1981

Contemporary Soviet Life

Phyllis Theresa Faulkner
Ouachita Baptist University

CONTEMPORARY SOVIET LIFE

May 9, 1981

Honors Paper

Phyllis Theresa Faulkner

CONTEMPORARY SOVIET LIFE

In October of 1917, the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, led a revolution and took over the Provisional Government. Unlike others, who had failed before them, the Bolsheviks were successful in that they involved the peasants in the revolutionary effort. Theirs was a revolution for the people, for the workers. It was not directed as had been the others, toward the upper and middle classes. To get the support which they so desperately needed from the peasants they promised nationalization of the land. No longer would the peasants be exploited by their landlords. They were promised the right to vote and form soviets and thus to have some say in how they were governed. The Socialist democracy which would be set up would embody not just the power of the people, but the power of the working people.[1] This was very attractive to a peasant class who for centuries had been exploited by their landlords and the dictatorship form of rule.

Theoretically, the system of Communism, when it is finally achieved, will be the most efficient and the fairest form of government for all involved. No other form of government will be able to use its human and natural resources more effectively. To the Soviets, the system seems to provide the only way of achieving the maximum production that they believe is essential to the working of a real democracy.[2]

In theory, they believe in the basic human rights; freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of

religious worship, including separation of church and state, as indicated in Articles 124 and 125 of their Constitution.

Their basic system is supposed to eliminate the different classes. Officially, there are only two classes, the workers and the peasants and the white-collar workers and intelligentsia.[3] No one person should be excessively rich, no one extremely poor. Every person, moreover, should have the same basic rights and privileges as everyone else.

In actuality these basic assumptions are rarely seen as they are supposed to exist. Following is a description of how the average Soviet basically lives.

Russian society is definitely stratified. The social elites, that is, members of the Communist Party, especially those in the higher echelons, and other VIP's enjoy privileges unavailable to the average citizen. This is interesting since the U.S.S.R. is supposed to be a country set up by the working people and in the working people's best interest.

The Russian elite enjoy such privileges as the ability to shop in exclusive stores. These stores are accessible only to those persons with the proper credentials. To enter one of these stores one must have a special pass. An entire network of such stores serves the upper crust of Soviet society. "These stores insulate the Soviet aristocracy from chronic shortages, endless lines, rude service, and other daily harrassments that plague ordinary citizens."[4] They often contain imported goods or hard-to-find Soviet items at bargain prices.[5] Special grocery stores are stocked with all kinds of fresh vegetables, fruit, meat and milk which are more likely than not scarce in the average Soviet grocery store. "Certain stores pro-

vide the elite with foreign goods which the proletariat never lays eyes on (at cut-rate, duty-free prices): French cognac, Scotch whiskey, American cigarettes, imported chocolates. Italian ties, Austrian fur-lined boots, English woolens, French perfumes, German short-wave radios, Japanese tape recorders and stereo sets. In other stores, VIP's are even supplied with hot, ready-cooked meals to take out, prepared by Kremlin Chefs."[6] The higher up a person is in the social strata the better the stores in which he gets to shop.

Also available to the elite are such privileges as tickets to the Bolshoi Ballet or theater. The average Soviet citizen rarely gets such an opportunity. Moreover, the elite drive around in chauffer driven cars while the common citizen is lucky to even own one.

The elite also have the opportunity to live in good housing. They are given nice quiet country homes in areas not far from the larger cities in which to live. A person in the upper echelons may even have more than one of these homes.

The average Soviet citizen, on the other hand, has to fight and struggle for everything he has. He is faced with chronic shortages, shoddy goods, poor housing, no fresh fruits or vegetables in the wintertime, and crowded living conditions.

