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A Prophecy? Or a Fact?

Graffiti at 11th Street and Broadway, New York, N.Y., 1980.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

Ingo Swann, editor

Starform, Inc., Belmont, California

Also by Ingo Swann

TO KISS EARTH GOOD-BYE
COSMIC ART (Editor)
STAR FIRE

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WHAT WILL
HAPPEN TO YOU
WHEN THE
SOVIETS TAKE OVER

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HOW TO READ THIS BOOK



How To Read This Book:

*Look up your profession or life-style;
see how the Soviets might treat you
when they take over.*

When the Soviets take over a country, they make basic and violent changes in its society. These are not abstract, remote, solely ideological changes; they affect everyone—men and women, young and old, people on all social levels, in all professions, among majorities and minorities, those with much power and those with little or none.

If the Soviets should take over the United States, you are going to be one of those whose lives will be affected. Profoundly and for the worse.

The information in this book serves a double duty. In the *table of contents* that follows are two kinds of information. At the far left are one hundred and fifty categories listed alphabetically by profession or life-style, from A to Z. Along with these, running in the middle of the *table of contents* are scores of articles, reprints and anecdotes that will fill out for you various aspects of Soviet life and the areas in which the Soviets have gained supremacy over the United States.

In the text of the book, you will find the A to Z materials on the left and right columns of the pages; the supporting materials will run along the center columns.

If you want to find out quickly what will happen to you if the United States becomes a Soviet colony—and what has happened to people just like you in such a state—you can look yourself up among the A to Z materials. We can not cover, of course, absolutely *every* profession or life-style. We have sought only to give representative samples which, taken together, clearly might establish the many changes that everyone will experience.

But be sure to read all the supporting materials, too. And you'd better sit down while you do it.

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You Shouldn't Just Take On Faith What's In This Book!

Check it out with a Soviet emigré, talk to a Cuban, read a “dissident’s” writings (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s, for example), correspond with an Afghan displaced person, or interview someone who has flown over the Iron Curtain recently.

We have tried to bring together, in a brief but hopefully informative manner, the major aspects of the Soviet system, some samples of Soviet life and its terrors, suggestions as to what would likely happen to various types of people should there ever be a takeover, and a description of the current American/Soviet military situation.

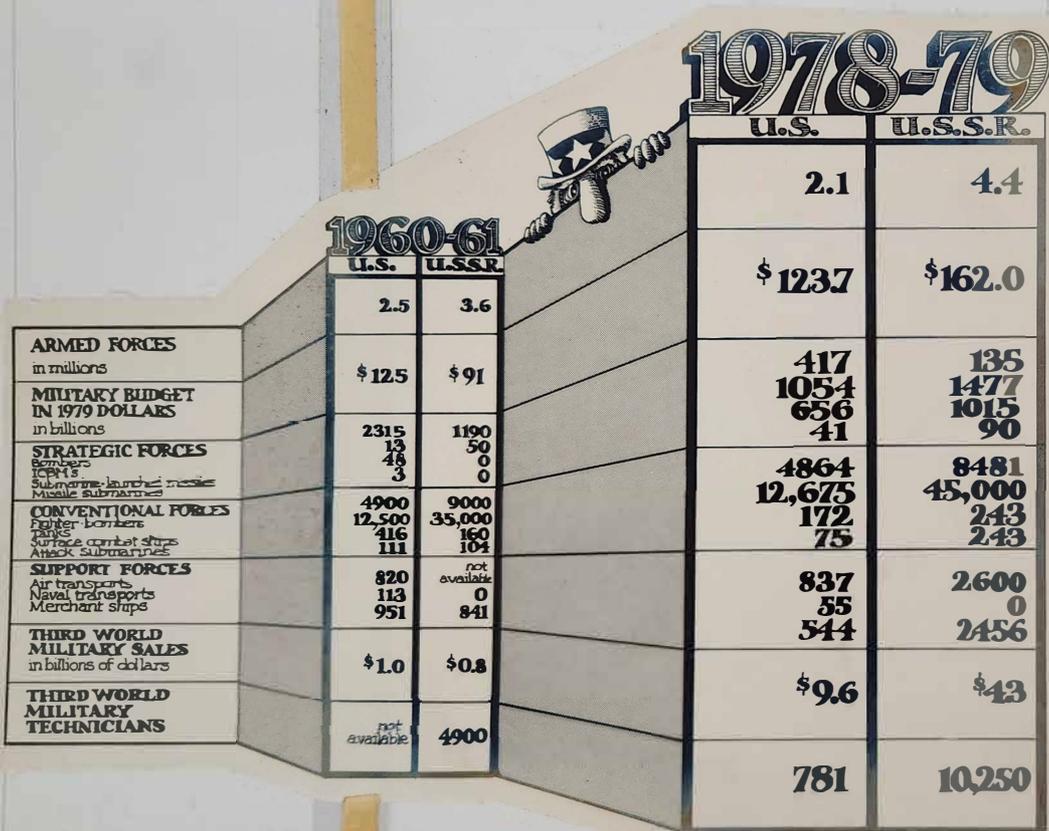
We do not ask you to take on faith what we tell you; make an effort to check out this information further. The best way would be to talk with a refugee from a Soviet-controlled country. This book derives much of its information from interviews of that kind.

The second surest way would be to read books written by specialists on the Soviets or by Russians who have experienced the Soviet system. The Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (*The Gulag Archipelago*) and the Soviet Nobel Prize-winning nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov (now in exile in the city of Gorky) have tried to tell us many things about the Soviet system.

Most books on the Soviet “problem” deal with the question of why it is difficult to understand the Soviets. But in many of these there are also facts and comments, too, about how the Soviets treat people.

There is nothing in this book that will not bear up if you check it out thoroughly. *But this you are invited to do, because it is unfair to ask you to accept just this one little book as a sole source.*

WHAT THIS BOOK IS ABOUT



Source: U.S. Government and International Institute for Strategic Studies; some figures are estimates.

THE SOVIETS CATCH UP

What This Book Is About

The purpose of this book – whatever its reception might be – is this: to make clear to the average American that the existence of the United States is in the gravest and most immediate danger, and that your status as an American citizen, and the freedoms conferred by that status, could, in as little as three or four years' time, vanish.

While this gloomy possibility has been much speculated upon during the past three decades, its arrival has generally been projected into the 1990's or into the twenty-first century. Neither the press nor our general education systems are drawing our attention to its increasing imminence.

Will the United States fall?

The actual facts are very alarming. The United States of America and its government could fall as early as 1982 or 1984, and its diverse peoples find themselves no longer citizens but subjects to a distant totalitarian rule.

This rule would be, of course, that of the Soviet elite, whose empire has grown far beyond what most Americans understand it to be, and whose control in each of the countries that it has taken over has been characterized by rigid, exact, and extremely cruel reorientations of civil society.

Americans have been accustomed to think "that" could never happen "here," but they had better start thinking again. They must prepare themselves, at least psychologically, for that grim possibility.

At this moment (June 1980), the Soviets are in a position to subdue the American nation by military means, and even though, in its death throes, American military (that is to say, nuclear) power could inflict a heavy penalty on Russian populations, it could not make any significant dent on the Soviet military machine.

Rather than summarize this dismal situation for you ourselves, we have reproduced in this book two articles that, taken together, clearly reveal the second-rate status to which the United States of America has receded as a world power. The extremely lucid article by Richard Pipes, entitled "Soviet Global Strategy," published in *Commentary* (April 1980), clearly sets forth the overall global strategy of the Soviets, and the unfortunate position to which it has reduced the United States. The article entitled, "The Danger is Defeat – Not Destruction," by Anonymous, distributed by the American Institute for Economic Research, sets forth, with even more shocking clarity, the disintegration of American military deterrent might.

What is the Grand Strategy of the Soviets?

The unrelenting desire of Soviet grand strategy—to control the entire planet—has never been fully acknowledged by European nations. And, more pointedly, not credited by American analysts. Even though the Soviets have made no secret of this intention.

It has been the diplomatic policy of the United States to assume that the aggressive and expansionist drives of the Soviets could be mitigated by reason and cooperation (*détente*).

Diplomats and policy makers do make mistakes. But in retrospect, errors of judgment as vast as these can hardly be viewed as anything less than a gross betrayal of the American people.

America may have many faults; but its system of government allows people to work to correct them. It doesn't provide for imprisonment, internal exile, or execution as punishment for attempts to effect change.

Because America did maintain itself for decades as a leading power, not only in defense of Americans themselves, but on behalf of the rest of the freedom-struggling world as well, human rights everywhere stood a chance to grow and develop.

In the Soviet system, human rights are clearly *not* available to people, and the *raison d'être* of Soviet power is certainly not the propagation or defense of such rights.

Ancient barbarianism in the technological present

The idea of rounding up and slaughtering the people you fear might oppose you is central to the barbarian personality. If many innocents inadvertently suffer also, that is held by the barbarian personality to be inconsequential. The goal is all important.

The emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperial world power has been exceedingly costly, if expense is measured in human life. The statistics beggar the imagination.

Since the Bolshevik communists took over the democratic revolution in Russia in 1917, estimates of the extent of human exterminations vary; the figure will be found somewhere between one hundred million and two hundred million. And this might be a charitable estimate. The Stalin rule alone accounts for between thirty to fifty million dead, with millions more living out their existence in prisons or slave-labor camps. Twenty years ago the Soviet system had an *admitted* twenty million political prisoners. Today the Soviets state that they now only have one to two million, claiming that “things have improved.”

When the Soviets manage to take over a country (Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Cuba, for example) this ancient rite of barbarianism is once more reenacted. In their latest takeover, that of Afghanistan (an estimated eighteen million population), political executions have so far been between thirteen thousand

and twenty thousand (to say nothing of military casualties) and are increasing as this book goes to print.

A most profound mystery!

More than a quarter of a million books have been written about Soviet communism. Some of these argue its faults; but most of them try to present its merits, to urge the humanity of its basic ideals. And more than half of these books endorse Soviet communist ideology and its insistence on the necessity of a violent worldwide communist revolution.

Basically the idea is to destroy capitalism; that is, to expunge the notion of free, individual enterprise and submit the entire economy to the central control of the state.

The Soviets have a standard method for gaining control of a target country: subvert that country's political powers, seize control, and (almost always) slaughter those citizens who have the greatest amounts of money or money-making power. This is not an oversimplification.

The idea is to take from the “haves” and give to the “have-nots.” This, of course, requires the rise to power of a state group to manage enterprise or, more pointedly, state capitalism. Which is what has taken place in the Soviet system. This system is dominated by a ruling élite comprising perhaps as few as 110,000 government leaders, as contrasted with the two hundred and forty million people it controls. Of these two hundred and forty million, not one individual may engage in any enterprise outside those set for him or her by the state. The punishment for doing so is at least imprisonment, but could be death also. And this exceedingly unequal pyramid (110,000 versus 240 million) is itself built upon the millions dead and imprisoned, or laboring in work camps.

All this might be news to those Americans (a little part of all of us) who are interested in enjoying the wonders of our consumer society; Levi's, Coca-Cola, microwave ovens, disaster films, pop music, and suntans.

But it is *not* news to government leaders, researchers, analysts, or people whose job it is to try to understand such things. Their equanimity about it, though, is mysterious. So is the bland way this most monumental of historical topics is treated in the American press.

But beyond that is the great question why, in a world groaning with cries of liberation, human rights, and freedom, the largest totalitarian state ever known is having so much success in achieving its goal. That is a most profound mystery, indeed.

The destruction of America

One of the primary ends of Soviet grand strategy is to remove America from its role as a world power. And to disconnect it, through propaganda, from the long-held

confidence of other countries.

Unfortunately, in this the Soviets have so far been very successful.

In the service of this goal, it was important for them to cause America to demilitarize itself, while it, in turn was bringing into existence the most impressive military establishment the world has ever seen.

It seems totally inexplicable, however, that the military strength of the United States, as the world's major peace-keeping power, should have dwindled so swiftly, so quietly, and, it seems, so irrevocably. Inexplicable—unless one considers the possibility of direct Soviet manipulation of American decision-making bodies.

Simply put, America has disarmed itself; for reasons that, in the next year or two, must certainly become topics for wonderment, anger and fear.

During the time Soviets were creating and placing on active status the strongest and most extensive military machine the world has ever known, America was caused to stand still or to debase itself by retreat.

The strange thing is that this American disarmament and the simultaneous Soviet buildup were not invisible. Everyone could see it. The Europeans, the CIA, four presidents, and Congress. The only group of people which failed to convey this event clearly to the American people was the American press.

For every American soldier who was demobilized and not replaced, the Soviets mobilized twenty.

For every tank the Americans did not build or did not replace, the Soviets built ten.

For every single nuclear warhead the Americans did build, the Soviets built twenty.

For every installation in a Third World country the Americans abandoned, the Soviets gained three.

And so forth.

Americans are going to have to pay for this during the next five to ten years. And the effects have (since Afghanistan) begun to be clear to everyone.

The trouble is, America does not have time to redeem itself. The Soviets, in keeping with their grand global strategy, will be able to strike before America has a chance to rearm itself.

Rearmament would take a minimum of two years. Those two years are the Soviets' "window of opportunity." Something dreadful is in store for us during that time.

The least we can expect, since we cannot take a strong stand of any sort against the Soviets at this time, will be the increasing "Sovietization"* of our economy. The worst we might have to endure would be the emergence in the United States of America of a puppet government ruled and dictated to from Moscow.

*Conversion to the Soviet system.

The Soviets will change our civil society drastically

It is to this latter possibility this book is directed. American citizens simply do not understand what it would be like to exist under the Soviet social system either during its first violent posttakeover stage, or during the succeeding stage of "deindividuation."

What the Soviets and their supporters (how many are there already?) will do to the civil population of this country can more or less be predicted from what they have done to the population of countries they have already taken over.

They do two things as a matter of first course:

Stop all forms of communication and travel to reduce to the minimum any form of organized internal resistance.

Kill all top political leaders, as well as persons of authority in economic, educational, military, police, civic, and cultural affairs who are not likely to agree with the takeover, or who are likely to influence others to view the new state in what would, to the Soviets, be an inconvenient manner.

If there are uprisings and resistance, the Soviets habitually slaughter a symbolic group or population to make clear the fate that lies in store for others should resistance continue.

In the event of a Soviet takeover of the American populations, it is exceedingly unlikely that such tactics would not be used, especially since it is "the capitalistic pig Americans" who have been the Soviets' continual enemy since day one of the "revolution by violence."

What about after the takeover?

After a civil society is taken over, and after the basic "quelling of possible reactionary bourgeois groups" has culminated, the Soviets then create a society that is, or in our case will be, totally unfamiliar to Americans.

The alternative of what we will face can best be understood if a major misconception is cleared up: The peoples under direct Soviet control are commonly referred to, even in America, as "citizens." But in fact they are not citizens, because they have no rights. They are subjects. The Soviet system divides itself into two totally segregated and vastly disproportionate sections: the privileged minority, and all the rest. "All the rest" represents, in American terms, a vast ghetto.

In this book, we have made an attempt—a limited attempt to be sure—to make two things visible both to Americans as Americans, and, regrettably, to Americans as future Soviet-dominated subjects:

What life of the ordinary person is really like in the Soviet system; and

What will most likely (but hopefully not) happen to Americans during the first overt stages of the Sovietization of the United States of America.

Sorry to do this, in a way, dear reader, but perhaps this book will alert you to some things you may not have thought of.



Look At It This Way

The Soviets have a strategy in takeovers of foreign countries.

1. Eliminate military resistance.
2. Eliminate educated class.
3. Install puppet governments.
4. Subjugate population.

Simple and clear, isn't it?

Consider the Soviet concept of nuclear war:

1. Strike first after sending troops out of the Soviet Union (for example, into Europe, Asia, and the Middle East).
2. Understand that the war will last several years.
3. Understand that the country that has developed the best industrial capacity, that has taken steps to assure its survival in the event of nuclear war, and that can rebuild the fastest, subsequently will win the war.
4. Thus, if they are well prepared along these lines, planet Earth will be theirs.

Now consider the United States concept of nuclear war:

1. Wait until the bombs have fallen in the United States prior to taking a well-defined retaliatory strike.
2. Believe that the war will last only a few days (a week at the most).
3. Have the idea that nuclear war is inconceivable because each side will destroy the other.
4. Base all decisions relative to war or peace on the concept that neither side can win.

As this book is being compiled, Soviet aims have become increasingly clear to American leadership: The precise details of how the Soviets will wage war are known; their time plan is also known in tightly held circles; only their planned actions have not been learned.

SOVIET THINK VS. AMERICAN THINK



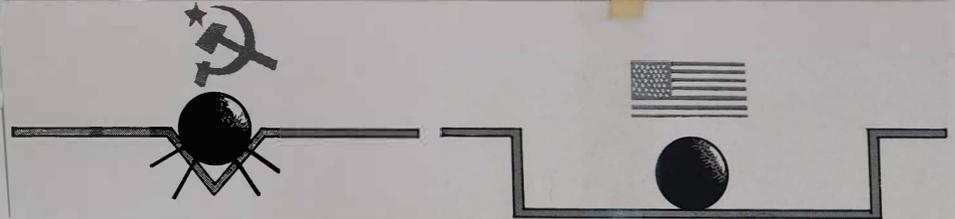
live up.

Soviet Think vs. American Think

Some comparisons

On The Difference Between The Soviet And American Governments

The following comes from Mikhail Agurski (as set forth in *Russia*, by Robert G. Kaiser), an engineer in the Soviet system. Agurski's father was an American citizen and at the same time a Communist party emissary to the United States just after the Bolshevik revolution. He was later purged by Stalin. Mikhail Agurski felt that the difference between the two governments might be clarified with the aid of two illustrations.



The Soviet System

The immobility of the ball is crucial. In place, it is stable. But a good jolt could throw it out of its protective groove, and the society provides no additional barriers to control it. The men who rule the country realize this, and therefore apply restraints, pictured as lines in the diagram. These internal controls are the anchors that hold the ball in its niche.

The American System

This arrangement doesn't guarantee absolute stability. The ball can move back and forth, but only within the limits of the diagram — limits generated by the society itself. The turbulent 1960's and 1970's demonstrated that the ball can move back and forth dramatically; the survival of America despite the turmoil proved that the barriers were effective.

On The Goal Of Taking Over The World

The Soviet system has spheres of influence in every country in the world. While certain aspects of this influence are economic and cultural, the overriding purpose of the Soviets in any country is political. The goal is always the weakening of the target country's political structure to the degree that eventual takeover and domination by communists is assured—the communists to be ruled, of course, by the Soviet élite in Moscow.

The United States also maintains spheres of influence in many countries, but not in all. These spheres of influence are mostly for economic and trade purposes, and often are created by American businesses independent of government control. The United States has very seldom (compared to the Soviet régime) used its spheres of influence for overt political ends. For example, the United States once had colonies, but has since given independence to most of them. In contrast, the Soviets have added or annexed three countries to its empire for every one to which the United States has granted independence.

On Spheres Of Influence

The Soviet system has, as its primary goal, the conquest of the world through communism. It is clearly stated, in communist ideological writings, that the goal of dominating the entire world is both an emotional and ideological necessity. The reason: Control of the world's economy must be placed in the hands of the Soviet élite, and must be accomplished to both reward and justify the communist credo. The Soviet empire's constant expansion and colonization throughout the world is based on this prime goal.

The American system has nothing comparable to the Soviet's primary goal. America has a long history of isolationism, but has developed an interest in stabilizing the American government as well as governments of other countries. During the past thirty years the United States has cooperated with other countries with the goal of equalizing the balance of power, so as to convince the Soviets that America is not their irrevocable enemy.

On How Society Is Viewed

The Soviet ruling élite, in line with their communist world revolutionary ideals, regard their role as essentially military and they have created, in the cause of achieving their ideals, the largest military machine the world has ever known. This militaristic attitude is passed on to the civil populations through the state-controlled media, through mandatory educational classes at all levels of life, and by the stress on the supposed necessity of universal draft. The Soviet society, therefore, considers itself to be military in essence and purpose.

Americans at all levels consider theirs to be a consumer society whose ideals are the protection of rights and free speech and the pursuit of pleasure. Even during the national mobilization for World War II, when militarism might have taken hold, the basic vision Americans held of their society did not change. Nor is there a nationally enforced educational system designed to standardize a national self-image.

On The Soviet Press And The American Press

In the Soviet system the distribution of information to the people is controlled by the state. The average reader learns only what the board of censors thinks he should know about. Nothing adverse to the Soviet system ever reaches print. Even average news is often considered to be undesirable for public consumption. For example, the Soviet press seldom prints reports on statistics, disasters, unemployment, anything having to do with politicians or government, trends of living, changes of style, crime rates, or crimes themselves.

In the American system exists the most free and open press in the world. Americans would find a Soviet-controlled newspaper a strange thing indeed. Americans can read about everything, including stringent criticisms of the president and even facts of his private life; Congress can even be called spendthrift or anything else. In the Soviet system such allegations are punishable by death. Americans have, via their free press, general access to any news, any viewpoints, and almost any statistic in addition to information on disasters, and on the state of the government, and gossip about its leaders and movie stars.

On The Arts And Entertainment

In the Soviet system no form of artistic expression, and no trend in entertainment, is permitted unless it is deemed by the board of censors to be flattering to the concepts of communism, the excellence of the state, or derogatory to the west or the United States. The creative visions of artists of any kind in the Soviet system are therefore very limited. Persistent disobedience to the censors is considered to be traitorous to the state, and punishment can be exceedingly severe, usually taking the form of internal exile to a prison or labor camp.

In the United States the Constitution forbids any form of government control of art or culture. Artists and entertainers in the United States are free to do as they wish. They are limited only by public opinion or the dominance of critics or museum curators. Artists and entertainers are never sent to prison for exhibiting their talents.

On Science

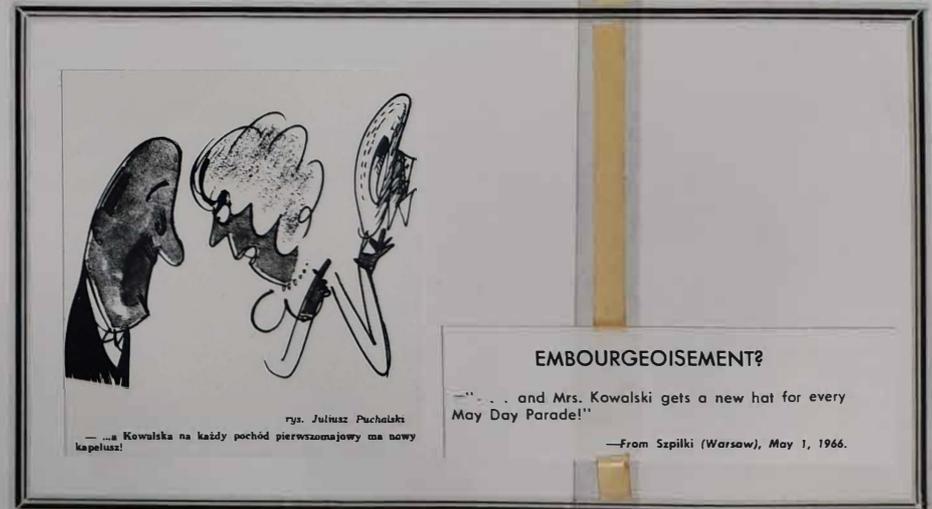
In the Soviet system almost all science is devoted to enhancing Soviet military strength. All-out research programs have frequently been undertaken, but solely along military lines. It seems to be very important to Soviet thinking that their military strength grow quickly—obviously in support of their expansionist aims. But the Soviets are infamous for not using their sciences for medical or consumer research, or in any area that would benefit their people. They have never, for instance, invented or developed a new washing machine, detergent, record-player, or TV.

The majority of science initiatives in the United States have been in the consumer and public, rather than military, sectors. Military research has, of course, been conducted very extensively indeed. But never to the detriment of other areas in the public's interest.

How To Have Money Make Money

Under the Soviet system all major financing is controlled by the state. As goods are so much more important than money—just because they are always scarce—few people bother putting money into the state savings banks, which pay two percent interest. But black market barter deals, more or less subtle bribes, and other forms of officially forbidden “speculation” abound. Punishment for speculation is severe; it includes the death penalty. As the Soviet economy could hardly function without such deals, financing is a widespread but illegal activity. There is no stock market in the Soviet system.

The United States has the world's leading and most flexible financial market. It has pioneered such private and corporate aspects of finance as the stock market, the credit card, and even automatic banking. The average citizen is able to finance major purchases, such as homes and automobiles, and invest in mutual funds, commodities, and individual stocks and bonds. The convenience of paying by check is taken for granted by most Americans; it is unknown within the Soviet system.



EMBOURGEOISEMENT?

—“... and Mrs. Kowalski gets a new hat for every May Day Parade!”

—From Szpilki (Warsaw), May 1, 1966.

A Comparison Of The American Press With The Press Of The Soviet System

In the Soviet system the press prints only what the régime allows. You can get a good idea of how sadly uninformed the Soviet subject is by thinking about what *is not* printed in the press—or anywhere else, for that matter.

The Soviet press never prints information about census statistics, crime rates, sex or smoking habits, drug abuse, divorce statistics, unemployment, anything about politicians or shifts in government, or trends for the future; there are no guides for price indexes, education possibilities, or international financial situations; there is never any mention of the positive aspects of the West, especially of the United States.

In the Soviet system's press, there could never be a Watergate scandal, nor adverse commentary on government leaders, nor news as to what is going on within the government, except for after-the-fact reporting usually contained in a small paragraph on an inside page.

There are no gossip columns, no official racing forms, and, since the Soviet system's economy is State controlled, there is no public information on any phase of finance.

Beneath the flat surface of society in Russia, as presented by Pravda, a rich and complex life abounds but it totally lacks any means of communication. We are not a "one dimensional society" as Westerners believe.

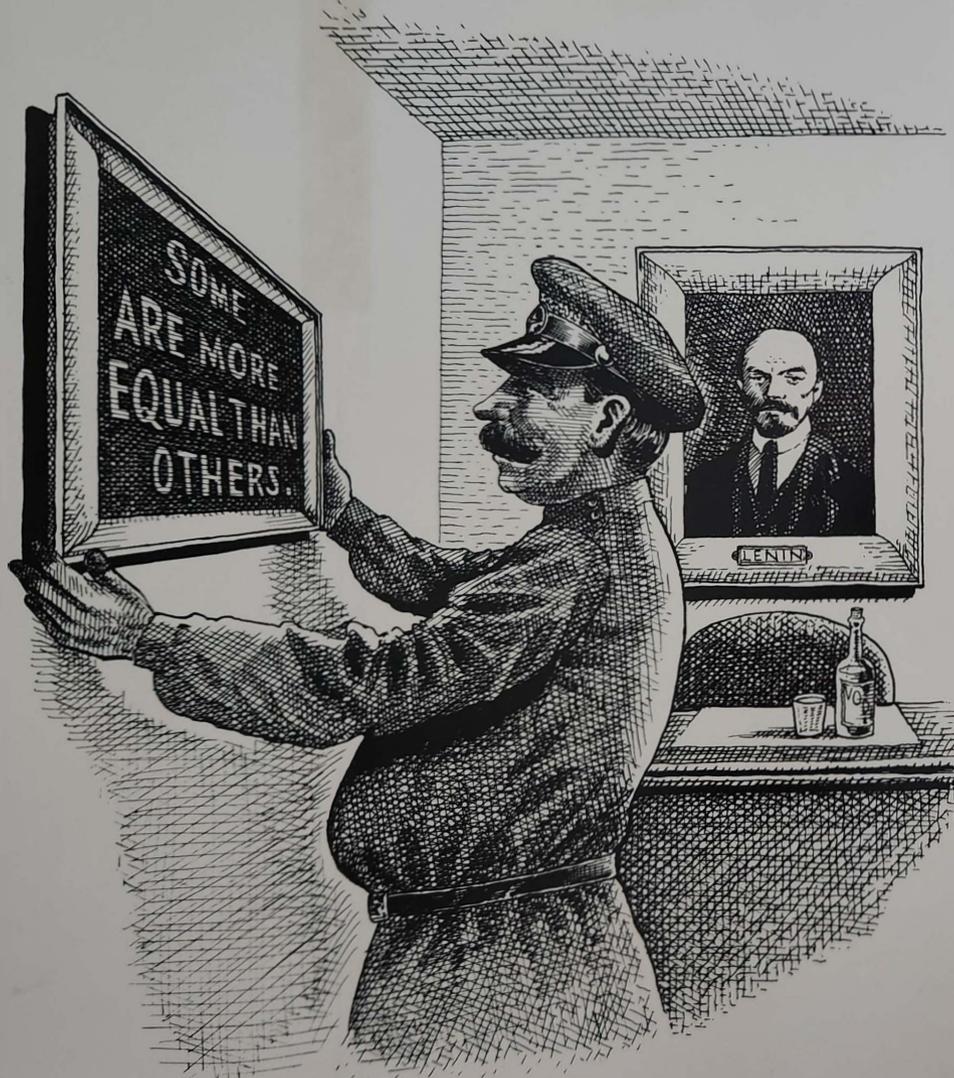
Communist party official;
quoted by
K. S. Karol, 1971



Life In The Soviet System: No News (Except What Fits) Is The Best News

The Soviet system is noted for many things. For example, as far as its press and reporting goes, it is the closest thing the world has to an information vacuum.

WHAT ARE THE SOVIETS?



A Comment From Stalin About Proletariat Equality

"... every Leninist knows (that is, if he is a real Leninist) that equalization in the sphere of [personal] requirements, as well as in individual life, is a piece of—reactionary petty bourgeois absurdity..."

Stalin, 1934

What Are The Soviets?

Of the original ideology, nothing has been officially junked. Belief is maintained in the basic badness of capitalism, in the inevitability of its destruction, in the obligation of the proletariat to assist in that destruction and to take power into its own hands. But stress has come to be laid primarily on those concepts which relate most specifically to the Soviet régime itself: to its position as the sole truly Socialist régime in a dark and misguided world, and to the relationships of power within it.

(from American Diplomacy 1900-1950 by George F. Kennan)

It is not understood, generally, that the Soviets are not true communists anymore as they were about thirty years ago.

Over the past five decades the Soviet system has come under the control of a ruling élite. This élite, needless to say, is a very small minority.

When the president, the secretary of state, or trade commissions or peace negotiators deal with the Soviet Union, they do not deal with Soviet leaders who represent the will of the masses. They deal with that very small number of families which have become the system's rulers.

It is a class society. People are not born equal in it, and the class system is very rigid.

At the lowest end of the hierarchy are the peasants. These are slaves in the strictest sense of the word. In the Soviet system there are many slaves, and the children of a slave may not very easily rise above that position in society.

At the next level are the workers. They correspond somewhat to the workers in labor unions in the United States, except that they are not represented according to trade or profession by unions that see to their rights and betterment. They are overseen as a vast group by the communist party.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

It is the sole job of the communist party to make certain that the workers stay communist in their ideals and expectations. The communist party, however, takes its orders from the Soviet ruling élite.

It is the duty and obligation of the worker to think of himself or herself as a nonindividual who exists only for the good of the communist state. If he doesn't, the state will reduce him to the status of peasant.

Associated with, but considered beneath the workers is another class called the working intelligentsia. It's the equivalent of the American white-collar class, but includes members of all intellectual professions such as writers, artists, scientists, lawyers, doctors, and so forth. To be a member of the working intelligentsia is to be in an unfortunate position, because if anything happens to dispel the illusion that all Soviets are communists, the working intelligentsia take the blame and are made the scapegoats.

The next rung on the social class ladder is the Soviet bureaucracy (the military, certain governing bodies, and the KGB.) A worker may rise into one of these bodies, but seldom does a member of the working intelligentsia, and hardly ever a peasant, except in times of national emergency when peasants are used on the front lines of conflict.

The KGB actually has become a separate, dominating class, since it is their job to control the peasants, the workers, and the working intelligentsia.

Membership in one class or another determines social status. Changing one's social status is very difficult to do, because it is more important *what* you do than how well you succeed in doing it. You will receive privileges and rewards if you represent your class well, but not if you rise above it.

It is not impossible, however, to maneuver among these classes, providing you skillfully exploit opportunities. You must be very careful doing this.

It is by such maneuvering—by bargaining, nepotism, trading favors—that the Soviet élite has arisen, and it is this élite that has formed the contemporary Soviet system.

This élite is much like the aristocracy of Louis XVI's France, except its existence is not officially acknowledged. It is comprised of a small number of families, and membership in it has become somewhat hereditary. For example, the most dull-witted child of one of the ruling élite will have vastly greater opportunities than the most talented child belonging to one of the other classes.

This ruling élite maintains itself in power by dispensing rewards, privileges, favors, and black-market goods, and by wielding the power of life and death over everyone through its powerful KGB.

Through the KGB the ruling élite makes certain that the

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

principles of international communism are perpetuated in the working class and that no problems arise that might contest the supremacy of the élite.

There is one other class in the Soviet system. It is not often identified as such. That is the class of persons—reprobates—whose existence is no longer acknowledged and who are, almost always, locked away in labor or concentration camps in Siberia. Very high people can become nonpersons if they challenge in the smallest way the verity of the Soviet system.

The Soviet system is totalitarian.

The Soviets are the most total totalitarians the world has ever known.

