

ANALYSIS OF POLICY TRENDS INSIDE THE USSR

As Revealed by the Soviet Press

(NOTE: This paper is prepared and circulated for the information of the members of the Committee and its staff. The conclusions represent only the thinking of the Analyst who is experienced in reading and evaluating material in the Soviet press; the Committee does not sponsor the ideas put forth as being an expression of its own views.)

Based on: Pravda, Izvestia,
Komsomolskaya Pravda,
Trud - June 15-20,
1954

Contents: The Case of the "Spies": N. Yakuta and M. Kudriavtsev
"Collective Leadership"
Problems of Agriculture
Miscellaneous

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

The Case of the "Spies"

On June 15 Izvestia carried a long article, "They Came to Confess...", on page 3. The article was signed "K. Petrov" and definitely originates from Serov's KGB. The article tells the story of two "American spies," N. Yakuta and M. Kudriavtsev, who had been recruited by "White emigres," who went through a special training course in various American espionage schools and were eventually parachuted from an American airplane on the territory of the USSR for subversive work and espionage. However, these spies "felt that they were completely isolated from the Soviet people;" after abortive attempts to find support for their criminal activity, they realized the criminal nature of their actions and appeared before the local branch of state security (the locality is not mentioned) to confess and tell the whole story. As was to be expected, the organs of state security displayed "generosity," and forgave the spies. Now both Yakuta and Kudriavtsev are "toiling for the well-being of the Soviet people." The whole story is framed in a sentimental spirit characteristic of Chekists whenever they write about their "generosity."

The case of Yakuta and Kudriavtsev is only a new link in the long chain of the propaganda and political campaign launched by the KGB which we have already discussed in earlier issues of the Analysis (the case of Joseph Krutiy, Vasili Okhrimovich, V. Galay,

Yu. Khrantsev, the note on NTS activities, etc.). The target of the operation this time are the Russian emigre organizations and, primarily, the NTS. The article lists various NTS leaders: Baidalakov, Boldyrev, Poremsky, Redlikh, Utekhin, Okolovich, and Tarasov. These are allegedly in charge of recruiting potential agents against the USSR throughout West European countries. The training of future spies is headed by the son of the former Tsarist minister, A. P. Stolypin, and Prince Belosselsky. The article mentions various "espionage schools," and "mysterious isolated villas" where the future spies meet their leaders, etc. The following localities are mentioned: Munich, Limburg, Bad Homburg, Tegernsee, and Starnbergersee. Some of these addresses coincide with the centers of solidarist (NTS) activities (Limburg, Bad Homburg); while Munich, Tegernsee, and Starnbergersee are the localities where the American Committee has sponsored conferences of various emigre groups for the creation of the Coordinating Center for Anti-Bolshevik Struggle.

What political ends does that article serve?

One of the major tasks of that article is to prove to Soviet citizens that all political emigre organizations are merely branches of American intelligence, occupied with recruiting agents for it. The whole article is made subservient to that central idea. In a number of cases that idea is openly expressed, such as:

It is most strictly impressed upon the agents, who are sent to the Soviet Union, to say in cases of emergency that they are agents of White emigre organizations, which are, in fact, merely branches of the American intelligence service.

The accounts of both Yakuta's and Kudriavtsev's lines have one characteristic feature in common: both allegedly turned out to be cowards in the war against Germany, "fell under the influence of fascist propaganda and became collaborators with the occupants." It is interesting that Kudriavtsev was only fourteen years old at that time! Then they became "Displaced Persons" and from there on, victims of the American intelligence service, the latter recruiting them to work as agents and eventually sending them to the USSR. The time of their arrival in the USSR is not mentioned, but it is understood from the text that they had been in the Soviet Union for quite some time trying to merge with the population, to get jobs, etc.

Both were equipped with false Soviet passports and military cards and also with blank forms of documents of various Soviet institutions. Despite that fact, they were trying to obtain such documents, even if that involved killing their legal owners. It seems that in addition to espionage and subversive activities, their task consisted in "discrediting Soviet and Party officials, and writers and scholars by writing anonymous, provocative denunciations." The Americans allegedly impress upon their agents that "even those who would get the idea of voluntarily confessing to Soviet authorities, thus betraying their American masters, will not be spared from execution." But Yakuta and Kudriavtsev confessed, were forgiven, and granted the opportunity to "toil for the well-being of the homeland."