Consumer shortages are such that the appearance of certain items is unpredectable. Such items include toothpaste, towels, axes, locks, vacuum cleaners, kitchen china, handirons, rugs, stylish clothes or decent footwear, to mention only a few.[7]

"A Russian, living in Leningrad, has described in detail the poor conditions in the immediate environs of Leningrad. In June of 1972 there were no lemons, no fruit except poor quality cherries, no lettuce, no vegetables except shriveled carrots, turnips and

potatoes. No fresh milk in the state stores, no real butter. At a suburban store he was able to buy 10 eggs, a scrawny bundle of radishes, a few decrepit onions, a hunk of black bread and a package of tea."[8]

Russian consumers have developed certain devices for coping with these shortages. The average person is always on the look out for a rare find and prowls stores incessantly, hoping to be in the right place at the right time in case the store has gotten in a scarce item. For just that lucky break, all women carry a string bag and men, briefcases for the odd chance that they find something unexpected. Briefcases in Russia are far more likely to be loaded with oranges, hoardes of toothpaste or pairs of shoes than with books or papers.[9]

Russians have also gotten in the habit of carrying plenty of cash with them at all times, for the Soviet system is devoid of credit cards, charge accounts, checkbooks, or easy loans. To be ready for the happy chance of finding something rare you have to get in line right away, otherwise, it will be gone by the time you get back.[10] There is no time to run home and get some money.

Russian consumers also shop for each other. It is an unforgivable sin to run across something rare without buying some extras for friends and relatives. As a result people have memorized shoe sizes, dress sizes, waist and length measurements, color preferences and other vital particulars for a whole host of neighbors and kin. They spend until the money runs out.[11]

The Russian consumer also has to put up with lines. The average Soviet woman spends two hours in line, seven days a week.[12] Lines run from a few yards to a half block to nearly a mile and move at

an excruciating creep.[13]

In most stores, the shopper's ordeal is prolonged by the requirement to stand in not one, but three lines for any purchase—the first to select the purchase, find out its price and order it; the second to pay a cashier somewhere else in the store and get a receipt; and the third, to go pick up the purchase and turn in the receipt.[14]

Consumer goods in the U.S.S.R., at least those made by Russian factories, are often shoddy and of poor quality. For this reason they are often shunned by consumers and passed over for imports which are usually superior in quality.

The shoddy goods are a result of shortages in the factories. Each month a factory has a quota which must be fulfilled. The problem with this is that more likely than not factories do not have the materials and components needed for operation. Normally, not enough parts and components are available until about the 10th of 12th of the month, so although some items can be assembled immediately, they lack certain parts and cannot be shipped out. It's a good month if all the parts are received by the 20th. When everything has been received, the workers have to dash about in a wild frenzy in order to meet the quota. No one cares any longer about quality. Volume is all important. For this reason, when a consumer purchases an appliance, he tries to buy one with a certificate stating it was made before the 15th of the month and not after the 15th.[15]

Besides the shoddiness of Russian goods they are also inferior technologically. For example, a Soviet washing machine, although called semi-automatic, takes constant attention and manual

operation. To operate the washer one must put in the clothes, turn on the tap to run in water, turn off the tap, push a prewash button, come back in a few minutes, turn off the machine, set the switch to drain, wait while it spin dries, pour in fresh water, and so on. Quite different from the U.S. method of dump in the clothes, turn on the washer and forget about it. Soviet industry, in 1972, had not yet produced a clothes dryer.[16]

Because of chronic shortages, the people have developed the term "na levo" which means "on the side" or under the table".[17] "Na levo" is the practice of manipulating the rules so as to get around the ever-present shortages. Through acquaintances and friends, people manage to get things which otherwise they would not have access to. For example, a person who works in an office may have a friend who works in a meat market. By paying his friend or perhaps offering him some other privilege in return he is able to gain access to meat which he would not get otherwise. The friend can get by with this by cutting corners from other customers and thereby not getting caught.[18] A sales clerk in a food store can put hard-to-get meat and vegetables aside for his or her acquaintances. These may include a doctor who can get the clerk Western medicines, an actor who can get theater tickets, a bookstore worker who can get rare volumes and a poet who brings back rock records from the U.S.[19]

"'Making it' in the Soviet Union does not necessarily mean acquiring money, for cash does not guarantee access to roomy apartments, good books, excellent schools, vital medicines, stylish clothes, automobiles, pleasant vacation resorts, or meat and vegetables. There is so much that money cannot buy in the Soviet

economy that cash has only limited value in setting living standards. These items and others are either available to employees of select factories, farms, scientific institutes and other establishments, or they are obtained through the influence of friends and connections, or they are bought in the West by those whose jobs authorize such travel, or they are accessible to people who have permission to live in cities that are favored with good stores, schools and housing."[20]

This sort of practice pervades every department and aspect of the Russian's life so that it is not the amount of money which a Russian has so much as it is who he knows and the ability he has to obtain often hard-to-get materials.

