

25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

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THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL COMPOSITION OF
THE SOVIET UNION

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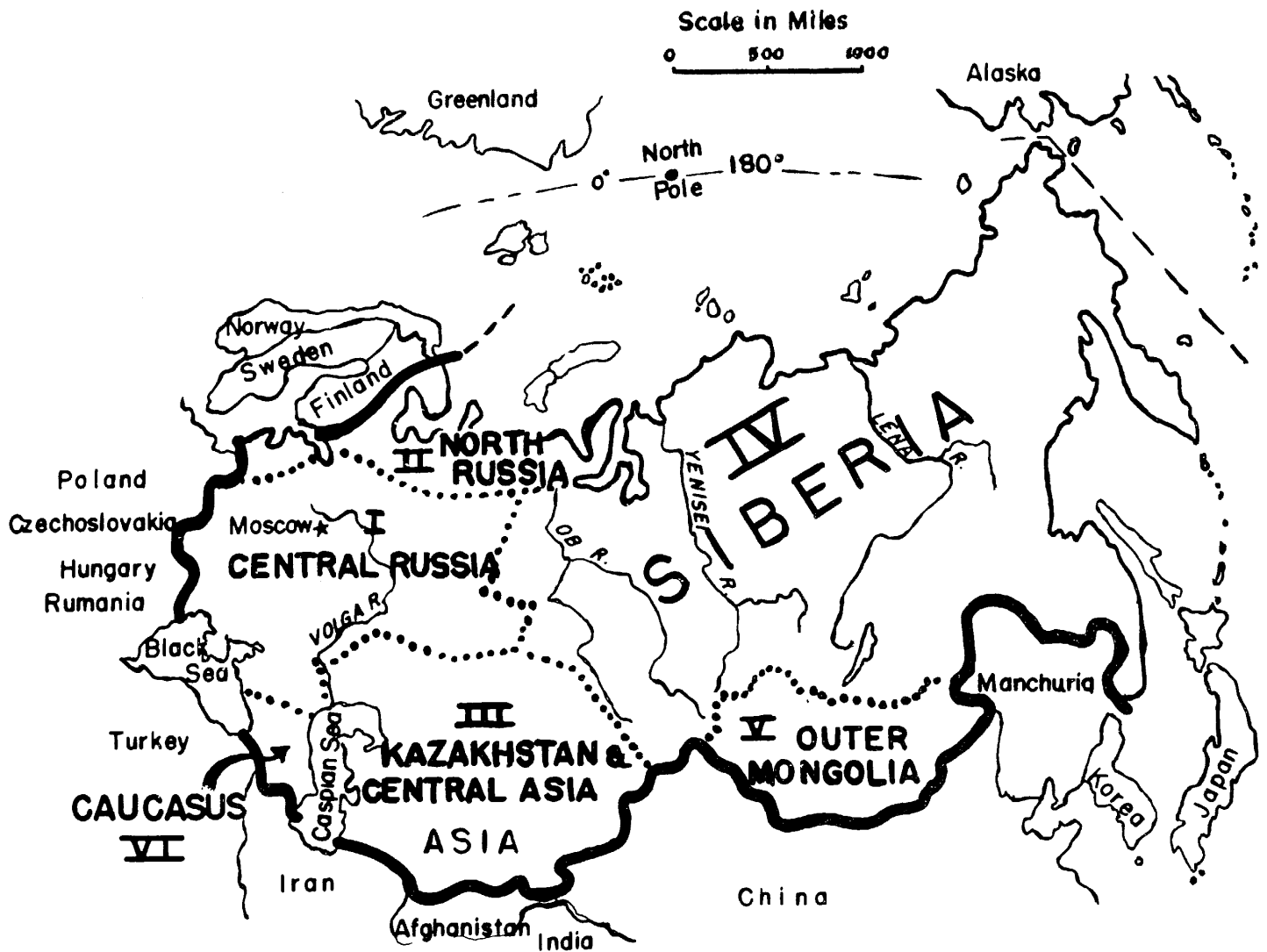
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INTRODUCTION

The Union of United Soviet Socialistic Republics - the USSR - is commonly known as Russia; therefore the inhabitants are glibly called Russians. In similar fashion we are Americans, natives of the United States, although we include many different groups of Indians (the only native Americans) and a wide variety of non-native groups of European extraction, a fair percentage from Africa, and even a few recent arrivals from Asia. The descendents of these people and their numerous hybrids are the present day Americans.

