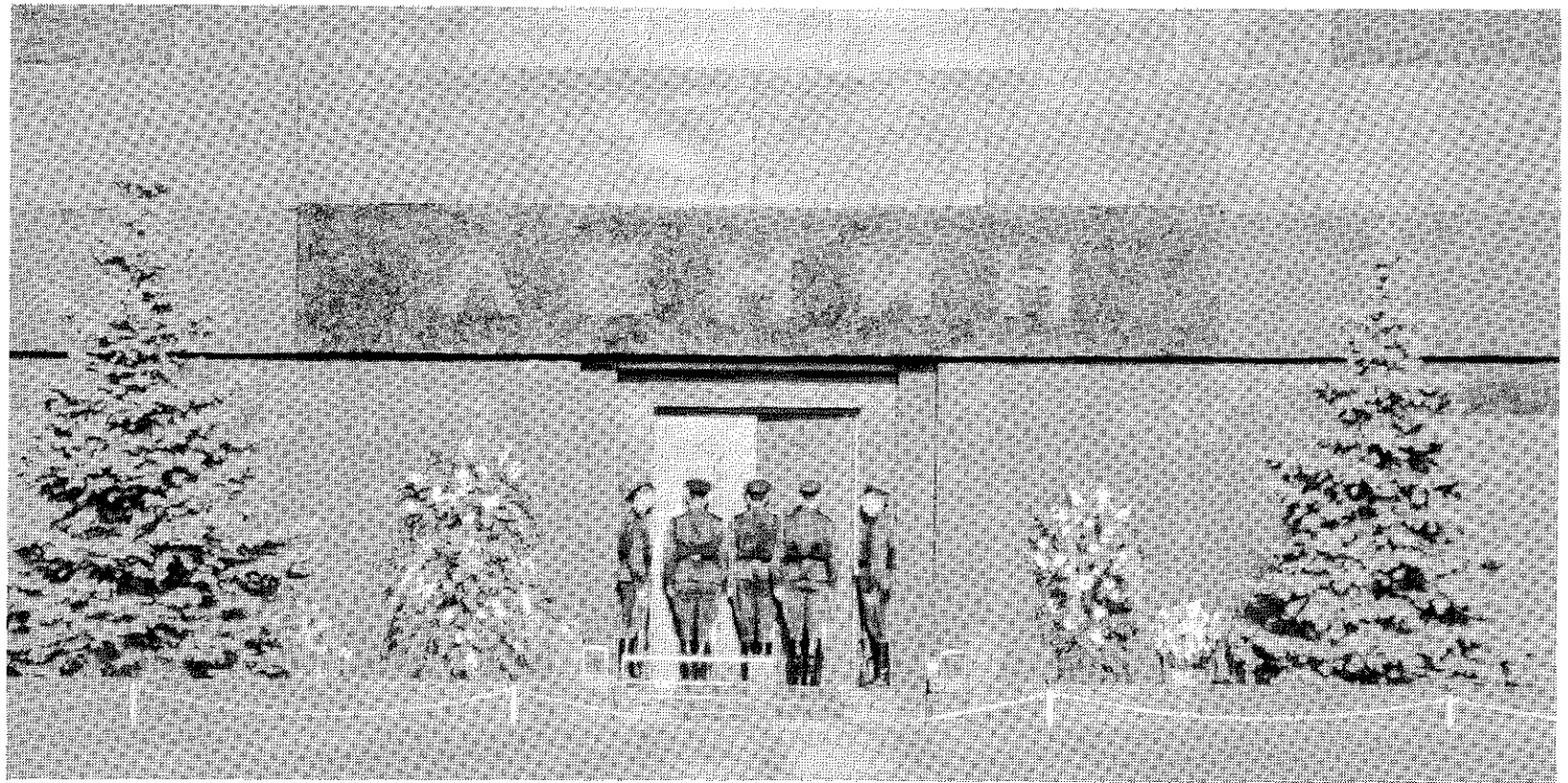


# Red / Black



## The Poetics of Conspiratorial Space

*Vladislav Todorov*

“...fight for  
communistic  
deciphering of  
the World.”

Dziga Vertov

The M

The a  
he rea  
map: 1  
three-  
shado  
tance  
that fo

1 T

The M

TH  
Squar  
be to  
repre  
square  
tral sp  
way: t  
Krem  
Centr  
touris  
of it -  
Russi  
muse  
Inter  
could  
under  
mobi

TH  
the v  
his ba  
most  
comm  
imagi  
point  
rostru  
natio  
below

2 T  
M

The  
the M  
towa  
maso  
Corn  
struc  
ultim

the entire space which opens above and around it.