Besides problems in the stores, health care also has problems. Although health care is virtually cost free, doctors are overworked, there are medicine shortages, poor equipment, overcrowded hospitals, and generally low quality service. Mainly to blame for these conditions is the governments low pay to doctors and other medical personnel. Doctors, who are mostly women, are near bottom in pay scales, making about $133-173 a month, less than the average factory worker.[21]

The housing situation in Russia, especially in the urban areas, is often overcrowded and hard to obtain. A lot of achievements have been made to overcome this situation but much remains to be done.

In the 1950's, crowded housing was easily Russia's number-one domestic problem. It was not unusual for apartments to consist of three-room units—one family for each room. There was a common hallway with doors which opened into each family's room and other

doors which led to a communal kitchen and bath.[22]

Since 1956, more than 44 million new units of housing have been built by the state. The scale of the effort is impressive, however, the architecture is monotonous and the interiors are much humbler than their grand facades.

Although the housing is modest by U.S. standards they are bright and airy enough to produce a new outlook on life for those who had previously been crammed into communal flats, sharing kitchen, bath and toilet with four to six other families.[23]

Soviet engineers are fond of bragging that Soviet construction brigades can throw up a fourteen-story apartment building in a month. As can be expected, a price is to be paid in quality. From a distance, the apartments look good enough. Up close, however, they can be seen to be falling apart soon after occupancy; victims of the instant aging that afflicts almost all Soviet construction. Floors are uneven; windows and walls are cracked; kitchen and bathroom fixtures are crude and badly joined.[24]

The Russian people, in general, are a likable lot. In public, they show little emotion. It is considered rude and unmannerly. So, at movies and concerts and in other aspects of Russian life, they often seem cold and impersonal.[25]

In private, however, they are among the warmest, most cheerful, generous and emotional people on earth.[26] Visitors who are truly welcome in Russian homes are usually ushered immediately to the kitchen table. The table, whether in kitchen or sitting room, has a central place in the Russian home. "It is usually a small

table, overcrowded but more intimate, since Russians, living close to one another all the time, like the physical proximity."[27]

Because Russians are so supervised in their public lives, they cannot afford to be open and candid with most people, so they invest their friendships with great importance. They will visit each other almost daily. Their social circles are narrower than those of Westerners and relations between Russians are usually intense, demanding, enduring and often very rewarding.[28]

Russians love a party and seize upon any unusual event as a pretext for having one. Vodka is all important to the Russian, and when an occasion for partying, and especially drinking, arises, they will throw a huge chunk of pay into a single evening of mad jollity and self-indulgence.[29]

Vodka is a national pastime. It is included with just about everything. Whenever there is a time for celebration, no celebration is complete without vodka. When a Russian opens a bottle of vodka, there is no such thing as putting it back on the shelf, it is drunk until the whole bottle is empty. "Russians drink, essentially, to obliterate themselves, to blot out the tedium of life, to warm themselves from the chilling winters, and they eagerly embrace the escapism it offers."[30]

"Vodka eases the tension of life."[31] Many Russians say they cannot trust a man until they have drunk seriously together. Vodka drinking is invested with the sense of machismo.[32]

Because of this love affair with vodka it has nearly become a national disaster. Intoxication plays a major role in crime, accounts for more than half of all traffic accidents, forty per

cent of all divorces, sixty-three per cent of all accidental drownings and one-third of all ambulance calls in Moscow.[33]

A walk down city streets on almost any night will find drunks alone and in groups. "A drunk, incapable of making his way home safely or peacefully, is taken by a policeman or a friend to a neighboring sobering-up station where attendants treat him with showers, coffee, and, usually, sleep. When sober, the patient pays a small fee and is released. No offense is involved. It is a way of keeping drunks out of trouble, and, in winter, from freezing to death."[34]

Women in Russia suffer some of the same problems of inequality as do women in the West. "The strong tradition of male chauvinism in Russian life has been only mildly moderated by the Soviets."[35] In most Russian families the woman manages the household and takes care of the children with little help from her husband.