There are 187 ethnic groups in the USSR (including appropriate regions), and 153 languages or dialects are spoken. Even if the smaller groups are ignored, there are thirty distinct nationalities. In reality the "Russians" are a more heterogenous total than the "Americans."

Historically, the Russian Empire grew from a Great Russian nucleus until almost half of the population was composed of non-Great Russians. Ethnographically the USSR presents a Russian core in the central area of European Russia, and non-Russian fringes to the south and east into Asia, along the Arctic coast, and the recently re-incorporated Baltic states.

In this short briefing on the ethnographic composition of the USSR, the country is divided into six major regions:

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1. Central European Russia: the Moscow, Ukraine, and Black Earth regions.
2. North Russia: Finland to the Urals and the Baltic States.
3. Kazakhstan and Central Asia.
4. Siberia.
5. Outer Mongolia.
6. The Caucasus and Trans Caucasia.

No two-hour presentation can adequately cover the ethnographic characteristics of the many ethnic groups in Russia. In order to give you some familiarity with the subject, the nucleus of the Russian population -- the Slavic element, including the Great, Little, and White Russians -- will be combined in a once-over-lightly treatment. More time and detail will be devoted to the native or indigenous groups of the Soviet Republic which the Slavic nucleus dominates, influences to varying degrees, and is in the process of absorbing.

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PART I

CENTRAL RUSSIA, THE MOSCOW, UKRAINE,
AND BLACK EARTH REGIONS

The Slavs of Russia, a diversified ethnic group which has a basic language and some physical characteristics in common, number over 153,000,000 people, approximately 77% or three-fourths of the entire population. These people are Caucasians. In general they belong to the Greek Orthodox Christian Church.

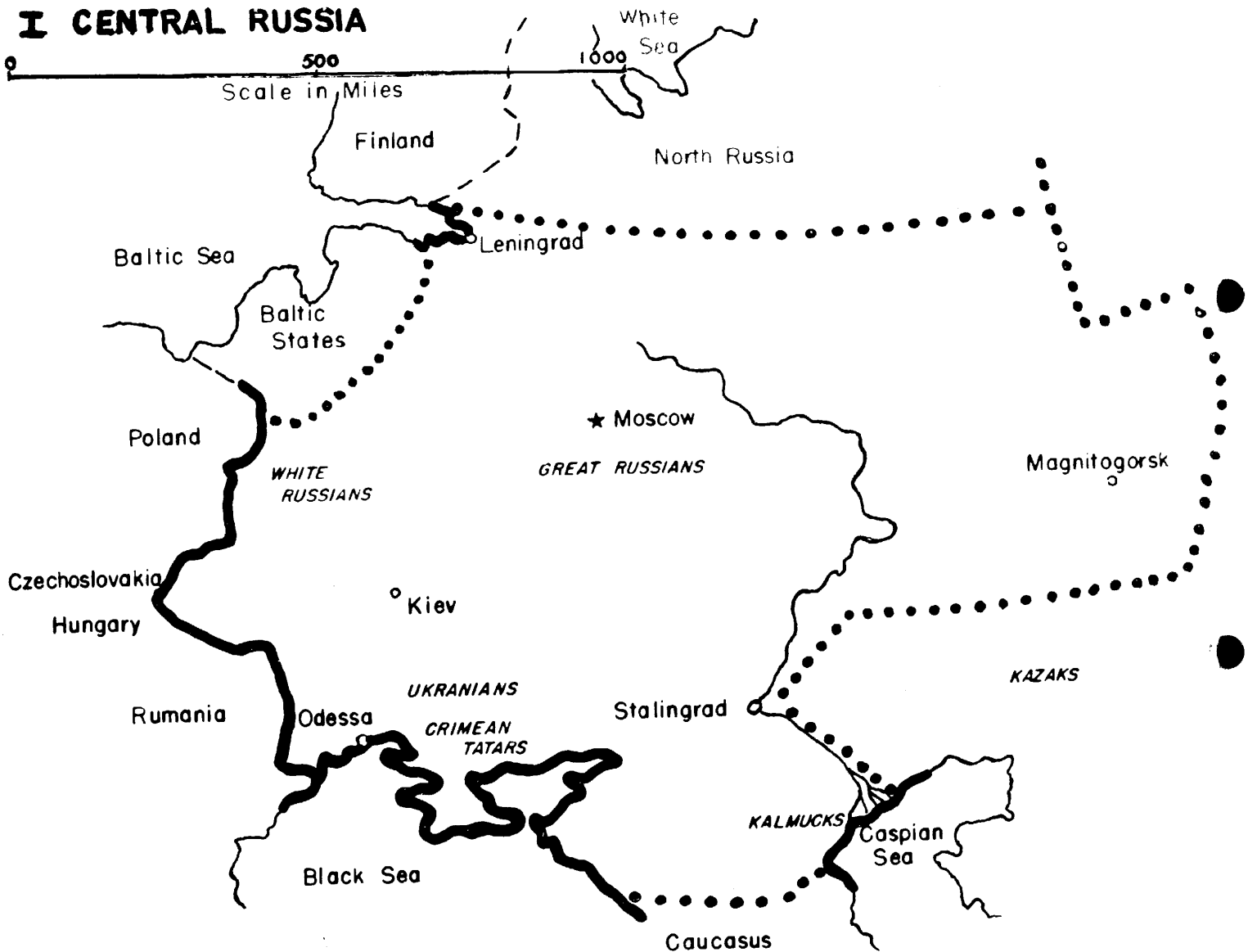
Most Slavs live in European Russia (there are disassociated groups in Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia, and other Balkan countries). In the course of conquest -- of people, of country, of economic resources -- the Slavs have pushed down the Volga River and eastward to the Pacific; this later movement was accelerated by the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and there is a marked congestion of Slavic people all along this transportation artery.