The mummy is the Head of the Corner which opens up the huge volume of the Kremlin, the Red Square, Moscow, and the USSR as a whole.

LENIN is engraved on the Mausoleum – one of Vladimir Ilych's conspiratorial nicknames. The mummy bears the name of the Great Conspirator, of the Master – the Head of the Corner with which the Masons propped up the Brave New World. It lies beneath a glass lid, carefully guarded. Its right hand is clenched into a fist, as if it was clutching a cap only a while ago.

### 3 The Egg

It is worth noting that the Mausoleum is not situated in front of the Kremlin entrance but rather in front of its Front Wall. Facing the entrance with the clock is the Place of Execution which will be discussed further below. Thus, the Mausoleum resembles a giant swelling on the Front Wall, having locked inside it an incredible Abscess.

The Mausoleum is a catacomb. Something like a huge Egg, buried half-way into the ground which, like any ellipse, has two foci: an upper one, the Rostrum, which governs the time of solemnity in the city; and a lower one, the mummy, which governs the time of mourning in the city.

The Mourning space immediately bears the Solemnity one. Mourning emanates Solemnity. In times of mass exaltations and parades the two foci merge into one, coinciding. The Egg-ellipse becomes a perfect sphere. Solemnity is erected Mourning.

The Mausoleum is a peculiar door which does not immediately govern horizontal space. It allows a vertical flow of life, i.e. up/down. Down is the womb; up, the phallic space of the Mausoleum-Egg. The Womb emanates the Phallus as the Head of the Corner erects itself into a Tower. The mausoleum is an Androgene.

The Head of the Corner is erected into the Head of the Tower, represented by the Kremlin clock. The dead mummy becomes a live device: the clock. The numb-ed body becomes a machine. The place becomes time. The apathetic womb-like mummy emanates the pathetic striking clock which articulates the city's life time. The rhythm of the town is caused by an incessantly erecting womb.

### 4 The Womb

The womb has engulfed the dead body without being able to make it decay. It is the black opaque space into which the ultimate symbol is dropped, that which opens the entire horizon of actuality from itself. The ultimated symbol is wholly

expressed spatially, beyond any possible time. It does not pass. It is. It opens the actuality and in this sense is the limit of history, of time as a whole, of mortality as well.

### 5 The Parade as a Syncope

The womb is shaken by contractions in solemnity cycles. Because of them it throws the symbol upwards, rising and shining. Because of them it is able to throw the city's time of solemnity away from the mourning space. The dead one becomes alive on the Rostrum, mourning becomes exultation. The opaque becomes sparkling. Thanatos-Eros. The Black-Red.

The womb's pulsations contract its own space. Thus, syncopically, the square space erects and becomes raised. The Rostrum.

The Egg-Mausoleum governs the vertical, i.e. the sacred space of the square.

**Lenin is much like himself.**

**He isn't dried up, there is**

**no mask, no days of sacred**

**exposure and no days of taboo.**

★

**The Mausoleum has working**

**hours, not a holy calendar.**

It represents the point where this space is fractured and is split into opposites. It is an assemblage-joint which governs the city's life. It makes space act in a definite way.

### 6 Hammer. Sickle. Five-pointed Star.

The Mausoleum is a Centaur – a galloping mutuality of mourning and solemnity, of Black and Red. Of the Mower and the Blacksmith. The Hammer and the Sickle. Life and Death.

Just as the Mausoleum is present on the Red Square, so is the state emblem present on the Red Flag. The state em-

### The Red Square: Induratio spatii

The ability of the reader to envision what he reads, to see it in his mind's eye as on a map: flat and in contours, as opposed to a three-dimensional image with light and shadow effects at play is of utmost importance for the correct interpretation of all that follows.

### 1 Topography

The Red Square 1989.

There are two ways of standing in Red Square. The first (tourist) version would be to face the Lenin Mausoleum, which represents the symbolic centre of the square. From this position Moscow's central space is arranged in the following way: the Mausoleum is in front with the Kremlin behind it; the Passage or the Central Department Store is behind the tourist; to the left is the Church; in front of it – the Place of Execution; behind it – Russia Hotel; to the right – a large ancient museum building, behind which are the Inter Hotels. From this point the Hotels could be reached through a long tunnel under a gigantic empty space with automobiles soaring over it.

The alternative way is to see it from the viewpoint of a person standing with his back to the Mausoleum. This is the most privileged point of view since it is commanded by the mummy itself – if we imagine it standing up. This is the viewpoint of leaders, teachers who ascend the rostrum of the Mausoleum on solemn national days to face the exulting crowd below.