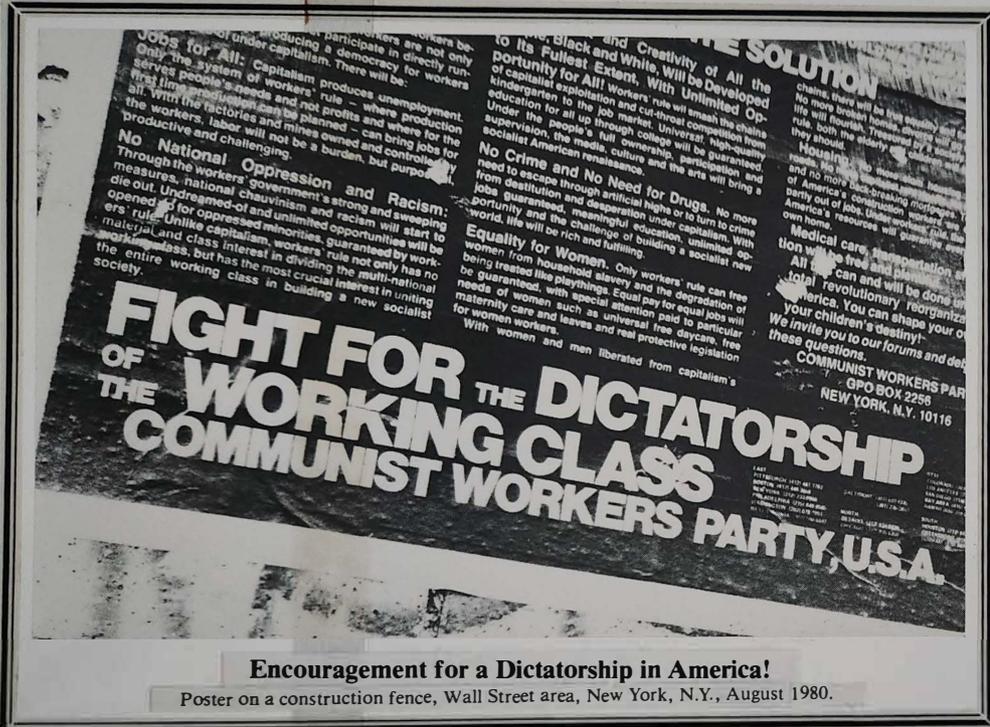
Americans don't really understand what totalitarianism is. Americans have never, *never*, in their entire history, experienced totalitarianism. They are, therefore, very much out of contact with its realities. One of the reasons that Americans have never experienced it is that our forefathers, in drawing up the Constitution, very carefully built into it provisions that would make it impossible for totalitarianism to flourish in the United States. In managing to do this, they were extremely clever and foresighted. No other nation anywhere else had done this before.

The people of most other countries have never really understood this aspect of American life. Americans are often accused of not understanding the peoples of other countries. That's true sometimes, but, of course, not always. Americans are actually very good at understanding things, even if it takes some time once in a while. But it is true also that other countries do not really understand America and its way of life, sometimes. And especially this fact: America has never been a totalitarian state and can never be one if its historical basic laws are supported by the people.

The Soviet system, on the other hand, *is* totalitarian, and after takeover Americans will for the first time in their history begin to learn what that means. It will be of enormous help to you if you understand in advance what totalitarianism is.

If you go to a dictionary you will read that a totalitarian system is one that is based on its power to subordinate each and every individual to itself, and on the strict control of all, *all*, aspects of the life and productive capacity of the nation through coercive measures such as censorship and terrorism. The political régime that manages to do this is always centrally controlled by a leader or hierarchy of leaders.

The reading of this definition, or the studying of its examples in books, is as close as most Americans will ever come to experiencing totalitarianism. The idea that "this could never happen here" is correct, and has been correct for over two hundred years. What can happen, and is happening, though, is



Encouragement for a Dictatorship in America!

Poster on a construction fence, Wall Street area, New York, N.Y., August 1980.

Box

that the American way of life itself can come to an end. The Soviet system considers the American way of life to be its mortal enemy, and has been working with great cleverness and foresightfulness to bring it to an end.

It will be helpful to know, in trying to understand totalitarianism, the psychology that brings it about.

There are two kinds of people who make a totalitarian society work. The first is the individual who likes to control others. There are many people like that, even in America. These individuals discover that they can control others by controlling their fears. They set about by making people afraid of them, and afraid of things in general. They will actually invent and create reasons for fear - most effectively, by discovering, in society, evils that people need, for their own good, to be protected from; and then persecuting, for the good of society, the people who represent those supposed evils.

Now, in a totalitarian system, this persecution needs to be actual, literal, physical, and it must be inflicted in such a way that no one can be certain he won't be next on the list. People will then tend to become careful that they do not somehow offend, and bring the persecution their way.

That is the second sort of person a totalitarian society needs in order to function: the person who can be made afraid.

In a totalitarian system, therefore, you will always find that a certain elite few begin to tell everyone else that they are in "danger" from various other kinds of people. The Jews have been used, historically, for this purpose. But so have other kinds of people. Totalitarians accuse minorities of different sorts (the Irish, the capitalists, one or another political party, homosexuals, racial groups, cults, religions, etc.) of being dangerous. But once in power, they then point out bigger and better dangers.

The Soviets, for example, tell the Russian people that the entire West is dangerous. If any Russians show undue interest in or partiality to anything in the West, those Russians are then considered dangerous, made an example of, and usually end up in a work camp or worse. "To be made an example of" in a totalitarian society has to be a rather heavy-duty affair, since, unless it is, it will not *invoke* fear in everyone else.

"Sovietism" might simply be a state of mind.

While it might be difficult to determine exactly what the Soviets "are," it is not difficult to discover what they are up to. And what they are up to might reflect what they really are.

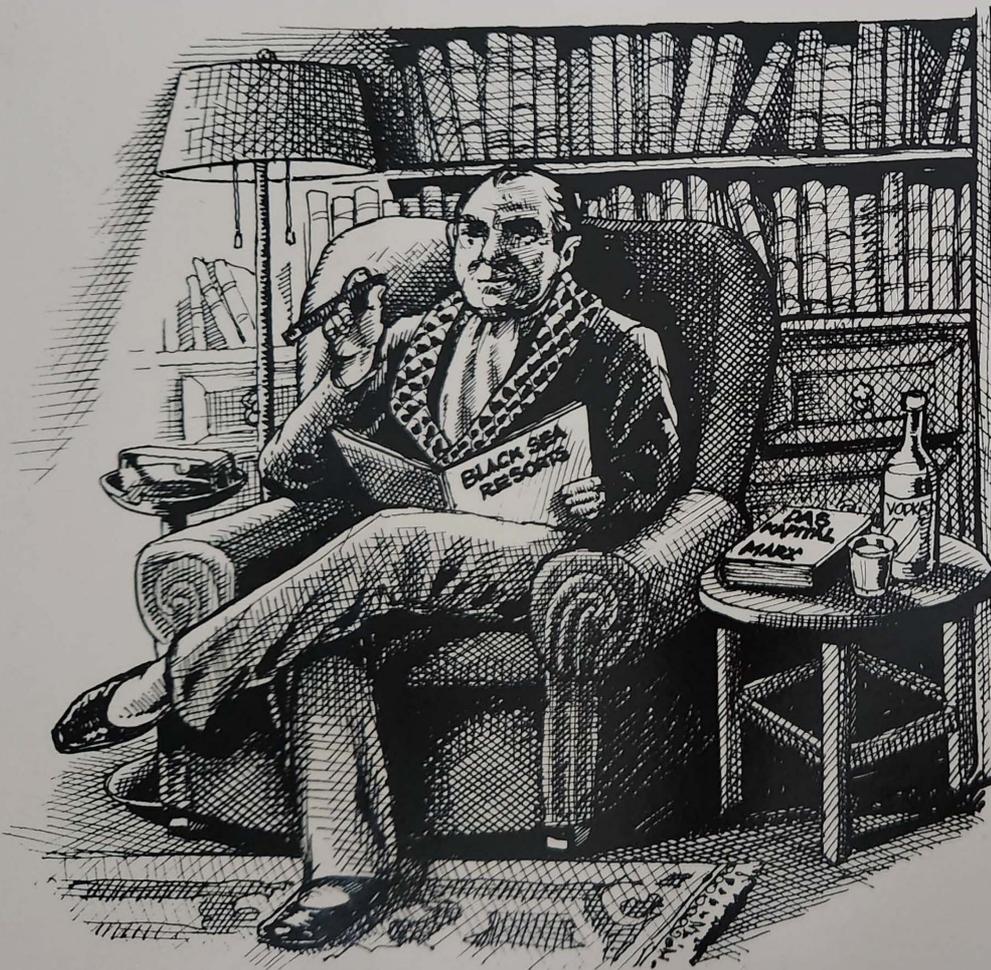
Taking over and subjugating people, whether it is in the name of communism or something else, is in many ways a state of mind. Some people think they should dominate others. When they are clever, they succeed. People like this exist everywhere, though.

The methods of taking over another country by violence and force are always the same, and almost a ritual, worshiped by those who desire the violence and the eventual supremacy.

To this ritualized violence the Soviets have added the twentieth-century scientific arts of propaganda and disinformation. They have discovered they do not need guns or bombs, but the press and an educational system. It is with these that they will probably succeed in their goals.

The Soviets are merely the latest dramatization of those kinds of thinking that like the idea of an elite few dominating all the rest. While their means might be complex and mysterious, the eventual result, if they are allowed to continue, is crystal clear.

THE SOVIET RULING ELITE



Life In The Soviet System: For Some, Communism Has Arrived!

The Soviet system has its levels of privileges set out according to rank:

At the very top there is something called the Kremlin ration. This is food enough, including all luxury and special food, to feed the élitist families every month, free.

This free dole-out of food is called the *kremlevsky payok*.

By contrast to this free luxury privilege for food, the ordinary urban family is very hard pressed. An average family, in which the husband and wife both work, might earn between 180 and 400 rubles a month. They will have to spend easily half this income on food.

Who, in the élite, get the *kremlevsky payok*? The small executive group that runs the Supreme Soviet, cabinet ministers, the members of the all-powerful Party Central Committee, and the supreme leaders of the Communist party Politburo.

As a Russian woman, sweeping the streets, once said: "For them communism has arrived."

The Soviet Ruling Élite

What is a ruling élite? It is a small group of people who hold all the power in a country and enjoy privileges unique to their position.

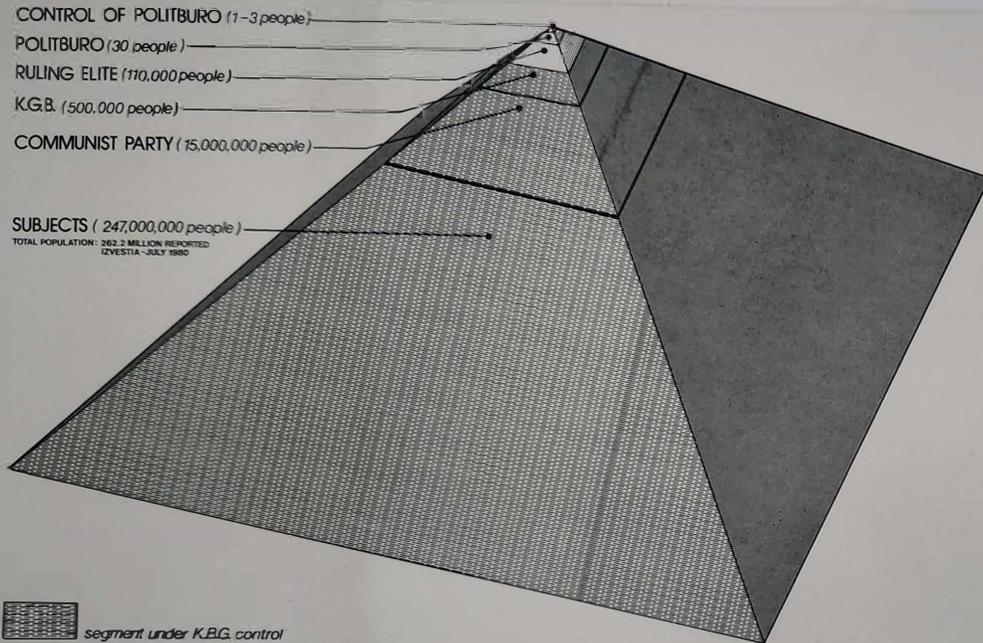
How does a ruling élite stay in power?

By establishing an incredibly severe system of control and suppression over the people so that there won't be any resistance or evolution. To do this, the ruling élite needs a very large secret police which won't fail to use the harshest tactics when necessary.

A ruling élite jockeys itself into power without open competitive elections, such as there are in the United States.

The Soviet system has a type of "universal" suffrage in its laws, but when an election takes place, there is only one person to vote for on the ballots. This can be called nothing other than a staged election, and at the polls you are told that it is for this

THE RULING ELITE AND THEIR SUBJECTS



one person that you should cast your vote. In the Soviet system the "candidate" needs only to be a member of the Communist party, since there is no other party.

The ruling elite of the Soviet system is a small minority of the Communist party which itself is a very small minority among the Soviet-controlled peoples.

Consider these figures:

There are over 240 million people in the Soviet Union.

Of these, only 15 million are registered Communist party members, or only seven to eight percent of the entire population. Entrance into the Communist party is by invitation only, and one must have three trusted communists to sponsor you in order to get in. After that there is a long probation period.

These 15 million Communist party members are dominated by an hierarchy that narrows increasingly the nearer the top you get. For instance, the Politburo runs the Soviet system, and there are only thirty chief members in it. The entire population

of the ruling elite, in comparison with the 240 million people it rules, is estimated to be a mere 110,000 people.

These 110,000, however, are served by a secret police more than four times as numerous as they. The KGB employs some one half million.

More On The Ruling Élite

The ruling elite, in Russian, are called *nachalstvo*. Literally translated the word means "the authorities."

It is difficult, however, to translate the special nuance of *nachalstvo* into English.

Its true sense is something like "the big cheeses."

These *nachalstvo* live good lives by Soviet standards. They all are privileged among the remaining 240 million who are not.

As a Russian workingman once commented: "The *nachalstvo* never see how the rest of us live. They go from home to office and home again, escorted all the way. They are always surrounded by police, escorted here and there. They never go shopping. Everything they might want is brought to them. They don't go to the barber, the barber comes to them. Their wives don't do the cooking, their maids do. No, they never see how the rest of us live. What kind of a life is that?" (*Russia*, Robert G. Kaiser.)

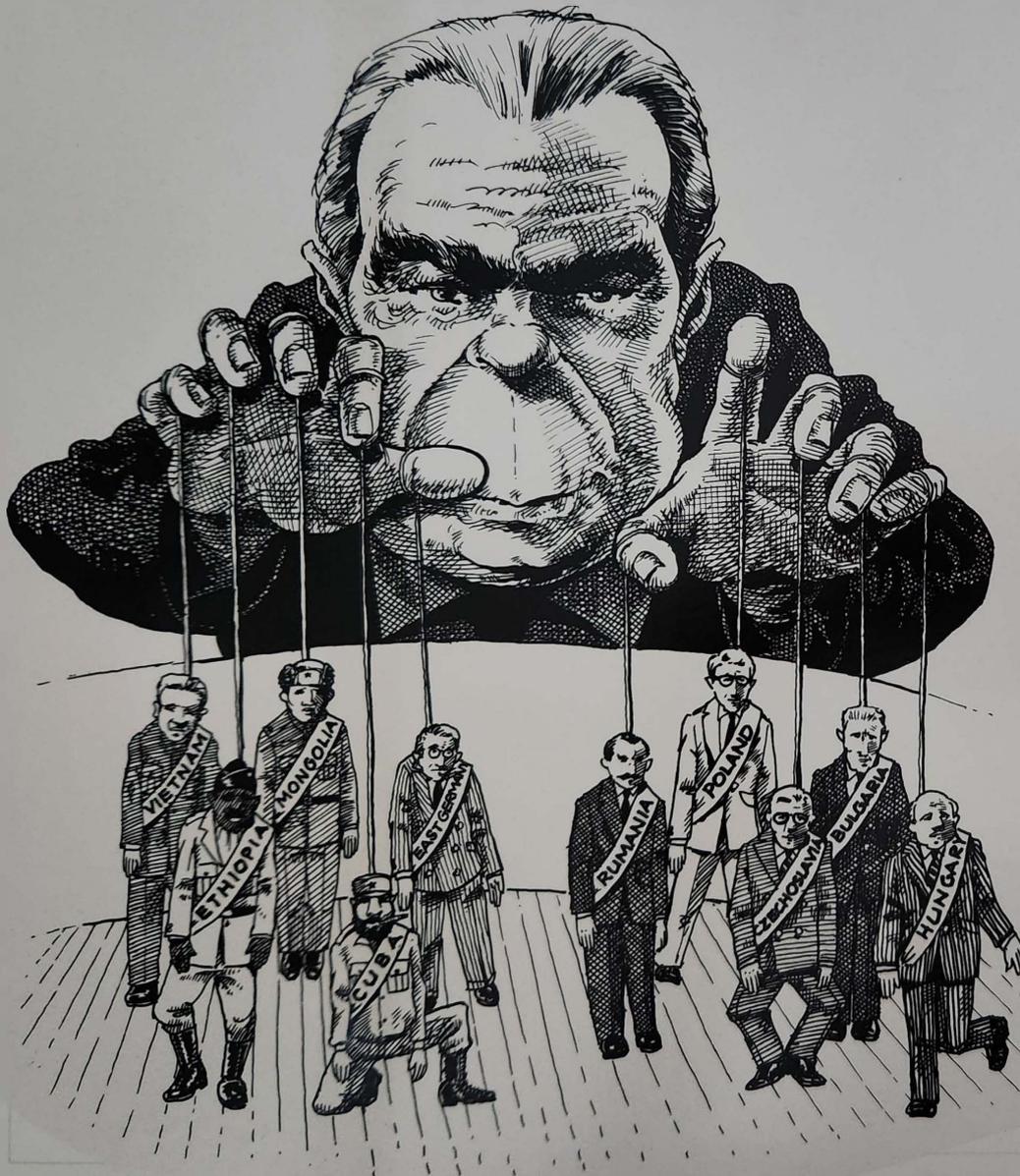
The ruling elite, however, have special stores to shop in if they want to.

On Granovskovo Street in Moscow, behind a door marked Bureau of Special Passes, is one of the camouflaged shopping centers for the privileged. There are sometimes traffic jams of chauffeur-driven Volgas and American-made limousines in front of the Bureau of Special Passes. In this store the privileged and ruling elite can cheaply get things the rest of the 240 million people can buy only on the black market at high prices.

Some privileged items: take-out meals, stereo sets, German shortwave radios, Japanese tape recorders, Italian ties, English woolens, French perfumes, American cigarettes, imported chocolates, Scotch whisky, French cognac, greenhouse-grown vegetables the year round, Russian caviar and smoked salmon, hothouse flowers in December.

There are no lines inside this privileged shopping center.

THE KREMLIN EMPIRE



The Kremlin Empire

A short history of the accumulation by the Soviets of their empire must necessarily omit a lot of human interest tales that might make clear to the reader the *nature* of Soviet domination.

In essence the ruling faction of communism called Bolshevism advocates local and worldwide revolution by violence, and especially the overthrow of "capitalism" by violence.

The Bolsheviks versus the Mensheviks

The Bolsheviks, the extreme wing of the Social Democratic party in the Russian Duma of the early 1900's, opposed the moderate wing of that same party, a group called the Mensheviks. The Mensheviks believed that social progress and reform could best be achieved gradually, through parliamentary methods.

In 1917 the internal conditions of Russia had reached such a pitch that the czar, (the central autocrat whose predecessors had ruled Russia for so many centuries) abdicated. In his place a legitimate provisional Menshevik government was established, and Russia had, for the first time in its history, achieved the possibility of a parliamentary government.

The Bolsheviks, however, overthrew this nascent parliamentary government, and began implementing in a practical way their belief in the necessity of violent, worldwide revolution by gaining control of all economic factors and destroying all forms of capitalism.

Shortly after the successful coup that did away with Menshevik-majority government, the Bolsheviks set about their "final solution" to the problem of opposition. During the succeeding years, the toll of murders by the Bolsheviks would run into the millions.

The year 1917 dates the beginning of the Soviet empire. By 1920, through the overthrow of the governing bodies of neighboring countries, and the outright destruction of any who sought to oppose them, the Soviets had acquired parts of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan, as well as the nations that were then known as Cossackia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, Byelorussia, North Caucasia, and the Ukraine.

THE KREMLIN EMPIRE-1920



In 1922 the Soviets took Turkestan and annexed a vast area extending from the Arctic Ocean to Manchuria and Mongolia, and from Lake Baikal to the Pacific Ocean, which they named the Far Eastern Republic.

In 1924 they seized Mongolia.

During 1939 the Soviets, in a secret agreement with Hitler, occupied Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, three countries that were independent and contained more than six million non-Russian people.

Half of Poland was taken by the Soviets in 1939, and during that year the Soviets also attacked Finland. The Finns did fight back, but in the end lost ten percent of their territory to the Soviets.

In 1940 the Soviets sent an ultimatum to Romania that the Red Army would thenceforth occupy the portion of that country called Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

The Red Army also took East Prussia during the Second World War.

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The Soviets also took control of eastern Germany, sent five million German men to slave labor camps, and deported twelve million other ethnic Germans.

In 1944 the Soviets annexed the small independent country of Tannu Tuva, and its 65,000 people were incorporated then against their will into the growing Soviet empire.

At the end of the war the Soviets annexed large portions (some 17,850 square miles) of Japanese territory. In 1945 they occupied North Korea, establishing a Soviet-trained "people's" government, a tactic that has since been employed in other parts of the world.

The Soviets continued to take over countries, through overt occupation, or through the formation of internal strife which culminated always with the establishment of a Soviet-trained government. The following list gives the country and first year of communist domination, up to the present occupation (by direct military takeover) of the latest victim nation, Afghanistan.

THE KREMLIN EMPIRE-1946



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Country And First Year Of Communist Domination

Armenia (Soviet part)	1920
Azerbaijan (Soviet part)	1920
Byelorussia	1920
Cossackia	1920
Georgia	1920
Idel-Ural	1920
North Caucasia	1920
Ukraine	1920
Far Eastern Republic	1922
Turkestan	1922*
Mongolia	1924
Estonia	1940
Latvia	1940
Lithuania	1940
Albania	1946
Bulgaria	1946
Yugoslavia	1946
Poland	1947
Romania	1947
Czechoslovakia	1948
North Korea	1948
Hungary	1949
East Germany	1949
Mainland China	1949*
Tibet	1951
North Vietnam	1954
Cuba	1960
Cambodia	1975
South Vietnam	1975
Afghanistan	1980

*Mainland China has always been powerful enough to resist total Soviet takeover. Acknowledging the difficulties and impossibilities of Soviet-style economy, it has recently begun to strengthen its ties with the West and free enterprise development.

THE KREMLIN EMPIRE-1980



The Soviet empire's growing "sphere of influence"

The list of nations "belonging" to the Soviet empire can be extended significantly by adding to it those many countries which have fallen inside the Soviet "sphere of influence." For instance, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique, are, at this time, unequivocally under Soviet influence. Certain parts of Latin America and the Caribbean are swiftly moving in that direction. Soviet efforts to bring decisive social elements in other countries under their control (as in Mexico, Nicaragua, and the United States itself, as well as in Italy, France, and Portugal) are clearly under way.



The New Soviet (Hereditary?) Ruling Aristocracy

In the Soviet Union the ruling élite and its main support, the privileged minority, practice nepotism on a large scale. Family members are appointed to lucrative posts, are assigned to commissions that make lavish overseas trips, and generally manage to live the Good Life, while all around them is scarcity and fear.

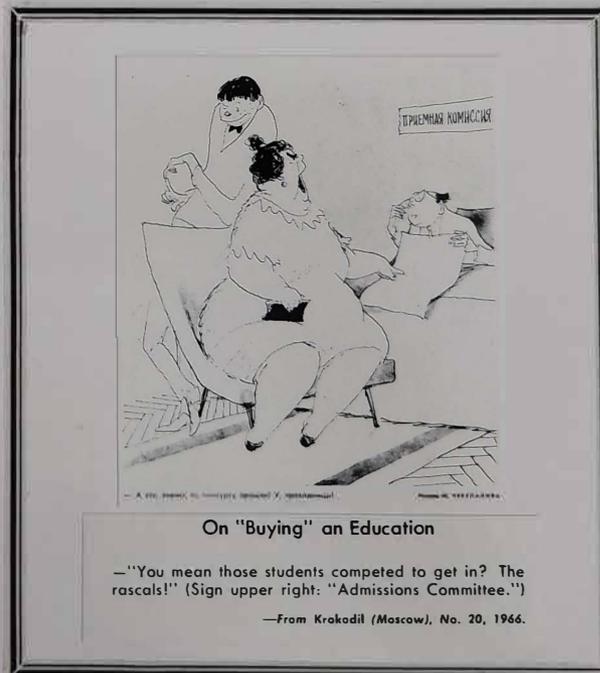
But few communist leaders have managed to entrench their families quite as brazenly as Nicolae Ceucescu, the Boss or "Chef" of Rumania. To begin with, the Rumanian chief is an

inveterate traveler, who enjoys the pomp, circumstance, and luxury that international trips entail. Wherever he goes, his fellow officials and his wife, Elena, accompany him. Their journeys are fully reported at home. After one trip to Spain a Rumanian magazine devoted thirty-seven out of forty-one photographs to the "Chef" & Wife.

Elena Ceucescu is always a member of the official government delegation which accompanies her husband; in addition to travel luxuries, she therefore obviously also enjoys the payments which government functionaries receive for taking part in such arduous undertakings. Her name is usually listed second only to that of husband Nicolae.

The two members of the ruling élite have a son, named Nicu. His name, too, appears on the listings of domestic and international events. As it happens, Nicu Ceucescu is secretary of the Union of Youth—no doubt because he has particular administrative skills, rather than because he is the Boss's son!

While the Ceucescus are travelling abroad, other members of their family are keeping the Bucharest home fires burning.



A

Accountants

Accountants and related professionals should not assume that their relatively "unpolitical" skills will make them immune to the changes that would rock U.S. society after a Soviet takeover. The switch from a free-enterprise system to a centralized, Kremlin-type bureaucracy will most certainly affect all who manage the accounts of enterprises and individuals.

Every professional in the field, from those working for large accounting firms servicing huge corporations to free-lance accountants and bookkeepers, will feel first hand the impact of the new system. To begin with, accountants will lose freedom of choice, and thus of income. They will be placed in preselected positions, part of a cumbersome accounting bureaucracy. While in the past they may have directed their efforts to limiting the tax liabilities of their clients, they will now have become responsible to "the people," meaning the bureaucracy, to squeeze out as many dollars as possible—or be liable to charges of "corruption" (stealing from the people) and of "class

you and will fear you might attempt to promote resistance.

Having been a socialist, communist, or left-wing activist will not save you. The Soviet system does not discriminate between a communist activist and a capitalist activist. It will be your ability to influence people and gather them into active duty units that will be the criterion the Soviet system will use to judge you.

Naturally the KGB sponsors all kinds of activists in countries scheduled for takeover. But once the takeover has been accomplished activists find they are no longer needed or wanted.

Activists are men and women who try to change society by various means, ranging from rhetoric to violent demonstrations, and even assassinations. In countries such as Uruguay and Italy, activists have in recent years been known as "terrorists," because they have engaged in killing, maiming and various forms of destruction. Political and social activists who operate in countries which the Kremlin regards as its short-range or long-range antagonists and targets, have Soviet support

1953. It took Stalin some twelve years to consolidate his power, during which time millions of people met their doom at his hands.

For decades people have been estimating the number of Stalin's victims. The estimates have hovered around twenty million, give or take a few million in either direction.

Stalin made his dictatorship absolute not only by liquidating all opposition within the Communist party, but by extending those repressive terrorist measures into Soviet education, intruding politics into arts, making the Russian Orthodox Church an instrument of the state, and taking ruthless measures against farmers who had risen to prosperity.

Stalin (in 1936) promulgated a new constitution which, although it provided for a complicated set of supposedly democratic institutions, actually assured effective political power to the Communist party alone. And although this new constitution reaffirmed the Soviet principle of autonomy, it also in effect made it impossible (under threat of military occupation) for national groups or republics to secede from the Soviet Union.

When Stalin died, his body was entombed next to Lenin's in the gigantic red sandstone mausoleum on Red Square in Moscow. Since Stalin's death, his repressive brand of communism, with all its tyrannical manifestations, has remained predominant.

During his lifetime and after his death many books and writings were published, not only in the East but in the United States and other Western countries, denying Stalin's atrocities.

In 1956, however, for reasons not well understood, Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin in a long speech before some fourteen hundred members of the Twentieth Party Congress. Khrushchev branded his predecessor a "criminal murderer," a "fabricator of dirty and shameful cases," a despotic, capricious and brutal "slanderer." His speech appears to have been carefully prepared, and documents were distributed to his audience.

Figures came to light. Of the 139 members of the Central Committee elected at the Seventeenth Congress, 98 (70%) were arrested and shot. No fewer than 1,108 members of the 1,966 delegated to that congress were arrested for antirevolutionary crimes. Stalin in two years approved 383 lists of people proposed for punishment. And so began the official roll call of those killed and imprisoned by Stalin.

Since 1956 there have been many efforts to estimate the number executed during the Stalin years for "political" crimes.

The latest effort is from one Iosif Dyadkin, a fifty-two-year-old Soviet geophysicist and "a relatively quiet dissident," according to *The Wall Street Journal* (July 23, 1980).

Dyadkin apparently asked for and got permission to prepare statistical estimates of unnatural deaths during the years 1927 to 1958, a period consisting almost entirely of Stalin's rule. He prepared a forty-six-page report (*samizdat*) entitled "Evaluation of Unnatural Deaths in the Population of the USSR, 1927-1958."

Dyadkin accuses the Soviet government of trying to hide the embarrassingly high mortality rate by lowering the figures for the birthrate during these years.

The overall result, shatteringly written in a dry, scientific style: between 43 million and 52 million.

Working with his figures, Dyadkin estimates casualties for the various periods of Stalin's reign.

The first period—1929 to 1936—of enforced collectivization and elimination of the classes: more than 10 million men, women, and children.

The second period—1937 and 1938—during the so-called Great Purge: 1.4 million, plus or minus 0.2 million, died.

During 1939 and 1940, the third period: 1.8 million, plus or minus 0.2 million.

During the Second World War, Dyadkin estimates, some 30 million died from fighting, deprivations, and prison camps, give or take a million. This is 10 million more than the Soviets have admitted.

During Stalin's last years—1950 to 1954—Dyadkin estimates the deaths from purges and terror to be a mere 450,000, plus or minus 150,000.

The exiled Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has sought to distribute Dyadkin's paper in the West. This, of course, understandably upsets the KGB, whose job it is to prevent statistics such as these from coming to light.

They gave high priority to Dyadkin's arrest, and duly performed it in his home city of Kalinin on the Volga.



and are described as part of "liberation movements."

Within the Soviet orbit, antagonists are labeled "class enemies" or "agents of certain powers"—which means they are fair game for the KGB and its subsidiaries, such as the secret police in such places as East Germany and Cuba.

Activists in the United States are sure to be regarded by Soviet authorities as being, by temperament, unreliable and irresponsible, regardless of whether they have expressed sympathies with the Soviet system. A U.S. activist's fate, following a Soviet takeover, is likely to range from various forms of social isolation to actual imprisonment or death. At the least an activist will certainly be subjected to stringent "re-education."

Advertising agencies and personnel

Advertising of commercial products or entertainment productions is a free-market situation. Free-market enterprises are strictly forbidden in the state-controlled economy of the

Soviet system: and in fact trying to attract consumers or promote products falls under the "crime" of speculation. People operating or associated with advertising agencies who continue to operate after takeover will be considered to be speculators and subject to imprisonment.

Alcoholics

It is impossible to forecast what would happen to alcoholics in the United States following a Soviet takeover. In the Soviet system, where alcoholism is rampant, little is done to curb it. In fact the state liquor monopolies gain huge sums from the sale of vodka, which is in ample supply even when other consumer goods are scarce—which is most of the time.

Karl Marx spoke of religion as "the opium of the people," meaning that it is used to distract people from the shortcomings of society. The Soviet system appears to be using alcohol to dull the senses of men and women who might have no other outlet for their frustra-

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU



From the Mouth of the Master . . .

Karl Marx, Who Wrote The First *Communist Manifesto*, Had In Mind, Not Russia, But England And Europe. Marx Distrusted Russians And Noted Their Tendency Toward Empire And Expansion.

The greedy eye of Russia has embraced at once the outlets of the Danube and the mountainous range of the Caucasus. There the business in hand was to conquer supremacy here, to maintain it. The chains of the Caucasus mountains separate southern Russia from the luxurious provinces of Georgia, Mingrelia, Imeritia, and Gurjel, which the Muscovite had wrested from the Mussulman. Thus the foot of the monster empire is cut off from its main body.

Karl Marx, commenting on Russian territorial ambitions in *The New York Daily Tribune* (January 11, 1854)

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

A Singular Thought On Communism Within The United States And American Communists

The Constitution guarantees and upholds all the freedoms that American citizens enjoy.

Enjoying these freedoms are any and all political parties that might wish to found themselves within the democracy of the United States.

Communism and the Communist party, in the United States, enjoy their existence under Constitutional guarantee.

Yet it is the only political ideology in the United States that would, if it came to power, abolish the Constitution.

The Kremlin Empire Expands Into Africa

The Kremlin élite has had great success using subject nations to do its work. The most obvious example of this practice is the use of Cuban troops in Africa and of Cuban agitators in Latin America. If the Soviets take over the United States, American skills and manpower will undoubtedly be used to reinforce or expand Kremlin controls elsewhere.