The major subdivisions of the Slavs are:

1. The Great Russians (Valiko-Rossya). The 105,000,000 members of this Slavic group have expanded in all directions from the Moscow region. They speak the Great Russian dialect (the national language) which belongs to the Aryan linguistic root and the Indo-European linguistic stock. (It is worth repeating that Aryan applies to language, not physical type.) Although varied, the people are of medium height and stocky build, and usually are round-headed; skin color is white and the hair often has a reddish tinge. Mr. Molotov

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I CENTRAL RUSSIA



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could be put on exhibit as a fairly typical example of the Great Russian.

2. The White Russian (Belorussiya). The homeland of the White Russians is the upper Dnieper River. There they sought refuge in the Pripet Marshes from the Tatar threat of the Mongolian invaders, during the 13th and 14th Centuries. (The White Russians have a characteristic dialect.) They are blonder and taller than the Great Russians; they were comparatively sheltered in their unattractive retreat area and received less Mongolian blood than did the other Slavs. The term "White" has nothing to do with skin color nor with the "White Guards" who were defeated and almost exterminated by the Bolshevik Red forces during the Revolution; the name originated from the white clothing they once favored.

3. The Ukrainians or Little Russians (Malorossiya). These people occupy the southwestern steppe land of Russia, around the central city of Kiev. They are more brunet than the other Slavs and have more slender builds. The western Ukrainians, between the Great and White Russians and the Slavic groups of the Balkan countries, have been Europeanized to a greater extent than the other peoples of Russia. Kiev, their capital, was a cultural center long before the Czars encouraged the arts and sciences in Moscow. The Ukrainians have a marked feeling of superiority: one writer has described them as Fischer,"Texans in Fur Hats. The Ukrainians believe that they can fight, 1947 Chap II, drink, ride, sing, and make love better than anybody else in the world, and if pressed will admit it." Although the Ukrainians have a long

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Turin,
1948.
p.65.

tradition of fighting for independence from the rest of the Russians, history proves otherwise. "The Ukraine has stood as a rock against foreign invasion, domination, and attempts to tear apart the three inseparable and indivisible units of the mother country." In order to discourage wishful thinking it might be well to remember German experiences in the Ukraine in World War II -- fanatic resistance, inspired guerilla tactics, and the scorched earth policy, coupled with the rigorous winter conditions of the region, sapped the strength of Hitler's armies.