### 2 The Head of the Corner – Matthew, 21:42

The mummy is laid low underground in the Mausoleum with its head pointing towards the Kremlin Wall. If I use the masonry idiom, it is "the Head of the Corner" which props up the whole construction of the Kremlin and signifies the ultimate, i.e. the primal symbolic point of

blem is a coded Mausoleum.

The five-pointed star is a Gordian knot of angles. In contrast to the six-pointed star, it cannot be decomposed into parts, into triangles. In this way it represents a primal indivisible symbolic device. It is drawn in a single stroke of the hand, i.e. with an unbroken line, locked together, a figure which cannot be disassembled.

This is the fortified space of the symbol: ultimate in its meaning and wonderful in its form.

## 7 Opposites: The Eye vs. The Finger

The double cosmos of the Mausoleum infects the surrounding space.

The viewer always finds himself in the spaces of the museum and never in that which fills them. He is forced to reconstruct the invisible body of actual power only from the traces deposited by it in the museum. The museum is an allegorical order which bears the traces of something immediately absent Here – the body of the actual power. The museum is a device for compulsive guessing.

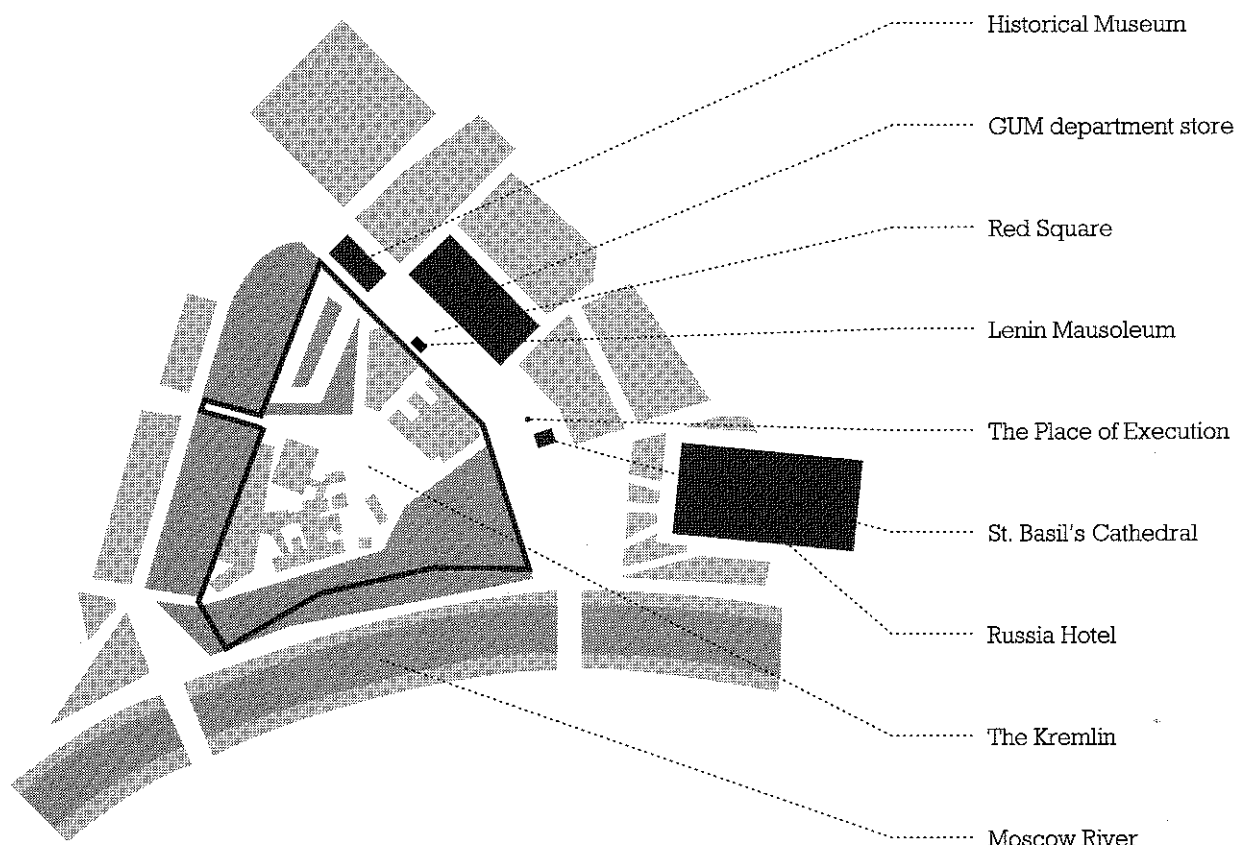
b/ *The "Passage"*<sup>2</sup> is on the opposite side, i.e. opposite the Mausoleum. Contrary to the Kremlin, contrary to strictness, here is situated promiscuous space. The low space. The guts.