The East Germans were the first to be used in this capacity. With much less flamboyance than the Cubans, they have acted as Kremlin emissaries, agents, and activists abroad. The influence they have attained by distributing military aid, training state police forces, sending strategic as well as consumer goods to developing nations and "educating" potential native leaders, has in many places been second only to that of the Soviets themselves.

A crazy quilt of Soviet-influenced territories

One has to look over a crazy quilt of territories, in order to grasp even a sampling of what East Germany is doing in Africa. East German military "advisers" are entrenched in Brazzaville, capital of the People's Republic of the Congo (Independent from the former Congo, now Zaire). East German advisers in Brazzaville helped Angolan rebels, led by Aghostinho Neto, to take over that country in 1976.

tions. People who pass out in public or become threatening are taken to police-controlled places to "sleep it off" or "dry out." But these are makeshift solutions, not to be compared with the sort of efforts mounted in Western societies, ranging from Alcoholics Anonymous to sanatoria which deal specifically with chronic alcoholism.

The Soviet method is to treat alcoholics with contempt—and to make sure that there's ample vodka to keep well supplied.

American communists and communist sympathizers

The state security officials of the Soviet system are basically mistrustful of turncoats, although the KGB sponsors them while softening up a nation prior to takeover.

It is consequently not unusual for the entire cadre responsible for aiding in the takeover of a given nation to be liquidated not long after the takeover itself has

been consummated. You may confirm this by investigating the fates of others similar to yourself in other nations which have been taken over.

These mass executions take place because the goals of the contemporary Soviet system and the historical goals of basic communism have not been the same for at least three decades.

The contemporary Soviet system is a strict class system governed by a ruling minority élite. Ardent, pure communists tend to discern this shortly after a takeover. Since genuine communist ideals are a threat to the contemporary Soviet system, communist turncoats in a given country are the ones most likely to sponsor splinter parties or bring about coups.

Most American communists and communist sympathizers are supporting the historical concept of true communism. They must prepare themselves for the discovery, after takeover, that the Soviet system is not what they think. But it's likely enough that they won't have any time for fruitful thought on that subject. Those American com-

Typically, when Neto gained control, he put East Germans in charge of the army and police—even before granting them similar control in education, agriculture, and medicine. When Neto died in Moscow in September 1979, the Kremlin's German substitutes became even more active. They sent weapons instructions and game tactical support to the Mozambique régime which took over when Portugal left. Left-wing guerrillas were molded by the "advisors" from East Berlin into a tightly disciplined force. After independence the grateful Mozambique régime of President Samora Machel accepted personnel, equipment, and methods directly from the East Germans; they trained his security forces and secret police.

Ever since the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie (who had resisted Benito Mussolini's Italian imperialism), Ethiopia has been the Kremlin's most tightly controlled satellite in Africa. President Mengist Haile Mariam once interrupted a speech when he heard that Werner Lamberz, a member of the East German Politburo, had died. Lamberz had provided East German support which had enabled Mariam to beat back Somali minority forces. Lamberz had seen to it that everything from weapons shipments to the indoctrination of Ethiopian journalists was done by the Kremlin's East German underlings.

East Berlin's mercenaries in Africa are a substantial help to the spreading Kremlin empire. In Angola, at one time, twenty-five hundred East Germans served the guerrilla forces as "advisers," organizing untrained, volatile troops into disciplined and effective units. Similarly fifteen hundred East Germans supervised army training and police operations. According to John F. Burns, writing in *The New York Times* (November 18, 1979), East Germans played a particularly "adventurous role" in 1978. They planned and supplied the logistics for an invasion of Zaire's copper-rich Shaba Province. The invasion was to have been an economic as well as military coup, but it was beaten back by zaire forces, with strong support from European allies.

East Germany's President Erich Honecker, a veteran Kremlin man, has visited Africa repeatedly, assuring Ethiopia, Angola, and Zambia of all kinds of support. Naturally East Germans are deprived of consumer goods and services, not only because of the standard inefficiencies common to Soviet-type régimes, but

also because some two hundred million dollars' worth of equipment produced by them is shipped off to Africa to advance the Kremlin's imperial ambitions. African leaders are given expensive indoctrination and training in East Germany, and much industrial production is siphoned off to places like Ethiopia and Angola.

In their controlled press the East Germans read only the vocal bombast exchanged by Communist party functionaries with visiting African leaders—they are kept in the dark about the degree to which they are deprived of essentials because of the squandering of their resources in the service of the Kremlin's African empire.

The East Germans haven't boasted as much about their subversive activities abroad as have the Cubans. But it's also true that the Western news media themselves have never given much play to the cat's-paw role the East Germans have undertaken on behalf of the Kremlin. It is a role Americans might in the future be forced to adopt on the heels of Soviet takeover.

On Trying To Find An Apartment In Moscow

On a side street off Moscow's Freedom Boulevard, men and women walk around with what are known in the United States as "sandwich boards." They are, indeed, advertising something—namely, their own apartments, which they are hoping to swap for someone else's. Moscovites call this city block the "slave market." It is a typical device—private enterprise officially tolerated and controlled.

Characteristic signs read, "Will swap one room, kitchen, and bath for two rooms," or "Three-room flat for two single-room flats." Those who walk around with such boards are approached by other board-carriers, as well as by those who come to examine this open-air advertisement collection to see whether any of the offers meet their own hopes and needs.

Despite the fact that huge, dreary apartment houses form rings around Moscow and other cities, and although the right to a domicile forms part of the Soviet constitution, the shortage of family dwellings remains acute. The reasons are deeply rooted in

munists or communist sympathizers before takeover are almost certainly scheduled for immediate liquidation.

Only those who have been trained within the Soviet Union, and observed in depth, and whose psychological profiles are well understood by the KGB, might survive, and some might even receive an official appointment. But they will be under severe surveillance for quite some time.

You should note that in the Soviet system, revolutionary types are not tolerated for one instant.

The executives and rank-and-file members of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) are certain to find a Soviet takeover a crushing disillusionment. From afar the Soviet system has presented a grand vision to these party bureaucrats and more or less naive party members. Few of them have any direct acquaintance with the Soviet system as it functions in day-to-day reality.

Of course, CPUSA executives include strategic disciplined Kremlin cadres and KGB-trained specialists who would serve as the

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

puppets of a Soviet régime in the United States, providing lists and dossiers on their comrades and on other "reliable" or "unreliable" individuals.

The American communists have dwindled in number, while other Soviet sympathizers—actually or nominally outside the party itself—have increased in influence since the Cold War period. The Kremlin sees the U.S. communists as a largely ineffective lot, compared with the influential parties in France and Italy. A few "reliable comrades" can count on jobs in a U.S. Soviet bureaucracy; the rest will probably be regarded as an idealistic nuisance, to be treated with caution and contempt.

American citizens

If you are an American citizen at the time of takeover, you must prepare to become something less.

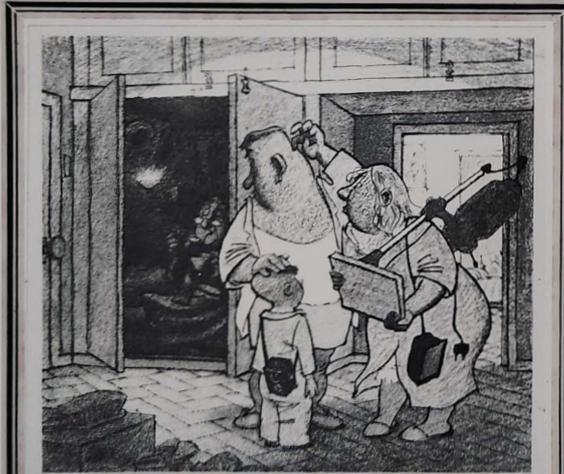
You will be considered a *subject*. In the Soviet system there are neither citizens nor rights.

A subject is one who owes allegiance or obedience to the power or domination

Soviet economy and social structure—and any U.S. apartment renter, condominium owner, or co-op inhabitant should be aware of this fact.

Living communes continue to abound. People either share apartments or have to jostle each other for use of kitchen and toilet. The strain this kind of forced togetherness causes in human relations is evident from the irritation and hostility that permeates Soviet apartment houses.

Some apartments, in newer buildings, have hot water and central heating. However, as families grow, these facilities become too restricted. Young couples feel they cannot get married, as their chances of obtaining an apartment of their own are meager at best. They resent having to live with their in-laws. The falling birthrate, particularly in European Russia, can in part be attributed to the shortage of living space—there is no room for a nursery, and a child would intrude on the already far too limited privacy of young parents.



— Если стальной шкаф отдать ему под фотолабораторию, куда же тогда девать бабушку?

SPACE PROBLEM

Caption: "If we give him the closet as a darkroom, where will we put grandma?"

—From Krokodil (Moscow), No. 29, October 1966.

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

When a child grows up and leaves his parents' apartment, chances are the state will bring a total stranger to stay in the house, to fill the precious space which the son or daughter has given up. The building of apartment houses in the Moscow area was cut back while the city was preparing for the ill-fated Olympic Games of 1980. Equipment, material, and manpower were taken away from family dwellings and assigned to athletic facilities and hotels for visitors.

But do not imagine that the "slave market" swaps advertised on Moscow sandwich boards work out easily, on a one-to-one basis. Most of the time such deals end up as a chain of arrangements. And they are further complicated by regulations covering swaps, particularly as there is about the whole affair an air of free enterprise or, in the Kremlin vernacular, of "speculation." Such regulations keep changing. In addition, and strictly against any regulation, bribes, key money, tips for building personnel, all add to the complexity of the deals-within-deals-within-deals.

Life In The Soviet System: The Most Terrible Curse!

A man and wife both work in a textile plant, earning together \$280 per month. They have a daughter: three years old. They have to spend two thirds of their pay for food; \$16 for their two-room apartment. This leaves them \$75 for entertainment, transportation (they have no car), cigarettes, and taxes. This is a standard salary.

Sales clerks get \$80 to \$120 monthly.

Government pensions are \$53 per month. Old folks get along, though. Most of them are taken in by their grown children, and they pick up part-time work to supplement their pension.

The average factory worker (supposed to be the elite of the proletariat) earn about \$187 per month. The cheapest make of car (you may have to wait five years to get one) is \$4,665 (no financing, cash only, of course).

The most terrible curse in the Soviet system?

You guessed it. To make a person live only on his salary!

of another, who is placed under authority and control.

As used in the West the word does not have that literal force; a British citizen is called "subject" as a formality.

But in the Soviet system one literally owes obedience to the power and domination of the Soviet élite.

The Soviet system is totalitarian; it is controlled from the center by an autocratic hierarchy which superintends all aspects of life and productivity. It uses coercive measures in the form of censorship, terrorism, and strict unrelenting observation of all individuals within the system.

As a former American citizen you will not be familiar with your new role as a subject. Americans have experienced no form of subjugation for at least eleven generations, essentially not since the Revolutionary period of 1776 when Americans freed themselves from the English.

It is not likely, therefore, that you will adjust well or speedily to your new status. You should expect many hardships, new rules and regulations you

will not readily understand, and the appearance of a new type of police that will tell you where you belong and what you are to do.

You will have no freedom of speech, you will have no say in your local matters, you will be kept ignorant of how your former nation is being run, and you will not have the vote.

Architects

It would be impossible for a Soviet system to erase the architectural image of the United States. The skylines of America, from the Golden Gate to the Brooklyn Bridge, reflect the variety and genius of more than a century of architectural thought and skill.

And yet, when one considers the impact of Soviet "culture" on Eastern Europe—from Latvia to Czechoslovakia—it becomes quite possible at least to imagine an end to creativity in American architecture, however original and varied it may be. The great architectural sights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are of the past: the czarist palaces in Leningrad,



"IT'S A REAL INNOVATION,
DON'T YOU THINK?"

Uniformity, Uniformity — The New Soviet Architecture

Architects thrive on novel challenges. In the Soviet Union, however, the challenge has mainly been to hold back architectural destruction. When Soviet architectural tastes are imposed on a formerly free society the result is extremely unfortunate—witness the appearance of the typical Soviet wedding-cake style in Warsaw and other cities of architectural distinction.

Soviet architecture has become notorious for its unimaginative superbox apartment houses. Shoddiness of workmanship in the communist-governed states is so general

that it is now taken for granted—it even inspired a satire on Soviet television. Called *Full Steam Ahead!* the program shows a young Moscow student who, on the eve of his wedding, is filled with vodka by his friends, and put on a plane to Leningrad. He is so drunk that he has no idea where he is. But he takes a taxi, asks for the same street and number as he would in Moscow, climbs the same number of flights as at home, and uses his key to open the apartment door.

There he stumbles into the bedroom and goes to sleep. A little later a pretty girl arrives, discovers the intruder in her bed, and starts to call the police. But he explains his dilemma—a result of Soviet architectural uniformity!—which not only prompts her to relent, but eventually leads to a love affair. The student gives up his planned marriage and marries the Leningrad girl instead.

The TV fairy tale is not only a comment on uniformity and poor workmanship (even the key fitted!), but illustrates how Soviet society has become used to, or has been made to get used to, its dreary and unimaginative housing. Everywhere there is the same kind of Marx Square and Lenin Street—or Lenin Square and Marx Street. Traditional names and places have, in many cases, been eliminated. In Moscow, streets with names linked to classical literature have been given drab political names.

Historic building complexes have been destroyed to make way for nondescript, oversized boxes. The world's second-largest church, Moscow's Cathedral of the Savior, was razed in 1930. It had been constructed over a period of five decades, in memory of Napoleon's defeat at the gates of Moscow. It was supposed to be replaced by a gigantic "Palace of Culture," topped by a huge statue of Lenin.

The old cathedral had been set on a firm foundation. But the new foundation for the "Palace of Culture" quickly slid toward the Moskva River. A steel fence was put up to hold the slide, not withstanding. The project was eventually abandoned in favor of quite another: a giant indoor swimming pool, heated during the winter months.

Life In The Soviet System: Credit Cards

What? No credit cards?

None. There are no charge accounts, either, nor checkbooks, nor easy loans. There's no financing of anything for the ordinary person.

or the rebuilt Old Town of Warsaw.

U.S. architects would find themselves totally at a loss in a Soviet America. Their highly specialized skills are matched nowhere else, not even in England or West Germany. Their innovative designs and their discoveries in the use of materials have set trends all over the world. But in the world of shortages, grandiose crudeness, and bigness for bigness's sake which is the Soviet way of design and building, U.S. architects could only fall back on routine and mediocrity.

Armed Forces

If the armed services of the United States have not already been destroyed before or during takeover, they will certainly be dismantled after.

It is almost certain that most senior officers, and possibly their families, will be executed.

Junior officers might possibly be judged on how fast their conversion to the Soviet system becomes apparent to the American KGB. But junior officers can

look forward to some uncomfortable and threatening interludes while this selection is taking place. Only a few might depend on surviving.

If you are an enlisted man or woman at the time of takeover, you will find yourself commanded by the American KGB and its military arm, the American GRU.

Your new duties will have nothing to do with the defense of the United States as an independent nation, but with the policing of the former American citizenry. Many Americans are bound to resist the takeover, and many more will be confused as to how the Soviet system wishes to run things.

You will be required to act upon orders from your new superiors or find yourself considered an enemy of the state. So you should prepare yourself to execute many former citizens, herd countless others into work and concentration camps, and in general pave the way for the American KGB to install its mind police in all walks of life.

When all this is accomplished, you will still find yourself suspect since,

Hardly Anything In The Soviet System Is What It Pretends to Be

That starts with the name of the country, which is Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In theory the Soviet Union is a federation of fifteen self-governing republics, which could even secede from Kremlin rule if they wanted to do so. Also in theory, they have the right to set up their own army and conduct their own foreign relations. That all this is a facade, which everyone ignores, can be seen from the fact that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic have separate "delegations" at the United Nations. This was one of the concessions dictator Joseph Stalin gained when the UN was set up, in 1945, and it serves to give a veneer of legitimacy to one of the fictions perpetuated by the Soviet system.

None of the "republics" really has its own army either; it would cause only confusion, mixed with hilarity, if anyone were to suggest that Soviet Armenia, for example, ought to have an embassy in Bolivia. The Kremlin vocabulary uses such words as "self-governing" and "autonomous" lavishly, just because all the republics, regions, and councils are in fact rigidly controlled from the center.

The so-called Stalin Constitution of 1936 incorporated much of the terminology used in genuine parliamentary democracies. It said that "universal suffrage" is used to elect regional units, which include *rayons* (rural districts), *krays*, national *okrugs* (of which there are ten in the Russian republic), *oblasts*, and "autonomous" *oblasts*. There are pseudoparliamentary bodies on all levels of the administration. Within the various constituent republics are another twenty "autonomous republics," sixteen of them in the Russian republic, two in the Georgian, and one each in the Azerbaïdzan and Uzbek republics.

The republics' pseudoparliaments, supposedly elected, are in fact composed of regional Communist party executives who meet to implement policies handed down from the Moscow authorities or who are concerned with relatively unimportant local affairs such as cultural matters.

Twice a year the so-called Supreme Soviet meets in the Kremlin. This gives trusted regional leaders an opportunity to travel to Moscow, sit in the ornate Supreme Soviet building, listen to lengthy speeches by Kremlin leaders, and applaud, "approve," and generally endorse policies decided by the ruling

élite. The Supreme Soviet is made up of the Soviet of Union, with one deputy representing three hundred thousand citizens, and of the Soviet of Nationalities, which has thirty-two members from each of the republics, eleven from autonomous *oblasts*, and one each from the national *okrugs*.

Members of the Supreme Soviet have to be Communist party members or represent "nonparty" interests. Here, too, we are dealing largely in fiction, because "nonparty" membership may be identical with membership in one of the party-controlled bodies—such as the labor organizations. Members of the Supreme Soviet are elected for a four-year period. These "elections" are another farce, as only one candidate is available, having been named beforehand.

The Supreme Soviet "names" the Presidium of the USSR, which is headed by the chairman, or head of state. His cabinet is known as the Council of Ministers (formerly Commissars). The chairman is the prime minister.



after all, you will still have close educational ties to the former American system. Your future will therefore be uncertain. Even if you have performed your new duties excellently, you still might be executed, since the KGB does not trust converts for any great length of time.

The U.S. Army represents a ready-made machinery for mass "reeducation." The same goes for the other branches of the armed services. On the whole the Army is made up of men and women who have had little political education; many have accumulated grievances and hostilities against the military bureaucracy and represent a fertile field for Soviet agitation.

Frustrations and resentments are rife on all levels of the armed services. At the same time there exists a huge vacuum in the fields of information and education. Once a Soviet system removes the thin level of knowledgeable and politically motivated Army leadership, it can channel resentment of the brass and of the whole often exasperatingly rigid military bureaucracy into a pro-Soviet attitude.

The low education level of the average recruit can easily be exploited by a Soviet-type *Agitprop* (Agitation and Propaganda) machinery, geared to resentments among armed services personnel on various levels. The fate of experienced, knowledgeable staff personnel, with a true understanding of the Soviet threat, will be simple: elimination.

Artists

Artists in the United States are used to the free expression of their talents and ideas, and will find Soviet-imposed restrictions shocking—no matter how familiar they are now, at a distance, with the fact that Kremlin dictatorship in the arts permeates everything from painting to sculpture, and has a long record of imposing its will on music, the theater, and related fields.

The Soviet Union is covered with standard, full-figure monuments of V.I. Lenin, showing the founder of the state with his right index finger pointing forward, or upward, or in between. Such standardization can be found, in varying degrees,

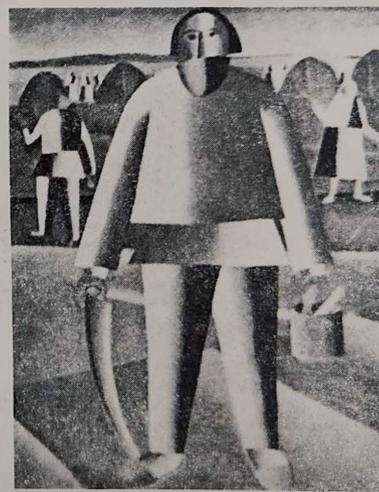
In The Soviet System What Is (And What Isn't) Art Is Decided Upon By The State

What The Masses Should See



Marshal Joseph Stalin (1944), by Alexander Gerasimov. Gerasimov's social realism flattering Soviet heroic personalities became a guideline for Soviet artists.

What The Masses Must Not See



Hay Time, by Malevich, 1909. Any art form that differed from social realism concepts has long been forbidden in the Soviet system.

on all levels of the arts (and literature) in Soviet society. The safest form of artistic expression, if it can be called that, is socialist realism. It has been, and remains, unimaginative and cliché-ridden—usually representing the idealized "Soviet Man" or "Soviet Woman," engaged in some industrial or agricultural activity.

In Soviet society's more than six decades of existence such fixed literary subjects as the much-ridiculed threesome of Boy-Girl-Tractor have come and gone. Yet the underlying rigid limitations have remained. Isolated artistic dissidents have managed to lead a marginal existence in the Soviet Union—but a Sovietized U.S. society would undoubtedly be subjected to a cultural dictatorship both subtle and determined. "Bourgeois art," as Soviet ideologues see it, fails to express the requirements of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which translates into the cultural tyranny of the Kremlin leadership.

Most Americans don't realize that the Constitution forbids any national directives or guidance about what is and what is not to

be art or culture, leaving these decisions open to the public at large. This American feature accounts, in many ways, for the many forms of art and of art appreciation in the United States.

Under a Soviet régime the independent, freely creating artist has no place; an artist's role is to glorify the state, the leaders of that state, and the aims they seek to impose on society.

Astrologers

The Soviet state denounces astrology as a form of superstition, and the practice of preparing horoscopes and making astrological predictions is very much frowned upon. The profession of astrologer could not exist in a Soviet-ruled United States, although some clandestine fortune-telling, card reading, or other form of more or less respectable divination might continue to exist.

At best the now flourishing trade of astrology might continue on the black-market always subject to a crackdown because all forecasting can be inter-



— Комиссия уехала?



— Пошли дальше...

Рисунок М. ВАЙСБОРДА

PICTURE PERFECT

Above: "Has the committee gone?"
Below: "Well, let's go on to the next one."
(Sign on booth reads "Vegetables.")

— From *Krokodil* (Moscow), No. 32, 1966.



The Saddest Olympics

As the XXII Olympic Summer Games began in July 1980, the Olympic Committee took pains to reiterate that the Games were not involved with political action. The Soviets were more candid. Said their *Handbook* on the Games: "The view popular in the West that 'sports is outside politics' has no support in the U.S.S.R."

Whatever might be one's personal thoughts upon Western sports versus sports in a totalitarian régime, the fact is that sports are *not* separated from political ends in the totalitarian Soviet system.

Just look, for example, at how the athletes are manufactured. Following the lead of the ruling Soviets, Kremlin-controlled countries train their athletes like so many performing animals. In early school years, the future athletes are selected by muscle measurements and physical tests. They are put through exhaustive physical and psychological training programs that are carefully planned and are government supervised. As all these sports projects (including the upkeep and travel of the athletes and their KGB overseers) are government funded, the Greek ideal of contest among amateurs and free men is severely jeopardized.

preted as being politically or economically subversive.

Remember that in the Soviet system "crackdown" means deportation to work camps.

Athletes

An athlete's role in the United States—whether he be the millionaire prize-fighter, a baseball star, or an amateur ice skater—differs radically from his position in a Soviet society. The ram-bunctious rhetoric of a Muhammad Ali and the strikes and financial demands of baseball stars cannot exist in a Kremlin-controlled environment.

The athlete as entrepreneur will be eradicated; the athlete as a closely supervised, controlled, and trained biological entity will be the norm. Flamboyance, luxury, star worship, and huge purses or salaries will be a thing of the "decadent" past of U.S. sports. Youngsters will have to abandon dreams of stardom in basketball, baseball or football—they will become part of an athletic assembly line, from which some can be

selected in the manner of highly bred prize bulls. Individuality will be overruled by mass production.

In the Soviet system athletes (and artists of any kind) are created by the state to substantiate how good and perfect the state is. Therefore, athletic expression may be only in that form which the state has designed and approved.

Authors

Authors of fiction and nonfiction books have to conform to well-established standards developed during the six decades since the Bolshevik revolution. In country after country subjected to Soviet invasion and control, writers of prose and poetry, authors of novels and short stories, and playwrights as well, have suffered open or disguised censorship, and often imprisonment.

The most striking example of Soviet antagonism to independent authorship was the crushing of the Petoefi Clubs in Hungary in 1956. The clubs, named after a noted poet, were regarded by the Soviet

Members of the Olympic Committee are hesitant to see any difference between Soviet and Western Olympic contestants, but Czech and Slovak patriots, themselves under Soviet domination, warn differently.

They see a relationship between Hitler's pre-World War II Olympic Games where the Olympic flag was mixed with the swastika and the XXII Olympics where the flag was mixed with the hammer and sickle. The patriots appealed: Although they would be happy to live in a world where sports could be separated from politics, "... we do not live in such a world. The democracies should not send their athletes to Moscow."

In an effort to impress Western visitors, Moscow was sealed off throughout the Olympics. The capital was made off limits for all Russians except those who could prove they lived and worked there. To avoid overcrowding, the official line went. More informed individuals said that the restrictions were intended to avoid "ideological pollution" of Soviet subjects by the non-Socialist visitors.

Human walls of policemen and KGB men in identical light-blue suits kept perfect order. The Olympic village had metal detectors in every hotel and press center, and identification badges were issued to everyone. Moscow had been scrubbed, painted and swept clean. Sections of the city considered eyesores had been demolished. Entire classes of Muscovites, including all children, dissidents and prostitutes, were sent away.

Trucks rolled into Moscow loaded with extra supplies of food and clothing in an effort to convince Westerners that the capital was always well-stocked with oranges, bananas, cheese and meat. Pepsi-Cola stands sprung up everywhere, replacing kvass and baikal, the Soviet soft drinks normally available.

The Ministry of Culture put 147 religious icons from the nineteenth century up for sale. For prices up to six thousand dollars (in foreign currency) tourists and journalists could buy one. "It is our gift for the Olympics," a clerk said, as if the prices were somehow justified thereby.

Behind this "pokazukha" ("dehumanized facade" as the Russians say), were rumors of widespread food shortages and labor unrest throughout the rest of the land. Western correspondents learned of unheard-of-things: two-day strikes at the Togliatti and Gorky auto plants.

Following the Olympic Games in Moscow, it became clear that the Soviet system had a worldwide destructive impact on the spirit and performances of Olympic athletes. The Moscow Games marked the end of the idea that the Olympic contests were, in the ancient tradition, a display of amateur enthusiasm and skill. One third of the countries that normally participate boycotted because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. And the Moscow Games narrowed down to a contest from which the Communist-controlled countries emerged with eighty per cent of

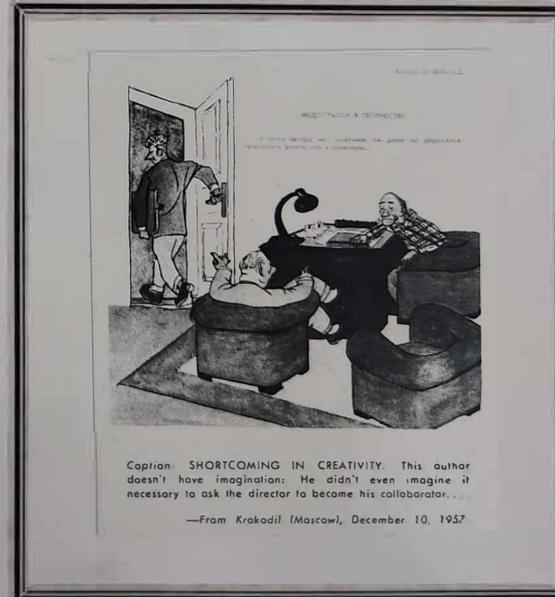
the medals.

The Soviets had one advantage they would not otherwise enjoy, were the Games being played elsewhere. For once, the Soviets could be unconcerned about the possible defection of their own athletes.

Life In The Soviet System: You Want To Get Theater Tickets Or Tickets To Sports Events? Good Luck!

Tickets are not sold. They are allocated. The ruling élite, of course, has first choice on everything.

Ordinary people and workers (was the revolution not for the workers?) have to wait in line, sometimes all night, to get tickets. They then sometimes find out that all the tickets were "allocated" two days before.



Union as hotbeds of national sentiment, and therefore as a threat to Soviet control. The succession of writers who ran afoul of the Kremlin leaders and their KGB ranges from one of Bolshevism's early showpieces, Maxim Gorki, to the novelist-poet Boris Pasternak, who won the Nobel Prize for literature. Gorki, after whom a town was named, was enormously popular—until he enraged Stalin by asserting his independence. In one of the Soviet secret police's most diabolic tricks, Gorki was deliberately plied with liquor, and left to freeze to death, outdoors on a bench, in the midst of a Moscow winter. Pasternak was persecuted, despite international acclaim, while mediocre Soviet-style hacks published their writings in official magazines.

In the 1930's U.S. authors got a taste of Soviet literary dictatorship when certain writers were vigorously publicized by Communist-infiltrated journals and magazines. As long as they hailed the "Soviet experiment," their work was reviewed favorably by Kremlin-oriented reviewers

and biographers-but if they became disillusioned with such Soviet policies, as the notorious Moscow trials ordered by Stalin, these same authors were castigated in the very periodicals that had previously praised them. So-called "proletarian literature" flourished for a while, following the Soviet model. Yet generation after generation of U.S. writers became disillusioned with the Stalin régime.

A Soviet takeover of the United States would impose on a total, nationwide scale, what a leftist coterie tried to achieve in the 1930's; and, in just the same way, such authors as John Dos Passos were hounded during that period by communist literary publications, so, after takeover, would contemporary authors be hounded by a government censorship and propaganda apparatus.

Authors who should try to buck this state-controlled censorship would, of course, find themselves in very trying circumstances.

Box ↓

The Kremlin Empire Expands Into The Middle East

South Yemen isn't as far away as you might think.

You might think that your fate as an American has damn little to do with what happens in South Yemen. If so, you would be quite wrong. Of course, you are well aware that your life-style depends heavily on Near Eastern oil, particularly the oil that is pumped in Saudi Arabia. And whatever happens to Saudi Arabia is, therefore, of vital interest to you.

The Soviet threat, whether by military invasion or by Kremlin-directed coup, is pointed toward Saudi Arabia from neighboring Yemen. And Yemen itself is threatened by South Yemen, a small tough country that is a Soviet arsenal and base of operations. The process of turning South Yemen into a fortress has had high priority among Kremlin leaders.

South Yemen tribesmen have attended Moscow's Lumumba University for several decades. Their indoctrination has been supplemented by military instruction at Frunze Military Academy. For decades South Yemen's 1.7 million inhabitants virtually lived on handouts from the Kremlin. Step by step Moscow's aid moved from economic deals to armaments, and finally to the installation of Soviet missiles capable of reaching not only Saudi Arabia but other oil-rich Arab nations.

The Kremlin's chief support in South Yemen came from Abdel Fattah Ismail, who was overthrown on April 28, 1980. But his successor, Ali Nasser Mohammed al-Hassani, also described himself as a "Marxist." Disagreement between the two men did not reflect basic ideological differences. Rather it was part of a see-saw struggle for power between tribes living in the northern part of the country and those in the south; the emergence of Ali Nasser represented a victory for the southerners.

The Kremlin's threat to U.S. security, as expressed by South Yemen's threat to Saudi Arabia, remains. For this reason the fate of the two Yemens has direct significance to every American.

Auto Workers In The Soviet System Have No Union

Members of the United Auto Workers, the labor union which represents employees of the giant U.S. automobile manufacturers, heard to their astonishment that workers at a Soviet car plant had actually gone on strike. The news was surprising, because communists everywhere are quick to call for strikes—everywhere, that is, except in the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

Soviet auto workers struck in May 1980 at the Togliatti plant in the town of Gorky, some five hundred miles from Moscow. This was entirely a rank-and-file strike action, because labor unions in the Soviet system are, of course, nothing but appendages of the Kremlin leadership. There is no U.A.W. at Togliatti. No such thing as an official labor call for a walkout can happen in the Soviet Union. So the Gorky event was technically a wildcat strike.

What prompted the Gorky wildcats to risk the limitless wrath of the Soviet state apparatus?

Things as down-to-earth as food shortages and sympathy with bus drivers supposed to drive extra routes without additional pay.

Gorky, the town named after the writer Maxim Gorky (a victim of the Soviet secret police) never quite recovered from the impact of the Italian technicians who set up the local plant, which builds cars after the Fiat model. Douglas A. Fraser, president of the U.A.W., recalled in *The New York Times* (June 18, 1980) that the Togliatti workers, "apparently with a long history of resistance to bad conditions, have won over the years social and medical gains that are good when measured by the low Soviet standards."

What would happen if the U.S. automobile workers came under a Soviet system? The likes of Mr. Fraser would be quickly done away with. Strikes would be outlawed as sabotage of "People's property," and ringleaders might well be arrested—and sent to Soviet auto plants, to learn properly how things are done! The ringleaders in Gorky were sent to prison.

Auto workers

The imposition of a Soviet system on U.S. society will be most drastically felt in such "nonessential" fields as automobile manufacturing and its related industries. By Kremlin standards the mass mobility which Americans enjoy wastes valuable raw materials on people who should use mass transportation, walk, or simply stay home. In Soviet society only a small official élite and select private persons use automobiles and travel itself is often forbidden. Mass production of automobiles is likely to cease under a Soviet system; steel, plastics, and other materials will be channeled into other heavy industry and into armaments.