A long history of fighting for their land, and the agricultural and stock raising economy of the Ukrainians (from the peasants of the eastern Black Earth region to the Cossacks of the Don River) constitutes the foundation for their extreme nationalism and love of homeland.

Fischer,
1947.
p.67.

Although Stalin himself is a Georgian, from Tbilisi -- geographically and traditionally far removed from the Great, White, and Little Russian groups -- nearly all of the powers that be in the USSR are Slavs. There are between five and ten million members in the Communist party; they are in top governmental positions, they are the authorities in the government agencies and in the lower professional bureaucracy, and they are the dreaded secret police. First hand reporters agree in saying that "Most of the Party members are sincere and honest men -- idealists, many of them, who are convinced that they are serving a sacred cause."

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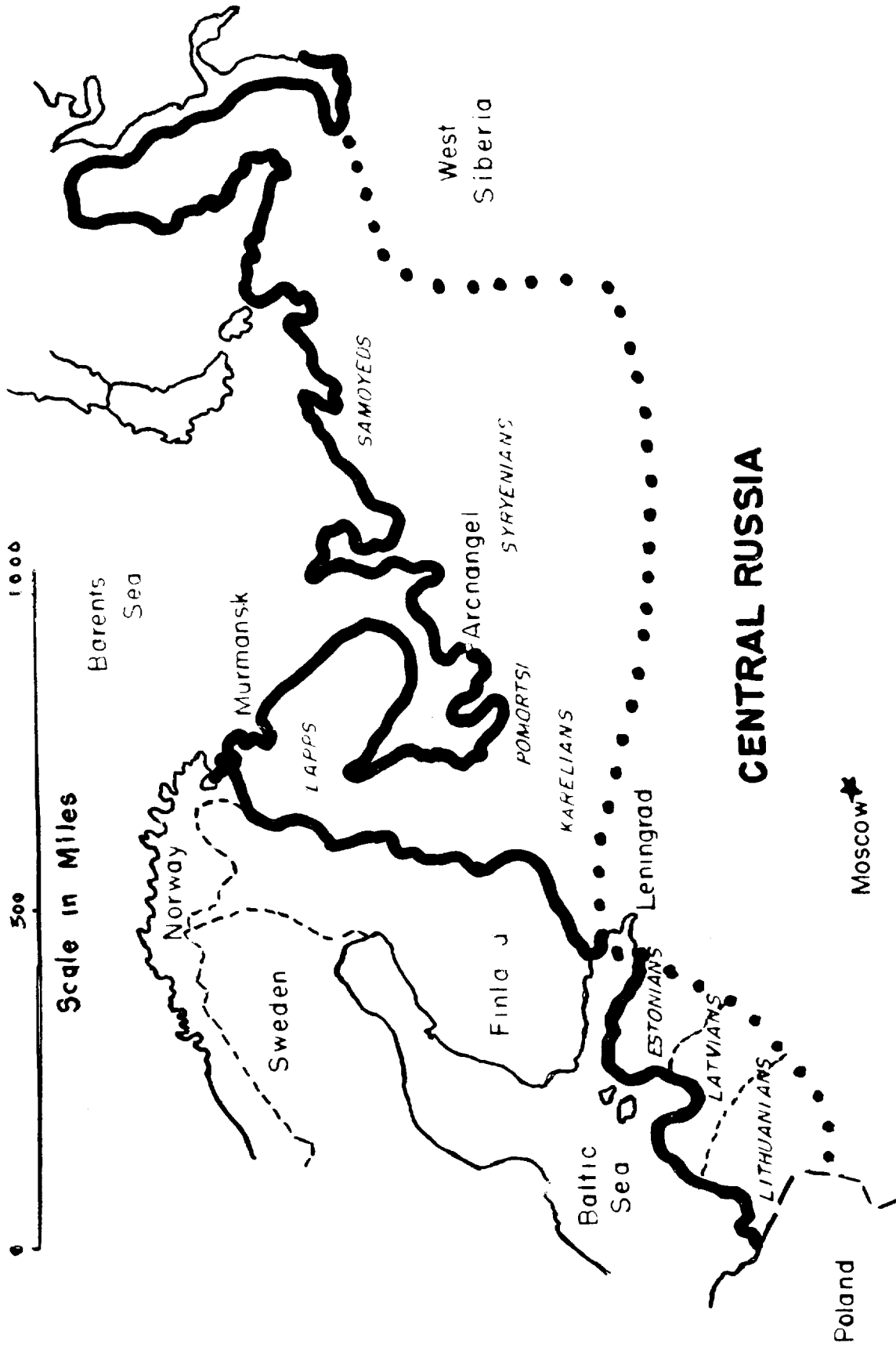
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The great mass of the people of the Soviet Union, the Slav groups in particular, are more in favor of Communism than against it, and with forceful direction from the Party members they will remain docile and cooperative. Either they are too impoverished to have other thoughts than those which pertain to food, or -- indoctrinated in Communism and believing it synonymous with democracy -- they do not know of or care much about other forms of government.