The gigantic gate of the Passage stands gaping exactly opposite the Mausoleum. It is a concavity in the corpse of the build-

There, in the Kremlin, the law of this increase is made. Here, in the Passage, it is immediately put into life as a bacchanalia. The objects and bodies here are not exhibits, they are commodities. The body of the commodity and the body of the buyer fall into common definitions, they are in a horizontal relationship and in a position of mutual acquisition. The body of the power which governs them here is immediately, tangibly ulcerous: the Rouble.

c/ *The Rouble* (literally, "coined") is the most perfect and ultimately efficient sculpture. In Latin *sculpto* means coined.

The capital symbol is coined on it. The rouble is the very own space of the symbol. Often, LENIN's capital is engraved



a/ *The Kremlin*<sup>1</sup> is behind the Mausoleum – it is a strictly official space. The Kremlin is a museum. The museum issues strict relationships between the exhibits' bodies and the viewers' bodies. The exhibits represent a sacred, mummified reality, which with its presence confirms various high values such as Nation, History, Greatness, Etc. The body of the exhibit excludes from its own definitions the body of the viewer. The exhibit is raised. The Museum is vertically assembled.

Besides being a Museum, the Kremlin is the actual headquarters of power, of that which generates museum space because it leaves behind itself the histories and traces which are exhibited in this very museum. The Kremlin is a museum, together with that which fills its space from the outside with exhibits.

ing with two winding staircases like two windpipes or like vertebral tapeworms. An orifice which opens up the gulping soft insides of the "Passage." The insides are crawling with people. Its spaces are segmented into a multitude of cells and passages between the cells where the ultimate act of promiscuity is performed – the buying and selling of goods by means of a universal equivalent, the Rouble. The whole promiscuity of objects and bodies which change hands, the whole promiscuous acquisition is governed by a universal equivalent – money. The capital increases precisely by the bustle of bodies and goods, by this frantic eroticization of touch and acquisition, of the enslavement of objects.

on it. Thus, on the one side the Rouble doubles the strict symbolic space by the image of the mummy. On the other side it bears the sign of its pragmatic value expressed in numbers.

The Rouble simultaneously bears the coined signs of the strict and the promiscuous space. Of high symbolism and low commercialism. Of ocular and tangible space. It is a joint. A Centaur. It is the point of intersection of the two kinds of social order. It is a Head of a Corner. A device which makes us at once worshippers and invaders. It constantly brings us back between the Museum and the "Passage:" i.e. on the Square.

The Rouble is the sculpture which can be equally erotically groped and watched. Through it acquisition and deprivation

can be  
horizon  
Square.

d/ *The*  
Kremlin  
actual s  
the Pla  
Temple  
hibiting  
the city  
the Co  
at the r  
Mausole

e/ *The*  
ple, and  
there is  
Assembl  
Promis  
Comm  
not sac  
not stri

The  
space.  
closes,  
guards  
the Ho  
At this  
tourist  
long to  
space.

The  
sombre  
extrem  
aggress  
Like m  
Requie  
soleum  
cereme  
the mi

The  
ing cer  
Black.  
mumm  
the cit  
to it.

The  
segme  
mumm

f/ *The*  
ted wi  
nel, w  
tine. T  
into th

Square  
the m  
erotic  
tine a  
with t  
night  
city bl  
ness o  
orifice  
once a

Bel  
dead f  
the fe  
entire  
their  
their

g/ *The*  
Squar  
descri

can be carried out. It unlocks both the horizontal and the vertical space of the Square.

d/ *The Temple*<sup>3</sup> stands to the side of the Kremlin. Nowadays, it is a potential, non-actual sacred space. It is not acting, just as the Place of Execution in front of it. The Temple resembles a huge rudiment, exhibiting the long-gone Assembly life of the city. This exhibit holds the signs of the Congregational space whose functions at the moment are taken over by the Mausoleum.

e/ *The Hotel*<sup>4</sup> is situated behind the Temple, and on the other side of the Square there is another Hotel. The Hotel is also Assembly space but a non-disciplined, a Promiscuous one. Just as the Temple is a Common Home, so is the Hotel, only it is not sacred but vulgar; not high but low; not strict but lenient.

The Hotel opens the city's prostituting space. At twilight when the Mausoleum closes, just before the hour when the guards change, the prostitutes walk out of the Hotels and towards the Red Square. At this hour it is full of foreigners and tourists of all sorts who by definition belong to the hotel, i.e. to the prostituting space.