Auto workers will find their skills unneeded, their earnings regarded as excessive, and their labor required in other fields. U.S. auto workers have benefitted from decades of the sort of aggressive unionism that is anathema to the Kremlin leadership. It has given auto workers far too much political muscle; both the plants and the unions are

sure to be broken up and made pliable to a system which regard them as relics of a "bourgeois" lifestyle of luxury and waste.

Automobile mechanics

The fate in store for auto workers, in Detroit and at assembly plants throughout the country, will be reflected in the changes affecting mechanics in garages and filling stations. Their jobs will dwindle to next to nothing, as demands for mechanics' services melt away. The days when a skilled, or even semiskilled, mechanic or garage owner could pretty well name his own price will not just be over—they will be a fast-fading memory, almost unbelievable in retrospect.

As the number of cars shrinks, the present under-supply of experienced mechanics will turn into a flood of men suddenly out in the cold, their attitudes and life styles drastically and forcibly altered. While, under a Soviet system, no level of society will be spared severe shocks and sacrifices; some who have

Life In The Soviet System: Auto Owners

A news correspondent who resided in the Soviet Union for three years tells us that during that time the number of cars rose to three million (compared to one hundred million in the United States).

Who bought these additional autos? Probably not the average worker, at least not on his salary.

The average worker earns a mere \$187 a month, but the cheapest car available was \$4,665. There is no financing for purchasing autos. And even if the prospective client managed to save or scrape up the money, demand for cars is so big that there is a waiting list to buy a car.

This list is very long. One may wait as long as five years for one's name to come up in turn.

When your name comes up on the list, you have to take what is available; unless you want to wait another five years. There are no choices as to color or extras.

The correspondent visited a factory in Armenia. There were a couple dozen cars parked in the lot. The director of the plant was proud to tell the correspondent that "these are the private cars of our workers."

The plant, however, had considerably more workers than a couple dozen. Over fifty-five hundred workers, in fact.

What Is *na levo*? It's Probably The Greatest Thing In The Soviet System — An Illegal Free Market

During more than six decades the Soviets have been trying to make their ideology of economic equality work. But workers really will not work very well or hard unless they really have something to gain. A commendation for having served the state well is not enough for the millions who would also like to have some of the consumer goods that are easily available to workers in the West.

It is said among Russian workers that the benefits of communism have arrived, but only for the privileged minority and the ruling élite; special shops and access to the better things

of life, such as shoes, clothes, cars, radios, televisions, and the ample dachas (country homes) of the czars and the old nobility.

Many consumer products are rare, and all, for the average subject of the Soviet system, are hard to get. The state-controlled system is run not for the consumer but for the military, and the Soviet system's biggest product is its army.

In the shadow of the Soviet state economy, a thriving underground economy has grown up, which taxes the Soviet KGB and secret police to their nerves' ends.

Private markets are easily visible in Moscow and in other major cities. The commerce that takes place in them goes far beyond the usual form of black marketeering. People deal and trade. It is a free economy, or at least the essence of one, and it is of course illegal in the Soviet system.

But within this free illegal economy, one can buy ballpoint pens, Levi's, caviar, real Russian vodka (most is exported by the state), good shoes, clothes, tickets to popular soccer games and concerts, working blenders and TV's, and even cars.

Within this free illegal economy, services are performed by barter: a good cut of meat for a good plumbing job, for example.

These illegal traders, as energetic as any Americans out to make a buck, congregate in certain places, but move to others as soon as the heat is on.

One can, at the present time, buy "information" on side streets near subway entrances: for example, copies of *Playboy*, *The New York Times*, *The Times of London*, or copies of "dissident" poetry written by Russians. Sometimes this information is sold by the line or sentence.

There is a little side street, not far from the Moscow Planetarium, where one can buy almost every small portable item: chewing gum, Levi's, pop records from the United States, or imported gin.

Women can buy lipstick, dresses, and lingerie, two blocks from the Bolshoi Theater, in a public toilet there.

This hustling is called *na levo*. Literally it means "living on the left" — outside, that is, of the state-controlled system, which has never worked too well.

Entire *sub rosa* industries have sprung up to support this illegal consumer system. The Kremlin and the ruling élite have been more or less forced to accept its existence rather than face massive popular uprisings should they try to shut it down. *Na levo* has educated them, though. This underground economy may literally be supporting the Soviet system. As one Western diplomat said, "If they tried to shut down every illegal activity, the economy would come close to collapsing, and the Communist party would face serious problems of public disorder."

Na levo eases shortages, fills gaps left by the inefficient

experienced a "tyranny by mechanics" may even discover a wry satisfaction in their changed fate. Auto mechanics will find themselves living in a society that tells them what to do, when and where to do it, and what they will be paid. This switch in status will be a severe shock to mechanics and their families, to whom an automobile-oriented society had seemed an everlasting source of income.



"This phonograph comes with two needles and this small list of possible, easily-remedied defects."

B

Bankers

In the Soviet economy, banking is not at all the vast institution that it is in the American economy. Here almost every individual has access to a bank, can deposit money for savings and checking purposes, gain interest, obtain loans, transfer credits and so forth. In the Soviet idea of economy, however, all this simply does not exist.

The Soviet economy is not designed for individual enterprise, whether that be receiving interest on earnings deposited, or financing multi-million dollar deals. It is designed as a state accounting system. Americans will probably be somewhat at a loss when they find their banks closed down. So will bankers and employees of banks. Making profits is forbidden in the Soviet system, and thus money is not the tangible thing among Soviet-ruled subjects that it is among Americans.

You should remember that in communist thinking bankers are "capitalist pigs." Capitalist pigs usually have dismal fates in store for them after a takeover.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

Soviet system, and makes consumers' lives bearable.

Indeed, as some collective-farm managers admit, the only way they can fill their state production targets is to purchase supplies, even products, on the *na levo* market.

Na levo was not mentioned in the theories of Marx or Lenin. But it has become a vast and integral part of the Soviet system, an aid to its survival.

In the Soviet system *na levo* is referred to as "Ivan the Terrible Capitalist."



WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

A Na Levo Personality The Tale Of Yelizaveta Tyntareva

She was a lawyer who lived in Lithuania. One day she got the idea of selling her car (a Zhiguli) for about three thousand dollars. With this capital she ventured to buy some sunglasses and wigs on the *na levo* market. These she sold fast, since they are in short supply in the Soviet system.

She bought more things with the profits, gold rings, more wigs, American jeans, umbrellas, and velvet suits.

The business did well, and she prospered. She guided travelers to the Baltic Sea; a little travel agency.

She prospered still more. She hired four assistants, and started a small mail-order service.

In the United States Yelizaveta Tyntareva would be considered an energetic and creative personality.

In the Soviet system her activities were totally illegal.

She was arrested, possibly because she failed or refused to pay bribes to those who might protect her.

Early in 1980 she was put in prison for twelve years, under the Soviet system's speculation laws.

She was lucky.

These speculation laws can also carry a death penalty.

Soviet Bureaucrats Get Entangled In Their Own "Red" Tape

Bureaucrats the world over are both the perpetrators and the victims of delays, complications, and contradictions. A U.S. government employee working under a Soviet system would without doubt experience some shocking surprises. Not all of them inspire fear; some could be ridiculous, even hilarious—though even those would carry an undercurrent of danger.

Early in 1980 a Moscow correspondent for Swedish Television and Radio, Hakaan Nilsson, made an arrangement with the Soviet State Radio and Television Committee to visit the household of an "ordinary" woman. It was clearly

Bar owners and Bartenders

Among the people of the USSR, vodka has long been the people's narcotic. Alcoholism is rampant, so great is the need for oblivion. But in the Soviet system, it is illegal and dangerous to gather without authorization at drinking places. After takeover there will not be nearly the numbers of bars there are today in the United States.

On the other hand, the traditional bartender's role as confidante of his clients might open useful channels to the U.S. equivalent of the KGB, the Soviet secret police. Bartenders could, and no doubt would, be trained to extract confidences from their clients, be interrogated by police agents, or even trained and directly employed by the secret police.

Barbers

Hair is cut and faces are shaved in a Soviet state, but so-called "bourgeois excesses" of hair-styling are regarded as social aberrations. Nevertheless, a Soviet

America—like the Kremlin satellite countries of Eastern Europe—may find it difficult to stamp out a “parallel market” or private service in a field that requires merely personal skill, a pair of scissors, a comb, and possibly a fairly clean towel to set up a clandestine barber business, even inside a one-room apartment.

Bondsmen

The bail bond system, which permits an accused person to deposit a sum of money as assurance that he will return to a court to stand trial, does not exist under the Soviet system. The accused are kept under arrest or in prison until trial and sentencing, often for long periods of time. The function of a person who arranges bail, the bail bondsman, would therefore cease to exist in a Soviet-governed United States.

Bureaucrats

Soviet societies are havens for “bureaucrats.” But these people have to be totally acceptable to the communist élite. Except for

understood by all participants that the image presented by such an officially selected “ordinary” woman would be flattering to the Soviet state and the role women play in it.

After several weeks arrangements were made that Nilsson should visit a hairdresser who had won several awards for outstanding work. He was to be accompanied by a Soviet cameraman, permitted to travel to the rather shabby Moscow neighborhood in which the woman's salon was located, and interview her there on her experiences and life.

The official permission included the assignment of a Soviet TV committee representative, one Comrade Vamba Kapp. As reported in *The New York Times* (April 23, 1980), the hairdresser was “surprised but delighted by this sign of official confidence in her work.” She and her husband busied themselves preparing their apartment, located in a house on the way to the city's airport.

All seemed to go well during the Swedish TV reporter's visit to the beauty shop. Nilsson recalled later: “We finished filming in the shop and then decided to put off filming on the shopping expedition for the next day, and go to her apartment for some footage there.” Clearly the plan was to show the relative



affluence of the woman's family, the availability of consumer goods at local shops, and the actually quite unrepresentative life-style of the couple.

Yet, while Nilsson, the Soviet cameraman, and Mr. Kapp were visiting the apartment and talking to the beautician's family, their get-together was interrupted. Nilsson recalled: “There was a knock at the door. It appeared to be the police and they asked the woman to come out in the corridor and speak with them. I asked what was wrong but they didn't give me any answer. An hour or so went by and a plainclothesman told the hairdresser to ask me for my accreditation card. I wanted to speak to him myself, so he and I exchanged identification papers, and I asked what was wrong—was my car parked improperly? He gave no answer.”

The policeman told the Swede to “just stay put” for another hour, but Nilsson recalled, “I said I wouldn't unless he told me why, and I started to go out to my car—I had to go back to my office. Suddenly the elevators, which had been running perfectly, were said to be out of order. I walked down the stairs, but policemen tried to stop me at the car and said I had to wait and sign a protocol.”

“Why?” Mr. Nilsson asked. And he was told, “You are on forbidden territory.”

In the end, and to avoid further delays, the Swedish reporter signed the “protocol,” and was permitted to leave.

As it turned out, the residential district of Khimski in which the hairdresser lived was officially “closed to foreigners,” because it contained a plant which, as one policeman told the family, could be filmed right through the apartment window. The neighbors started to whisper about “spies.” But the building maintenance employees knew nothing about living in a “restricted” area. No one knew what the supposedly important factory, hidden behind a red brick wall near the apartment house, was manufacturing.

All the confused Swedish correspondent knew was that the Soviet Foreign Ministry had given him permission to drive anywhere within twenty-five miles of Moscow; they hadn't said anything about “forbidden zones.” Obviously one government agency, concerned with disseminating a favorable image of the Soviet working woman on foreign television, had run head-on into the intransigent network of a state security agency. It was a case of bureaucracy in collision with itself.

the lowest grades in the government bureaucracy—on the federal, state and municipal level—most American government employees will be dismissed by a Soviet régime. A Kremlin-pure bureaucracy will be partly imported, partly recruited, and partly “re-educated” to undertake government functions.

Soviet rule of America will certainly bring into existence a bureaucracy even more inflated, cumbersome and unresponsive to public needs than is its present U.S. equivalent. Petty tyranny toward the average citizen will be replaced by a dismissive and threatening attitude. Complaints about any bureaucratic actions will not be tolerated. The new bureaucrats in a Soviet America will live in fear of their superiors, and, if present-day Moscow is any example, will act in turn as tyrants toward the public of which they are supposed to be civil servants.

Businessmen

Marxist society has grossly misunderstood what makes a successful businessman and a thriving

commercial society: the desire to excel and to be successful. American businessmen have, despite occasional excesses, turned personal motives for success into a thriving, lively economy, which no amount of Soviet industrial espionage has been able to duplicate.

In a Soviet America, all business would be governed by the state. And the state would seek to destroy the American businessman mentality (which can be found anywhere from the corner grocery to the huge industrialized agricultural establishments, from the nation-wide fast-food chain to the ingenious manner in which computer software is developed and marketed.) The businessman is the Soviet society's *Enemy Number One*, and will certainly be treated as such.

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Problems Ahead For The West

by Simon Hunt, Brooks Hunt Associates, London.

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In a world where uncertainty is increasing exponentially, any forecast is not only given with some trepidation, but should be flexible. What matters is to interpret correctly the direction in which events are likely to develop. In this context, there are certain parameters, almost immovable, on which a forecast of economic and financial trends can be hung. These parameters are energy, inflation, debt, and the changing world geopolitical structure.

Fundamental to the direction of currency and precious metal markets is the type of world which is likely to unfold in the 1980's, for these markets reflect substantially the foreign exchange confidence in the management of an economy in its fullest sense—financially, economically, politically, and strategically.

Overriding the financial and economic factors is the rebirth of Soviet imperialism (it can be argued that it never died—that tsarist imperialism was replaced by Marxist imperialism). Many view their aggression in Afghanistan, the horn of Africa, and elsewhere, as a reaction to the type of leadership which has prevailed in the West, especially since President Jimmy Carter entered the White House. However, there is a more compelling argument, which is that these and other moves are an essential component of a Soviet long-range strategy which was mapped out in 1960 to assure eventual Russian domination of world affairs.

How this domination will be orchestrated is more difficult to assess, but its achievement or indeed partial achievement will have a profound influence on our political and economic life. In essence the objective is fourfold—the neutralization of China, the destruction of NATO, access to Middle East oil, and redrawing the boundaries of spheres of influence.

A strong China, militarily and economically, is clearly not in the best interests of the Soviets. Some analysts contend that the Soviet policy is to surround China, that the invasion of Afghanistan was the first stage of a classical pincer movement with the second to be the invasion of Thailand from Cambodia,

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possibly in 1981, if not earlier.

Of more direct interest to us are the Soviets' intentions to effectively nullify NATO. Pressure is being placed on the two extreme flanks, Turkey and Norway. Their pressure on Turkey is largely in the eastern portions of the country. There are similarities to Iran in 1978—religious divisions, terrorist killings, alienation of the citizenry from central government, and the collapse of law and order. Soviet economic aid has been stepped up and some two thousand Turkish-speaking Soviet technicians have been introduced into the country. Subversive cadres have been developed and a clandestine transmitter is broadcasting subversive propaganda in the Turkish language. Finally, the Soviet military forces on the Turkish border, including strategic missiles, are much more than would be needed to defend the Soviet Union from any threat from Turkey.

Norway has, for a long time, been subjected to intense Soviet harassment, particularly on the issue of the Spitzbergen treaty. The Russians are demanding that Norway join the USSR in denouncing the treaty. They are also demanding sovereignty over the Svalbard Islands. Norway is being intimidated additionally by the Soviet militarization of the Kola Peninsula and by their stationing of their largest fleets in the arctic waters.

More pernicious is the Soviet intimidation through the center of NATO, namely Germany. Here, Moscow has wooed Bonn as patiently and persistently as any lover. The bride will probably find Moscow's charms irresistible. First is the question of energy. Nearly all Germany's crude oil imports come from the Gulf. "We will be in a position to guarantee your future oil supplies" is a primary bait. Secondly, the Soviets are planning to construct a major nuclear power station program in East Germany with the first such power station only sixty miles from Berlin. The Germans could be drawn into the grid system and have the benefit of large export orders and an expansion of their electricity supplies without having to circumvent the domestic environmental problems. Thirdly, a twenty-five-year economic treaty has just been signed in Moscow—essentially to assist in the development of Siberia. This agreement should result in even closer trade with Moscow and will provide the base for Germany's economic growth over the next two decades. Finally, there is the question of troops and missiles on German soil. The Soviets may well agree to remove their forces from East Germany, if NATO agrees to withdraw its forces from West Germany. Such a deployment would have obvious attractions to Germany. From the Soviet viewpoint, it would enable them to move these divisions to their eastern border—namely China.

When these developments are likely to occur is difficult to assess, but in view of the age of the leaders in the Kremlin, it would seem to us to be sooner, rather than later, and possibly in the 1984-1985 period.

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C

Carpenters

The Soviet system, of course, needs carpenters like everyone else. But the great difference will become apparent when the state takes over all sources for carpenter supplies; forests, lumber, ironworks, nails, and factories that make tools.

Carpenters become employees of the state, and the state controls all supplies. Since this is almost always done badly (even today in the Soviet Union shortages of hammers and oversupplies of nails are common) the carpenter will find his working potential strangely hampered.

Then, too, carpenters' salaries are set by the state. No longer will carpenters be able to bid on jobs, or rake off extra proceeds. Also, jobs and their priorities are set by the state, or by representatives of the state.

Simply put, carpenters will be told where to go (it might be from New York to Arizona), what to work on, and when their quota of work should be completed. Shortages of supplies and tools probably will occur. And yet the carpenter will have to explain, himself,

why the work didn't get done.

Church congregations

In the Soviet system no meetings may be held for anything at all unless a permit is obtained from the state functionaries. Recently three young adults in Moscow who met for tea and discussed religion wound up in prison.

So it should be understood that church groups would not be permitted to congregate, and extreme retribution would be taken upon those who tried.

Civil rights workers

In the Soviet system there are no civil rights.

Individuals who make noise about rights, work to improve dreadful conditions, or petition human rights organizations always find themselves in dire straits.

There is little doubt that after takeover the Soviets will round up all known civil rights workers, label them "dangerous to the state," and dispose of them accordingly.

Soviet presence in the Middle East is designed to influence, in due course, the supply and distribution of crude oil. Iran will probably be balkanized and pressure continues to be put on the royal family in Saudi Arabia, so that they will become less accommodating to the West. By the end of this year the Soviets could have a trade agreement with the kingdom which would include the importation of oil. Although a simple supply-demand model for oil shows that there is a substantial surplus of production over consumption, nevertheless after a summer's lull in activity, supplies may well be disrupted with oil prices rising further by election time in the United States.

In summary, then, in the period from now to the mid-1980's, and immediately beyond, the Western world will be harassed by these external influences which will add to the strain on its economic system.

There is little doubt that the recession, now so evident in the USA, will spread to nearly all countries, not only in the West, but among the Comecon countries as well. Its depth and duration are difficult to estimate because the financial system has become prone to accidents as a result of its past excesses. However, assuming the system holds together during this cycle, then the recession will last through the first quarter of 1981 in the USA and throughout most of 1981 elsewhere.

However, fundamental to our theses is the realization that as yet the political will does not exist to confront inflation, particularly in the USA. Wringing inflation out of the system would necessitate not only at least three years of declining personal income, but lower asset values such as for houses on which so many personal balance sheets are based. Therefore, despite the chorused trumpetings by the administration of maintaining conservative fiscal and monetary policies, considerable reflation will be given to the economy. A tax cut of some thirty billion dollars seems likely to be introduced with effect from October 1, 1980. "Off budget" expenditure is rising, and monetary policy will become more accommodating.

Renewed inflation is likely toward the end of 1981, having fallen not much less than nine percent in the trough of this recession, about double that of its level at the bottom of the 1975 recession. One more upward twist to the inflation spiral—1982-1983 seems inevitable before the western world sinks into a depression.

Will that then presage the end of democracy as we know it today, or will we return to the right wing puritanism of the nineteenth century?

make

Civil Rights Workers In The Soviet System? Probably Not.

In the Soviet system—

Dissident workers (that is to say, people who are trying to get some intolerable situation changed), human rights activists, religious believers, and would-be emigrants are sent to work farms in Siberia if they become too noticeable.

Valery Abramkin and Viktor Sorokin, two young contributors to an underground journal of free debate called *Searches*, were seized and sent away in 1979.

Two members of a human rights group in Kiev, Yuri Litvin and Oles Bernik, were also arrested in 1979, and sentenced to long terms in labor camps and prison.

A Russian Orthodox priest, Gleb Yakunin, was arrested on November 1, 1979, for religious activism, and on the same day Viktor Nekipelov was also arrested. Nekipelov had written a book about Soviet psychiatric hospitals entitled *Institute of Fools*.



"I, too, am for socialism with a human face."

—From Rahac (Bratislava), March 26, 1969.

Civil servants

The Soviet bureaucracy is, of course, vast. Yet it is set up quite differently from the American version.

To begin with, one probably will, after the fall of America, have to join the Communist party, be indoctrinated in its ideology, and be put on two years' probation to even qualify as a civil servant.

Civil servants in the Soviet system are great targets for purges. To be purged is at the very least to be removed from one's job, and could mean being lined up and shot one morning without explanation or warning.

One can only speculate what the Soviets will do with the vast American bureaucracy after takeover. But it is not likely that the present population of civil servants will be allowed to work or live.

In other countries (Poland, Afghanistan, Cuba) whole echelons of civil servants disappeared within four weeks of takeover. It will not matter to the Soviets if the bureaucratic system flounders for a while. That is usually the design.

THE TAKING OF AFGHANISTAN



The Modern Barbarians

L. Thomas Walsh

In early May one of the most bizarre incidents of the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan was reported by Stuart Auerback of the *Washington Post Foreign Service*. An estimated seventy school children, most of them between twelve and seventeen years of age including at least thirty-six females, taunted Afghan troops in the city of Kabul on May third.

The schoolgirls pulled off their scarves and veils and threw them at the soldiers: "You wear these," eyewitnesses reported hearing the girls cry, "and we will take the guns and go after the Russians." Twenty-five girls were slain by the offended troops.

Later in the month nearly seven thousand Afghan students were jailed for protesting against the Soviet occupation of their homeland. According to M. Aftab Khan of the *Time-Life News Service*, 175 were slain, but rebel forces inflicted a heavy toll upon the Soviet-Afghan occupiers: 272 were killed and 400 injured.

There has never been an occupation such as what is occurring in Afghanistan today. There is no mercy, and no charity is given by either side. It is a grim war to the finish, and if the entire Afghan people are obliterated, other immigrants can take their place. The methods are crude, but effective.

A modern scourge

Throughout recorded history civilized people have feared the ravages of barbaric tribes. From the Asiatic nomads, the Hyksos, who destroyed the Middle Kingdom of Egypt in about 1100 B.C. to the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan who sacked Delhi twenty-two hundred years later, humanity has suffered from the indiscriminate devastation, terror, and death that inhuman conquerors have levied upon it.

Today the new barbarians are the Soviets. Their satellite armies are committing their depredations upon the peoples of Afghanistan, Laos, and Cambodia. In these countries wholesale slaughter of civilian populations by the red armies of the USSR, Vietnam, and Laos is occurring virtually on a daily basis. And the West is doing little about it, except to wring its hands and bleat "human rights!"

Last February twenty-fifth, the people of Afghanistan declared a three-day general strike in the principal cities of the nation to protest the Soviet invasion of their country. Merchants refused to open their doors to business: all civilian transport halted. Even government workers remained in their homes.

The Soviets and the rapidly diminishing Afghan army still

Clergymen

As is well known, the Soviet ideology forbids religious discussion and seeks to obliterate religion from man's mind.

The future of clergymen after takeover, then, is doubtful at best. In many other states after takeover (from Russia itself to Afghanistan) religious leaders have been shot en masse in the basements of their own churches.

It seems unlikely the Soviets would treat American clergymen any differently, especially since organized religions in the United States would be viewed as sources of certain resistance.

No doubt extreme efforts would be made at the outset to demobilize religious groups and prevent gatherings, and, of course, the leaders of such groups would be caused to "disappear."

College students

Many college students will be astonished to find their college careers terminated. Whether you will

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

be allowed to continue will depend, for the most part, on two things: First, your political and ideological beliefs will have to be perceived as conforming to the standards of the socialist and Soviet state. In order to determine this your family origins will be investigated. If you come from an upper-middle-class or an upper-class family, your education will be suspended until it is certain you are willing to forswear your origins.

Secondly, you will have to successfully pass the strict, lengthy, and comprehensive standard educational tests that the Soviet system of education will impose on you. If you fail, your educational opportunities will be withdrawn and you will have to become a worker.

Under the Soviet system there is no provision for free opportunity, nor tolerance of free thought. You will be judged educable and as a benefit to the state only if your written theses, verbal examinations, and academic achievements meet Soviet demands.

You will find that in the Soviet system higher education is considered to be

loyal to the government of "President" Babrak Karmal, reacted as violently as they did later against the schoolgirls. On February twenty-sixth, troops killed three hundred civilians and wounded one thousand others in Kabul. In the second largest city of the nation, Kandahar, which had a 1978 population of 160,684, thousands were reported to have been indiscriminately slain by soldiers firing from tanks and personnel carriers. Western news correspondents reported that a wholesale slaughter of the population was taking place nationwide.

Within a two-week period in early March, more than fifteen hundred Afghans streamed across the border into Pakistan. Red Cross officials were horrified at the stories they were told. "Genocide!" one coordinator exclaimed. "I really believe they (the Soviets) intend to exterminate the entire Afghan people!"

Making an example

But this was apparently not what the Communists had in mind at the time. They were seeking to pacify the entire population by making an example of a minority which nobody cared about anyway. They selected the Hazari tribesmen, a Mongolian minority within the country who are followers of the Shia sect of the Moslem religion and who speak a different language and have strange customs. In the cities of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat, they are employed in the most menial jobs. In their home province of Bamian in central Afghanistan, they raise horses and tend to the herding of sheep and goats. They constantly live on the borderline of starvation.

But it was these unfortunates who were singled out as the masterminds of the General Strike. According to the Soviets and President Karmal, the Hazaris had manipulated the entire nation into declaring the general strike!

A correspondent for the Paris newspaper *Match* reported on February twenty-ninth that he had seen 153 Hazari tribesmen bound back-to-back thrown from a truck on the outskirts of Kabul and set ablaze with gasoline. Later a second truck arrived on the scene and the performance was repeated. Soldiers explained that there was no use using bullets on the Hazaris. They could be burned more cheaply. An Afghan photographer recorded the event, taking pictures of the bodies. The following day the grisly scene was front-paged in the English-language government newspaper, *The New Times*, with an accompanying caption claiming that the victims were insurrectionists who had committed brutalities.

On March seventh, a Friday which is holy to the Moslems, Soviet and Babrak Karmal troops moved into Bamian province. From helicopters, machine gun fire was directed into crowded mosques. On the ground seven thousand Hazaris were arrested and about one-half executed. In an ensuing house-to-house

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER

search of some thirty-three villages, led by Afghanistan's Deputy Prime Minister Assadullah Sarward, one thousand others were dragged from their homes. About five hundred men, women, and children were summarily executed.

In the village of Pirzh, located near Kabul, Soviet and Afghan troops drowned suspected rebels in a tank of human excrement. Wives and family members were invited to fish out the bodies of their loved ones with sticks. In the Moslem religion there is nothing more degrading than touching human feces.

A Pakistani traveling in Afghanistan during this period reported witnessing a Soviet helicopter gunship spraying machine-gun fire into a crowded mosque in Jalalabad, about forty-five air miles east of the Khyber Pass. At a mosque near the city of Kandhar, an additional fifty were killed and another mosque in the vicinity was bombed by Soviet aircraft. Russian pilots are known to be manning these planes because Western monitoring services report that air controllers use the Russian language for air-to-ground communications.

But the slaughter of the Hazaris was not enough to quell the popular uprising within the country. Others continued to resist.



A village annihilated

In early April reports began to filter out of Afghanistan of an event which had taken place a year before, on April twentieth, 1979, at the village of Kerala in northeastern Afghanistan, seventy miles from the Soviet border. One thousand men and boys, some as young as twelve years, were herded into an open field for a "jirga" (pow-wow) with Afghan authorities. They were unarmed. While some were Hazaris,

a privilege. And in the Soviet system privileges have to be earned.

In addition you will have to come to understand the unusual fact that the Soviets destroy educated people as a class. Higher education is given only to those who are going to work for the government, the Soviet establishment or the military. No incentives are given in general for democratic education. And it is made very, very difficult for an ordinary young person to qualify for educational opportunities.

Communications specialists

In the Soviet system, where total shutdown of communication is enforced among the people, communications specialists will be both unemployed and suspect—suspect because a communications specialist is a type of engineer, and when something goes wrong in the Soviet system, there is a habit of blaming, and persecuting, engineers.

At the first signs of dissidence or resistance, communications specialists

will undoubtedly be hunted down.

All private radios, broadcasting devices, telexes, and so forth will be sequestered, and any means of communications other than those authorized by the state will be destroyed.

Composers

The Soviet system doesn't have many composers, but those who manage to make a living do so by flattering the Soviet leadership and the communist bureaucracy. Any music composed that is considered not to reflect the state's goals is forbidden play, even in small groups. Broadway will of course find itself perpetually dark, for only plays or musicals that are state sponsored will be staged.

Computer operators

Of all the crafts the Soviets might cherish, the ability to operate computers would be the one likeliest to win their encouragement. After all, the vast American population will have to be

most were of other tribes and Sunni Moslems.

The Afghan commander, with about twenty Soviet advisers at his side, instructed the group to shout "Hurray" for the Marxist government in Kabul. Instead they yelled "Allah O Akbar" ("God is Great")! At a command from the senior Soviet adviser, the defenseless group was gunned down. Within minutes, waiting bulldozers plowed the bodies, some still twitching with life, underground.

The tragedy might be discounted as a tale told 'round refugee campfires, but Russian advisers insisted that pictures be taken. They wanted to prove what had happened to those who would support the rebels, the *mujhedinn*. The village of Kerala, which used to house five thousand people, is now as empty as that of the Czech village of Lidice when on June 10, 1942, Nazi troops destroyed the entire population in reprisal for the death of Reinhard Heydrich. Few have lived to tell the story.

No one can accurately estimate the toll of lives taken since the Kremlin first instigated its series of bloody changes of government in Afghanistan in April 1975. It was then that President Mohammad Daud Khan, members of his family, and about one hundred others were slain in a Moscow-directed *coup d'état*. Estimates range from five hundred thousand to one million in a country whose total population is only nineteen million. But one thing is evident. Despite the fact that the Soviets have an estimated one hundred thousand troops in the country—and projected to increase—the Soviets are still far from consolidating their hold over the nation.

The "lesson" which the USSR has sought to impart to the people of Afghanistan does not seem to be learned. For every man, woman, and child killed, two *mujhedinn* seem to appear. Since they have been unable to quell the civilian population by "traditional" means of wholesale slaughter and gross indignities, they have turned to an even more fearsome weapon: gas.

Poison gas

Four years ago a former Laotian General, Vang Pao, claimed that chemical weapons were being used against his irregular troops fighting Soviet-supported Pathet Lao forces in Laos. No one would believe him. Later refugees from the Shinkolak Valley straggled into the Thai border stations describing the experiences with the mysterious "vapor from the skies." *Agence France Presse* reported from Cambodia and Laos that former Prime Minister Pol Pot's communist Khmer Rouge were being subjected to mustard phosgene, and nerve gases by opposing Vietnamese troops. Since Pol Pot is hardly a paragon of human decency, his charges were considered propaganda.

Earlier in the year Leo Cherne of the Citizens Commission of Indochinese Refugees concluded, after interviewing survivors

from twenty-five different Laotian villages, that there was no doubt that the Soviets, Vietnamese, and communist Pathet Lao forces were indeed subjecting entire areas to chemical warfare.

Tribesmen described to Cherne the "yellow rain" (probably mustard gas) which fell upon their unprotected villages from the skies. Others described the results of lung-destroying phosgene and nerve gases. In every documented case the victims suffered severe illnesses and in most cases died in excruciating agony.

H'mog tribesmen in Laos reported that after one chemical attack upon their village, Pathet Lao soldiers wearing masks took some of the survivors to a nearby military hospital. For five days these unfortunate people were apparently human guinea pigs for Pathet Lao medical personnel who were seeking an antidote for the gases their military forces had inflicted upon the victims. Five died.

About the time that the Soviets were invading Afghanistan last December, Soviet Lt. Gen. F.K. Pikolov led a seven-man inspection mission to Laos. The group reportedly inspected warehouse facilities in the cities of Pakse and Seno. The visit lasted for several weeks. It was to be of grim significance not only for those irregular forces fighting communist troops in Laos and Cambodia, but for the Afghan *mujhedinn* as well. For General Pikolov is the chief of the Soviet Union's Chemical Warfare services which they call "Chem War."

Shortly after Pikolov's appearance in Indochina, new reports of the use of gases against civilians in Laos and Cambodia began to be received by International Red Cross representatives in Thailand and Soviet decontaminating equipment appeared with Red Army contingents in Afghanistan.

It is known that all Soviet armored vehicles and many other military motorcraft are pressurized and filtered against gas. Soviet combat units are usually accompanied by efficient machinery for decontaminating troops and equipment but never before have they been reported outside the USSR or the Eastern Bloc countries.

Apparently after Soviet and Afghan troops were unsuccessful in subduing Afghan rebels in their mountain redoubts, they began to spray poison gases into ravines and surrounding areas. This began in about mid-March.

Interviews with refugees

Michael Barry, a Canadian researcher sent to Pakistan by the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights, has described the tactics which the Soviets are apparently using to clear areas of rebel activity. After interviewing more than one hundred refugees, Barry asserts that there is no doubt in his mind that the Soviets are using incapacitating gases in Afghanistan.

kept track of somehow. Doubtless the American KGB will employ many computer operators.