There is a third group, which for one reason or another is hostile to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as the conditioning period for the "classless society." How large this group may be is a matter of conjecture. It includes the following varied groups: a few old people who have dim memories of a cultured life as Czarist nobility; individuals who have been mistreated or wronged by the Soviet state; nationalistic groups which have been "absorbed" by the expanding Russian Empire; and the gangsters or "Zhuliki" who are believed to be well organized in the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly the natives of remote or peripheral areas make up the greatest number of Russians who are dissatisfied or insufficiently indoctrinated with the beliefs and practices of Communism. The rest of this study will be devoted to subdivisions of the USSR where such native tribes comprise a large fraction or a majority of the area population.

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III NORTH RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES



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PART II

NORTH RUSSIA: FINLAND TO THE URALS
AND THE BALTIC STATES

The Leningrad-Karelian district and the northern Kray (the Russian designation for "the farthest end" along the Arctic coast) border Finland on the west and the northern Ural Mountains on the east. Practically all of the area is north of latitude 60° -- the same as Leningrad. The climate is wet and cold. The vegetation is either tundra (Arctic moss and grass) or taiga (spruce-fir forest). From north to south the population tends to increase from one to about five individuals per square mile.

Several recent acquisitions to the USSR are included in this section; Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (parts of the Russian Empire until 1918, and reappropriated in 1940) have a majority of non-Russians in their populations. These countries contain forested and agricultural land. They experience a cold climate, rather like that of Scandinavia.

The non-Russians are of two distinct stocks; Finno-Ugrians and Baltic-Aryans. In addition, a few Swedes, Germans, and Jews have settled along the east Baltic Sea.

1. FINNO-UGRIANS. This is a linguistic family which includes, in the area under consideration, the Karelians (the Finns of Karelia), the Esths of Estonia, the Lapps (Samelats) of the Arctic coast east to the White Sea, and the Syryenians or East Finns who occupy the Pechora River drainage.

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A. The Karelian Finns comprise 42% of the population of the area between Finland and Archangel, and from Leningrad north to the Barents Sea. Their country is rich in timber resources which so far have remained comparatively undeveloped. The climate of their range is too rigorous to permit much agriculture; they tend herds of reindeer and other stock; they hunt, trap for furs, and fish along the rivers and coasts. They are a backwoods people, scattered and poorly educated, and their life is rigorous. They are Greek Orthodox Christians.

Their dwellings are wood houses built on platforms over stables in which they keep their better cattle and sheep during the coldest periods of the winter.

The Karelians are round-headed, have broad faces with prominent cheekbones, concave noses, fair complexions, hair that ranges in color from ash blonde to medium brown, and blue or gray eyes; they are of medium height and sturdy build. This description applies in general to the physique of all of the Finno-Ugrian tribes considered here.

B. The 1,000,000 Esths comprise 88% of the population of Estonia. Minorities in Estonia include 8-1/2% Russians, 1% Germans, and 1% Swedes. The western Esths are Lutherans; the natives near the Russian border belong to the Greek Orthodox Church.

The area contains about 50,000 square miles; forests cover much of it, although large areas are suitable for stock raising, some

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agriculture (cereals and potatoes), and dairy farming. While a separate entity, between 1918 and 1940, the country was solvent and prosperous. The Esths have a warlike tradition and a very nationalistic spirit.