In 1974, sixty million women, close to eighty-five per cent of all working-age women, were actively involved in the work force, as opposed to fifty per cent in the U.S. The economy really leaves Soviet woment little alternative but to work.[36]

"In their careers, many Soviet women complain of discrimination jsut as vehemently as Western women."[37] Equal pay for equal work is an accepted principle, but getting the equal work is the problem."[38] "Millions of women are shunted into the lower-paying, less prestigious fields."[39] "In farming, women provide the core of the lwo-paid unskilled field hands while men operate the machinery and get better pay."[40]

The problems of women are compounded by the fact that when they get home they have few of the convenient labor-saving devices

available to Western women. There are no dishwashers, washing machines are archaic, and food has to be prepared from scratch as there are no precooked or ready-to-cook meals such as TV dinners or frozen french fries.[41]

Most Russian women love children and regard it a great misfortune that they feel forced by circumstances to forego the pleasures of having more than one child. Because of overcrowding and the expense of children, many feel that they cannot afford them.[42]

Sex is not discussed in public. Youth are not advised or told about it. Western students are astonished by the little that young Russians know about the biology of sex. As a result, birth control often winds up being more a matter of reacting after pregnancy than of planned prevention.[43]

The arsenal of birth control and the information about them is limited. The supply of birth control pills is so erratic that women don't use them. The diaphragm comes in five sizes although Russian women say that they can usually find only two. Most couples practice rhythm or withdrawal.[44]

The main method of birth control is abortion. It costs nothing for a working woman and only about $6.67 for a woman who does not work.[45]

A Soviet woman, wed or unwed, may have an abortion simply by requesting it at her neighborhood clinic. No embarrassing questions are asked and no official stigma is attached.[46] It is common for a woman to have two or three in her lifetime.[47]

Abortions were relegalized in 1955.[48] The decree said the purpose of the new law was "to provide women with the opportunity of deciding for themselves about motherhood and to avert the dan-

ger to women's health by abortions outside hospitals."[49] A woman is allowed freedom of choice during the first three months, but after that she can have an abortion only for medical reasons.[50]

Although abortions are legal, the government by no means encourages it. Rather, it is discouraged because the Russians are concerned about their populaiton growth. The state tries to encourage larger families with all kinds of propaganda and offers a small child-support allowance to families whose income falls beneath a certain level.[51]

The youth of the Soviet Union hunger for Western music and paraphernalia of Western culture such as stylish clothes, blue jeans, wigs, knee-boots and platform shoes.[52]

The government prohibits the sale of jeans and record albums and other Western items as well as prohibits rock concerts. They are forbidden and Western rock groups are not allowed to play in the Soviet Union. They also are not shown on television or played on Soviet radio stations. The authorities are less afraid of Western rock groups, however, than they are of popular home-grown Soviet rock groups. They are afraid that if home-grown groups are allowed real freedom and develop mass followings, then they could become even more difficult to control than some big-name writers, athletes, or scientists.[53]

Despite government opposition there do exist some rock groups in the Soviet Union. These are strictly watched, however, and if they were to get far out of line or cause problems they would be promptly eliminated.

"Russians marry by registering their intention, paying a small fee and returning a week later to confirm the marriage."[54] No ceremony is required though many still practice one.