Congressional representatives

Congress will certainly be dismissed by the new Soviet-controlled American régime, and its members very probably executed.

Their counter party in other countries have never been permitted to live long after takeover.

As the governmental representatives of the "degraded bourgeois capitalist" system, they are certain to be made spectacles of.

The takeover of other countries has customarily been followed by the execution, sometimes en masse of high-level government types and by the hounding of their families into an oblivion that sometimes continues through two generations.

Construction workers

Like carpenters, construction workers used to

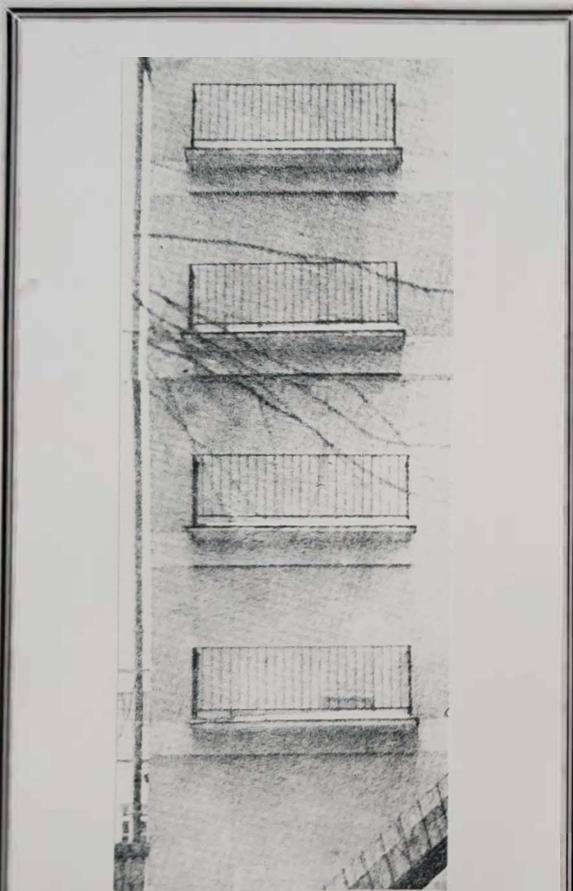
American efficiency will be shocked by Soviet ideas of construction.

The Soviet system does not build buildings for commercial purposes, but favors vast concepts to enhance the greatness of the Soviet state. Thus, construction workers might find themselves moved in great groups to rivers to build dams, to Alaska to build factories, or to swamps to clear them.

Since the Soviet system assumes control of everything, and the commercial sector is demolished, the need for construction workers will decline rapidly during the first few years of the takeover. This has happened in all other countries the Soviets have seized. Unemployment among construction workers will be high and will last a long time.

After all, in the United States it is the private sector—scheduled for liquidation—which employs most construction workers.

And, in the Soviet system, unemployed people are considered parasites on the state and are frequently removed to slave-labor work camps.



CONSTRUCTION RIDDLE

Photograph of an apartment house furnished with balconies that cannot be reached.

—From *Krokodil* (Moscow), No. 29, October 1965.

Several *mujhedinn* recounted their experiences to Barry, which he has summarized as follows: "Suddenly we saw metal cans dropping from the planes flying overhead. When they touched the ground, gray, green, and blue smoke came out of them. It made us behave as if we were going crazy. Some were paralyzed. Others died."

The chemical most feared by the Afghan rebels is a marble-sized, sticky ball which is spewed from helicopter rocket pods. It sticks to animals, beards, clothing, and even to the soles of shoes. Children pick them up only to discover they cannot fling them away. When the chemical is activated by exposure to warmer temperatures, it becomes a deadly gas.

The nerve gases which the Soviets also appear to be using belong to a class of substance called organophosphorous compounds, or "G" agents. They are called "nerve" gases because they destroy the nervous system within about fifteen minutes of contact. They are so toxic that a drop the size of a pinhead applied to a person's skin is sufficient to kill. Among the most effective of these gases are Tabun, Soman, and Sarin.

These and other chemical agents are not only dropped from helicopters and aircraft but distributed by land as well. A defecting Afghan army officer reports having seen a turbo-jet aircraft engine placed upon a truck-mounted turntable with a large tank of chemicals accompanying it. This contraption, he was told, spews gases and chemicals into gorges, ravines and valleys where suspected rebels are hiding and where it is too dangerous for aircraft to approach. The gases remain for weeks.

Successors to the Nazis

The Germans introduced gas warfare upon Allied forces in World War I. Phosgene and mustard gas caused hundreds of thousands of casualties among French and Canadian troops at the battle of Ypres in 1915. Although the Nazis had the capability for chemical warfare in World War II, they never used this weapon, possibly fearing Allied retaliation.

After the war the Soviets moved an entire Nazi nerve gas production plant from Germany to the USSR. The same German scientists who were working for Hitler were retained by the Russians to develop additional chemical agents which have since been incorporated into Soviet Chem War forces.

Although there is no international agreement against barbaric treatment of civilians and nonregular forces in situations such as exist in Indochina and Afghanistan, the Geneva Protocol against the "first use" of gas by regular military forces has existed since 1928. The USSR signed this document in 1928, but with an important proviso. It promised never to employ "first use" of poison gas against an adversary which has also signed the protocol.

Cults

In the Soviet system there is only one cult, that of communism. Its manifestations are guarded very carefully, and even if at times there are "ramifications" in the upper echelons, on the lower one must toe the mark or be disavowed. This is a fate worse than death.

No gatherings are permitted in the Soviet system without state or official approval, and only after a permit has been issued. This includes the meeting of even three or four people for any real purpose whatsoever.

If such meetings are reported to the authorities, and if it is discovered that no permits were issued, the concerned parties will find themselves in very hot water.

Cults of any kind are strictly forbidden. The Soviets, through the KGB and the informant system it sets up, will hunt down and destroy cults whenever they emerge.

What is considered a cult by the Soviets? Anything from voodoo meetings to an inadvertent

comment passed over a dinner table that might be interpreted as anticommunistic.

The punishment? Well . . .

Custodial workers

In the Soviet scheme of things, elderly people, especially women, are assigned custodial work overseeing communal dwellings on a twenty-four hour basis. The pay is extremely low, and the most significant aspect of the job is not taking care of the building, but reporting to the local police or KGB the comings and goings of people inhabiting or visiting the building.



"Time's short; we'll mend the minor flaws on the way," the official tells the driver of a load of "highest grade" suits.

Neither Afghanistan, Laos, nor Cambodia (the latter two being colonies of the Empire of France at the time the Protocol was written) are signatories of the Geneva Protocol. Although that document was written primarily to exclude the use of lethal or incapacitating chemical agents against conventional military forces, nothing was said about their utilization against irregular forces or a hostile civilian population.

No significant protests

Consequently, despite the evidence of the barbarity which the Soviets and their communist allies are perpetrating upon defenseless peoples in three countries, no international public opinion body has sought to either condemn the Soviet Union or take any other action against them.

The leader of the Revolutionary Organization for the Unity of Moslem Afghanistan, Hajatullah Ahmad Zada, has sent appeals to the United Nations, the Islamic world, and Pakistan, asking for help to prevent the slaughter of the Afghan people. Last February and again in late May, thirty-five foreign ministers of Islamic nations met in Islamabad, Pakistan, to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but little has been accomplished. There have been no stirring speeches in the United Nations demanding that the communists cease their depredations upon helpless civilian populations in Afghanistan and Indochina. No international celebrities have taken the world stage to denounce the barbarities of the Russians and their allies.

A former US Ambassador to Afghanistan (1966-73), Robert Neumann, issued an appeal on February 13, 1980, for world condemnation of the Soviets. According to Ambassador Neumann, five hundred thousand Afghans are "...now facing starvation and attacks (by) rockets, napalm, and ...poison gas." But nothing significant has happened.

India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi imperiously told a correspondent for the Paris newspaper *Le Matin* that she could see little difference between the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and U.S. conduct in South America!

At a joint session of two House Foreign Affairs subcommittees in Washington, D.C. on April 24, 1980, Thomas D. Davies, the chief of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, testified that the U.S. is in a difficult position in attempting to expose Soviet, Vietnamese, and Pathet Lao atrocities. Some countries, including those friendly to this nation, he said, "...may consider our approach hypocritical in view of the U.S. use of riot control agents and herbicides in Vietnam" although he admitted under questioning that these chemicals were nonlethal and nontoxic.

Surely any nation which chooses is capable of

differentiating between the use of nonlethal agents and poison gas which destroys human life. Only the barbaric prefer not to make this distinction or have it mentioned.

Civilized societies which remain mute, wrapped islandlike in their cocoons of self-interest, are easy prey for the barbarians of the north. It is the best possible tactic to attack and gas each nation individually before they can meet and concur that the apocalypse is really happening and the barbarians from the north have once again truly arrived.

[L. Thomas Walsh is a retired Air Force Reserve officer who served for twenty-one years with the clandestine services of the Central Intelligence Agency. He now free-lances on defense and international affairs.]

Afghan Children Held In "Re-Education" Camps

As this book is going to print, distressing news of continuing Soviet atrocities in Afghanistan continues to appear in the press.

In addition to the relentless slaughter in villages and the sporadic use of chemicals, most poignant is the treatment of Afghan children.

Younger children are being put into political indoctrination classes. Promises are extracted from them to inform on other children who might promote anti-government activities, or whose families might be involved in resistance.

The Marxist Parchamite governing faction has arrested boys between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one. In batches of two-hundred to three-hundred, they have been held in detention for as long as twenty-five days. During this period they have been beaten, brainwashed and politically indoctrinated until they swear to support the Soviet installed régime.

In addition, it has been learned that in order to stabilize Afghanistan's system of higher education, some one thousand five hundred carefully selected Afghan students will be transferred to universities in the Soviet Union, and Soviet professors will be assigned to the faculty of Kabul University. The Russian language will be required at Afghan colleges and technical institutions and one new college specializing in ideological instruction will be established.

Dancers

Ballet, in the Soviet system, is state supported, and to become a dancer in that system means that one has excelled very early in life in the possibilities of the art, and has been chosen by the state.

The ballets performed are those thought suitable by the state. No other performances are allowed much chance.

It seems likely, though, that after takeover the new Soviet puppet régime in the United States will, for a period, halt all esthetic entertainments and in that case dancers, like other artistic professionals, can be expected to languish. Those who have associated closely with exiled Soviet dancers might be caused to "disappear."

Modern dance considered decadent by the Soviets, will most likely be forbidden.

In the Soviet system, if a dancer has not been chosen by the state, he or she has no status at all.

Boy ↑



Someone Who Speaks Out: In the Soviet System Is Called a Dissident— In the American System Is Called a Person Exercising the Right of Free Speech

The Soviets signed the Helsinki Agreement of 1975, endorsing, it might be assumed, the standard international concept of human rights.

Since signing it, however, the Soviets have jailed, placed in psychiatric hospitals, or exiled (usually to Siberia or to work in oil fields in the deserts) more than five hundred "dissidents."

An example: A poet from Leningrad, Yuliya Okulova, was sentenced to five years' internal exile (in a labor camp, kids) for—so the indictment ran—a series of "deliberately false fabrications that freedom of speech, the press, and creative art are absent in the USSR."

Another example: Valery Fefelov is a paraplegic who is trying to organize a group to lobby for better conditions for the handicapped people in the Soviet system, and to try to get them some kind of employment so they might live a little better. Soviet officials have warned him to cease his activities, or face imprisonment.

NOTE: The best source for human rights violations in the Soviet system is Amnesty International, the London-based organization that won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977.

More On Dissidents

A woman, Tatyana Shatalov, visited the American embassy in Moscow seeking advice on how to emigrate. She was placed in a psychiatric hospital for four months.

Her husband wrote to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to protest. Apparently he argued too strongly. He was sentenced to eighteen months in prison for "slandering" the methods of the Soviet government.

Defectors

Defectors from the Soviet system already understand what their future will be if the Soviets take over the United States. Just ask them.

But their fate will almost certainly be extended to immigrants and descendants of Russians and Soviet bloc countries people who will have "preferred to live in the decadent capitalistic society."

These, of course, are the people who best understand the realities of living in a Soviet-controlled system, and are the least likely to live under any illusions as to their fates when the Soviets do take over.

Talk to them, if you want additional information.

Dentists

Dentists, like doctors (see below), are essential people in any system. It is unlikely that the Soviets, even in their enthusiasm to erase the educated class and eliminate, by slaughter or detention, any forms of resistance, will do away with dentistry.

But dentists, and doctors, should prepare

themselves to give up their lucrative status, for in the Soviet system dental and medical services become functions of the state.

In the Soviet system most dentists and doctors are women, and they seldom make more than an ordinary office worker.

Some attention should be given by dentists to the fact that it's likely they will be accused of having made money from the suffering of the proletariat, and will be made to hand their savings over to the new Soviet state. Communism, you know.

Disco and contemporary popular music

The disco scene would be regarded by Soviet authorities with extreme disapproval. Disco is thought to be decadent. Certainly what goes on in a lot of discoteques will be regarded with baleful eyes.

These are first of all gathering places, and gathering without a permit is forbidden.

Then the music and dancing is considered degenerate and a product of "disgusting capitalistic" at-

Who Defends "Dissidents" In The Soviet System? Nobody, Apparently.

Amnesty International, which keeps track of human rights violations in the world, said (in 1980) that it had not learned of a single case wherein a Soviet court had acquitted anyone charged with parasitism (not holding a job), hooliganism (violating public order), or anyone charged with a religious or political offense. Reason: the KGB, which is the Soviets' political-police protection-intimidation agency, has a list of acceptable defense attorneys who will decide in favor of the Soviet system (collusion?).

Any defense lawyer who tries too ardently to defend his accused client will be taken off that list.

Any defense lawyer who too effectively defends his client will probably find himself disbarred.

In the United States this is known as a "fixed" system.

But then, in the Soviet system, almost everything is fixed in some similar manner.

Life In The Soviet System: Medicine And Doctors

Most Soviet medical doctors are women. Their average salary, though, is less than average factory worker's: \$133-\$173 per month.

Since everything is done on quotas, and not according to need, however, a patient might wait years for his or her turn for an operation. An emergency might get handled right away, but if a woman has an ovarian cyst or a man a cataract, they might wait two or three years for their operation.

And look at this:

The Soviets have twenty-four doctors for every ten thousand population while the United States has sixteen.

They have eleven hospital beds for every thousand people, the United States has eight.

The Soviets spend five to six percent of their gross national product (GNP) on health care; the United States spends seven percent.

The Soviets' most massive health problem: alcoholism. And chronic alcoholics are hospitalized by ~~1000~~. Most of their hospital beds are filled, therefore, with alcoholics.

"I'M PLEASED TO INFORM YOU, MRS. GLUDINOV, THAT YOUR HUSBAND'S OPERATION WAS A SUCCESS. NOW, FOR A MODEST DONATION, WE CAN HAVE HIM SEWN UP IN NO TIME, FLAT!"



Russian Medicine Is Usually A Nightmare For Patients

If you are one of those physicians who have devoted nearly all their thoughts to medical problems, and if by chance you have accepted the smooth generalities about progress in Soviet medicine, you ought to know what a real-life Russian doctor has to say about it. A former Moscow hospital surgeon, Dr. Vladimir Golyakhovsky, spoke candidly about the bribery and corruption that runs all through the Soviet medical system.

Writing in *Medical Economics* (June 1980) the surgeon revealed that the so-called "free" medical service furnished in the Soviet hospitals does not extend beyond the barest minimum in the often dirty and unhygienic buildings. Bribes and unofficial "fees" have to be paid to attendants to get bed sheets and gowns.

titudes (as is rock, devo, and even jazz).

The new Soviet system in America will simply stop the playing of all disco as well as other forms of music. One will have to listen to the new Soviet America radio and TV shows in order to enjoy the "approved" forms of music.

Doctors

In the Soviet system medical doctors never attain the eminence they have achieved in the United States; nor the influence and wealth. Most doctors are women, and they work on salary.

In addition, hospitals and medical supplies suffer from the inadequacies of the Soviet distribution methods. Health care is most reliable for the ruling elite and members of the Communist party. Ordinary subjects sometimes can get medical attention, but often not. It is not unusual for a patient to wait three to five years for an operation.

Upon takeover, it is likely that doctors will be required to render their services to the control of the state; the very wealthy doctors will of course be la-

belled enemies of the proletariat, and be treated accordingly.

There is little doubt that the American system of medicine will suffer considerable disorganization until it is reconstituted under the Soviets. When that finally does occur, Americans can look forward to doctors and medical services that will be far inferior to what they had previously.

And doctors, of course, will have become mere paid employees, and not so well paid at that.

Drug addicts

There is no provision within the Soviet system for rehabilitating drug addicts, although there is one for treating alcoholics. Drug addiction is considered a symptom of capitalist degeneracy. In the Soviet system, where salaries are established by the state, you will earn enough only to buy necessities, and drugs are hardly regarded as necessities.

If you are a drug addict at the time of takeover, you can expect very little attention to be paid to you. You

Nursing service is often so slipshod and uncaring that relatives have to attend to patients, bringing in meals and feeding helpless, bedridden men and women.

Dr. Golyakhovsky reports that hospital administrations routinely embezzle money allocated to them, so that supplies are notoriously short. Patients whose food is not brought in by families have to pay separately for meals. Medication has to be bought, too, and doctors as well as nurses expect handouts from families and patients.

Official salaries of medical employees are so small the staff expects under-the-table payments as a matter of course. Without tips or bribes, a beginning doctor's monthly income is equivalent to \$165 per month, and he can expect a monthly raise of \$15 every five years. According to Golyakhovsky, a doctor "would have to work many years to attain the wage of a beginning bus driver." He also reports:

"Mothers of asthmatic children not only must pay to have their children admitted to a Moscow bronchial asthma ward but they must also come to the hospital after work and clean floors."

As in all of Soviet society, doctors expect "gifts" in kind, particularly consumer goods that are consistently in short supply.

While propaganda about "free" medical service in the Soviet system has succeeded in brainwashing even Western physicians who have seen a few "model" hospitals or clinics, the professional level of medical practitioners has suffered from the need or greed that prompts teachers in medical schools to demand bribes from students. Golyakhovsky reports that "teachers routinely sell quizzes and exams." He says that "alcoholic teachers prefer cognac," while "more cultured teachers prefer rare art books." He concludes: "A student with enough money can graduate without studying. About twenty percent of all medical students get their diplomas without the minimum knowledge necessary to practice medicine."

Would you, an American physician, care to operate under a Soviet system?

Dr. Golyakhovsky, from his firsthand experience, gives this answer:

"Soviet medical administrators are corrupt, incompetent, arrogant, and wasteful. They have put Soviet doctors twenty-five to fifty years behind their American colleagues."

Trying to Find Out Some Forbidden Information In The Soviet System Can Ruin You Forever

In Moscow the Central Party Hotel is an exclusive ruling-élite establishment where high-level guests from other communist countries are lodged: Poland, Mongolia, Ethiopia, or North Korea, for example.

One aspiring Soviet on the lower rungs of the elitist ladder who had just received an assignment to go to Austria got curious to see what the hotel was like inside.

He was immediately stopped by a receptionist and questioned; an argument ensued. The police were called.

His assignment to Austria was cancelled and his career was ruined for one small mistake.

More On Dissidents

An old couple, Vladimir Slepak and his wife Maria, got in trouble when they hung a sheet off their balcony that read: "Let us go—to our son in Israel."

The Soviets said that this violated public order, or was an act of what they call "hooliganism."

Vladimir was sentenced to five years' exile (to a labor camp), and Maria—she was lucky—got only a suspended sentence.

More On What Happens To Dissidents In The Soviet System

Three young Russian Orthodox believers formed a small seminar to discuss Christianity.

Two were sent to psychiatric hospitals for correction.

Their leader ended up in prison for a year doing hard labor. The charge was "parasitism" or—not holding a job.

will not have access to drugs, and you can expect the streets to dry up. If you cannot withdraw in the privacy of your home or apartment, you will not be taken to a hospital, but to a concentration camp, and you will never come out of it.

Drug cultists and Drug philosophers

The Soviet system rests upon exact and methodical control of the masses, and allows for no fluctuations, cults, or philosophies other than those approved by the KGB.

The KGB had depended heavily on drug cultists and drug philosophers to demoralize and weaken the American self-image.

Upon takeover, however, these influences will be immediately removed. If you are a drug cultist or a drug philosopher, you will be considered exceedingly dangerous. You will be sequestered and carefully debriefed on your contacts and areas of operation. After that you will probably be liquidated.

Drug pushers

Persons caught dispensing drugs illegally in any form in the Soviet system are often summarily executed.

If someone reports you as pushing, and the evidence is not incriminating, you will be detained for the entire length of the investigation. In contrast to the painstaking slowness of many other types of inquiries, drug-pushing investigations are processed quickly by the KGB. Even if you are proven innocent, you will find yourself watched for several years.

Drug pushers who have aided the KGB in demoralizing Americans prior to the takeover will be systematically located and summarily executed, their usefulness being at an end.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

The Flaw In The Soviet Economy

One of the "attractions" many people the world over find in communism and in the Soviet system is the promise of a flourishing economy of and by the workers. The Soviet Union has come to be thought of as an empire that has transformed itself from a system of peasants ruled by an aristocracy into a leading industrial power of the proletariat using only the methods of centralized economic planning and collectivization.

The facts, however, are somewhat different. The Marxist ideas of economy have never worked, least of all in the Soviet Union. From its beginning until now, the Soviet economy has been married to capitalism and, indeed, could never have functioned without it, especially without access to American capitalism.

The Bolsheviks destroyed the economy of Tsarist Russia, but then found themselves in great economic troubles by 1921, four years after their revolution. Lenin was himself faced with imminent revolution. He made a strategic decision. He decided to shift from "pure communism" that adamantly rejected capitalism, and reform Soviet economy through a "New Economic Policy (NEP)" that would invite Western capitalists to rebuild the Soviet economy for him. He called this "industrial cohabitation with the capitalists." He assured his fellow Bolsheviks, however, that "As soon as we are strong enough to overthrow capitalism, we shall immediately seize it by the throat."

He offered generous concessions to European and American businessmen and industrialists and these "capitalists" leapt with great energy into building Lenin's Soviet industry for him, thereby resuscitating the overall Soviet economy.

Soviet oil-drilling was developed by the International Barnsdall Corporation and Standard Oil.

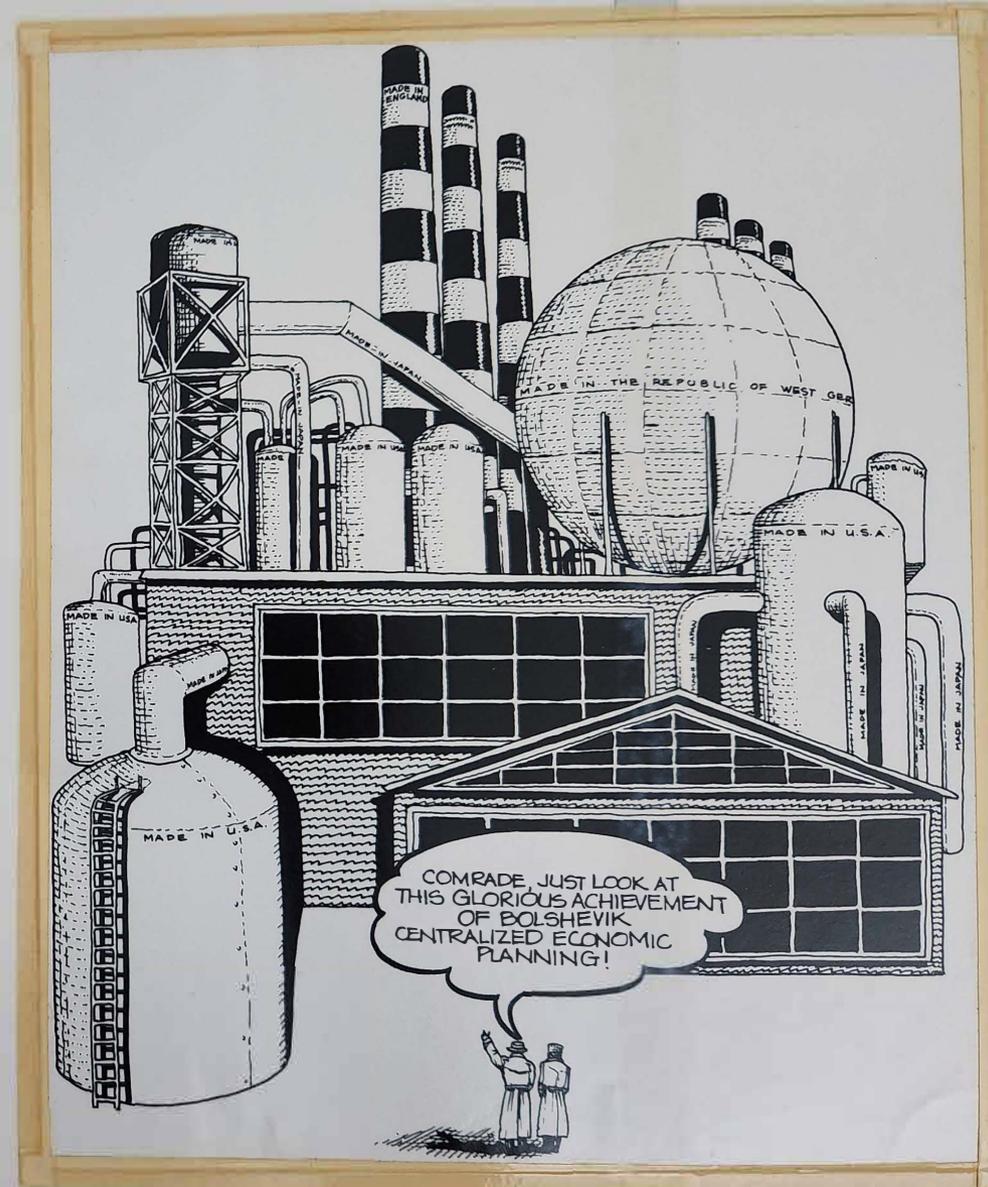
The International General Electric Company provided electrical equipment.

Coal mines were reorganized by Stuart, James & Cooke, Inc.

And so forth.

Later, during the 1930's, American businessmen shipped entire production plants of many kinds to the Soviet Union; steel plants for Magnitogorsk, tractor

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER



Editors

More even than authors and artists, whose probable fate in a Soviet America we have already examined, editors play a key role in Kremlin-type societies.

The normal role of an editor, whether of newspapers, books, or magazines, is that of a traffic cop, guide, guardian, even sculptor and developer of talent. But in a Soviet America an editor would be a censor. He'd be forced to play it safe to protect his own hide from the ever-present threat of the KGB. He would thus be a cultural commissar, a pillar of the system of which he himself is a major victim.

Educators

Communist organizers have, in past years, been relatively successful in infiltrating and influencing the policies of teachers' unions in the United States. Teachers are among the nation's most successful lobbyists. University professors have shown sympathy with college radicals—most notably in the 1960's—and the curricula of several institutes

plants for Chelyabinsk, auto manufacturing plants for Gorki. In fact, the acclaimed and propagandized Bolshevik achievement of the 1930's—the gigantic hydroelectric dam at Dniepostroi—was built not by Soviet communist know-how, but was an achievement of Western capitalism.

During the 1940's, when Stalin was desperately in need of aid against Hitler's armies (under America's Lend-lease program), enormous amounts of goods,



Workers building a textile factory note that "Sometimes something falls our way," as the trucks speed on toward the construction site of a giant plant.—Krokodil (Moscow), No. 5, February 1972, p. 7.



RIGHT: Booths are marked "Newspapers." Sign in back: "Money Exchange." Caption: "Finally they get rid of the line for newspapers!"

—From Krokodil, No. 1, January 1966.

materials and equipment were given to the Soviets: raw and prepared foods, industrial parts, textiles, machinery of every kind, tools, as well as military supplies of gasoline, trucks, tanks and arms: a gift to the Soviets of \$11 billion of the most advanced materials in the world at that time.



— Как попасть на завод?
— Идите мимо бани, магазина, от церкви к свинейнице, там около клуба и увидите.

—"How do I get to the factory?"
—"You pass the public bath, then the store, after the bakery you turn right, over there, near the club, and you will see..."

(Signs read clockwise: Public Bath Construction, Bakery Construction, Club Construction, Construction, Laundry Construction, Store Construction.)

of higher learning show the ravages of near anarchism inspired by those radicals.

How would these educators fare under a Soviet régime?

One might list names, a dozen or two, of those who might be considered sympathetic enough to a Kremlin-type America to be regarded as "reliable" by Soviet officialdom. But the so-called "radical" U.S. educators, those who brought about numerous dubious scholastic innovations, would be shocked by the tough, rigid, traditional Soviet education system. Soviet education is a hot-house designed to breed a relatively small percentage of college-educated specialists, each to serve in a well-defined niche of the system.

Our educational establishment has failed to include candid courses in Soviet history, sociology, and cultural policy. Teachers, who themselves are products of this establishment, are therefore often quite ignorant of how the Kremlin machinery works. So most of them are unaware that, in a Soviet America, they would become mere classroom pro-

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pagandists, teaching a highly selective and slanted version of their subject, their textbooks periodically purged and supplemented to conform with the current line.

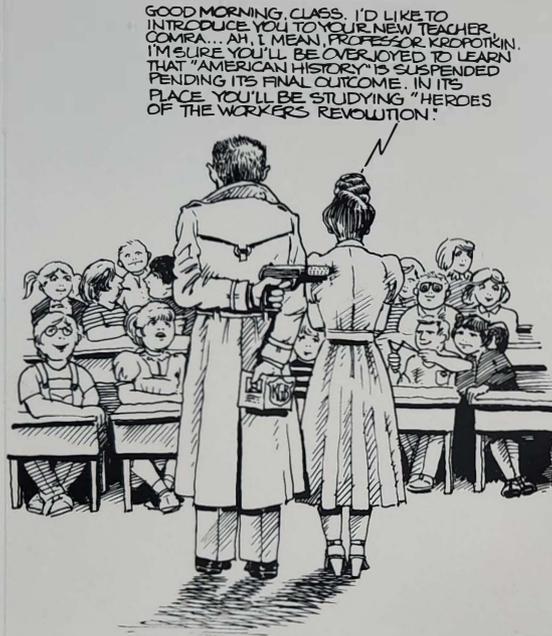
Some teachers, faced with disorder, vandalism, and crime in their schools, might imagine that things could not possibly be worse. But even in the face of lax administrations and chaotic classrooms, and students who don't listen, don't speak, and can't write with coherence, educators might do well to study the fate of their colleagues in the Soviet Union, and in Soviet-controlled countries elsewhere. Cuban teachers could teach their American colleagues a good deal about educational freedom; it might even be useful as a subject for special classes in the nation's teachers' colleges.

Employment agencies

The Soviet system has no employment agencies, such as exist in the free-enterprise system.

Good-bye to Kelly Girls, part-time workers, free-lance specialists, and the rest. And of course, good-

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU



Also throughout these decades, when the crops failed either as a result of natural disasters or because enforced farm collectivization totally broke down, the United States shipped enormous amounts of grain and food to the Soviets.

And, after the war, when Stalin demanded and obtained "reparations" these reparations totaled as much as did the aid given by the United States to all Western Europe under the Marshall Plan. While the United States was helping Europe, and especially West Germany to rebuild, the Soviets were "looting" Europe and the Far East of armaments factories, power stations, railway networks, steelworks, chemical plants, shipyards, etc. The German historian, Werner Keller, estimates that 41% of Germany's industrial equipment and centers were dismantled and transported to the Soviet Union.

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER



АВТОМАТ-АТЕЛЪЕ | Рисунок Ю. ФЕДОРОВА
Caption below: "AUTOMAT-WORKSHOP"
Signs (following arrows): "Drop coin; meter; defectoscope; determinant—men, women; size; signal; price."

—From Krakodil (Moscow), Feb. 10, 1965

bye to opportunities for all types of people who today seek to better their life styles and salaries by searching want-ads and agencies for better jobs.

In the Soviet system most jobs are assigned by the state, and one may not leave one's job for a better one without miles of red tape, involving permissions from scores of supervisory officials and committees.

In the new Soviet system in America, you will find that a folder containing job history, political history, educational level, and any record of defiance to the system is kept on everyone.

Every move you make will be entered in this file, and you will constantly have to carry passes and papers establishing your identity.

The effort involved in moving from one job to another in the Soviet system is excruciating, so most people simply don't try it.

Students are chosen officially for aptitude and skill, and placed wherever their abilities can be of maximum use. In reality jobs and locations are selected by an intricate system of wheeling, dealing, and pulling strings: the lucky ones wind up in Moscow or Leningrad (and

if they get up high enough, they may even travel abroad), while the not so lucky ones go to Irkutsk or more remote areas of Siberia, where the winters never end, and much of the hardship pay goes for vodka. The sons and daughters of high officials, and those with other forms of clout or connections, escape this selection process. As you can see, no employment agencies are needed.

In a Soviet America, some local adaptation of the Kremlin system would be employed. The special insight and experience of the employment agent, contacts, diplomacy—and finally, a fee—would be totally unsuited for a Soviet society.

Engineers

Each year in the Soviet Union thousands upon thousands of engineers—more than in the United States—receive their engineering diplomas. Among the Soviet emigrés who have settled in the United States, it is the engineers who have most readily found profitable employment here.

Does this mean that,

Throughout the 1950's, the Soviets imported more and more Western technology, expertise and "capitalist" technological discoveries. (The Soviets also maintain an enormous espionage network to pilfer technological secrets from other nations.)