What is the reason for this fiction? To whom is it addressed? It is not too hard to see through it: to all those who displayed "cowardice during the war" (those who were taken prisoner by the Germans), or "lack of spirit" by joining the ranks of "collaborators with the occupants" (i.e., lived on the territory occupied by Germans), or happened to fall into the category of "displaced persons," and were eventually repatriated. There are millions of persons who would fit these categories. The whole population of the Soviet Union is given to understand that among them there may be many such Yakutas and Kudriavtsevs who have gone into hiding and are afraid to "come and confess" to the authorities. In the

meantime, they are also probably falsifying passports and military cards and "writing denunciations" about honest Soviet citizens.

Local authorities and the entire population are made to understand that particular attention should be given to these people, that is that they should carry out an additional purge of these elements which have repeatedly in the past been subject to purges and repressions. The documents of all these persons should be checked again. The reference to "denunciations" is particularly characteristic. What is the hidden meaning? It is common knowledge that the NKVD agencies force most of the repatriated prisoners-of-war and displaced persons to become seksots (informers). Many persons who have simply lived in German-occupied areas were also made to do this work. They all submitted their secret denunciations under pseudonyms, that is, "were engaged in making anonymous denunciations." It is revealed now that they were doing it "on orders of American intelligence" and not for the NKVD. The charges are quite logical: after all, Beria and his closest aides were also "Anglo-American agents."

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the real and secret purpose of the article, "They Came to Confess...", consists in clarifying to the lower levels of the apparatus of the state security organs the need to check every single person and to purge the whole multi-million network of secret agents and informers as well as to check all reports submitted by them in postwar years. In fact, this means that the purging of the MVD and KGB apparatus of "Beria's proteges" has arrived now at a stage where mass operations are involved: the lower level of the whole apparatus together with all its branches is being checked. That operation already fills millions of persons with trembling and horror, and that is why the legend of how the Soviet authorities "forgave" even such obvious agents as Yakuta and Kudriavtsev is created. Millions of such Yakutas and Kudriavtsevs are told: "Don't be afraid, you'll be forgiven if you confess honestly who made you write 'anonymous denunciations' and thus help us find the real enemies of the people." Almost the same technique is applied here as on the eve of the "great Yezhov purge" and also immediately after Beria headed the NKVD.

Collective Leadership

The Soviet press has lately published a number of new official statements that the principle of collective leadership remains fully effective and that the country is ruled by a "collective of equal" leaders. First, we should note that for the first time in many years, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee who attended various celebrations are listed in strict alphabetical order and not according to the importance of this person or that. The list of the leaders who attended the opening session of the Congress of Trade Unions (Analysis No. 23) was published in that way. The list at the occasion of "USSR Air Force Day," see Pravda of June 21, read as follows:

In the Government box of the V. P. Chkalov Central Air Club appear Comrades N. A. Bulganin, K. E. Voroshilov, L. M. Kaganovich, G. M. Malenkov, A. I. Mikoyan, M. S. Saburov, N. S. Khrushchev, A. I. Kirichenko, P. K. Ponomarenko, N. M. Shvernik, P. K. Pospelov, M. A. Suslov, Marshals of the Soviet Union, and Marshals of Aviation.

It is characteristic that the alphabetical order of the above list is only followed for members of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU, while the others are listed according to their positions in the Soviet hierarchy. It is interesting that Kirichenko precedes

such persons as Ponomarenko, Shvernik, Pospelov, and Suslov, although he should not be entitled to that place either by virtue of his official position (First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Ukraine) or by his previous Party career. Probably, this was done as a tribute to the recent 300th anniversary of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia, but more likely it indicates that Kirichenko has been made a candidate for membership in the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU.

On June 16 the Soviet press published a report on the closing session of the Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at which amendments to the Party statutes were adopted. The new statutes state with regard to collective leadership and the role of the supreme Party organs:

Collective leadership is an integral part of democracy inside the Party. Collective leadership is the supreme principle in the activity of all Party organs and organizations in translating into action decisions given them, beginning with the Central Committee and including primary organizations. The adherence to the principle of collectivity is the best guarantee of the correctness of the adopted decisions and ensures wide initiative on the part of the Party masses. The principle of collegiality in no way reduces personal responsibility. The cult of the individual contradicts the principles of the Marxist-Leninist party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia elects: for leadership of Party work in the intervals between the plenums of the Central Committee--the Political Bureau: to direct current work, and primarily, to organize the verifying of the implementation of Party decisions and the selection of cadres--the Secretariat.

