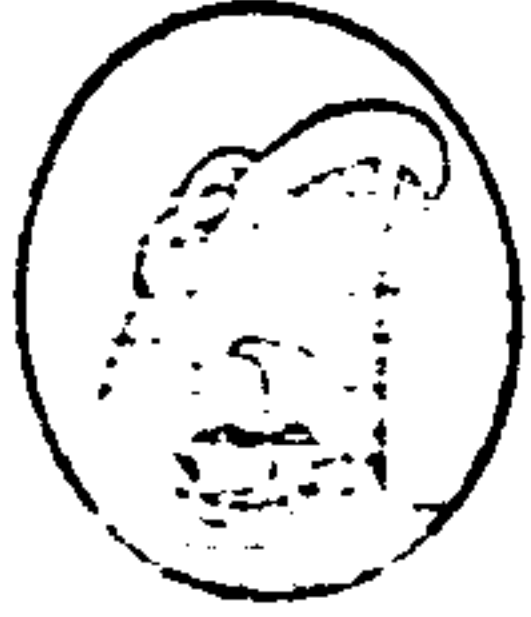
In the late 1860's Engels wrote ~~in~~
 in ~~the~~ ~~anti~~ ~~slavery~~ ~~struggle~~ ~~in~~
 thoughtfully criticized Eugen Dühring, a
 German idealist who was supposedly not
 consistent in his materialism ~~as~~
~~the~~ dialectical materialist ~~method~~. ~~Engels~~
 criticized Engels of Dühring ~~in~~
 with much heavy sarcasm that Dühring
 only changed a word in his ~~future~~
 forward of his social revolutionary ~~ideas~~
 that ~~word~~ ~~to~~ "changed word" was
 the word community ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~word~~
 mate whereas Dühring wanted
 Social Democrats at the time.



RMS. 9

Holland-America Line

in dividing power you multiply units
 and in everyday life you become
 more and more dependent on ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~power~~ ^{power}
 of state power, ~~then even more~~ ^{then ever}
~~as you turn~~ you meet them and they
 touch the lives of the people more
 and more, ~~and~~ ^a new bureaucracy,
 rather than a withdrawing away of the
 state. In Russia at the last two
 years there has been a shift of
 power from the capital of Moscow to
 the so-called "republics" but state
 apparatus, simply grows into a greater
 maze throughout these republics, ~~and~~
 in much the capital of Belorussia
 the ministry of Interior become ~~responsible~~
 in 1900 for determining the legitimacy of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~republics~~ ^{republics}
 for ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~land~~ ^{land} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~life~~ ^{life} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~to~~ ^{to}
 leave the U.S.S.R. formally the official
 program of Moscow alone but now that
 this state ministry in Moscow has ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~way~~ ^{way}
 away it becomes all the more difficult to
 get an exit visa since now one has to
 go to the area, city and republican ~~with~~

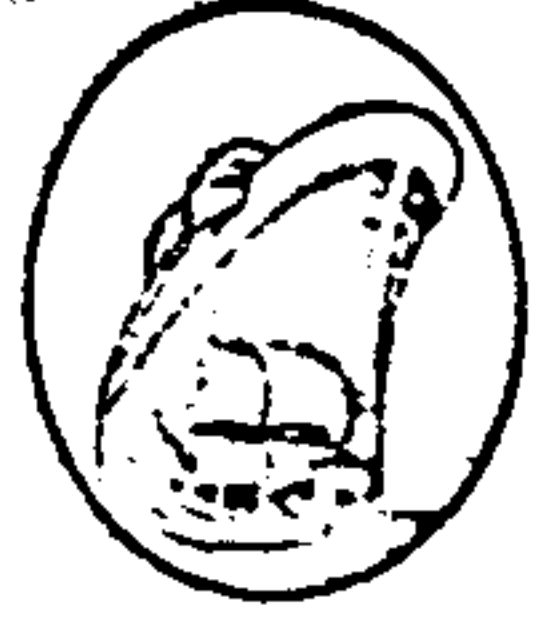


RMS 8

Holland-America Line

In the Communist experiment several factions and unavoidable developments have emerged which Marx and Engels could not possibly have foreseen. These emerge with increasing clarity two monumental mistakes which Marx made, ^{and pointed out} not mention the very ^{idea} of Marx's economic theory ^{and doctrine of surplus value} which has always been ^{quite} unshakable and controversial.

The first mistake is fairly well known even at this stage in the Communist development: the "withering away of the state" ^{as it was called} ~~understanding~~ however Marx emphasized that the abolition of classes would lead to the gradual reduction of state apparatus. However this is not the case and is being observed than contemplated, the state rather becomes more ^{central} systematic in that while the powers of ministries or delegated ^{they are} not reduced in the dividing of ^{the} origin of state power into smaller units at lower levels so although the ^{some} ministries ^{of} have actually shrunk in number they have become more ^{central} than ever at lower levels too.



RMS. ?

Holland-America Line

Is that the old system of capitulation
even within itself is revising and
what is most evident, forming important
economic coalition, such as the common
market.