The typical Soviet wedding ceremony is plain and is performed at what is known as a Wedding Palace. Thirty or forty marriage ceremonies are not uncommon on a Saturday at a Wedding Palace.[55]

The couple tries to wear something special for the occasion. the ceremony lasts only six or seven minutes and the whole affair is conducted as an assembly-line. As soon as one is finished another wedding party is promptly ushered in. It is less a wedding ceremony than an official registration of the act of amrriage.[56]

The school system in the Soviet Union consists of eight years of elementary school, after which, students either go to a vocational-technical type of school fro two years, two years of college preparatory school or completely drop out altogether and join the work force.

To advance in Soviet Society usually requires higher education. To receive the higher education necessary, however, requires the passing of a number of strenuous exams in order to advance to the next level of education.

The system does not always work as it's set up to do. Many children of influential people are able to get into the universities and college preparatory schools even though they did not score well enough on their exams, often ousting other, better qualified students from their place in the entering class. The falsification of examination scores is practiced by many in order to get the chil-

dren of important people into the higher institutions of learning.

Soviet schools differ greatly from American schools. More emphasis is put on memorizaiton of material and strict discipline and leaves very little room for a students individual needs.

The universities differ in that no liberal arts education like that found in the U.S. exists as such. When a student goes to a university to study engineering, engineering is all he studies. It is virtually impossible to change one's major once the individual has decided what it will be. To change one's major would usually require transfer to another university and to do this would require taking the entrance exams again.

Students are confronted with Communist propaganda from the very first day they enter school and are required to take courses in Marxism-Leninism.

Once a student has graduated, he is automatically given a job assignment. He has some choice about where he is sent though not a lot. The government makes it very attractive for a graduate to go where it wants him to go by offering him special privileges.

People are indoctrinated with Communist principles and structure very early in life. In elementary school they can become members of the Pioneers. At age fourteen they can become members of the Komsomol. These two organizations are forerunners of the official Communist Party. At age eighteen one can belong to the Communist Party. The public is very aware that individuals in the Communist Party receive various privileges and rights that others do not have, thus, party membership is desirable.

Party membership is rather difficult to attain. To join the party a Russian must be nominated by three party members who are employed at the same place where the individual is employed and who have worked with him for a year. The candidate is interviewed and investigated and must receive a majority vote and run as an apprentice for months or perhaps years until he is voted on for full membership.[57]

The traditional religion in European Russia is Russian Orthodoxy. In the Asian portion of the Soviet Union it is the Muslim religion. According to official government estimates there are thirty million practicing members of the Orthodox Church and approximately forty million Muslims.[58]

Recently, there has seemed to be a resurgence of religious interest. Most experts agree that it is primarily a result of disillusionment with Soviet Communism, both as a philosophy and a social order.[59] Many individuals, because of frustration in their lives, illness, hardship, or the loss of loved ones, seek relief not in political or social activity but in religion.[60]

The government places many obstacles in the church's path. Only about ten per cent of prerevolutionary Russia's fifty thousand places of worship still survive as such.[61] Children are taught at an early age that religion and science do not mix. God cannot be proven scientifically, therefore, he doesn't exist.

On paper the governments stance on religion looks good. Article 124 of the Soviet constitution states "In order to ensure citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious

worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." This is all well and good until it is realized that the criminal code forbids the teaching of religious beliefs to children in public or private schools and that although anti-religious propaganda is permitted, the right to pro-religious propaganda is not allowed.[62]

The fiercest restrictions on religion are directed against the nation's youth. The Soviet Minister of Education recently declared that "the formation of an atheist ouglook nad convictions, together with their irreconcilabiltiy with religious ideology and morals, represents the most significant aspect of our school's work." A priest who merely reads a Bible story to a minor is guilty of a crime, even if he does so at the request of the parents.[63]

Religious belief is returning to Russia, and that belief is providing personal solace and inspiration to ever growing numbers. People are searching for a sense of purpose and renewal which is lacking in Russia today. "The early Bolsheviks were convinced that religion would wither away under socialism and the present regime continues to summon the nation to 'conduct the struggle against religion.' But it has become apparent to just about everyone that the struggle is being lost."[64]