In return, the Soviets have exported only non-manufactured materials, and after more than half a century of "Soviet achievements" and centralized planning they are almost totally incapable of industrial or technological innovation.

Lenin's "cohabitation" with capitalists has been going on throughout the entire course of the Soviet empire's expansion; undeniably aided by the very capitalists the Soviets plan to "seize by the throat."

The Soviets today, of course, are fully aware that their economy is permanently joined to American capitalism, and they understand completely their dependency on it. The solution would be, of course, to allow free enterprise to exist among the nations under Soviet control; but then this would expose the inherent lie in communist doctrine and dreams. The Soviet communist rulers would fall, and the communist state would be destroyed.

What most Americans don't realize is that the United States has supplied vast amounts of technology, etc., to the Soviets, and has demanded little in return. A great deal of the money involved in "helping" the Soviets in this manner comes from the taxpayer. The question needs to be asked: Is there any justification for taxing American citizens in order to "industrialize" and "technologize" the empire that, by its own admission, is seeking to destroy them?

During the last two years (1979/1980) the Soviets have stopped exporting many of their raw materials. And they have stepped up importing many of these same materials. They have made massive purchases of lead, zinc, platinum, cobalt, strontium, and so forth, and are obviously stockpiling them. In one month alone in 1980, the Soviets bought 26,000 tons of rubber. This one purchase is three times its total purchases for the whole year of 1978.

It should be obvious from this that the Soviets are making final preparations for war.

The activities of the Soviets in Africa and the Middle East concerning strategic and raw materials are very interesting; especially if these activities are view-

ed alongside potential further expansion by the Soviets (or the possibility that they are preparing to wage war). The excellent reprint that follows gives some idea of the impact the Soviets will have on world markets during the early 1980's.

The flaw in the Soviet economic system is, of course, that the system just doesn't work. It is an illusion to think that a small handful of "élite" can substitute their views and values for the billions of independent decisions and creativity that must go on in a living economy.



Caption upper left: "From now on one of the basic plan-indicators of enterprises will be the task regarding the volume of production to be realized by them." Sign reads: "The Textile-Factory Needs:" Man covers the former list with a placard reading "Customers."

—From *Krokodil* (Moscow), Oct. 10, 1965.

following a Soviet takeover, engineers in the U.S. would do well?

No. And for the very reason that those Soviet engineers did not prosper in their own land. They abandoned the Soviet system because the skills and versatility that found a ready market in the U.S. were not being utilized in the Kremlin economy. Overspecialization, narrow confinement to a rigidly defined area of engineering, gave many of them a feeling of stagnation.

As a result, a typical former Soviet engineer, now in the United States, can tell his American colleague: "I don't want to be caught by the very system from which I fled!"

Entrepreneurs

An entrepreneur is someone who organizes or manages and assumes the risks of a business or enterprise.

This very well describes the black marketeers who carry on their "peripheral economy" in the Soviet Union and its satellite states, notably Czechoslovakia. Shades of entrepreneurship also exist in Hungary and Yugoslavia, where local

communist chiefs have discovered that some government "enterprises" need at least the kind of motivation or personality that makes a man or woman an entrepreneur.

American entrepreneurs, from owners of village general stores to presidents of super-conglomerates, represent a breed that cannot survive in a Soviet society. The American free enterprise system is a direct challenge to the Soviet ideology. No Kremlin-type administration could possibly tolerate its survival in the United States.

Exterminators

When we use the word "exterminator" in our daily vocabulary, we are talking about someone who deals with insects and rodents. When we use the same word in connection with Soviet society, it inevitably brings to mind the slaughter of human beings. Soviet society is built on the extermination of the human person, of human identity, of human integrity.

Yes, a Soviet America would have employment opportunities for exterminators. But of what kind?

Box ↓

Life In The Soviet System: Drilling Oil Wells

It takes a Soviet oil-drilling team fourteen months to dig down fourteen thousand feet. In the United States, drillers can reach the same depth in thirty-four days.

"WE WOULD HAVE STRUCK OIL BUT WE FOUND THE DEPOSIT WAS BELOW 4000 METERS. WE WOULD HAVE DRILLED DEEPER BUT OUR BITS BROKE. WE COULD HAVE MADE STRONGER BITS BUT ALL THE BEST STEEL IS ALLOCATED TO THE DEFENSE MINISTRY. I WOULD HAVE BRIBED THE DEFENSE MINISTER BUT HIS WIFE HATES MY WIFE!"

"DON'T WORRY, COMRADE, WE CAN ALWAYS BLAME THE ENGINEERS!"



Soviet Engineers Often Get Demoralized By Their Own System

Soviet administrative methods frustrate gifted engineers, although engineering has a high priority in their economic system. As with just about everything else, it is the Kremlin's

insistence on central control that hampers technological progress in such fields as petroleum engineering. According to Arthur Meyerhoff, an international drilling consultant in Tulsa, Oklahoma, who has firsthand experience in the Soviet Union, its drilling technology is nearly three decades behind that of the West.

He told *The Wall Street Journal* (March 25, 1980) that it takes the Soviets five years to drill a sixteen-thousand-foot well that a U.S. company could sink in about 140 days. Meyerhoff, who has done consulting work for several Soviet ministries, says: "Our geophysical equipment can see from ten to fifteen miles below the ground. If they can see three miles below the ground, it's a miracle."

Because the best steel goes for armaments, steel bits used in oil drilling often simply snap. Meyerhoff says: "When they have to put pressure on it, it's sickening to watch. It just bursts like a balloon. If you were an oil man, you could get physically ill at the waste." He thinks that the poor equipment given Soviet engineers has permanently lowered their morale.

One reason Soviet engineers show poor results is the method designed to force the oil down the well and ahead of the drill bit. This is all right when used with shallow wells, but is ineffective when used in depth. As the Soviet Union runs out of "easy oil" from shallow wells, the relatively primitive methods make drilling less and less productive.

An American engineer operating under Soviet control would be faced with a wreck-and-run psychology. The results can be found in the potentially rich oil areas north of the Caspian Sea, where oil and gas appear to be abundant below four thousand meters. Because their equipment is so limited, Soviet engineers have been forced to bypass the area, and haven't even begun to evaluate its potential seriously.

Soviet engineers find themselves straitjacketed by overspecialization, frustrated by shortages and by the limitations of the tools of their trade.

Life In The Soviet System: More On Shortages

Shortages are so prevalent in Russian common society that there is a joke: "If the Soviets took over the Sahara Desert, there would be a shortage of sand."

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Factory workers

In a Soviet America the flexibility which enables a factory worker to move within society would be eliminated. Unlike the Soviet system, the United States has no internal visa system and people can move from place to place without presenting themselves beforehand at the nearest police station to ask for permission.

This mobility is the factory worker's greatest asset in our country, if he or she uses it properly. A highly skilled worker in the United States is really a free-lance operator, able to sell his services to the highest bidder—to the one offering the best wages, fringe benefits, vacation schedules, and health-plus-retirement plans. Unions often act as his agents in such matters, but he has the right also not to work in a union shop if he doesn't want to. And some major U.S. companies have developed policies that ensure worker loyalty and discourage unionization.

The Soviet worker lacks protection against the dangers and shortcomings that are part of industrial

Box ↑

development. The Soviets skimp on safety devices, protection against health hazards is a low priority, and harassment by foremen and other "superiors" is part of the system. Often, in the Soviet Union, workers conspire to cheat "the people," meaning the state. They may steal materials, either to sell, or to use for their own purposes. They may arrange for fellow workers to cover their tracks when time is devoted to off-the-job activities.

The biggest hindrance to Soviet productivity is simple laziness. The Soviet worker has no incentive to produce more or better things. This is the major reason for the shoddiness of consumer goods produced in the Soviet Union. Traditions of craftsmanship are still alive, for the time being, in some factories in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

The American factory worker, under a Soviet régime, would lack the incentive to better himself by sheer performance. And while it cannot be said that the U.S. worker matches in productivity and diligence the worker in Japan, say, or in Switzerland, he looks

When Something Goes Wrong In The Soviet System, Scapegoats Can Usually Be Found Among Engineers!

It has been apparent for quite some time that the Soviet economy doesn't work very well. The communization of property, the control of wealth by the states, and the setting of goals and quotas by the Central Committee has led, and continues to lead, to disequilibrium in many sectors of the Soviet economy.

To save face when quotas are not fulfilled, or when some technological enterprise cannot meet the goals set for it, or when collective farms fall far short, someone has to be blamed. Alas for engineers, it is quite often they who get it in the neck.

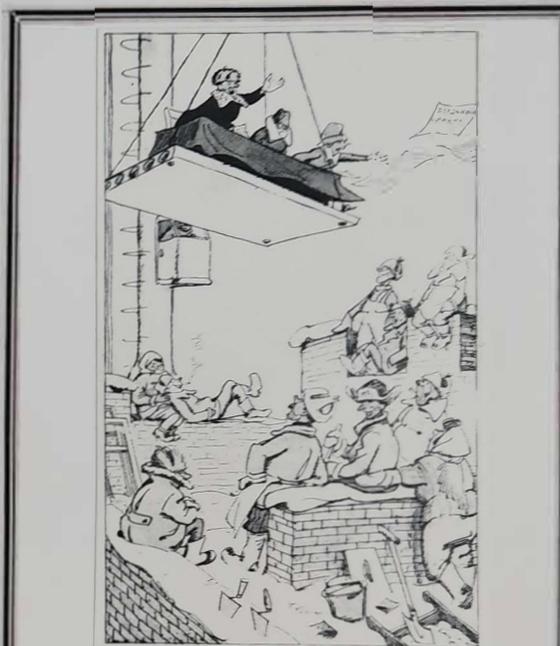
After the 1917 revolution, when Russia was in fear and famine, and Red revolutionaries were going around creating terror, there was nothing left for fuel. Entire forests had been burned up, and many buildings. Trains were delayed between stations. The capital cities of other countries being taken over were suffering from acute cold and famine. And who should be blamed for all this? The engineers! They were hunted, prosecuted, and executed publicly so that their deaths might inspire terror.

By 1930 industry was suffering gross ups and downs, and more downs than ups. Industrial engineers could do nothing right. If they tried to implement programs in a hurry, they were accused of wrecking, and if they proceeded methodically they were accused of slowdowns. When they feared for their lives and speeded up again, they were accused of "capricious leaps." There were about forty thousand engineers in the USSR and "they would arrest every seventh one, and terrify the other six."

All shortages were blamed on engineers; and when there was famine, when there was cold, when obvious stupidities emanating from higher up caused suffering among the population, all these were blamed on the engineers, who were condemned as "wreckers" and dealt with ruthlessly.

After World War II the situation did not change a great deal. Engineers, when things went wrong, could do no right. One engineer was arrested for resisting unreasonable quota demands, pointing out that his factory could not produce more under the current difficult circumstances. He was arrested for

his "limitation theory." Work at the factory collapsed without his guidance. He was released, but later rearrested and charged with using funds inefficiently. He eventually died in a camp after a year of timbering. His fate was not unusual for an engineer.



Life In The Soviet System: Drinking Vodka Versus Getting The Factory Built

To speed up construction of a truck plant in Siberia and to combat absenteeism from drunkenness, a ban was imposed on vodka. Fifty thousand workers in the middle of nowhere, 650 miles east of Moscow, found themselves having to live in overcrowded dormitories without a brewery. A beer plant was scheduled to be built but only after the truck factory. Alcoholism is so prevalent in the provinces, that preventing access to liquor is the only way they can get work done.

mighty good when his performance is compared with that of the Soviet factory worker. And once you remove just about all incentive from the lives of workmen or workingwomen, your industrial society begins to disintegrate.

The factory worker is thus, in the Soviet system, a prisoner of the state. If you are a factory worker at the time of takeover, you will find yourself frozen to your job, your mobility ended, with no right to appeal to your union. For in the Soviet system there are no unions.

What's more, work at your factory might come to a complete stop while the cumbersome Soviet management tries to make things function according to its own ideas. Yet you will not be permitted to leave and find a new job.

Dictatorship of the proletariat will turn out to be dictatorship over the proletariat. To the American worker, communism will mean hopelessness and hunger.

—From Krokodil (Moscow), No. 7, March 1956.

Farmers

The vast American grain fields are a triumph of enterprise and industry. Superefficient farm enterprises have turned orchards and vegetable fields into a form of industry; the effective use of insect-controlling chemicals and of fertilizers has greatly increased output. It is characteristic that the Soviet Union, after six decades of Bolshevik rule, still needs U.S.—and Canadian, Australian, and Argentinian—grain to supplement its own production.

Under the Stalin régime the *kulak*, the independent peasant, was a target of persecution and ultimately of extermination. By taking land from the peasants in establishing their artificial, state-controlled agricultural communes, the Bolsheviks removed the major incentive for increasing farm output. Soviet society never recovered from this despoliation. And while the leadership reluctantly permitted some peasants to retain small individual plots, it did not dare reestablish wholesale the earlier system of individual farming. Some regions of the

Farmers—And The Soviet Élite's Problems With Them

Whether you are an independent U.S. farmer or part of a large industrialized farming complex, you may find it difficult to put yourself into the position of a farmer in a communist-ruled country, particularly the Soviet Union. After more than six decades of Bolshevik “socialist” rule, the various processes that go into grain and cattle production remain incredibly inefficient—degrading to those who do the actual farm work and to those mainly tired, worn-out women, who have to shop for food in the cities.

It is one thing to say that Soviet subjects take for granted the exhausting business of standing in line for all major foods; it is quite another to comprehend that a Soviet subject may spend as much as one working day per week just standing in line. That is precisely what a Ukrainian reader stated in a letter of complaint to the weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the Moscow organ of the Writers' Union.

Everyone agrees that the forcible collectivization of Soviet farms, started by Stalin in the 1930's, is still at the bottom of the agricultural chaos. Joseph Stalin's wrath was directed against farmers who managed to make a success of farming (they were called “kulaks” and literally killed in wholesale butcherings). The collective farms which took their place have so many handicaps built into the system that the average man or woman engaged in farming has simply given up trying to do a full day's work. They do work hard on their small individual plots of land. Their produce is taken to farmers' markets where it is often treated like luxury items bringing high prices. This, however, in no way makes up for annual shortages of huge amounts of grain and cattle required to feed the Soviet population.

From Five Year Plan to Five Year Plan, Soviet bosses have exhorted farmers to produce more. And yet, year after year grain had to be imported by the Kremlin from the U.S., Canada, Australia, Argentina and other grain-producing countries which are free from the shackles of a Soviet-type “planned economy.” As a result, not only does the Soviet state suffer chronic grain shortages, but cattle feed is also consistently in short supply. While the Kremlin makes an effort to keep its “show window,” and Moscow is at least kept partly supplied, other major cities have to do without.

In mid-1980, in such major towns as the Siberian city of Novosibirsk, a center of science and technology, no meat could

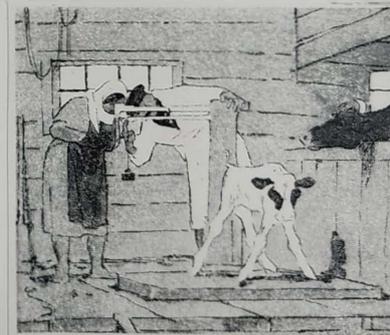
be found at supermarkets. Instead, a hidden system of rationing was used: employees had to order meat at their place of work. Oddly, in the “class-less society” of the Soviet Union, lower-ranking employees received a monthly ration equivalent to 4.4 pounds per month, while high officials received 6.6 pounds.

The countries that form the European Common Market have suffered from a milk and butter glut for years. The Soviets had to yield to free enterprise supply and Soviet peoples' demands. West German butter went on sale in grocery stores along Moscow's Arbat Street.

Terror On The Farms, And In Other Places

Accusations of “wrecking,” a punishable offense in the Soviet system, have been used since 1927 whenever things haven't gone as desired by central planning committees, and there have been economic failures and shortages.

When it was difficult to get aboard a train, there was wrecking in the People's Commissariat of Railroads.



—Again, the calf hasn't gained any weight!
—Well, that's not his concern. The livestock specialist makes up the report; he'll take care of it.

—From *Krokodil* (Moscow), October 10, 1961.

Soviet Union have soil as rich as that of the U.S. Midwest. But to put it to its best use, the government would have to accept a system encouraging farming enterprise—one quite the opposite of the Kremlin's standard centrally-controlled farm system. A Soviet America would subject farmers to a Marxist serfdom.

Since the Russian revolution the status of peasants has not changed very much, and after takeover U.S. farmers and their families will have a great deal of trouble understanding their new standing within the Soviet system. The Soviets still regard farmers—peasants, in their terminology—the way they did when remnants of the feudal system at the time of Marx and the Russian revolution were in effect. America, in its entire history, has never really had a farmer-identity of this type.

Land, equipment and buildings will at first become the property of the state, but the farmer might retain possession of them at the discretion of the Soviet system. Large land holdings

will probably be broken up, and the state might apportion parts of your land, or all of it, to farmers' collectives.

If you have had positions of a civic nature within your area, they will come to an end after takeover since, in the Soviet system, only appointees of the bureaucracy will hold any power.

You will be able to get along best by quickly realizing that the Soviet system *rules*. It does not govern. The Soviet system will determine what you should produce on your farm, and you will have to try to produce it. It will not pay you for not producing. And you will be instructed where you shall sell your produce, to whom, and for how much.

Film industry

Experimental and creative film makers have no future in a Soviet American motion picture industry. While in the 1920's Soviet propaganda employed gifted directors, notably Sergei Eisenstein, who produced technically and artistically superior films. In the decades since, motion pictures made in the Soviet



— Что у вас за гулянье, престольный праздник, что ли?
— Да нет, дедушка, просто наш колхоз запчастей достал.

—What's going on around here—is it your patron saint's day, or something?
—Why no, grandpa, it's simply that our kolkhoz has just received its spare parts."

From Krokodil (Moscow), April 20, 1965

When there were interruptions of power, there was wrecking in the Moscow Electric Power System.

When kerosene was in short supply, there was wrecking in the oil industry.

When there was no heat, there was wrecking in the coal industry.

There has been, of course, wrecking everywhere, since the Soviet system can fumble many of its theories, projects, and goals.

The "wreckers" were hunted down, accused, and punished. Often these people had no idea why they were arrested, and sometimes neither did their interrogators. The arrested people were required to provide statements describing how their work was supposed to be carried out, and when these depositions were found in conflict with one or another of the confused orders from on high, the case was ready made.

People were afraid to try to work, for fear of being accused of wrecking. When they didn't work, they were still accused of wrecking.

It became necessary to rid entire villages of peasants who had not or would not volunteer to join the collective farms. And if, on the collective farms, the farmers refused to work on religious feast days, they too were accused of wrecking or sabotage and were arrested. And any error was punished by arrest. An agronomist received a death sentence for a wrong estimate of one collective farm's grain (1937).

Misappropriating farm produce was punishable by death. In one instance six collective farmers from Tsarskoye Selo

mowed the collective-farm grain, and then mowed a second time along fences and along the hummocks to get a little hay for their own cows. They were arrested. They appealed. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee refused to pardon the six, and they were executed.

In one district the harvests were bad and some cattle died from a plague. A surveyor was blamed, and the entire leadership of the district was shot.

On another occasion a secretary of a district party committee made a tour of some fields that were being plowed. An old peasant mentioned to him that for over seven years the collective farmers had not received any grain in return for their labor. They had only gotten the straw after the grain had been taken out. The peasant was arrested for anti-Soviet agitation, and sentenced to ten years.

In another district some collective farmers protested that they would rather have produce as a reward for their labor instead of "points" in the farm account books. They were exiled. In 1947 people were arrested "right and left" for such offenses as taking a stalk of grain, a potato, chips of wood, spools of thread, and were sentenced to ten years.

In addition it was forbidden for groups to work together without supervision. Once a young girl took two friends into the field for company. They were arrested as an "organized gang" and sentenced to twenty years. And any failure to report even the smallest theft itself could earn three years in a camp or seven years in exile.



LEFT: Store Director—"We've been lucky! 'Masfilm' bought up the clothes of the latest models for its new historical film."

—From Krokodil (Moscow), No. 7, March 1966.

Union have followed the changing political line of the Kremlin, without bothering about artistic integrity.

Soviet film makers insure financial success by writing and producing motion pictures on various aspects of Lenin's career, or by hanging tales on whatever happens to be the current Kremlin line on domestic or international policies. The prestige and income of actors, writers, producers, and technical personnel depend on the political "purity" of a film's theme.

In a Soviet America writers would certainly be found to turn out propaganda themes for the controlling Soviet forces; there are plenty of precedents to be found; Hollywood in the thirties, and during and just after World War II, produced many films perfectly acceptable to Kremlin tastes. Actors trying to work within such a political setting will be compelled to meet the very restrictions which prompted noted Czechoslovak and Polish film makers to escape to the West, seeking freedom of artistic expression.

Fishermen

Compare the adventurous, highly individualistic role of a shrimp fisherman in the Florida Keys or in the Gulf of Mexico, with that of the men who work as huge teams on Soviet trawlers or on the gigantic floating factories that freeze tons upon tons of fish.

The dehumanized Soviet fishing industry, with its total disregard for ecology, is a perfect paradigm of Soviet society and its parasitic nature (see accompanying article on Soviet fishing methods). Soviet fishing methods not only do away with the fisherman as venturesome entrepreneur, but they also erase the breeding grounds of future generations of fish.

Our own society, whatever its shortcomings, protects the fisherman's individualistic life style and is aroused by dangers to the undersea environment; Soviet society doesn't give a damn about either.

Florists

Flowers are a luxury in Moscow, and a marginal flower business exists due to

Some Soviet Ideas On Harvesting Fish

For a society suffering from shortages of all types, including food, the Soviet system is seriously wasteful in the harvesting and processing of fish. One former official, Vladyl Lyssenko, has revealed that as much as one third of the Soviet fishing catch never reaches the consumer. The Soviet fishing fleet is vast, it ranges the seven seas and bears much responsibility for the fact that many of the world's waters are overfished.

Lyssenko, writing in the Russian-language weekly *Possev*, published in Frankfurt, Germany, reports that only a few cities in the Soviet Union receive fish, while much of the spoiled catch is dumped into the tundra (Siberian swamps), drenched with gasoline, and burned. He referred to Soviet fishing methods in North American waters as "barbarous," as they destroy breeding grounds.

Soviet fascination with gigantism has prompted the Kremlin to order enormous factory mother ships that are designed to process as much as thirty tons of cod per day. These mother ships are serviced by trawlers, which often have to wait for days because the refrigerator ship is delayed by high seas, or because the freezing equipment is overloaded.

The entire catch is, therefore, rarely frozen. Trawlers are forced to dump part of their load overboard. Mr. Lyssenko described Soviet methods of herring "harvesting" in North American waters as follows:

"In twenty minutes, a trawler might bring in as much as forty tons of fish. The herrings, compressed into some kind of sausage, are pulled on board. Eight tons go into the refrigerator immediately; five tons are stocked in the silos for fish-meal production. Twenty minutes later, another trawler delivers thirty more tons of herring, of which perhaps twenty-seven tons are thrown back into the sea."

This ruthless, wasteful technique is enough to break the heart of any true American fisherman, who thinks not only of some short-range harvest, but of the breeding and multiplication of fish—the total ecology of the sea—as assurance of his own and his children's future livelihood. Having turned fishing into a totally mechanical procedure, the Soviet system has created a gigantic parasitical industry which extracts without care for the future.

Where fish are caught by such large-scale Soviet methods, the natural environment of the sea is disturbed, and even the algae are uprooted. Where there are no breeding grounds, fish cannot deposit their eggs, and must eventually die out. Lyssenko wrote:

"Once, toward the end of the 1960's, more than thirty thousand tons of fish, especially herring, were stocked in Murmansk, to be prepared and gutted. The port was jammed with fish. Three factory ships lying alongside the piers were unable to unload because no one knew where the fish were to be shipped. Neither Moscow nor Leningrad needed them, and provincial towns were short of freezing equipment.

"At the same time, hundreds of trawlers were at sea, laden beyond capacity, waiting for the factory ships that were tied up in Murmansk."

The Tale Of Valentin Agapov, Marine Engineer

Valentin Agapov, a Soviet marine engineer, was standing at a shop window in the Swedish town of Helsingborg on November 23, 1974. It was about five P.M. Together with a sailor from the Russian fishing trawler *Privolsk*, he was watching a British soccer game on the color screen of a TV set. While the two men stood there, the rest of ship's crew walked ahead. Two decisive minutes passed.

The *Privolsk* crew had received sudden shore leave in Helsingborg. They had been walking through the town in groups of four, each group guarded by a "reliable comrade," responsible to the KGB. Three such groups were walking together. When Agapov and his friend caught up with the others, they were severely reprimanded by the group leader and accused of "breach of discipline."

Back aboard the *Privolsk*, the two men had to appear before the trawler's political commissar and were ordered to turn in their passes and explain their breach of discipline. Their account failed to satisfy the commissar and he told them that, once back on Soviet soil, they would be called to account by the KGB.

Agapov weighed the alternatives. He calculated that he faced ten years imprisonment in a labor camp, which, in addition to its other horrors meant separation from his family. On the other hand, jumping ship would bring him personal freedom, but also family separation. Two days later he asked Swedish authorities for asylum.

The next step was a long and frustrating campaign for reunion with his family. Their address was an apartment in an aging wooden structure at Dvortsvij Projesd Dom 4, Quartira 6, Kaliningrad 5, Moscow county. Their total living space was

the enterprise of Armenian travelers. The notoriously inefficient Soviet distribution system makes it profitable for travelers from Armenia to fly to the capital and sell flowers on the sly, or on the warily tolerated private markets. Flower shortages are not uniform in the Soviet sphere; Bulgaria, for example, has been traditionally famous for its roses, and the local régime has turned them into one of its few tourist attractions and export assets.

In the United States the flower business has served as a first stepping stone for successive groups of immigrants, among them Italians and Greeks on the East coast, and Japanese (often as gardeners) on the West coast. Such family businesses are not tolerated in a Soviet society.

Food wholesalers, distributors

In the same way American farmers will have to submit to central planting and crop controls following a Soviet takeover, so will food wholesalers and

distributors have to give up their individual expertise and entrepreneurship.

In all likelihood the wholesale and distribution networks of agricultural produce, and the food industry as a whole, will become a centralized, rigidly government-controlled apparatus. Of all the negative factors recorded in the economies of the Soviet Union and its satellite states, the breakdown in food distribution is the most devastating. Even the enormous productive capacity of the United States, and the efficient network of food shipping which criss-crosses the country from California to New England, could not withstand the built-in bottlenecks of a Soviet system.

Individual firms of wholesalers and distributors will, under a Soviet régime, be either eliminated or swallowed up by a nationwide government food-distribution monopoly. Initially, a Soviet administration will use food as a means of bringing recalcitrant parts of the population into line; political rationing, including the use of food as a reward, or the withholding of it as punish-

four square meters. Kitchen and toilet had to be shared with neighbors. The Agapov family consisted of the engineer; his mother, Romanova Agapova, a woman in her seventies; his wife, Ludmilla, also an engineer by profession; and their teenage daughter, Lilia. His father had died during the war, when Valentin was eight years old. A younger brother also died, toward the end of the war.

The mother did sewing for the army. Daughter Lilia, when three years old, had become ill because of dampness in the house, and this had added to the drain on the family. Hoping to put enough money aside to live in better communal quarters, Agapov had joined the crew of the *Privolsk*, from which the circumstances mentioned eventually led to his defection.

Unable to punish Valentin Agapov, Soviet police cracked down on his totally uninvolved family. Their home was searched. Mrs. Agapov was promised better living quarters and job opportunities, if only she would separate from her husband. When she refused to denounce Valentin, Ludmilla was fired and remained unemployed for two years. After that she got a job cleaning toilets, at a monthly salary of seventy rubles. Valentin's mother went on a forty-six-day-long hunger strike. Agapov himself threatened to hang himself outside the Soviet embassy in Stockholm, in protest against his family's treatment. He stopped his threats when the embassy assured him, falsely, that the family had received permission to leave the Soviet Union.

Ludmilla Agapov, while visiting the Moscow passport bureau, thrust a knife into her chest. His mother went on a thirteen-day hunger strike. She was joined by her daughter and granddaughter, at the time of the conference in Belgrade which had been organized to celebrate the anniversary of the Helsinki Agreement, the protocols which supposedly had ensured a measure of human rights among Soviet subjects.

The family living quarters were subjected to yet another search by the secret police. This search lasted for twenty-four hours. When the women tried to telephone a Swedish correspondent, they were kicked and otherwise maltreated by drunken KGB men. The mother, too, tried to commit suicide in the passport office.

The three women sought to exist on the mother's monthly pension of fifty-seven rubles. The family sold everything that could possibly be done without—including the mother's bed. As an account in the Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* (July 25, 1979) noted, "all they had left were torn dresses and battered shoes, the constant spying of the police as well as periods of house arrest."

Meanwhile Valentin Agapov appealed to the United Nations high commissioner on refugees, shouting, in effect, "I have the right to live together with my family. We ask for nothing else."

Life In The Soviet System: On The Dangers Of Writing To The Pope

Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin went on trial on August 25, 1980, for writing letters to the Pope. He was accused of spreading anti-Soviet slander. Western reporters were not allowed inside the court. Yakunin could be sentenced to seven years in prison plus five years internal exile (Siberia?) if convicted of the charge.

On August 29, 1980, Gleb Yakunin, at the end of his four-day trial, was sentenced to five years in prison and five years in exile after that. He was driven away in a green police van with curtained windows. An elderly aunt threw a bunch of flowers. The driver turned on the siren to drown out the cries of a dozen well-wishers.

The Case Of Father Dimitri Dudko

The fate of independent-minded clergymen in the Soviet state was dramatized by the case of Father Dimitri Dudko, a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church. That church is under direct and constant Kremlin control, but even such supervision cannot always prevent expressions of disgust with the Soviet system. During the 1970's Father Dudko spoke bluntly about the restrictions on freedom to worship, on official atheism, on the ever-present control of the KGB, and on the servile manner in which complaisant priests follow Kremlin doctrine.

Internationally Dudko became a hero. At home he was denounced as a traitor and, in late 1979, imprisoned. Some six months went by, while Dudko's friends worried about the effect of KGB interrogations, mistreatment, and brainwashing. Their worries were justified. On June 20, 1980, Father Dudko suddenly appeared on Soviet television and read a "confession" which had obviously either been written for him or written by him under pressure.

The fifty-eight-year-old priest alleged he had not been "unjustly accused," as foreign press reports had stated, but had only been "made answerable on lawful grounds for the crimes I have committed." He said he had written books and articles that dealt with the Kremlin régime "from anti-Soviet, slanderous

ment, will certainly be introduced.

Fundamentalists

In a Soviet America, religious fundamentalists, leaders and members of evangelical Christian groups, will be either eradicated, disbanded, or forced to go underground.

In a Kremlin-controlled United States Protestant evangelists and Catholic charismatics will have even less of a future than other denominations. Their churches will be emptied, their radio programs, prayer circles forbidden. A Soviet system, installed in Washington and with its structure expanded into all states and municipalities, will seize and imprison charismatic religious leaders, as it is certain to regard their strong personal appeal as a direct threat to Soviet ideological control.

Furriers

Leningrad is one of the great international fur-trading centers; an annual auction is held there under the auspices of the Soviet

fur-trading monopoly. Traders from all over the world attend such auctions. They also used to flock to Kabul, Afghanistan, until the Soviet invasion of 1979-80 turned that country into an unwilling and very bloody satellite.

The fur trade in the United States began with the pioneers. Ever since those early days it has been a field of bustling personal enterprise. The ascendancy of the Soviets would mean an end to profitable personal undertakings, in favor of an all-pervasive state monopoly.

positions." He added: "I have seen that I yielded to those propaganda voices that are directed at undermining our system. I repudiate what I have done and assess my so-called struggle against godlessness as a struggle against the Soviet power."

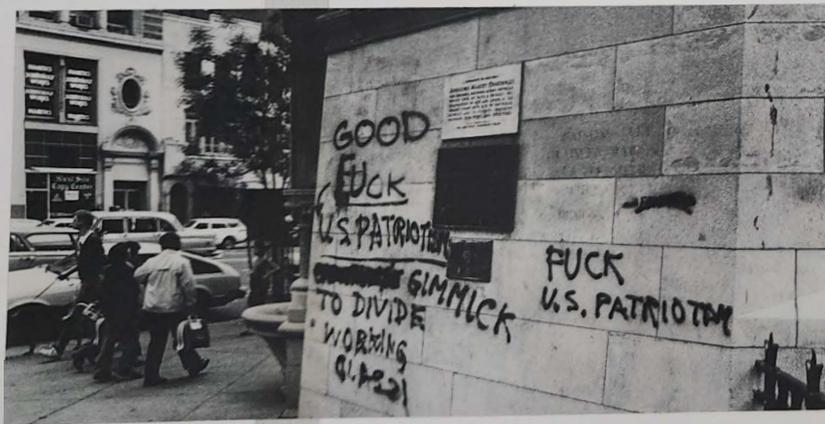
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Life In The Soviet System: Being "Visible" At The "Wrong" Time

Every city, every district, every military unit was assigned a specific quota of arrests to be carried out by a stipulated time.

Police would do anything to fill their quotas. They might decide to reclassify all the nonpolitical offenders being held at the time. Police heard that a "gypsy band had imprudently encamped on one of the city squares. . . . They surrounded the encampment and raked in all the gypsy men from seventeen to sixty" for crimes against the state.