C. The Lapps, or Samelats as they call themselves, range the taiga and tundra adjacent to the Arctic coast from Norway to the White Sea. All of their habitat lies within the Arctic Zone. It is doubtful whether more than 3,000 Lapps are under Russian domination and most of them belong to the Greek Orthodox Church (although a few, and all of the Scandinavian Lapps, are Lutherans). They live by hunting, fishing, fur trapping, and tending reindeer herds. They are nomadic for most of the year; during the colder parts of the winter they gather in small villages composed of crude wooden cottages huddled around a church. They are the least blonde of the Finno-Ugrians and have the flattest noses.

D. The Syryenians, or East Finns, occupy scattered settlements from Archangel eastward to the Pechora River; their headquarters and the major concentration of population is at the junction of the Ishma River and the Pechora. They hunt, fish, and trap furs, and care for a few reindeer. They are born traders, not only among themselves but between the Russians to the south, the Karelians to the west, and the Semoyedes or Nentsy to the east.

2. BALTIC-ARYANS. The two representatives of this linguistic stock which are now within the Russian sphere are the inhabitants of Lithuania and Latvia. These people speak Lettish or variant

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dialects. They are of medium build, have elongated faces and fine features, and are very blond, with blue eyes. Many of them are Lutheran Christians.

A. The Lithuanians comprise over 80% of a population of 4,800,000 scattered over 60,000 square miles. The rural groups are concerned with agriculture -- cereals and potatoes, stock raising, and dairy farming. Dairy products account for the major exports, although industrial products from the famed tanneries, iron works, and pulp and plywood plants are important. Four-fifths of the population are Roman Catholics.

B. The Latvians make up 77% of the 2,000,000 population which occupies an area of 25,390 square miles. Russians number about 12% of the population; Jews, Germans, and Poles respectively account for 4%, 3%, and 2%. The economy is similar to that of the Lithuanians, although more of the population is concentrated in urban centers. More than half are Protestants, a quarter are Roman Catholics.

Both the Lithuanians and the Latvians were strongly nationalistic and maintained self-supporting countries during the years of self-government between 1918 and 1940.

3. POMORTSI. The "Pomortsi" are an off-shoot of the Russians concentrated around the great port of Leningrad on the Gulf of Finland, which opens into the Baltic. This group pushed north from Leningrad to the White Sea at an early date; and they have

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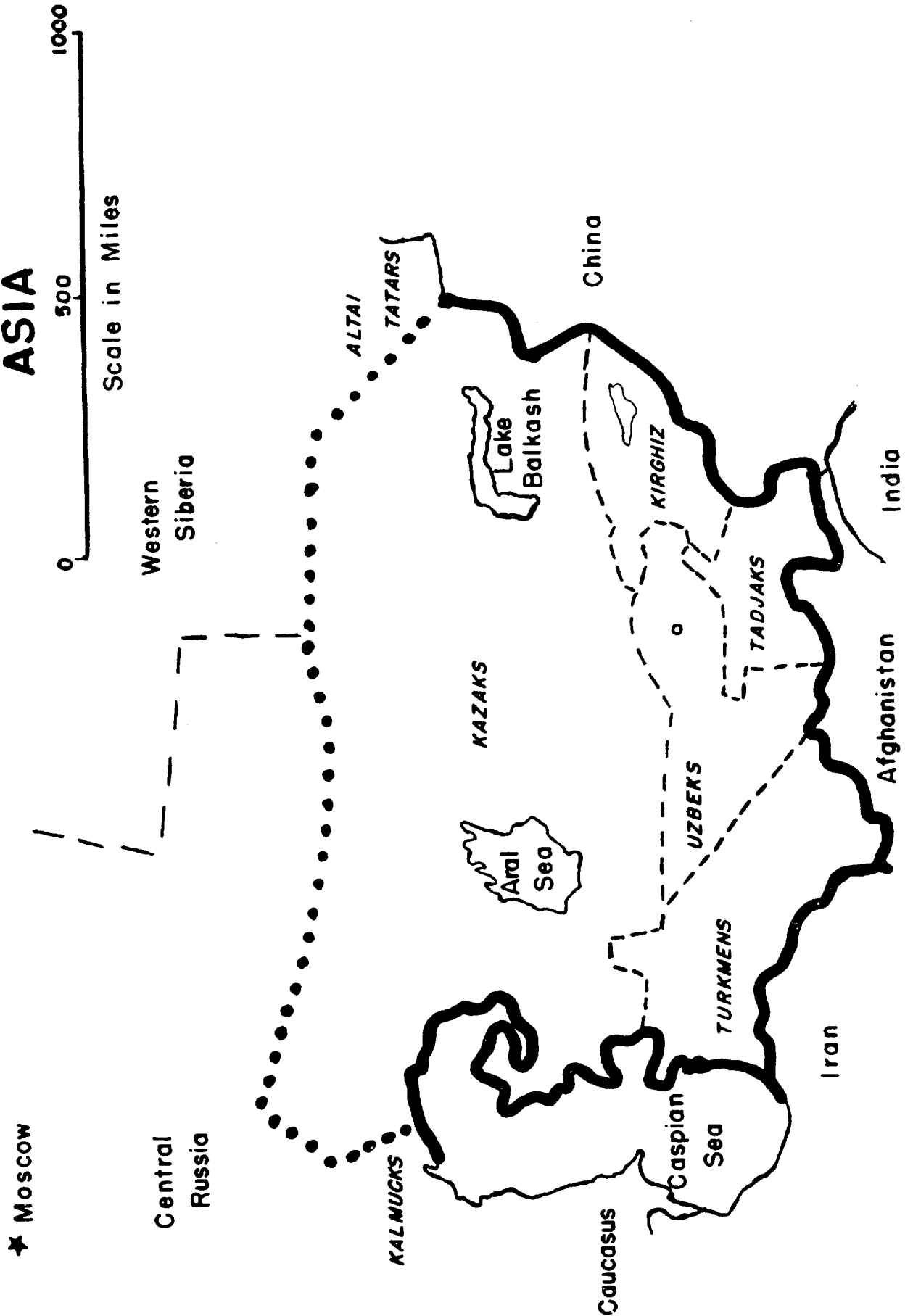
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prospered by fishing for herring and salmon. More recently, the Russians have developed the port of Archangel and have taken over the port of Petsamo from the Finns. Russians are fairly numerous, averaging between five and fifteen per square mile, in the areas adjoining the east Baltic states.