The prostitutes are dressed in black sombre attire with bodies seized by a slow, extremely decorous gait, devoid of any aggression or exhibition of insolent flesh. Like mourning figures coming out of the Requiem, they gather in front of the Mausoleum. After the changing-of-the-guard ceremony, unless they are dispersed by the militia, they walk away just as slowly.

The Eros of the city performs mourning ceremonies. The Red is disguised as Black. It is exactly in this way that the mummy makes the prostituting space of the city in a peculiar way active, bowing to it.

The global space of the city with all its segments manifests the presence of the mummy in it.

f/ *The Tunnel*. The Red Square is connected with one of the hotels by a long tunnel, winding like a labyrinth. The intestine. The sewer. The prostitutes creep into this space below the level of the Square in order to take off the burden of the mourning and to twist their bodies erotically. Around the orifice of the Intestine a lecherous crowd is bustling, and with the approaching darkness of the night this central erogenous zone of the city blushes. The increasing voluptuousness of the night makes the rim of the orifice blush. The Red and the Black are once again joined together. The Centaur.

Below the level of the Square is the dead numbed body of the mummy and the feverishly alive body of the Eros. The entire space above the Square performs their mutuality. It presents the forms of their fearsome kiss.

g/ There exists a certain Place on the Square which disturbs its quadrature as described above. This is the round Place

of Execution. It is situated in front of and a little to the side of the Temple and doesn't fall into any of the symmetries on the Square. Slightly raised, it is situated across the entrance of the Clock Tower. In this way it is a rudiment of a once existing centre of the Square, of a once existing Assembly place of the city.

Once it was the ultimate public place. This is where the decrees were read. This is where the sentences were carried out. This is where the body of power exposed its sublime visibility. It is a rudimentary centre of a once existing Congregational space of the city.

When the Mausoleum was erected, it rearranged the symbolic dominants of the centre. This happened after the death of the Great Conspirator, of the leader and founder of the new actuality. The removing of the centre changed the codification of space. It replaced the symbols of the once existing Christian Congregation with the symbols of the actual Party Conspiracy. The Congregational form of life was replaced by a Conspiratorial one.

## 8 The Congregation

The Temple and the Place of Execution, now exhibits-rudiments, once legitimated the Congregational space, at the centre of which the Czar-Father stood. The Place of Execution and the Temple were the sublime rostrums of His double transcendental power – secular and religious.

The Congregational space had been assembled at some primal mythical time. Once it had mythically appeared and had been supported by various metaphors and images which justify its total presence, its civic and religious legitimacy. Congregational life represents a liturgical concord which is supported by sacred allegories and attributes of age-old tradition. It is made cosmic by the suggested presence of a Unicum beyond it made visible Here-inside, exactly by these allegories and attributes. God. The Congregational space is arranged by His transcendental power as a liturgical concord. It is the embodied DECORUM and thus it is beauty and bliss.

## 9 The Conspiracy

It is concord, but in the sense of plot, of cabal. The Party conspiracy arose within the boundaries of the original congregational order at the moment when it disintegrated because of its deepening economical and political debility. The party plot emerged within the boundaries of the Congregational debility of society. The Conspiracy represented the idea for a radical change of the social order with all its mechanisms and arrangement. The idea for a brand new social apparatus originated and was realized within the boundaries of a politically but not of a mythically justified time. This calls for a new principle of concord to emerge and get a firm foothold conspiratorially outside the law and tradition.

Unlike the Congregation, Conspiracy presupposes entirely new metaphors and attributes which ought to make it legitimate. Its legitimacy is political and is finally enforced through Revolution.

## 10 Here/There

The classic mummy represents the dry body of the dead fortified by a mask as a sign of NON-presence Here and Now. A sign of his actual presence There, Beyond, in the Other World. By the body of the mummy this presence beyond is reinforced to the utmost.

The Unicum is calmed down Here in the space of its own eternal sign, i.e. the mummy. The classical mummy is a device

## The Egyptian mummy

## and the Soviet mummy

## codify the world's space

## in a contrasting manner –

## as a congregational and

## a conspiratorial order.

## Mythically and politically.

## Power is either accepted

## or seized according to a

## conspiratorial plan.

which locks together in a joint Here-placement and There-placement. The mummy is a Centaur.

In contrast to this, Lenin is much like himself. He isn't dried up, there is no mask, no days of sacred exposure and no days of taboo. The Mausoleum has working hours, not a holy calendar. Any congregational expectance that there may be something of Lenin There besides that which is Here, is therefore eliminated. His perennial body is a sign of the OMNI-HERE-PRESENCE of conspiratorial power. Later, Stalin was also laid next to Lenin and remained there for years. This is how the conspiratorial order demonstrates its intransience, as it reduplicates the symbolic devices which guarantee its being Here. The multiplication of mum-

mies manifests that everything is in progress, that it deposits over the world's territory more and more signs-mummies of the Party Omnipresence. The mummy is the original power-quantum.