Box 1

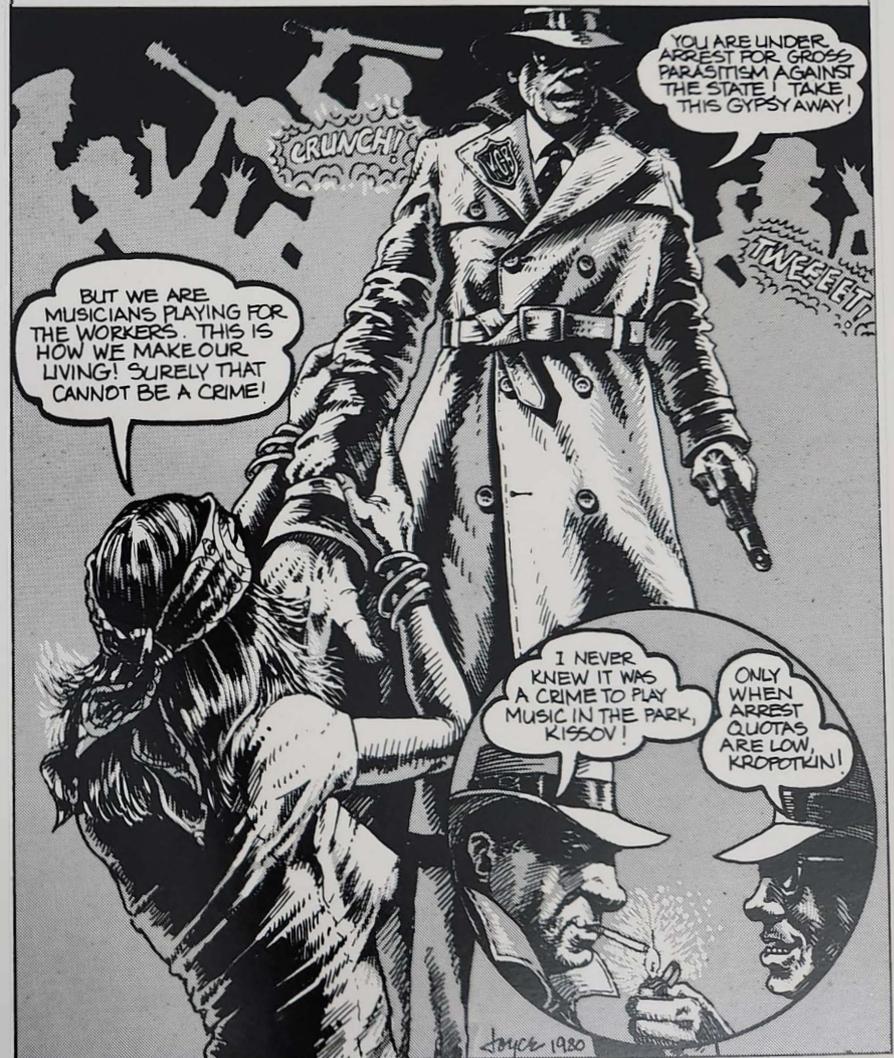


A Recommendation for U.S. Patriotism

Graffiti on the walls of a branch of the New York Public Library, Avenue of the Americas and 10th Street, New York, N.Y., May 1980.

Box 1

A CONCERNED CITIZEN INFORMANT NOTIFIES THE POLICE THAT A BAND OF ITINERATE MUSICIANS ARE PLAYING IN THE PARK AND ACCEPTING DONATIONS FROM PASSERS-BY. ENTER THE FEARLESS K.G.B. AGENTS, KISSOV AND KROPOTKIN, UPHOLDERS OF STATE SECURITY, TO DEAL WITH THE FOUL MENACE . . .



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SOVIET GLOBAL STRATEGY



Soviet Global Strategy

Richard Pipes

In his State of the Union address earlier this year, President Carter at one point addressed himself to the Soviet leadership:

The Soviet Union must answer some basic questions: Will it help promote a stable international environment in which its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued? Or will it continue to expand its military power far beyond its legitimate security needs, using that power for colonial conquests?

That the President could seriously raise such questions, with the record of over six decades of Soviet history at his disposal, suggests that while he may have learned by now that the Soviet leaders prevaricate he has yet to find out who they are and what they want.

A few evenings spent with a standard manual of Marxism-Leninism and a good history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union would help the President answer his questions and save him (and the rest of us) from some more costly mistakes. What he would quickly learn—for he is said to be an apt pupil—is that: (1) in the Soviet case, “legitimate” concerns are not synonymous with “peaceful” concerns of “defense”; (2) the Soviet leadership is unable, for sound ideological, political, and economic reasons, to “promote a stable international environment”; (3) its “legitimate security needs” do require “colonial conquests.”

These facts are what they are, not because the Soviet leaders will them so but because they themselves are the victims of a system which they lack the power to alter—except at the risk of bringing the whole structure down. The sooner those in charge of our foreign policy abandon their unbearable moralizing and come to grips with the imperatives of the régime which fate has chosen to be our adversary, the better for all concerned.

Here, then, are some rudimentary answers to the questions posed by the President.

Ideology plus ambition plus force

To begin with the ideological factors behind Soviet foreign policy: Marxism-Leninism is by its very nature a militant doctrine, the child of the age of Social Darwinism, which views history as the record of uninterrupted class warfare and which advocates the continuation of class war as a means of abolishing, once and for all, classes and the exploitation of man by man. The kind of “stability” of which the President speaks and which he implies to be the desirable objective of all foreign policy can be attained, according to this doctrine, only after

G

Gas and electric workers

You will no longer find yourself working for a company or a monopoly, as you probably do now. Nor will you have a union. You will now be working for the state.

You will have to get used to the idea that in the Soviet system consumerism is not a priority. Control of the people takes first priority.

Thus the need and use for gas and electricity will diminish rapidly after takeover, as the new Soviet system sets about degrading the American style of life.

And so a lot of jobs will vanish. After all, the less electricity there is, the less communication there is among people. No radios or TVs; hence no news or facts. An uninformed people are the easiest to control.

Gay rights leaders and activists

There is no provision for gay rights in the Soviet system. Everyone is required to conduct himself in a

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU

strictly heterosexual manner and produce a family. Children are carefully indoctrinated in state schools toward this ideal. A farmer's family is expected to be large (six to nine children). A technician's family can be smaller (two to four children). A member of the Soviet bureaucracy will be expected to have at least two children.

The family of a member of the Communist party can be large or small as the male member of the marriage desires. Members of the Central Committee hierarchy can do as they please, since they have vast privileges, but they cannot be gay or even be thought to be gay.

Upon takeover, or shortly thereafter, all gay-rights leaders and activists will be rounded up and imprisoned upon the grounds that they are a degenerate remnant of the former capitalist society.

If you are a gay-rights leader or activist, you should not expect any humane treatment. There will be no attempt to correct or reform you, since you have admittedly and actively been promoting a permissive sexual society.

capitalism has been liquidated. The liquidation of capitalism, however, calls for a long period of instability, including international wars, which, according to Lenin, are an inevitable concomitant of capitalism.

Secondly, Marxism-Leninism is an international doctrine. As it perceives them, the phases in the evolution of mankind are global in scope and cannot be contained (except transitionally) within the limits of the nation-state or served by its "legitimate security needs." The fundamental international, or, rather, supranational, character of the doctrine is symbolized by Communism's permanent slogan since 1847, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" In 1917, the Bolsheviks (and this held true of the Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks as well) were not fighting for a change of régime in Russia, but for a world-wide revolution. It deserves note that one of the earliest declarations of the Petrograd Soviet (then still firmly in the control of "moderate" socialists), issued in March 1917, was addressed to the "Peoples of the Entire World" and called on them to rid themselves of their "ruling classes." This attitude was never repudiated by Lenin; nor has it ever been repudiated by his successors.

Now it is possible to minimize such ideological considerations with the argument that history is replete with instances of movements which, having laid claim to universality, nevertheless adjusted themselves to more modest roles: several religions, including Islam, provide good examples. But apart from the fact that accommodations of this nature have always occurred as the result of a universalist movement running into resistance that it could not overcome, Communism is not only a faith, it is also the program of a powerful secular government. It is precisely this fusion of a universalist historical doctrine with the most mundane aspirations of a great imperialist power that lends Communist Russia's global ambitions such force. For behind the lofty ideals of a classless society loom also the very vulgar interests of a ruling élite which finds in them a rationale for power and privilege.

The most painful reality that the Soviet leadership confronts every day of its existence is that it has no generally acknowledged mandate to rule. It lacks the legitimacy of ancient tradition; nor can it derive its authority from the personal charisma of a great living leader. This committee of colorless, self-perpetuating civil servants pretends to rest on a popular mandate and to this end every now and then stages mock elections, but the ritual of choosing without having a choice surely deceives only simpletons. Such mandate as the Bolshevik régime can reasonably lay claim to derives entirely from history, namely, from the assertions that it represents the vanguard of the majestic force of progress whose mission it is to accomplish the final social revolution in human history. Once this particular claim is given up—as it would be were the Soviet government to

WHEN THE SOVIETS TAKE OVER



acknowledge the international status quo as permanent and accommodate itself within its present sphere of influence—the question of legitimacy would at once crop up. For indeed, who has given the Communist party of the Soviet Union the right to monopolize the country's political authority as well as its human and material resources?—some other than the goddess of history who has challenged it to the noblest mission ever assigned to an. The régime, therefore, must press onward and outward, it must win, or at least appear to win, incessant victories against "capitalism" so as to maintain the illusion of a relentless forward movement, commensurate with its mission. The alternative is to risk having its political credentials subjected to scrutiny and possible disqualification.

In addition to its universalist ideology and the ordinary political self-interest of the ruling élite, Soviet expansionism also has solid roots in Russian history. Because of the inherent poverty of Russia, due to adverse climate, soil, and other related factors, the country has never been able to support a population at a level of density common in more temperate zones. Throughout their history, Russians have colonized areas adjacent to their homeland in the northern taiga, sometimes peacefully, sometimes by conquest. Of all European countries,

Most of you can expect to be summarily executed.

Some of you might be granted a reprieve if you are highly educated in some scientific profession (lasers, computers, biological or genetic research, etc.). If you are of a high science value to the system, you may be assigned to work in a science center or science city. But you will be carefully isolated and watched, and your privileges will be severely limited. Although you may be allowed to live and work, you will be

caused to disappear from society, and when your usefulness comes to an end, you will be liquidated.

During this period every word you utter will be noted and reported. Even if you convert, marry, and produce children, you will be suspect.

Geologists

If you are a geologist at the time of takeover, your future will depend upon the desires of the new Soviet government with regard to geological matters, and upon your education, your technological expertise, and your professional status.

In other revolutions in other countries, all, repeat, all the educated classes were hunted down, including geologists and other scientists.

If and when the new Soviet American states calm down enough to decide upon programs and reforms that call for your services, you may have a job again.

Until then you'd better have some reserves.

Russia has not only the oldest and most persistent tradition of imperial expansion, but also the record of greatest tenacity in holding on to conquered areas.

Thus, ideology, political survival, and economic exigencies reinforce one another, impelling Russia toward conquest. Each new territory acquired becomes part of the national "patrimony" and is, sooner or later, incorporated into the homeland. Each demands a "buffer" to protect it from real or imaginary enemies, until it, too, becomes part of the homeland, and, in turn, requires its own buffer.

The illusions of détente

The theory of détente, promoted by the Soviet régime since the mid-1950's, would seem to contradict the thesis that expansionism and international class war are indispensable to Russian Communism. As presented to the West (the matter is handled quite differently within the country), the theory, calling for peaceful coexistence between diverse social systems, seems to accept the prospect of a nonviolent evolution and a common, "convergent" end-product. In reality, détente is merely a tactical adaptation of a general strategy, which does not run contrary to the principles enunciated above. To explain why this is the case, one must say a few words about the essential characteristic of Communist politics as formulated by Lenin and elaborated upon by his epigones.

Lenin's historic achievement is to have militarized politics. It has been aptly said that Lenin stood Clausewitz on his head by making politics and pursuit of war by other means; war is the aim, politics a means, rather than the other way around. This being the case, the application of political strategy and tactics is determined by an essentially military assessment of what is known as the "correlation of forces." The latter, in communist theory, embraces not only those factors which in Western terminology are included in the concept of "balance of power" but also economic capabilities, social stability, and public opinion, i.e., elements that, although not military in the strict sense of the word, nevertheless have considerable bearing on a nation's ability to wage war.

From this point of view the decision whether to press one's offensive against the "class enemy," internal as well as external, or to hold back, must be based on a cool appraisal of the contending forces. In a speech delivered in May 1918, in which he reiterated that "final victory is possible only on a world scale," Lenin admonished his followers not to rush headlong into battle under all circumstances:

We possess great revolutionary experience, which has taught us that it is essential to employ the tactics of merciless attack when objective conditions permit. . . . But we have to resort to temporizing tactics, to a slow gathering of forces when objective circumstances do not favor a call for a general merciless repulse.

In the eyes of the Soviet leadership, the phenomena which in the West are labeled "cold war" and "détente" and perceived as antithetical are merely tactical nuances of one and the same strategy, alternately applied, depending on "objective circumstances." In the case of the détente policy launched in the mid-1950's, the decisive objective circumstances was the enemy's complete nuclear superiority which placed him in a position to destroy much of the Soviet Union at will. This particular circumstance did not in the least obviate the necessity of waging international class war, but it did call for the adaptation of one's battle plans: confrontation had to be avoided and indirect methods of combat given preference—at any rate, until such time as America's nuclear threat could be safely neutralized.

The end objective of Soviet global policy is, of course, a world from which private property in the means of production has been banished and the constituent states are, with minor variations, copies of the Soviet state. It is only in a world so fashioned that the élite ruling Soviet Russia would feel secure and comfortable.

This objective does not, as is sometimes thought, require that the USSR physically occupy the entire world, a task which is beyond even the capabilities of its large military and security forces. The term "hegemony" conveys very accurately the kind of international arrangement with which the Soviet leadership would be satisfied. The concept is of Greek origin and was originally coined to describe the dominance enjoyed by one or another city state, and especially the Macedonian kingdom, over Hellas. Possession of "hegemony" did not then and does not now entail physical conquest: rather, it signifies the ability of the hegemonial power to assert its interests within the area over which it claims hegemony by the threat of coercion, or, if that fails to produce the desired effect, by its actual application. Britain enjoyed hegemony over a good part of the globe in the nineteenth century; the United States had it between the end of World War II and its withdrawal from Vietnam. Germany launched two world wars in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain European hegemony. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated concisely the ultimate aspiration of Soviet policy in a speech to the 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971 when he boasted, somewhat prematurely: "Today, there is no question of any significance which can be decided without the Soviet Union or in opposition to it."¹ Implied in this statement is the rejection of the notion that Soviet interests are anything less than global in scope and can be confined within the boundaries of a national state or even a bloc of states. It goes without saying that the assertion of a similar claim by the United States would be rejected out of hand by the Soviet Union (as well as by American liberals) as a manifestation of the

Gold speculators

Since there is no open market in the Soviet system, there is no "speculation," either. This goes also for other precious metals, as well as for strategic metals.

The only gold you will have to "speculate" with will be the coins or reserves you will have managed to hide, and not have been made to give up. Individuals who are suspected of having secreted their fortunes will be tortured until they give them up.

This is no secret. It has happened in each and every country the Soviets have taken over.

Stocks, bonds, futures: all these are part of the free-enterprise system. They do not exist in Soviet-ruled economy. So, after takeover, the avenues to earn money by "speculating" will be abolished, and, in fact, become an illegal prisonable offense against the state.

Government employees

Do you think that the new Soviet system will allow entrenched American

bureaucracies to continue? Foolish!

It is certain that after takeover, all former American offices, officials, and government employees will be in for very hard times.

All government offices in the Soviet system are run by members of the Communist party. People who are not members may, of course, be hired for manual labor.

In other countries that have been taken over, most government employees have simply been rounded up in trucks, driven out into the fields, made to dig their own mass graves, and thence shot.

Can that happen in the United States?

Why should the Soviets (Marxists, communists, or revolutionaries) suddenly show interest in extending mercy to the very system they have hated so intensely for so long?

Grocers

Who owns grocery stores in the Soviet system?

The state.

Who gets the profits

Life In The Soviet System: Consumer Difficulties—Waiting In Lines

In the Soviet system of state-controlled consumer products—lipsticks to radios to clothes—there are always shortages. The state control system doesn't cope very well, since there is no competition among producers to attract the buying public.

Remember the long lines to buy gasoline during the recent American shortage of that commodity? Imagine having the same problems with everything, from toothpaste to potatoes!

In the Soviet system waiting in lines to buy something—anything—is a year round, across-the-board phenomenon. A normal housewife in the Soviet system spends an average of two hours a day in line, seven days a week.

Men and women alike carry cash, in case they come upon a newly forming line. They buy whatever is offered, in case it should be something "special" or something they can sell later at a profit. They buy clothes no matter what size, and brand names in anything are highly desirable for trading later on.

crassest imperialism. This is but one of many examples of the Soviet Union laying down the rules of international politics in a manner that entirely favors its own side.

If politics is warfare, then it requires strategic guidance. The strategy that one employs in the pursuit of global objectives cannot involve exclusively military weapons, but must embrace the entire spectrum of instrumentalities. Strategy of this type has been labeled "Grand" or "Total," and it suits a totalitarian country much better than it does a democratic one. The Soviet Union has indeed been organized by Lenin from the beginning for the waging of total war and it is to this end that the Soviet government has taken into its hands a monopoly of national powers and resources. There exists in the Soviet Union a mechanism of vertical and horizontal integration that not only enables but also compels the management of that giant political conglomerate to attempt a coordinated national and international policy. The proprietors of the Soviet Union have to seek to integrate politics, economics, and propaganda (ideology) to an extent inconceivable in the West where each of these realms is controlled by different groups and tends to pull in separate directions.



Life In The Soviet System: Shopping In Supermarkets??

There are always shortages, in the Soviet system, of basic stuffs. Stores can go several months without having any soap to sell. Shoes, pots and pans, and kitchen equipment may not be available.

Outside large cities there is often no meat or fresh vegetables.

Even the Soviet press sometimes "complains" about these shortages of necessities, so all-consuming is the situation.

from groceries?

The state, too.

If you are a grocery store owner at the time of takeover, kiss it all good-bye.

If you are a grocery boy or checkout clerk, you might still have a job. Providing there is enough food in the store to sell.

Food shortages in the mismanaged and uninspiring dictatorial Soviet system are frequent, and sometimes endless. The single largest complaint of people (after fear of death or imprisonment) is the shortage of foodstuffs.

Gun owners

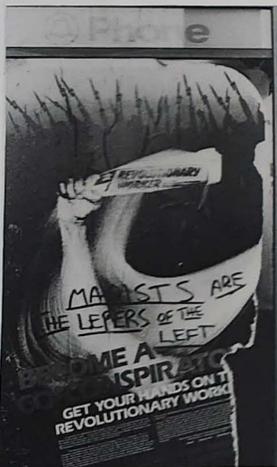
Gun owners? In the Soviet system? Ha!

The penalties for owning guns in the Soviet system are not merely fines or light imprisonment.

After takeover the people will be ordered to surrender their weapons (as also their fortunes, their computer terminals, their ham radios, etc.). Those who fail to do so and are caught will probably be shot for harboring intentions against the new state. Those who do turn in their

weapons will be suspect for having had them in the first place. Remember, it's ways of thinking the Soviets go after, as well as *things*.

A person who possesses weapons is presumably disposed to shoot them, and this sort of mentality is considered dangerous by the Soviets, who seem to fear the strong individual.



Become a Conspirator (and other Comments)

Poster (with graffiti) on telephone booth, Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, California, May 1980.

Soviet grand strategy

Let us cursorily survey the ingredients of Soviet Grand Strategy. Space precludes any discussion of the many aspects and nuances of Soviet *political* strategy. Its guiding principle, however, can be succinctly defined: It is to rely not so much on the forces at one's own disposal (i.e., foreign Communist parties and their "fronts") as on allies one is able provisionally and temporarily to detach from the enemy's camp on individual issues (e.g., nationalism, "peace," "racism," "anti-Zionism," etc.). This technique originated by Russian opposition groups in the Czarist underground, has proved very successful when applied to international relations. Its essence can best be conveyed in the words of Lenin himself. In 1920 the Communist leader was faced with unrest over his cautious foreign policy from hotheads in the Third International. These people wanted a direct assault on the entire capitalist West. To them Lenin said bluntly:

The entire history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution, is full of instances of changes of tack, conciliatory tactics, and compromises with other parties, including bourgeois parties!

To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, protracted, and complex than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states and to renounce in advance any change of tack, or any utilization of conflict of interest (even if temporary) among one's enemies, or any conciliation or compromise with possible allies (even if they are temporary, unstable, vacillating, or conditional allies), is that not ridiculous in the extreme? . . .

After the first socialist revolution of the proletariat, and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in some country, the proletariat of that country remains for a long time weaker than the [international] bourgeoisie. . . . The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by the most thorough, careful, attentive, skillful, and *obligatory* use of any, even the smallest, rift between the enemies, any conflict of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unreliable, and conditional.²

The success of this policy has been in large measure due to the fact that the "international bourgeoisie" not only refuses to acknowledge the manipulative intentions behind Soviet conciliatory policies but feel confident of its own ability to fish in the political waters of the Soviet Union by pitting nonexistent "doves" against equally spurious "hawks."

The Soviet *economic* arsenal is not rich enough to serve as a major weapon of Soviet global strategy. In its expansion, the USSR consequently relies much less on investments and trade as a means of spreading influence than was the case with the other great powers in the classical age of modern imperialism. Soviet *economic leverage* is exercised mainly through military and

economic assistance carefully doled out to countries judged to be of strategic importance. Aid of this kind creates all kinds of dependencies, including the willingness of the recipient to host Communist administrative personnel. It is very instructive to analyze statistics of Soviet economic assistance to Third World countries because the figures give a good insight into the relative importance that Moscow attaches to them. On a per-capita basis, among the greatest beneficiaries of Soviet aid since 1954 have been South Yemen and Afghanistan. More recently, the USSR and its clients have poured vast sums of money into Turkey, a member of NATO, and Morocco. Significant increases in Soviet assistance are usually reliable indicators of Soviet strategic interests in a given area; judging by recent aid patterns, the Mediterranean enjoys very high priority in its mind.

In its relations with the advanced industrial powers, the Soviet Union is at a great disadvantage in attempting to exploit economic leverage, but even so it has had some success in making Western Europe and Japan dependent on its good will. One form of leverage is the debts incurred in the West by the Soviet bloc during the period of détente. These are estimated today at \$60 billion, one quarter of it owed by the USSR, the remainder by the countries of Eastern Europe. The external indebtedness of the Soviet Union cannot be considered excessive, given that country's natural resources and gold reserves, but the same cannot be said of the "Peoples' Democracies" such as Poland, whose foreign obligations exceed those of its patron state. Western bankers have gladly lent vast sums to Eastern Europe on the assumption that any defaults would be made good by the Soviet Union. In so doing they have chosen to ignore official Soviet statements which repudiate any such obligation. Moscow's position on this issue, recently reiterated at an East-West conference held in Vienna, holds that "every country must repay its own debts."³ Loans of this magnitude induce among Western bankers solicitude for the economic well-being and benevolence of their Eastern European debtors, and makes them beholden to détente, regardless of its political costs.

The other economic weapon is energy, of whose strategic importance the Soviet leadership had become aware long before it even dawned on Western politicians. In addition to placing itself in a position to impede the flow of Middle Eastern oil (of which more later), the USSR has sought to make Europe and Japan dependent on direct Soviet energy supplies, especially natural gas. To this end, it has established the practice of repaying in gas the costs of transmission pipes supplied by foreign concerns. West Germany is said to rely already for one-quarter of its natural gas on Soviet resources; and if negotiations now in progress for further cooperation in this field are successful, its dependence will increase further. What this

H

Handicapped people

The Soviet system values only the ability to work, and those who cannot work are viewed as parasites on the state.

It is difficult to discover statistics on the plight of handicapped people in the Soviet Union, since such matters are considered state secrets.

From certain known facts, however, we can deduce that the condition of the handicapped may indeed be dreadful. In those instances that have come to light through human rights organizations, handicapped people who have tried to better their conditions, have been ordered by the KGB to desist. Those who have not desisted have "disappeared" or have been imprisoned.

High-school teen-agers

Although the Soviets have universal education the Soviet idea of who should be educated, and in what subjects, is quite different from that of Americans. There is no equality of

educational opportunity. Most children are, however, educated in the basic necessities of reading, lower math, and history of the Soviet cause in the world. In the U.S., after takeover, students will find themselves compelled to attend political courses on Soviet ideology. They will also have to attend classes that will drill into their minds the evil of their former nation, which will ascribe all social ills to capitalist free-thought.

As a student you will not be excused from any of these classes. Your successful indoctrination by the new ruling Soviets will ensure the solidity of their takeover.

In these classes you will be carefully monitored, and you will not be able to volunteer ideas, disturb the classes, play hooky, or otherwise disturb this basic indoctrination. If you are not a good student, or persist in disturbing the classes, you will be sent to a correction-detention camp where you will be required to work on farms, or do manual labor.

Your parents will not be able to stop this, since they will be told that this treatment is for the good of

development portends became apparent during the October 1973 war when the Soviet Union abruptly suspended gas deliveries to Veba, Germany's largest energy company, apparently in order to pressure that county not to support Washington's pro-Israel policies.

A list of all the other instrumentalities which the Soviet Union employs in its global strategy would be long and diverse. Among them would have to be included such seemingly unpolitical matters as family relations. The broadening of contacts between relatives separated by the border between East and West Germany which followed the Helsinki accords, provides the Communists with useful political leverage, the fear of their disruption being often cited by Bonn circles as a strong reason for preserving détente.

The military first and foremost

Of all the instrumentalities at the Soviet Union's disposal, it is the military that occupies pride of place. Soviet imperialism (this also held true of Czarist imperialism) is a military phenomenon *par excellence*, and in proportion as Soviet combat power grows, both absolutely and in relation to the West's, it tends to push into the background the political manipulation on which the régime has had heavily to rely earlier. Increasingly, Soviet spokesmen call attention to the shift in the military balance in Russia's favor as a decisive fact of the contemporary world, and boast of the ability it gives their country to frustrate America's attempts to respond to Soviet initiatives.

It is sometimes difficult for people who are told of the low living standards of the Soviet Union's population and of the inefficiency of its economy to believe that such a country can present a serious military threat to the West. They ignore the fact that wealth and technical inventiveness, in which the West has an indisputable lead, do not make for military might unless they are harnessed in the service of defense. They further ignore that, conversely, a relatively poor country, as long as it has more than a minimal industrial-technical base, can offer more than a military match for its neighbors once it decides to allocate the necessary resources for war. Japan is an industrial and technological power of the very first rank. Yet because it has chosen to rely for its defense on the United States and forgo a military establishment commensurate with its economic power, its armed forces are one-half in size and a fraction in effectiveness of those of Israel, a country with one-thirtieth of Japan's population and one-fortieth of its GNP. As concerns the Soviet Union's low living standards, it should be obvious that when a country with its huge industrial plant cannot satisfy its population's needs for consumer goods, the reason must be sought not in incapacity but rather in the deliberate diversion of industrial resources to other than consumer needs. In other

words, the fact that its populations suffers a low living standard attests not to Russia's inability to threaten us militarily but rather to the opposite.

Russia has always tended to devote a disproportionate share of its resources to the upkeep of the armed forces: in the reign of Peter the Great, for example, more than nine-tenths of the state budget was allocated for that purpose. A large military establishment helped conquer new territories for Russia's growing population as well as to maintain order within the empire. High Czarist functionaries were well aware how much of the international influence that imperial Russia enjoyed was due to its ability to threaten small and great powers along its immensely long frontiers.

The principal weakness of pre-1917 Russian armies was a low level of supporting industry and transport, and of all those non-military factors that World War I revealed to be of decisive importance in modern warfare. The lesson was learned by the Bolshevik leaders who studied with admiration Germany's extraordinary performance in that war; as soon as they seized power they put into effect the home-front mobilization measures initiated by Germany but made even more effective in Russia by the abolition of private property and the introduction of the universal obligation to render state service. Stalin's Five Year Plans, for all the noise about constructing socialism, were as thoroughly military in their intent as were Hitler's Four Year Plans.

The conglomerate nature of the Soviet régime makes it eminently suitable for purposes of military mobilization. If the Soviet government so decides, it can lavish on the defense sector of the economy manpower and resources in the quantities and qualities required, and let the consumer sector fend for itself. The mightier the industrial base, the more rapid under these conditions can be the expansion of the armed forces, inasmuch as the allocations to the civilian sector can be kept relatively constant while the bulk of the growing surplus is turned over to the military. And, of course, there are no recalcitrant legislatures or inquisitive media to raise questions about the need for such heavy defense outlays.

Thus it happens that neither détente nor the arms-limitation agreements accompanying it, SALT I included, have produced a dent in the upward curve of Soviet defense appropriations. A recent study by William T. Lee, a specialist with long CIA experience, estimates that the share absorbed by the defense sector of the Soviet Gross National Product has grown from some 12-13 percent in 1970 to perhaps as much as 18 percent in 1980; and since the Soviet GNP during this decade has also kept on growing, the absolute amounts given to defense have risen yet more impressively.⁴ Incidentally, in the same period (1970-79), U.S. defense expenditures as a share of the

the state.

Beyond receiving these basic skills and enduring this socialization, your education will differ from then on. The type of education made available to you will depend a great deal on whose child you are. It will also depend on whether you excel in testing or not.

While these matters are being decided upon by the Soviet system of educational preferences, most of you will be separated from your parents and sent to live in work camps so that your parents will not have the opportunity of reminding you of the past capitalist society. It is in these work camps that your future possibilities for education will be determined.

Only those of you who test above average will be given the opportunity for higher education, but you will not be able to choose which kind or what specialty. These will be assigned to you. Those of you who test merely at average or below will not receive any higher education, and will be labeled as workers. Some of you may be trained as mechanics or farm workers.

You will have no

choice in these matters, and it is unlikely that you will be able to make a change of any sort without applying for it. It will take two or three years to process such applications.

If you work well, you will receive benefits in the form of extra ration cards. But in the Soviet system workers are seldom promoted, and the job you are assigned as a worker will likely be your job for life.

The education of eighty percent of all teen-agers will, at the time of takeover, be terminated. Your separation from your family is almost assured. You will be sent to or drafted into youth work camps or into the army regardless of your family's former social standing.

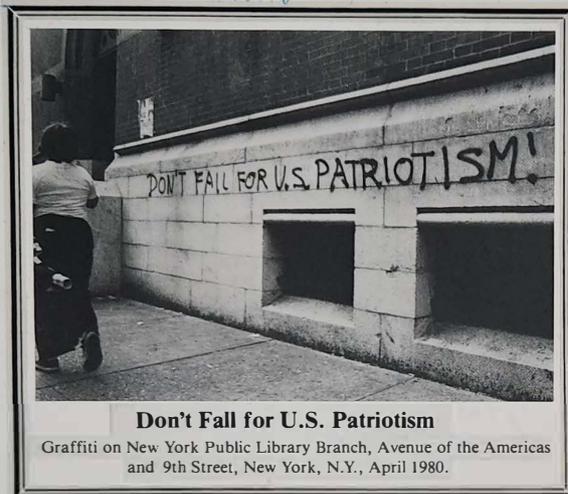
Historians

The role of historians in the Soviet system is to rewrite history to flatter the Soviet and communist ideologies. U.S. historians willing to do this might be valued by the new state, but "might" is a generous word.

Your fate more likely will be that of almost every other intellectual—death.

After takeover

GNP have declined from 7.5 percent to 4.6 percent, and in constant 1972 dollars, from \$85.1 to \$65.0 billion.



Don't Fall for U.S. Patriotism

Graffiti on New York Public Library Branch, Avenue of the Americas and 9th Street, New York, N.Y., April 1980.

Nuclear weapons the linchpin of Soviet ambition

Although the Soviet military seem determined to catch up to and surpass the United States in all the service branches, they assign the central role to strategic-nuclear weapons. These the Soviet military theorists regard as the decisive weapons of modern warfare. All the available evidence furnished by theoretical writings and observable deployments indicates that the Soviet General Staff does not share the prevalent U.S. view that nuclear weapons have no place in a rational strategy except as a deterrent. There exists a high degree of probability that in the event of general war the Soviet Union intends to use a part of its strategic arsenal in a devastating preemptive strike which would make an American retaliatory strike suicidal and possibly inhibit it altogether. The stress on large throw-weight combined with high accuracies of its ICBM's is a good indication that the Soviet Union intends to develop a first-strike capability.

The refusal of the American scientific community, which has been largely responsible for the formulation of U.S. nuclear strategy, to take seriously Soviet nuclear doctrine can charitably be described as an act of grave intellectual and political irresponsibility. Owing to it, in the coming decade the United

States will find all three legs of its "triad" under growing threat which will not only make it difficult to respond to aggressive Soviet moves, but will also free the Soviet Union from those restraints which had inspired it to adopt the policy of détente in the first place. Once the nuclear balance will have become highly tilted, American crash programs will likely be discouraged by the same exponents of unilateral restraint who have helped bring the imbalance about, on the grounds that at this point any sudden moves would be "destabilizing" and could provoke the Soviet Union into a preemptive strike.

The strong Soviet commitment to the process of so-called "arms limitation" does not invalidate the contention that it operates on a first-strike doctrine. As has become evident since 1972, SALT I has had no significant influence on the development of Russia's strategic offensive forces. The same may be said of SALT II which, if ratified, would exert only a minimal effect on future Soviet deployments, while inhibiting and in some cases precluding important U.S. responses (such as long-range cruise missiles and protective shelters for the Minutemen missiles). Adopting for negotiating purposes the American "Mutual Assured Destruction" doctrine, the Soviet Union has been able to push through, at a relatively small price to its own deployments, severe restrictions on those of the United States.