That definition of rights and functions of the Politburo and the Secretariat coincides word for word with the corresponding paragraph of the new statutes of the Communist Party of the USSR, adopted at the XIXth Congress. Under these conditions the Secretariat is absolutely subordinate to the Presidium (or the Politburo). Thus no changes have taken place during the fifteen months following Stalin's death in that vital problem of mutual relations between the supreme organs of power inside the Party. If such changes had occurred inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they would have reflected automatically on the structure of the parties in satellite countries.

Problems of Agriculture

By June 15 the sowing campaign had closed throughout the USSR. As a consequence, the whole central press has shifted its attention to the next and most laborious campaign connected with field work: the cultivation of sown areas, weeding, plowing of fallow fields for fall sowing, and preparations for harvesting. The picture of all these agricultural activities is similar to last year and in some instances, even worse.

Izvestia of June 15 reported that the plowing for the fall sowing in the Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Estonian SSR, in the Altai and Krasnoyarsk area, in the Novosibirsk, Omsk, Kalinin, Ivanov, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, and Velikie Luki regions is proceeding at an extremely slow pace. The weeding of sown areas is proceeding slowly and poorly. In the

Saratov and Chkalov regions, almost half of the areas sown with sunflower had not been weeded by June 15. The cultivation of areas sown with corn in the Georgian SSR, and in the Ossetian and Dagestan Autonomous Republics is carried out by less than 40 per cent. The weeding and the hoeing of potatoes and vegetables proceeds at an inadmissibly slow pace in the Ukraine, the Uzbek SSR and in the Stavropol area (see Izvestia, June 18). The cultivation of areas sown with sugar beets is proceeding slowly and not very well in the regions of Poltava, Lvov, and Drogobych; the same applies to flax in the Kalinin, Velikie Luki, Yaroslavl, Novgorod, and Kostroma regions (see Pravda, June 17).

On June 15, Pravda published a report on the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan. The Plenum noted that the plan of spring sowing was fulfilled and overfulfilled in the republic. That, however, could only be achieved by expanding the areas sown with wheat. The plan for the sowing of rice, cotton, sugar beets, and tobacco was not fulfilled. In a number of the regions of the republic the sowing of all crops has been greatly delayed. The plenum materials also reveal that last winter great losses of livestock occurred in Kazakhstan as a result of fodder shortage.

Miscellaneous

Subscription for Loans: On June 16 the Ministry of Finance of the USSR reported that subscriptions for the new state loans had been stopped. By that date the loan had been subscribed to the amount of 17 billion 492 million rubles.

Supply of Goods to the Population: On June 14 Pravda published a review of the activities of the Central Union of Consumers' Associations in rural areas. In some districts of the Azerbaijanian SSR kerosene, salt, matches, and soap are not on sale. In a number of districts of the Moscow region salt, kerosene, and lamp chimneys have not been available for months. The same picture is shown in the Kuibyshev and Rostov regions and in the Krasnoyarsk area. In the Chkalov region, in districts where new land is being cultivated, no sugar, cigarettes, tooth powder, etc., can be obtained. In some districts of the North-Kazakhstan, Novosibirsk, Omsk, and Chelyabinsk regions, bread, flour, cereals, and sugar are not on sale.

Housing Construction: Pravda of June 18 and Izvestia of June 17 reported on the absolutely inadequate pace of housing construction in various regions of the USSR. Particularly poor is the construction of apartment houses that individual ministries are putting up for their workers and employees. The Ministries of Coal Industry, Ferrous Metallurgy, and Transport and Communication, etc., have not fulfilled the assignments for housing construction. The Ministry of Agriculture fulfilled the housing construction plan for the first quarter of 1954 by only 7 per cent. Just as poorly managed is the repair of existing apartment houses. On that point it is interesting to quote an excerpt from a letter to the editor of Izvestia published on June 17 under a rather comical heading: "To Introduce Order into the Elevator Business."

The elevator business has no real boss. The system of elevators which are manufactured by our plants was designed some decades ago and does not meet the requirements of the population. That explains why the elevators may, as a rule, only be used to ascend, while it is forbidden to ride the elevator down from the upper floors. There is no real concern for the cultured exploitation of the elevator business. The maintenance of elevators amounts to almost half of the expenses for the use of ele-

vators. However, in most buildings the elevators must and can work without operators. When in motion the elevator makes a terrible noise and interferes with the radio.

In fact, the "elevator business" does not seem to be too "cultured." It may be of interest to find out how the employees of offices located, let us say, in the Empire State Building in New York City would react to that "elevator culture." But the elevator system, designed "a few decades ago" can hardly be blamed: under accursed Tsarism the elevators could be used to go up and down. But probably there is a political meaning to it: citizens should be uplifted toward Communism; should they, however, decide to descend toward Capitalism--let them walk.