The Egyptian mummy and the Soviet mummy codify the world's space in a contrasting manner – as a congregational and a conspiratorial order. Mythically and politically. Power is either accepted or seized according to a conspiratorial plan.

### 11 The Place of Execution

This place is a rudiment of a once existing sublime visibility of the legal power. Through it the laws in society were decreed as vox of a higher transcendental

The traces of the abused congregational space by the actually pervading conspiratorial one can be found on the Red Square. The rudimentary place of Execution remains as a mutilated monument by a once performed conspiratorial action – the Revolution.

The Mausoleum is the engine of the actually happening political action.

### 12 The Mummy as a Sight Before the Communal Eye of the Worshipper

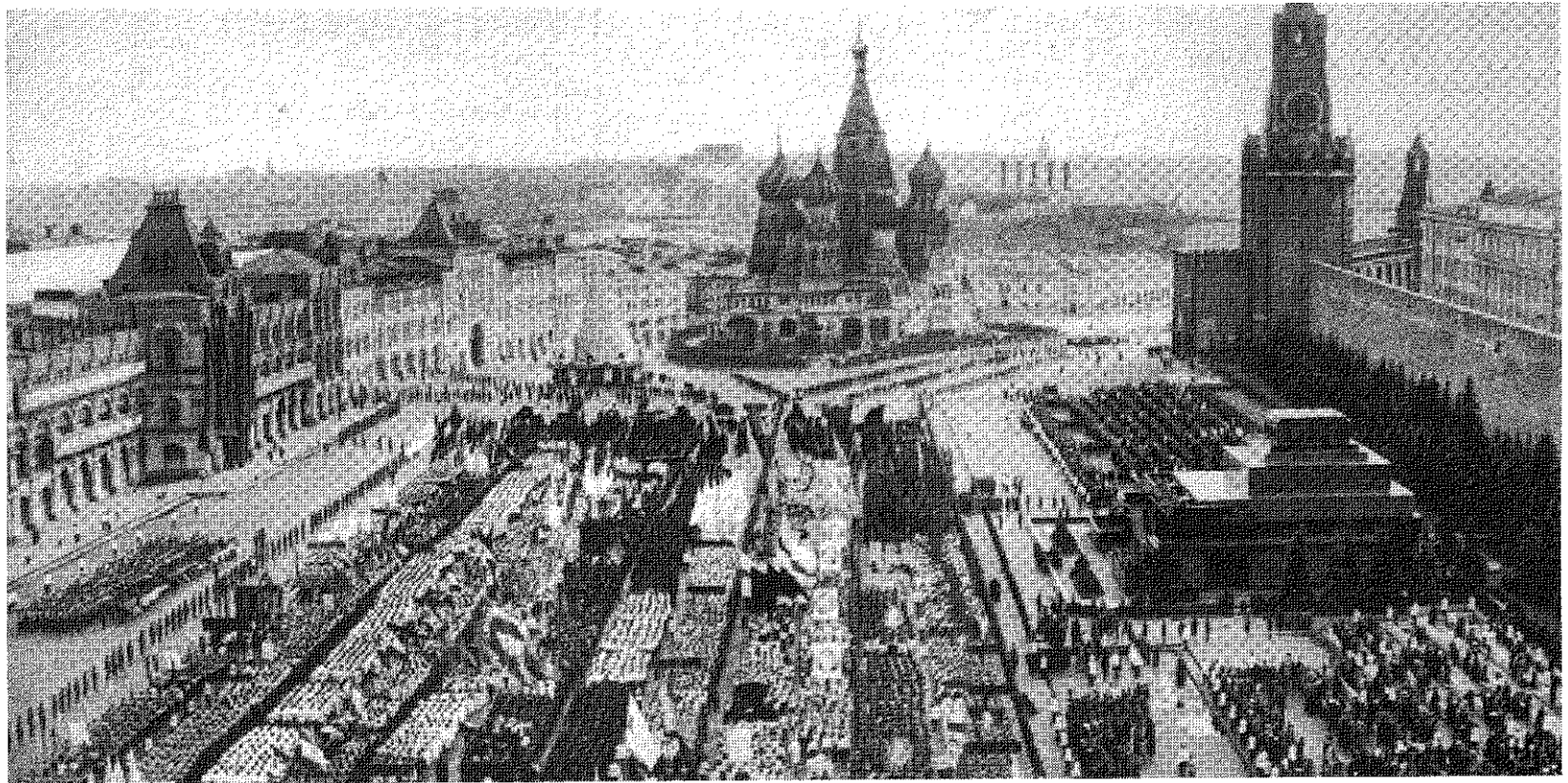
**12.1** A line of worshippers over a kilometre long waits in front of the Mausoleum.