Nuclear missiles, however, have not only a military utility: They are equally and perhaps even more useful as a means of political and psychological suasion. Russia's growing nuclear arsenal inculcates in influential Western circles a sense of all-pervasive fear which induces a spirit of accommodation. Once the view gains hold that there is no defense against nuclear weapons, it becomes not unreasonable to advocate avoidance of disagreement with another nuclear power as the highest goal of foreign policy. The following sentiments expressed by Congressman Jonathan Bingham of New York are quite typical of this body of opinion:

Above all, we must remember that the Soviet Union remains the world's only other superpower—the only country in the world capable of destroying us. Maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union must be our paramount objective.⁵

I wonder whether Congressman Bingham has thought through the implications of his words. For he is, in effect, urging that we subordinate all our national interests as well as our ideals of freedom and human rights, and whatever else many of us regard as "paramount," to another criterion, namely, survival; and that in line with this criterion, we should seek accommodation with that country which can deny it to us. (Only we: There is nothing in this passage to suggest that the Soviet Union has a similar obligation toward us, the only country in the world capable of destroying it.) When this kind

academics are almost always done away with, to be replaced later on by a fresh generation indoctrinated into the Soviet world view.

Homeowners

The Soviet system has different attitudes concerning who can own homes, during different periods. The underlying idea is that *everything* is state property. In the Soviet Union, for example, some poor people do own their own homes (dachas), but these are shacks with no plumbing or electricity. (See *Time* magazine, June 23, 1980.)

After a Soviet régime becomes established, the restriction on who can live where is not as severe as it is just after a takeover. Immediately after takeover, though, homes of any quality are almost always repossessed by the state. In some countries that have been taken over entire cities were cleaned out of people.

As a homeowner after takeover, your right to continue to possess your own home will be terribly uncertain. Grand homes are, of course, reallocated to the ruling élite no matter who

owned them before. Homeowners are almost always persecuted after takeover, if not by state officials, then by the mobs of have-nots who run riot during the stress and terror of posttakeover changes. You should not count on continuing to own your own home.

Homosexuals and lesbians

Homosexuals and lesbians are permitted to live, under the Soviet system, even though they are looked on as highly undesirable, providing they meet the following qualifications:

1. They must never make a public issue out of their proclivities;
2. They must marry and have children;
3. Their work must be of a benefit to the state;
4. They must keep their sex lives very private;
5. They must never try to convert others.

If you are a known homosexual or lesbian at the time of the takeover, there is no doubt that you will be rounded up and detained in a work camp, detention



of thinking becomes prevalent, a nation loses the freedom to act in self-defense: psychologically, the white flag of surrender is up and sending unmistakable signals to the adversary. It takes little imagination to picture what effect this kind of thinking must have on the Soviet leaders: It virtually incites them to keep on increasing their nuclear preponderance, given that the greater their theoretical capability to destroy the United States, the louder the voices in the United States demanding that accommodation with the Soviet Union be made the "paramount" objective of national policy.

Soviet territorial strategy

Soviet global strategy is implemented by means of pressures exerted at various points of the globe in a bewildering succession of shifts that makes it difficult to discern patterns and causes some observers to interpret it as a mere exploitation of random opportunities. But this is not the case. Just as Soviet defense

strategy calls for the disposition of forces around the Queen of the chessboard, namely, nuclear-tipped missiles, so its territorial strategy aims at the enemy's King, the United States. The latter is the only country with the wealth and power to frustrate Soviet intentions: The fall or even isolation of that "citadel of international imperialism" would allow the rest of the world to be picked up at will. A world in which the United States carries no weight comes automatically under Soviet hegemony. The reduction of the United States, therefore, is as essential to the Soviet Union as the elimination of Carthage was to Rome.

But this objective cannot quite be achieved by a succession of Punic wars: Military conflict with its principal adversary is the least palatable of the alternatives open to Moscow because the U.S. nuclear arsenal can never be entirely suppressed and it is always able to inflict, no matter what the balance of power, devastating punishment. Hence, except in the realm of ideological warfare, to which the United States attaches no importance and where the most venomous hate campaign can be carried on with impunity, assaults on the U.S. must assume indirect forms that undermine America's security without appearing to do so.

The aim is best attained by detaching Europe and Japan from the United States and pulling them into the Soviet orbit: The addition of West European and Japanese industrial capabilities to those of the Soviet bloc would alter immediately and in a most dramatic manner the global correlation of forces in the latter's favor. Here economic statistics speak for themselves. The annual Gross National Product of the Warsaw Pact countries for 1977-78 was estimated at \$1 trillion; that of the United States at \$2 trillion; that of Western Europe at somewhat above \$2 trillion; that of Japan somewhat under \$1 trillion. By this yardstick, the present correlation of economic forces is five-to-one in favor of the West; but it shifts to four-to-two in favor of the Communist bloc once Western Europe's and Japan's links with the United States are severed. Even if one allows for a fifty percent decline in European and Japanese productivity as a result of such a change (has it not been said that under Soviet domination the Sahara would promptly experience a shortage of sand?), Moscow could still confront the United States as at least an economic equal.

But an assault on Europe and Japan is risky, because they are protected by forces with large U.S. contingents as well as by the U.S. strategic deterrent. Hence, here too an indirect strategy is preferable.

The Soviet Union may be said to be laying siege to Western Europe and Japan in the same manner in which medieval castles were blockaded prior to the introduction of gunpowder—that is, by a systematic effort to cut off the flow of reinforcements and supplies: reinforcements of manpower and material from the

center, or prison, and stay there until it is determined whether or not you will be useful to the state.

If it is decided that you are useless for anything but physical labor, you will be assigned to homosexual work details of a menial nature and carefully watched and guarded. Since your homosexuality or lesbianism will be considered degenerate, you will find little care taken for your well-being.

If you have high qualifications in science, technology, or administration, you may be placed in an appropriate job. But you will be separated from the rest of society, and all you say will be watched and reported.

The decision about your usefulness will not be made overnight, and incarceration of two to four years will not be unusual.

If you are old or in bad health, if you are defiant, or if you are flamboyant about your sexual preferences, you can expect to be killed.

Hotel owners and employees

In the Soviet system, hotels become, of course, state property. And since, in the Soviet system, transients and travellers must have permission to travel, the business of hotels is likely to take a drastic plunge after takeover.

Since there won't be much (if any) tourism after the takeover, hotel owners can prepare to throw in the towel, and many hotel employees will be jobless.

When hotels are reestablished, they will be operated by the state, usually for special purposes and special clientele.

Housewives

In the Soviet system a housewife is also a worker. Most women are required not only to maintain their households, but also to work, and in some of the most menial jobs.

Women find this not only an obligation levied upon them by the state, but also a matter of finance. Their husbands' salaries, set by the state are almost

United States, and supplies in the form of fuel and metals from the Middle East and South Africa.

In the event of war, there would be activated a giant sea and air lift pouring troops and material from the United States to the European front. To disrupt this flow, the Russians have constructed a powerful ocean-going navy, centered on submarines and concentrated in ports of the Kola peninsula. This navy would have the task of penetrating the Iceland-Faroes-England gap and striking at American convoys.

Pressure points

As political backing for this naval strategy, the Soviet government exerts relentless pressure on the Scandinavian countries, sometimes directly, sometimes through the agency of Finland. To relieve that pressure, Norway and Denmark have for a long time refused the stationing of NATO troops and nuclear weapons on their territory; this act of self-denial has by now become part of the status quo which the Soviet Union jealously guards and is unlikely to permit to change. The integration of Soviet and Finnish railway lines and the construction in Finland of highways pointing in the direction of Norway strongly suggest that in the event of hostilities the Russians would strike fast to seize Norwegian ports and airfields, as Hitler had done in 1940. Sweden, not a member of NATO, is frequently harassed with accusations of violating its neutral status. It was apparently in response to Soviet browbeating that the Swedes consented to supply the USSR with a floating drydock capable of servicing a giant aircraft carrier presently under construction there. This Soviet activity in Scandinavia is given scant attention by the American media although its strategic implications for Europe are not much less than the more familiar Soviet challenge to the oil routes. Nine-tenths of U.S. war supplies to the European fronts would have to travel by sea, so that a serious Soviet threat to the North Atlantic sea lanes would be bound to have significant repercussions on the progress of European operations.

(According to testimony by the recently retired commander of the Atlantic Fleet, Admiral Isaac Kidd, the Allied navies could maintain control of the North Atlantic sea lanes in face of this threat but only at a very high cost.)

The other Soviet pincer is directed toward the Middle East and aims at cutting off, in the event of hostilities, fossil fuels and minerals without which the economies of America's allies would not be able to function. The task here is much more difficult to accomplish than in the north, if only because the Red Army lacks naval and air bases in this area, but the intensity of the effort bespeaks the strategic design. Soviet forces have been positioning themselves over the years near three principal choke-points through which Middle Eastern oil

Life In The Soviet System: After The Divorce, Then What?

The divorce rate in the USSR is among the world's highest. Once you get a divorce, however, you may not be able to find other housing. Thus people have been forced to continue to live together because of this housing problem.



SERVICE WITH A SMILE

—Was it you who called for television repair?

—From Krokodil (Moscow), June 20, 1963.

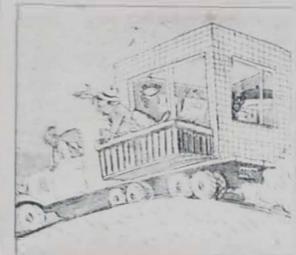
supplies must travel en route to their destinations in Europe and Japan. One of these is the Straits of Bab el Mandeb which guard access to the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. Soviet and pro-Soviet forces stationed in South Yemen and Ethiopia would undoubtedly attempt to seize this waterway in the event of war. To the east lie the Straits of Hormuz, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union has a long way to go to gain a stranglehold on these straits, but it should be noted that its occupation of Afghanistan has cut in half (from 1,100 to 550 kilometers) the distance Soviet planes must traverse to reach them. Finally, in Southeast Asia, where it has a friendly client in Vietnam, the Soviet Union is within reach of the Straits of Malacca, a major route for oil tankers on their way to Japan.

European and Japanese dependence on South African minerals, though less well known than their reliance on Middle Eastern oil, is nevertheless considerable. America's allies derive a high proportion of such industrial minerals as chrome, platinum, vanadium, and manganese from Rhodesia and South

always very low, and women are grateful for the opportunity to work and increase the family salary, if only to buy food.

The role of women in the Soviet system is in fact pathetic and bears not much resemblance to the standards American women (either as housewives or workers) have become used to.

For the ordinary person in the Soviet system just trying to stay alive is an all-consuming project.



"Can't you get a move on? I've already invited guests for the housewarming."

Immigrants

The new Soviet rulers will have ready a choice of futures for you depending on which country you emigrated from.

If you fled from a Soviet-controlled country, you already understand what your probable fate is.

The Soviets have to control the larger mass of people by creating terror and fear in them, and in this cause minorities are often sacrificed.

At any rate, Chinitans, little Italys, and Polish, Irish, and white Russian communities are almost certain to be dispersed. They will be feared by the new Soviet régime as breeding places for dissidents and insurrections.

Immigration service personnel

The Soviets restrict travel, immigration, and emigration almost to a trickle.

Movement of Soviet-controlled peoples is overseen by the KGB, with the purpose of preventing movement, not facilitating it or

Africa. The intense involvement of the Soviet Union in the so-called "national-liberation" movements in sub-Saharan Africa, the quick exploitation of opportunities offered by the dissolving Portuguese empire, indicate the intention to deny these resources to the West.

The Soviets and the Third World

The flanking movement directed at Europe through Africa and the Middle East brings the USSR into contact with Third World countries and demands the formulation of a Third World political strategy. In the immediate post-Stalin years, the Soviet Union relied on alliances with so-called "national-bourgeois" movements, that is, movements that shared with the Soviet Union a common hostility toward the "capitalist" and "imperialist" West without being pro-Communist or socialist. They provided the kind of "temporary" allies whose utilization Lenin had recommended. The policy called for the exploitation of the anti-Western, anti-colonial sentiments of charismatic national leaders, some of them tainted with pro-Axis collaboration, as a means of eliminating the many strands of



Western influence which remained in place even after formal colonial ties had been cut.

This strategy proved, by and large, disappointing. The Third World leaders whom the Soviet Union cultivated and supported with munificent aid turned out to enjoy too narrow a power base to serve as reliable allies: the sudden death of one or a successful coup against another could change the political climate in a given country overnight, turning it from a friend into an enemy and, in the process, sending billions of rubles' worth of aid down the drain. Such disagreeable reversals occurred in 1965 in Indonesia with the overthrow of Sukarno and a year later in Ghana with the removal of Nkrumah. Even worse were the consequences of the change in political orientation accomplished by Sadat after the 1973 war during which the Soviet Union had given him invaluable help. Once Sadat concluded that the concessions he desired from Israel could be procured for him by the United States but not by the Soviet Union, and that to qualify for U.S. support he needed to assume an anti-Soviet stance, the days of Soviet influence in Egypt were numbered. Moscow had to stand by helplessly while its immense investment in Egypt went to naught.

The defection of Egypt was the unkindest blow to Soviet policies in the Third World. Egypt was the linchpin of Soviet Middle Eastern strategy, the political-military base from which Moscow hoped to expand its influence both into East Africa and into the Arabian peninsula. It was the recipient of unstinting Soviet aid. To save its armies from impending disaster, the Soviet Union had engaged in a serious confrontation with the United States. And all this proved in vain once the "bourgeois-nationalist" dictator decided to reorient his foreign alliances.

Following Egypt's defection, Moscow seems to have undertaken a reappraisal of its Third World strategy, the results of which are becoming increasingly apparent. The new strategy calls for smaller reliance on "bourgeois-national" leaders like Sukarno, Nkrumah, and Sadat, in favor of minor political figures who owe their political status to Soviet backing. Such new Soviet friends in the Third World as the recently deceased Neto of Angola, Colonel Mengistu of Ethiopia, and Taraki and Karmal of Afghanistan are not national heroes with their own power base, however narrow, but small-time politicians dependent on Moscow's support. To place them in power — or to remove them from it once they have proven inconvenient — the Russians have not hesitated to resort to gangster-type "executions" by their military or security services. To buttress their influence, they bring in large numbers of permanent Soviet military "advisers," Cuban mercenaries, and security services from the USSR and Eastern Europe. Once these forces are installed, an infrastructure is created which is fairly impervious to sudden changes in native leadership. Because of the presence

supervising it.

The new American KGB will doubtless replace immigration personnel. So you'll be out of a job.

The former United States is likely to be divided into economic sectors, and travel between them will be forbidden. Only the élite of the Soviet system come and go as they wish, and, of course, they do not need "immigration" authorities to oversee their travels.

Insurance companies and Insurance policyholders

Insurance does not exist in the Soviet system. Things destroyed by mishap are sometimes replaced by the state, but not always, and often not at par. If your home burns down, you will get moved to a new apartment or dwelling.

Insurance belongs to the free-enterprise concept of life, not to the Soviet idea of economy, which is state-controlled and state run.

Intellectuals

The Soviet system does not like intellectuals at all.

Along with bourgeois capitalists, Jews, theologians, and minorities, intellectuals *always* find themselves among those hunted down and persecuted.

Intellectuals who glorify the virtues of the communist and Soviet system are employed for propaganda purposes. Those who "intellectualize" along other avenues are called dissidents.

When something goes wrong in the Soviet system (as it often does) "engineers" and "intellectuals" are always made scapegoats.

Great show trials are often staged.

But most intellectuals simply and suddenly disappear.

Intelligence services: members of the CIA, FBI and other United States intelligence services

You had just as well make your peace with the hereafter.

of Soviet, Cuban, and East European military and police personnel within their borders, it is unlikely that either Angola or Ethiopia will slip out of Soviet control as easily as Indonesia or Egypt did. To solidify their hold further, the Russians have assisted their hand-picked heads of state in carrying out mass murders of the opposition: According to the late Amin, the Taraki government in Afghanistan during its brief tenure in office executed 13,000 political prisoners. Massacres on a similar scale have been perpetrated in Ethiopia.

Afghanistan, Cuba and China

Promising as the new Third World strategy is, it is not without drawbacks. In countries in which it intervenes so heavily, the Soviet government assumes deeper commitments and finds it even more difficult to accept with equanimity the prospect of the area's slipping out from under its control, as its recent actions in Afghanistan have demonstrated. Here even the advanced type of control — hand-picked candidate, surrounded by Soviet military and police advisers, and made secure by extensive bloodletting of opponents — did not suffice and a full-scale occupation was deemed necessary.

It is doubtful whether the Soviet Union would have dared to intervene in the Caribbean as it is now doing were it not for a fortunate accident. In 1962, in what he seems to have regarded as a major diplomatic coup, President Kennedy agreed to guarantee Cuba from American invasions in return for the Soviet removal from there of its medium-range ballistic missiles. This guarantee proved so valuable to the Soviet Union, by providing it with a secure base for political subversion and military action in the Western hemisphere, that one is tempted to suspect that the USSR had planted the missiles in Cuba precisely in order to wrest just an agreement. Cuba provides limited but potentially valuable air and naval bases to Soviet forces. It also furnishes troops and political cadres to carry out Soviet missions in the Middle East, Africa, and Central America. It is altogether the most dependable Third World ally, headed by a megalomaniac whose self-defined historic mission requires him to lean heavily on Soviet assistance.

There remains China. In regard to that country, the Soviet Union seems to have settled, after a certain hesitation, on a defensive strategy. In the early years of their quarrel, some Soviet leaders seem to have desired a quick, preemptive strike against China, but in the end cooler heads prevailed. The prospect of fighting another totalitarian régime, thousands of miles away, in an area poorly served by transport, was not appealing to a régime which, if it is to fight at all, must win quick, decisive victories. Soviet forces presently deployed in the Far East are formidable, to be sure, but they do not appear designed for offensive operations. The Chinese military estimate

that in order to present a credible threat to them, the Russians would have to mass along their frontier between two and three million troops, which is several times the number they have there at present. Soviet missiles, too, are deployed mainly against NATO.

Life In The Soviet System: Spy Mania

Spy mania "was very useful for everyone who possessed any privileges. It became the natural justification for increasingly widespread secrecy, the withholding of information, closed doors and security passes, fenced-off dachas, and secret, restricted special shops. People had no way of penetrating the armor plate of spy mania and learning how the bureaucracy made its cozy arrangements, loafed, blundered, ate, and took its amusements."

What our response must be

To frustrate Soviet global strategy, it is necessary, first and foremost, to acknowledge that it exists. We must get rid of the notion, widespread among America's educated and affluent, that the Soviet Union acts out of fear, that its actions are invariably reactions to U.S. initiatives, and that it seizes targets of opportunity like some kind of international pickpocket. We are dealing with an adversary who is driven not by fear but by aggressive impulses, who is generally more innovative in the field of political strategy than we are, and who selects his victims carefully, with long-term objectives in mind.

Secondly, it is essential to overcome an attitude toward nuclear weapons which leaves us increasingly vulnerable to subtle forms of psychological and political blackmail. We once had a similar attitude toward cancer: it used to be thought that the mere mention of this disease brought it about. In fact, however, open discussion of cancer has led to early diagnosis and treatment, and considerably reduced the danger of death from it. Nuclear weapons are a kind of cancer of the international body politic. Awareness of their actual (rather than imaginary) dangers can lead to sensible measures being taken to reduce the risk of nuclear war breaking out and to keep casualties low should it nevertheless happen. Unless we are prepared to confront this danger, the growing Russian preponderance in strategic weapons will leave us in a position where we shall have no choice but to capitulate to Soviet demands whenever they are backed with the threat of war.

Thirdly, we should take an honest look at our alliance

All American intelligence services will be abolished. Most of their employees will undoubtedly be branded enemies of the Soviet system immediately after takeover.

In the Soviet system all, repeat all, enemies of the system are executed. Some of you may be kept alive in prisons or concentration camps while undergoing debriefing by the new American KGB. After that you also will be shot.

Interior decorators

Interior decorating, as we know it today in the United States, definitely is part and parcel of the free-enterprise system, and quite often an opulent one at that.

After takeover, when everyone's salaries are set by the state, there will be little extra money that might be used to engage the services of decorators.

Interior decoration is only one of the many capitalist luxuries that will probably all but vanish.

Investment counsellors

There are none in the Soviet system, since there are no investments. Remember, everything belongs to the state and is run by it and its élite. It is the end of Soviet ideology that the economy, in all its aspects, should come under the control of the people who control the state. It is not *money* that is to be made, but *product*. And the type, quality, and frequency of product is set forth by the state itself.

All aspects of "investing" belong to the free-enterprise idea of life, and all people participating in that are considered enemies of the state.

Enemies of the state are imprisoned and/or liquidated.

system which has deteriorated to the point where its utility seems more psychological than real. For some time now NATO has been a one-way street: the United States underwrites the security of Western Europe against Soviet attack, but its West European allies feel no particular obligation to support the United States in its confrontations with the Soviet Union in any other part of the world. This holds true even of the Middle East where Europe's interests are, if anything, yet more directly involved. Such behavior encourages the Soviet leaders to act aggressively in the Third World, in the knowledge that here the United States will be confronting them alone, and that such confrontations serve to exacerbate America's differences with its allies.

Fourthly, we must correct as rapidly as possible the skewed military balance, especially where strategic and naval forces are concerned. If a commensurate effort is undertaken by Western Europe and Japan, and if the mutual obligations of our alliance are made more equitable than they now are, then Soviet expansion into the Middle East and Africa ought to prove costlier and therefore less attractive.

The ultimate purpose of Western counterstrategy should be to compel the Soviet Union to turn inward — from conquest to reform. Only by blunting its external drive can the Soviet régime be made to confront its citizenry and give it an account of its policies. It is a well known fact of modern Russian history that whenever Russian governments suffered serious setbacks abroad — in the Crimean war, in the 1904-05 war with Japan, and in World War I — they were compelled by internal pressure to grant the citizenry political rights. We should help the population of the Soviet Union bring its government under control. A more democratic Russia would be less expansionist and certainly easier to live with.

0. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works* (London, n.d.), XXVII, pp. 373,377; emphasis added.
1. XXIV S"ezd KPSS: *Stenograficheskiy otchet* (Moscow, 1971), I, p. 482; emphasis added.
2. Lenin, *Collected Works*, XXXI, pp. 70-71.
3. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. October 10, 1979.
4. "Soviet Defense Expenditures in the Era of SALT," United States Strategic Institute Report 79-1 (Washington, D.C., 1979), pp. 10-11.
5. Victor C. Johnson, co-author, *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1979, p. 919; emphasis added.

[Richard Pipes is Frank B. Baird, Jr., Professor of History at Harvard and the author of, among other works, *Russia Under the Old Régime*, and a recently completed two-volume biography of Peter Struve. His widely discussed article, "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Could Fight & Win a Nuclear War," appeared in *Commentary*, July 1977.]

The Controlled Press

In the Soviet system the press is so firmly controlled that even disasters are hardly ever reported. Why this should be so is very hard to figure out. Perhaps the Soviets view their system as perfect and without blemish, so that even the reporting of disasters would in some way mar the illusion. Aside from the stupidity of this approach to news reporting, it can also be tragic.

For example: A young woman flew from Central Asia to take her entrance examinations for Moscow State University. After a length of time went by without word from her, her parents became concerned. The father flew to Moscow to try to find her, and found that she had never reported for her examinations. Friends of the family had not seen her. The police said they knew nothing, and directed him to the airport police detachment. At the airport he was instructed to keep quiet about the airplane that had carried his daughter, and only after agreeing to keep the information confidential was he told that the airplane had crashed, killing his daughter and all other passengers.

The Soviet press never reports human catastrophes. Aeroflot, the only airline in the Soviet Union, both domestic and international, quite frequently only looks at passes, and sometimes (unexplicably) does not take names of passengers. Then, when a plane goes down, the airline does not know whom to notify. How do you like that?

When an important accord is reached between the ruling élite of the Soviet system and some other nation, news of it is often omitted from the Soviet press.

When one is mentioned, it is almost always in the form of a verbatim text of the agreement, without explanation or analysis to make it intelligible to the people.

Often the most meaningful sections of important documents are omitted entirely. For example, when the arms-limitations protocols appeared in the Soviet press, the numbers of the various types of arms permitted on each side were not printed.

An American newsman, Hedrik Smith, was told by one Soviet scientist that to have admitted to the ordinary Russian that the two sides had agreed to such a precise calibration of their forces would very likely have impaired the Communist party's ability to maintain Cold War ideology among the people. It would also have created difficulties with science or military secretiveness in the Soviet system. The false rationale for maintaining the entire system of secrecy would come apart if the Soviet intelligentsia or the public were made aware of the true extent of the arms agreements between the Soviet system and the

Jewelers

The profession of jeweler will disappear, although such skills as the cutting of precious stones, of providing them with settings, will be preserved to serve the new governing élite.

Jewelers have, for centuries been viewed as skilled professionals, operating in a highly profitable field. But when the Soviets arrive, all elements of entrepreneurship and individual enterprise will be eliminated. The use of diamonds or their synthetic substitutes for industry will continue.

Ownership of jewelry will be regarded as proof of "bourgeois" or "capitalist" attitudes, and bureaucratic means will be developed to enable the state to seize such property. Following such seizure, jewelry will find its way into the possession of the emerging Soviet élite. Bluntly speaking, the procedure will legalize the theft of jewelry from their owners, and the transfer of such ownership by pseudo-legal means into the hands of the small ruling coterie.

Jews

Under a Soviet régime, Jews would feel the repressive force of Kremlin-type control from two directions: as a religious denomination, they will be hit by the same official obloquy as will any other religion. In addition, following the Soviet pattern, Jews will be pinpointed as an ethnic group of notable intellectual independence, and thus as potential antagonists of the Soviet régime.

In a Soviet America, Jews would be pressed to give up their identity, while suffering open or hidden discrimination and while facing a quota system in education and the professions.

But even worse, with the takeover of the United States, the Soviets will at last have its hands on the wealth, strength, and resistance of international Jewry.

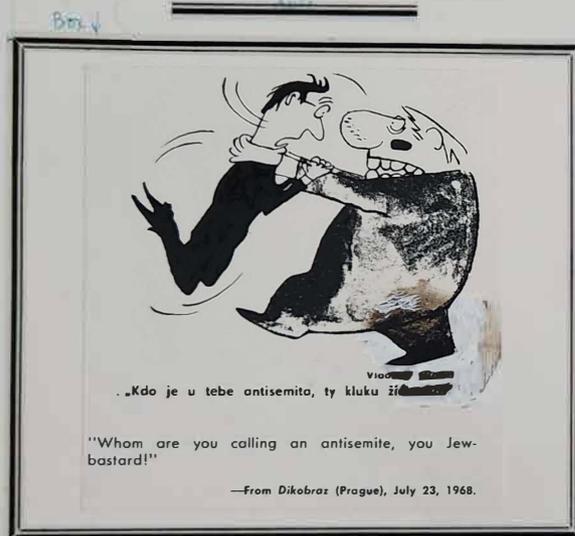
Any amelioration of the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union that has occurred in recent years has come about because of the humane and political power of organized international Jewry. Once the Soviet system has its hands on American Jewry, it

United States.

People living within the Soviet system have very little access to news concerning the strategic arms race.

Only a very small fraction of the ruling or political élite know anything at all about international situations that are daily headlines in the American press.

The average subject in the Soviet system may never have seen any news item dealing with the balance of nuclear or strategic terror. Acronyms such as MIRV, ICBM, or even SALT have rarely been mentioned in the Soviet press, and so have never had a chance to become household or educational words.



In Order To Have A Really Controlled Press, Everything Must Be A State Secret

There have been several waves of arrests as a result of a Decree on Revealing State Secrets (1949). State secrets were

made to include such things as: the district harvest; any figure on epidemics; the type of goods produced by any workshop or minifactory; mention of a civil airport, municipal transport routes, or the family name of any prisoner imprisoned in any camp. Violations of this decree were punished by fifteen years imprisonment.

An Example Of What Isn't News In The Soviet System

The Russians have come to accept, as a fact of their everyday life, that information they need to know in order to get along never appears in their newspapers.

For example: During August of 1972 Moscow was covered with an intense smog. Visibility was not more than three hundred yards. The vast domestic airport at Domodyedovo on Moscow's outskirts was closed down. Drivers had to use their headlights in the middle of the day. Muscovites covered their faces, wiped tears from their eyes, and coughed violently.

The newspapers mentioned nothing about this condition. There were only rumors; vast fires surrounding the city, the possibility of evacuation. The Muscovites were understandably concerned. Finally, after a week of smog and smoke, one very brief back-page report mentioned a fire some sixty miles east of Moscow. Yet everyone could see that the smoke was too thick to have blown in from sixty miles away. Two days after this first small report another report appeared that the "smoke from this fire had reached Moscow," as if the fact had not already been apparent for ten days. A few days after that the air cleared. An article appeared announcing some regulations concerning lighting fires in the tinder-dry forested regions around Moscow.

Most of the controlled press never mentioned the cause of this weeks-long smog and smoke, and *Pravda*, the Party's most important newspaper, never mentioned it at all. Only in fragments of gossip and rumor was it finally understood by the inhabitants of Moscow that in early July (no less) fires had broken out in the forests near Moscow, raged out of control for weeks, and that entire military units, paratroopers, planes, and over one thousand firefighters had joined the battle to halt the flames not more than fifteen miles outside Moscow, just before they started consuming its populated suburbs.

will be free to proceed with the eradication of Soviet Jewry, the state of Israel, and American Jewry. It will subject Jews to unbearable hardships as it sets about destroying this highly influential religious group.

If, at the time of takeover, you are a Jewish leader or private person of any power or influence, there is little doubt you will at the very least be imprisoned until you are debriefed on your sphere of influence and power. It is almost certain you will never be released back into society, since doing so would create the possibility of Jews collecting around you.

The international dismantling of this great faith presents the KGB with immense difficulties, and the propaganda surrounding it will be complex and mysterious. It will be important to the Soviet system to pull out the structural supports of the international Jewish organizations, while at the same time avoiding general uprising and resistance that would weaken or destabilize the takeover.

It will probably approach this problem in the way it has solved the problem of the Russian Orthodox Church, that is, by masquerading KGB functionaries as Orthodox ecclesiastics.

So if you are a Jew at the time of takeover, but not a Jew of power and influence, you can probably count on your generation surviving somewhat intact. But by the time of your grandchildren, Jews will have been educated into the terms of the Soviet system and away from the Jewish faith.

Journalists

Journalism schools in a Soviet America would place primary emphasis on political "education" and only secondary importance on talent and skill. The schools of journalism at universities will then be designed to train men and women with a thorough grounding in Marxist/Leninist ideology, plus the technical knowledge to produce editorial material for newspapers and magazines, including the major news magazines.



The Blank Pages Of American Magazines In The Soviet System

Many American magazines are available in the Soviet system providing they have passed through the several censorship barriers that control information in the Soviet system.

Magazines such as *Scientific American*, *Newsweek*, and *Time* circulate with blank spaces or pages in them. These blanked-out pages represent information that reflects badly upon conditions in the Soviet empire, the arms or technological races, peace accords, the quality of life in America (degrading aspects of American life are never blanked out), or the openness of American markets and American overproductivity.

Sometimes the Soviets run an advertisement five or six times in the blanked-out spaces in order to cover up the censorship excisions.

What A Foreign Correspondent Has To Go Through In The Soviet System To Send A Story Out

A correspondent wishing to send out a news story must take three copies to the telegraph office: one goes to Glavlit, the Soviet system's censorship apparatus; one is to be used for transmission; and the third is returned to the news correspondent after censorship.

From this third copy the correspondent sees what deletions have been made. He is never allowed to see the censors or argue with them.

The censor's deletions and decisions are final and cannot be appealed.

Often the entire story is stopped. In that case the correspondent does not get back the third copy. Usually censorship of a dispatch takes only twenty minutes, unless something special is going on.

Radio correspondents also have to submit advance copy, and their radio calls (and telephone calls) are monitored. If there is any deviation from the censor-approved text, the communication will be cut.

Glavlit is most concerned with very sensitive topics like speculation about the instability of the ruling élite and the privileged minority, i.e., the Communist party; signs of rifts in the top leadership or changes of assignments or membership in the Presidium; and any personal criticism of leading Soviet figures. But Glavlit also censors reports on natural or manmade disasters, on the moods of the peoples and on dissidents, as well as factual statistics on productiveness and especially failures of the régime to reach its goals.

What is Glavlit, exactly? It is the Main Administration for Affairs of Literature and Publishing Houses. It deals with the censorship (control and suppression) of everything that has to do with words in the Soviet system; from pornography (copies of *Playboy*, which is consequently a very hot black-market item) through imported copies of *Time* (which tends to publish embarrassing articles on the Soviet empire) up to and including works that are thought to feed "religious fanaticism" such as Bibles. These have very limited printings, mostly for Russian communities abroad, and are not on public sale within the Soviet empire.

Only politically reliable graduates will be placed in leading positions, reserved for those who have received high marks for their ability to implement Soviet propaganda themes. Great care will be taken to prepare journalists to serve as news agency editors and correspondents; the existing competing news services will undoubtedly be combined into a single government-controlled service, after the pattern of *Tass*, the official Soviet news agency. News photographers will be trained to select subjects and events which show the régime in the best possible light, while depicting "enemies of the state" in a manner creating revulsion among the public.