Although emphasis has been placed upon the natives of north Russia, it should be remembered that nearly all of them are civilized and literate people. The inhabitants of the east Baltic states are true products of western civilization. The Karelian Finns are closely related to their independent Finland neighbors who have been leaders in experimentation with the socialist agrarian form of government; the Karelians revolted in 1921 but were unable to secure independence from Russia.

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III KAZAKHSTAN & CENTRAL ASIA



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PART III

KAZAKHSTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

There is a blind spot in most people's geographical knowledge concerning the area north of India and Persia, east of the Caspian Sea, west of the hazy western boundary of China, and south of the thin line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The northern two-thirds of this area is Kazakhstan, stretching from the Ural River eastward to the Altai Mountains, and south into the lofty Tien Shan Range. The southern third is composed of the comparatively small Soviet Socialist Republics of (from west to east) Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjak, and Khirghiz, two desert and two mountainous in the order named.

The 1,060,000 square miles of Kazakhstan, home for approximately 6,150,000 people, include "extensive grasslands with grazing herds, seas of ripening wheat, blooming cotton. . . arid

Davies and deserts where vegetation thirsts for water, and for life . . . mineral Steiger, 1942, pp.107-108.

wealth that places Kazakhstan first in the USSR in the mining of copper, zinc, lead, and tungsten; second in gold, molybdenum, tin, and fluorspar; and third in coal and petroleum." Brush aside the poetic language and Kazakhstan still remains important to the Russian economy.

The total area of the four republics of central Asia is about 450,-- square miles, inhabited by 11,000,000 people.

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The region contains strategic minerals (including uranium). Oasis and valley bottom agriculture yields sugar beets, rice, oranges, and -- at comparatively high altitudes in the east -- excellent apples (they grow wild there); but the critical crop is cotton. Central Asia is the cotton belt of the USSR and in 1942 the per acre yield was the highest in the world and the total output exceeded 9,000,000 bales.

