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- 3. Probably humanity and we inhabitants of the USSR can create a new system, which is necessary and which the Communists sought to create. Of their experiment it is too early to speak. What do thirty years mean in the life of humanity, in the life of a people? The Communist experiment has been an attempt to develop the will to create a new social life. How can that be done without compulsion? It is good if ten percent of the people are capable of thinking critically. This does not depend on education; thinkers may be kolkhozniki or workers. Now the majority of educated Soviets are technicians and engineers. But that is not culture. Of course, we have obtained a higher level of literacy. but at the cost of actually lowering the cultural level. Among the present intelligentsia, there are very few thinking people; the non-thinkers can only be compelled, because they are interested only in material welfare. All propaganda works on them. It is probably possible to create a good society, but is is necessary to educate the people, to make citizens of them. system of complete lack of freedom raises slaves. Shulgin's "1920" said that Russia could not exist without a tsar, be he white or red. Of course, Stalin was a red tsar. 50X1-HUM
- 4. Earlier the intelligentsia maintained moral standards and principles based on an understanding of duty, and the standards of the masses were maintained by the prohibitions of God. Things are now worse. The youth are without principles. They make up bandit gangs, and spit on everything and everyone. How could it be otherwise when they have been told one thing and have seen the opposite done? The government recognizes this. The rejection by Marx of absolute truth and absolute morality was a bending of a stick to one side. Now the government is bending it to the other. An instructor in dialectical materialsim used to say: "In order to straighten a bent stick, you must bend it the other way."¹
- 5. The new generation are cynics and have no ideals. From childhood on they see only tricks. The Soviets are taught to inform although informants have always been held in contempt. A "new person" is being raised. The family plays a role, but the crippling of a whole generation and of the next goes on. That is most terrifying. I do not want to evaluate the new generation pessimistically, but the percentage of thinking people is lower in the new generation than in ours. But, on the other side, the new generation will supply a smaller percentage of sincere defenders of the regime than ours.
- 6. In the West it is no better. There the people outwardly believe in God, but in fact that is hypocritical. They are interested only in the same material questions. That means that the masses are the same everywhere. In the West they are not guided and there is no balance, but there is agitation. We, on the other hand, are guided, but we are so centralized that there is also no balance, only suppression. Literature and the humanities in general are completely perverted. They cannot develop freely and, without that, there is no authentic culture. The exact sciences produce good technicians who can be led or directed, but who do not think critically.
- 7. in the West going to church is a sort of formality. A good deal of it is habit. With us, even though the risk is not great, it means that a person really wants to go. In Moscow many go to church, but still only a small percentage of the population. In the provinces the percentage is probably higher.

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8. A revolution is theoretically possible. The system was created by human hands and can be destroyed by human hands. ______ the reasonableness of life; i.e., if an idea is not reasonable, it will be modified by nature and the result will be favorable. This is especially true and particularly evident in sociological matters. Reformers think of something ideal, but life doesn't permit it and life begins to modify it. When reformers remain obstinate in their beliefs and struggle with life, humanity loses a mass of blood and strength.

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Probably in the end something can be achieved, but not the ideal. But, then, why seek to attain it if the price is high and the goal costly? 50X1-HUM Dostoyevskiy wrote somewhere that a kingdom built at the cost of a baby's blood will probably produce no good. On the other hand, blood has always been spilled. 50X1-HUM

- 9. Some Communists are opportunists, but there are those who believe. Stalin, a fanatic, to the extent of madness, probably believed. Life does not permit unnatural distortions. That does not mean that in a movement for change there should not be an accompanying human will to the contrary. It is false that personalities do not play a role in history. Even Engels refuted that thesis. Will must be demonstrated, and it is from the union of the shown will and the opposition of life that results are born. That conflict will always exist, but it is necessary to pay attention to both life and conscience. In any event, conscience normally points the way to good. One must follow that goodness or the results will be bad. What is important is willful decisions. These depend on the individual; yet, for Communists, laws are substituted for individuality. If the Bolsheviks had not had Lenin, could the handful of Bolsheviks who played almost no role in the life of the country have been able to make a revolution? He was able to give the necessary slogans and exploit the lack of authority in the situation because the intelligentsia showed itself to be incapable of authority and the "rule of the street" became operative. Kerensky couldn't do anything. The Decembrists couldn't do anything for the same reason. They thought: "Should we shoot or not shoot?" and in the meantime were shot themselves. The personalities of Lenin and Kerensky decided it. How can one say that personalities count for nothing? 50X1-HUM
- 10. I didn't read Stalin's work on philology. I had an opportunity to do so, but he who can get away with it doesn't read such things. Those who study only in order to complete requirements, and they are the majority, do not see the contradictions, the first or the second thoughts, in all these things. They learn mechanically by heart and take their examinations. Those who understand and are interested, see all the contradictions.
- 11. It is correct to say that one must reject attempts to create an ideal society through force. The new social system which must come in place of capitalism will be the result of human thought and the demonstrated human will, limited by conscience and the reasonableness of life.
- 12. Revolution is possible. At the moment of the collapse of authority there will be almost no one to defend it. The fanatics are few, and the opportunists will change sides. They are already running --Kravchenko, for example. If the West shows its strength, the cowards, not the thinking respectable people, will begin to act against the authorities, but they will always try to be on both sides. It is true that the individual can begin to do something, but only limited numbers are capable of a great sacrifice. Individuals are the moving force, but it is difficult to bring them together. The heaviest denial of the regime is that one cannot read, speak, or write about problems. There is hardly a year that goes by that university students are not arrested for reading forbidden books or holding forbidden conversations. That was sacrifice without results. If people want to make sacrifices, they should have some purpose in mind so that the sacrifices will be useful.
- 13. In the agricultural field, the situation is very complicated. Communism is trying to make over human nature, not only the organization of work. Perhaps, at the cost of the destruction of a generation, it will be possible to destroy the property instinct, which is the basis for the work of every peasant and which to this day justifies that work. Here exists the cruelest struggle.
- 14. Communism as a social structure was not badly thought out, but like other ideas it is subject to failure; and the reason for the failure is that the Communists, contrary to nature, contrary to life, try to make everything conform to the idea and do not alter the goal to fit circumstances. If freedom is granted to nature, rather than to the directing and regulating design, nature gives results.

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But the Communists want the ideal to be superior to life. There is the failure.

- 15. Probably there is something false in the idea itself, but where the idea is an hypothesis, as it is in my opinion, this is not so important. What is important is the method of implementing the idea. In the technical field, it is possible to take a completely absurd idea and then by a process of elimination to arrive at the true result dictated by life.
- 16. Capitalism gives great freedom to life, but little will and no ideas. The British experiments are simply nationalization and not evolution. Of course. present capitalism is not the capitalism of the 19th century, as Soviet propaganda would have it. But how can one overcome the problem of the absence of the creative element in work? In the material sense, people live in the capitalist countries as we will not live for a long time, but there is no happiness in work. In the future we must find forms for the participation of the workers in the creative aspects of the industrial process, which will make possible the elimination of the continuing conflict which is the basis for many social problems. For example, the standard of living of workers in the US is at an unusual height, a standard about which it is difficult for us even to dream, but at the same time there is no social peace -- the workers strike. It follows that they do not consider the interests of those enterprises where they work as their own interests. At the same time, the enterprises, regardless of to whom they formally belong, are a part of the national economy and this is against the workers' own interests. To some degree, this conflict has been eliminated by Communism, but the national economy has not been put to the servicing of the requirements of the people.

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