The line crawls slowly, enters the Mau-

The mummy is the *perpetum mobile* of the conspiracy.

**12.2** But the Red Square knows other days as well – days of jubilation and not of mourning. The mourning ceremony, the queue is transmuted into a parade procession. The crowd lined in rows exhausts through marching its exultations at belonging to and being initiated in the conspiratorial plot. The mourning is torn apart by erotic chanting. In the Black, Red breaks forth. The supreme organ of power raises on the rostrum to welcome the exulting crowd and to hide with its own body the graves of the heroes which remain behind its back in the Kremlin Wall.

**12.3** The total actuality of political



will and people were beheaded, i.e. sent in a congregationally lawful order from Here – There beyond. In this place the city's space reaches its ultimate public openness, transparency and eternity. The commonplace "Here" breaks against the Supreme "There."

And conversely, the mummy LENIN is the Head of the Corner which opens and locks the total Here-Actuality. Which emits the permanent Here-presence of ultimate power. Which builds society by a permanent political "turning point." The entire social space suffers a syncope each and every minute. The only constant thing that is the stuff of the mummy which is a sign of its own non-presence anywhere else except Here, in this synoptic space failing to discard the dead body.

soleum, exits, passes along the Kremlin Wall behind the Mausoleum where the remains and the ashes of many a conspirator have been buried, and disperses in the crowd. This mourning ceremony enacts the conspiratorial assembly of the inhabitants of the largest country of the world every single day. The mourning procession sinks into the depths of the Mausoleum in order to see the Head of the Corner there. Thus every citizen acquires his own underground conspiratorial actuality, gets involved with the reasons of political Party life and initiated into the secrets of the Party plot which will fold the face of the earth anew. Everyone meets with the ultimate body which bestows with authenticity everything that has happened and is happening since it is the original thing that has happened and is about to happen. It perpetually provokes the political life.

Party life makes Eros occur in the outlines of Thanatos, jubilation in the bosom of mourning. The exulting ones tread over graves. The rostrum is the highest place on a gigantic coffin. Everything happens Here and Now together. Thus conspiratorial space embraces the mummy. The mummy is the Party stump.

**12.4** The original body in this space is the body through which time does not flow, nor does history. It alone is the primal engine of history. It is undecomposable space, a symbol assembled once and for all. Decay as a trace of time flux is eliminated. Symbolically fortified body reigns over life. The principle INDURATIO SPATII is in force. The stump.

This of itself. other bo the ult other ex

**12.5** the Ma the Ma hibited. of the M and the tions ar eye star represer the very looked a intuition falsehood the mu

**12.6** between is not r ely how is dead it redde

**12.7** type.

Eter eternal cross o The ey the ult also fin the Ma graves face ha very se ness of the live graves lin Wal where engrave cleared from it ated fr heroes Wall.

**12.8** calms and su as it lu sents t mumm mumm making

The calmed same h worshi then th names subdu govern The tion w intuition (da), an blynes Party

This body, so to say, deposits time out of itself. Its own body definitions are no other body definitions in this space. It is the ultimate exhibit which turns every other existence into staring Eye.

**12.5** No photography is allowed inside the Mausoleum. The machine eye is prohibited. An eye, not included in the code of the Mausoleum is not allowed to see it, and the camera is a machine whose definitions are not the definitions of the naked eye staring at the mummy. The mummy represents the original sight which codifies the very seeing of every eye that has looked at it. It assembles in the eye the intuitions of real and unreal, of truth and falsehood. The machine eye is enemy of the mummy.

**12.6** The ultimate body is the boundary between Eros and Thanatos. It is dead but is not rotten. It is dead but this is precisely how it provokes the triumph of life. It is deadly pale, but the gazes which touch it redden its surface.

**12.7** The ultimate body is the Prototype.

Eternally unburied but also undecayed, eternally inflamed by the gazes which cross over it, it must calm down somehow. The eye of the worshipper in whose space the ultimate sight has settled down must also find relief. This is why right behind the Mausoleum there is a long row of graves with busts. In the bust the dead face has its own image without being its very self. Decay is replaced with the hardness of the rock on which the features of the live face are engraved. Behind the graves with the busts, right into the Kremlin Wall, is the dreary long row of urns where the ashes of a number of heroes are engraved on golden plates. Cremation has cleared death from decaying flesh and from its dead mask. Heroism, totally liberated from the bodies and the faces of the heroes is built into the foot of the Kremlin Wall.