The media in Russia is largely propagandistic and non-informative. Even the movie theaters and operas are filled with communist themes. "To judge from Soviet newspapers, Russia is a land virtually without catastrophes. There's almost never a line about an automobile accident of any sort. Fires are never mentioned. As far as Soviet newspapers are concerned, Russia seems to be a land

immune to floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, gas-main explosions, suicides, train crashes, and airplane disasters. Plane crashes are acknowledged only when they would be known to the outside world anyway."[65]

The Russian people are literally starving from the lack of information. "People are ill-informed on the simplest level about things going on in their own country and are even more ignorant about events in the world at large. The overwhelming majority of Soviet citizens have no available means of finding things out; besides being a source of irritation and discontent, it also results in an extremely distorted view of the world. Such ignorance is typical not only of 'ordinary' Soviet citizens but also of most persons engaged in science or the arts and has a highly adverse effect on their work."[66]

Russian media has the habit of expressing the good and ignorin the bad in the Soviet Union. "The propaganda is becoming less effective and interesting, news takes longer to get through, newspapers grow more boring, and the pangs of the intellignetsia's information hunger grow even more acute. Any person able to do so ignores Soviet sources and seeks his information elsewhere."[67]

Because of the censorship which occurs within the official Soviet newspapers an underground form of cummunication has arisen, usually referred to as "samizdat". "Samizdat" is information of a private nature. It is usually typed on an individual's own typewriter and circulated by hand. People found possessing "samizdat" on their persons or in their households or producing it in any way are usually arrested on the grounds that they have attempted to damage the socialist system of government. More likely than not the

material found in "samizdat" is something which would not get past the censor in the first place or else it would be published by official publishers.

Although Article 125 of the Soviet constitution guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of the press, this freedom is counterweighted by forbidding private citizens to operate even a mimeograph machine and the criminal code permits prosecution of those who attempt to use the press or speech to damage the system.[68]

Nevertheless, "samizdat" survives and it provides a very real outlet to those individuals who have a need to vent their opinion about the system and the way things are done.

There are numerous prison camps and mental hospitals throughout the country. Those individuals who are arrested and found guilty of some crime against the state are stripped of all rights, expelled from the Communist Party if they were members, removed form their jobs and some sort of sentence is commuted. Five and ten-year sentences are not uncommon for the smallest of crimes.

There are perhaps close to a thousand prison camps with a total camp population of around a million.[69]

Prisoners are often refused visitors, even their spouses. They are tortured, beaten, locked in solitary confinement and subjected to hard labor. Every effort is made to get the prisoner to admit his guilt and conform him to the system.

Mental institutions are used to commit people who might cause too much publicity if they were sent to a camp. So, they are proclaimed insane, suffering from some mental disorder (schizophrenia is popular), and put away until such time that they are perceived to be "well". They, too, are subjected to torture, and even worse,

drugs, in an effort to get them to confess their guilt.

Some of the prisoners serve only one term, others are hounded by the authorities for the rest of their lives and serve numerous prison terms. For many who return to society, it is very difficult to obtain a job. People are afraid to hire someone who is politically suspicious, for they themselves could be arrested on grounds that they support the man's actions and thus contribute to the damage of the state.

Many brilliant individuals have had to resort to menial labor simply because they couldn't find a job.

Another form of punishment, used only recently, is that of exile as in the cases of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Zhores Medvedev, and others. Citizens are usually exiled when they would cause too much international uproar to be imprisoned.

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have traditionally had very strong feelings towards the motherland. "In spite of repression of individual liberties, material shortages, and frustrating red tape the Russians are a patriotic people. It is usually a mistake to interpret a seemingly irreverent comment by a Russian about the regime as a symptom of disloyalty."[70] "Russians may criticize their leaders and complain about their lack of freedom to speak freely but they love their country and have very deep feelings for the Russian soil. The majority of the people believe in the system, albeit with a few changes. They can only compare themselves with their own past and what they see is that the Communist Party has brought them from a nation frought with starvation, hunger and poverty to a world superpower.

There do need to be changes in the Soviet system of government.