**12.8** This is how the ultimate body calms down as it twice denies its own face and substance in the Busts and the Ashes, as it lustrates into a pure Idea. This represents the processional immuring of the mummy into the corpse of the city. The mummy is the magic device of the city, making it able to exist in a rigid form.

The uniqueness of the original body is calmed down as an assembly body. The same happens with the feverish eye of the worshipper. Having seen the mummy, then the busts, then the hundreds of names of heroes, the eye introjects and subdues the ultimate sight which shall govern its vision from now on.

The mourning procession is an initiation which bestows the Eye with common intuition of Party truth and justice (*Pravda*), and the Body with communal assembly, initiation in the underground Party plot.

The mummy opens up the eyes. It disciplines on a mass scale the communally acting body and communally seeing eye, the body of subjects drawn up in a line.

**12.9** The primordial body of the mythical giant, having once suffered *sparagmos*/torn apart, was divided into segments and in the passions folds the relief of the world and puts together the social body of the congregation. This in short is the myth about the Beginning.

**12.10** The conspiratorial body which is the original device of the entire political space in order to be politically efficient, must be Whole.

Tales exist about the mythical body, i.e. myths. The different figures and plots make it visible to us. The political body is only that which is immediately exposed Here and Now. This is why the political body is constantly on the verge of scandal. It has great problems in maintaining its own ad hoc pose, because nothing props it up from the outside.

**12.11** The political body is Here. Here again it emits all its meanings, images, symbols and attributes to the full. Exactly to the full, it is connected with all of its extensions and prolongations which it creates and governs. It does not give rise to any transcendental excess.

...Sublime power is given to a body which is literally that which originates from Here and Now. The power itself perpetually originates from Here and Now. According to the classical concepts of a body this is the ultimate Idol. The Simulacrum.

**12.12** All this, of course, is valid for the person immediately involved in the soviet space. For the stranger the mummy is the ultimate curiosity. It could also be called the ultimate souvenir which would never be acquired. The stranger is always an agent of OCULUS EX MACHINA because his body remains firmly estranged, i.e. not included in the conspiratorial space. The stranger possesses a photographic eye.

**"I am a mechanical eye  
I, the machine, will show you the world  
in a way only I could see it."  
Dziga Vertov**

### The Six Oaths and the Six Days

Lenin died on 21 January, 1924. On January 26, the mourning conference of the Second Congress of the Soviets was opened, where Stalin held a speech. In it, on behalf of the Party, he pledged six oaths. The speech began with the following words: "We, the communists, are people of a special make. We are made of a special stuff."

Later on there appears in the speech a recurring rhetorical figure which inter-

rupts the normal progress of the speech six times. It is in this figure of speech that Lenin's six legacies are mentioned, followed by Stalin's six oaths. The figure reads as follows: "On leaving us, comrade Lenin bequeathed... We pledge to fulfil your bequest, comrade Lenin!"

The repetition "On leaving us, comrade Lenin..." is wonderful – in fact Lenin leaves for nowhere because on January 27, on the day following the oaths, he was laid in the Mausoleum. Thus he remains forever pledging to build and widen Party space. Lenin cannot leave because his body became the party Head of the Corner. His body is the primal joint. It remains to emit the territory where Stalin's Party imperialism shall expand.

Six days – from the 21st to the 27th, during which Lenin's body is laid out between the bed and the grave. Six times Stalin calls this body "leaving."

It has been rightly said that "We shan't remain in this world but neither shall we leave."

Stalin's speech began with the following words: "We the communists, are people of a special make. We are made of a special stuff" – the communist body does not decay!

The mummy is the greatest communist. The stump of the Party.

### Induratio spatii

The maximum of power is not manifested as a time process. It is manifested as stiff symbolic space stuck between Life and Death.

The maximum of power is a joint which makes the Real in a strict way acting. The Centaur.

The communist Centaur is out of joint! ♦

*Vladislav Todorov is a lecturer at the Bulgarian Institute of Art Studies, and a member of the Post-modern Literature and Philosophy Group in Sofia. He has published work in Textual Practice and in numerous Bulgarian journals.*

### EDITOR'S NOTES

1. Behind the Kremlin walls are housed two palaces, four cathedrals, the Supreme Soviet Building, and various government buildings.
2. Here Todorov is referring to GUM, the major department store in Moscow, built at the end of the nineteenth century after the style of the Paris Arcades.
3. By "The Temple" Todorov means St. Basil's Cathedral, erected by Ivan the Terrible as a sacred monument to himself.
4. "The Hotel" is The Russia Hotel where politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen and tourists stay when they visit Moscow. It contains a hard-currency store which accepts only dollars, pounds and marks.