Many restrictions now in practice need to be lifted. In many ways they are stifling industrial and technological progress as well as cultural expression.

Change can occur in the U.S.S.R. but it will have to begin at the top and proceed down. Too many controls exist for successful change generated from the bottom. The thing to watch in the future is change in leadership, particularly nn the Politburo. Whether or not the future leaders will be more rigid or more liberal than their elders remains to be seen and that is the element to watch for in Soviet politics in the coming years.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Roy A. Medvedev, On Socialist Democracy (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1977), p. 134.

[2]John N. Hazard, The Soviet System of Government, 4th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 185.

[3]Hedrick Smith, The Russians (New York: The New York Times Book Co., 1976), pp. 28-29.

[4]Smith, p. 26.

[5]Smith, p. 27.

[6]Smith, p. 26.

[7]Smith, p. 60.

[8]Wm F. Buckley, "Inside Russia," National Review, 24(Oct. 27, 1972), 1200.

[9]Smith, pp. 62-63.

[10]Smith, p. 62.

[11]Smith, p. 62.

[12]Smith, p. 64.

[13]Smith, pp. 64-65.

[14]Smith, p. 66.

[15]Smith, p. 216-217.

[16]Smith, p. 137.

[17]Smith, p. 81.

[18]Smith, p. 83.

[19]David K. Shipler, "Making it—Russian Style," New York Times Magazine, (Feb. 11, 1979), 38-46.

[20]Shipler, pp. 38-46.

[21]Smith, pp. 72-74.

[22]Irving R. Levine, Main Street, U.S.S.R. (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959), p. 141.

[23]Smith, p. 75.

[24]Smith, p. 221.

[25]Smith, p. 104.

[26]Smith, p. 104.

[27]Smith, p. 108.

[28]Smith, p. 108.

[29]Smith, p. 119.

[30]Levine, p. 121.

[31]Smith, p. 120.

[32]Levine, p. 120.

[33]Smith, p. 121.

[34]Levine, p. 121.

[35]Smith, p. 127.

[36]Smith, pp. 130-131.

[37]Smith, p. 133.

[38]Smith, p. 134.

[39]Smith, p. 134.

[40]Smith, p. 134.

[41]Smith, p. 137.

[42]Smith, pp. 139-140.

[43]Smith, p. 141.

[44]Smith, p. 141.

[45]Smith, p. 143

[46]Levine, p. 285.

[47]Smith, p. 142.

[48]Smith, p. 141.

[50]Smith, p. 142.

[51]Smith, p. 140.

[52]Smith, p. 178.

[53]Smith, p. 176.

[54] Levine, p. 19.

[55] Smith, p. 182.

[56] Smith, p. 182-183.

[57] Levine, pp. 57-58.

[58] George Feifer, "God is Alive in Russia," GEO,3(Jan. 1981), 124-142.

[59] Feifer, p. 138.

[60] Medvedev, p. 76.

[61] Feifer, p. 140.

[62] Hazard, p. 140.

[63] Feifer, p. 140.

[64] Feifer, p. 142.

[65] Levine, p. 175.

[66] Medvedev, p. 202.

[67] Medvedev, p. 209.

[68] Hazard, p. 207.

[69] Peter Reddaway, Uncensored Russia (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), p. 205.

[70] Levine, p. 26.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buckley, Wm F. "Inside Russia." National Review, 24(Oct. 27, 1972), 1200.

Feifer, George. "God is Alive in Russia." GEO, 3(Jan. 1981), 124-142.

Hazard, John N. The Soviet System of Government. 4th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Levine, Irving R. Main Street, U.S.S.R. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959.

Medvedev, Roy A. On Socialist Democracy. New York: W.W. Norten and Co., Inc., 1977.

Reddaway, Peter. Uncensored Russia. New York: American Heritage Press, 1972.

Shipler, David K. "Making it—Russian Style." New York Times Magazine, (Feb. 11, 1979), 38-46.

Smith, Hedrick. The Russians. New York: The New York Times Book Co., 1976.