Kazakhstan and the central Asia republics are and will continue to be scenes of strenuous exploitation and development. Construction of the Turk-Sig Railroad in 1930 eased the transportation difficulty of getting cotton and livestock to the Russian markets. Its construction also encouraged an increased influx of Russian settlers. The policy of the Czarist government regarding the natives was "to keep them down and push them out" from the attractive areas into the wastelands. In all fairness, the present Russian policy displays much more consideration; however, the adjustments to Russification and increased specialization of economics will continue to be accomplished more or less painfully.

The population of Kazakhstan and central Asia includes, in each particular region, a majority of natives, a high minority of Russian settlers, a few Armenians and Bokhara Jews, and representatives from adjacent native groups. Thus Kazakhstan contains about three and one-half million Kazakhs -- 62% of the population; 33% are Russians and most of the remaining 5% are Uzbeks and Khirghiz.

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The natives of each region speak Turkic dialects. Nearly all are Mohammedans. Physically they are Mongolians and probably contain a Caucasian (Persian) ingredient; however, they were additionally Mongolized by the conquering hordes of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane in the 13th and 14th Centuries.

In general they are of medium stature, stockily built, with brunette hair and small, black, slanting eyes; their noses are flat and broad, cheekbones high, and hands and feet small; they are round-headed and their complexion is swarthy to brown. There is a noticeable increase in stature and nose prominence towards the south (physique approaches Caucasoid as Persian admixture becomes more pronounced).

1. KAZAKHS. The Kazakhs are primarily stockmen; they are in the aggregate the best horsemen in the world (the Kazakh cavalry units made an excellent record in World War II). Their animals, in order of importance, are sheep, cattle, horses, goats, camels, and pigs (probably for the Russian market, as pigs are considered unclean by most Mohammedans).

Their diet consists of a wheat bread fried in deep fat, butter, sour cheese, kummis (fermented mare's milk), and sparingly used meat. The typical dwelling is a felt tent, circular with perpendicular walls and a flat cone roof. Furniture is at a minimum: bundles of skins and felt blankets, goatskin containers, and a few cooking utensils serve domestic needs.

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Kazakhs still wear sheepskin and felt clothing, and the women have concealing cotton headdresses which may or may not include an enveloping veil. Warm clothing is an essential as the area experiences extremes of temperature; the prevailing northeast winds bring sandstorms in summer and dry, stinging snow in winter. This is particularly true in the south and west sections, respectively the huge "famine steppe" and the barren Ust-Urt Plateau.

Agriculture -- fruits, cereals, and cotton -- is accomplished in the irrigated valleys in the southeast. The extreme northwestern portion of Kazakhstan includes a section of the Black Earth belt; there some Kazakhs are interspersed with Russian cereal farmers.

2. UZBECS. The Uzbeks were urbanized to a greater extent than other peoples of central Asia even before the present Russian regime encouraged the establishment of a sedentary life. The historic trade routes from Europe to China passed through Uzbek territory and old market towns grew up along the route.

The Uzbeks comprise 74% of the population of their republic. They are split into approximately eighty tribes; however these divisions are unimportant as the Uzbeks appear to be an extremely mixed group (they are diversified physically, and they have adopted a number of foreign customs). The position of the women is improving; until recently their position was a little lower than that of good livestock.

Most of the Uzbeks now live in oasis and river valley settlements; a few are still pastoral nomads but even these now

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tend to maintain two fixed abodes -- near winter and summer pastures. The usual dwelling is a low hut made of sun-dried bricks,

The liquidation of the "kulaks" was worldwide news some twenty years ago. The movement was not restricted to the Uzbek Republic, but many of the more prosperous Uzbek farmers were "kulaks." The term means "clenched fist" and it was applied to tight-fisted farmers whose major interest was profit-making; they speculated in grain, holding it for a high price, and they refused to increase the output as scarcity brought them increased profits. Today Uzbeks till small private field or are joined together on collective farms. Cotton is the main crop but fruit and grain are also raised.

In addition to agriculture and stock raising, a number of industries have been expanded or developed. These include: textiles (cotton, wool, and silk), dried fruit, meat and hide processing; harvesting machinery and fertilizers are made locally; mineral and oil resources are being exploited.

3. TURKMENS. The Turkmens made up 70% of the population of their republic. Excepting three large arable valleys, it is a poor region, consisting mainly of the huge Kara-Kum Desert; it affords few inducements to colonization by the Russians. However, the Uzbeks and Russians each total about 10% of the population; the balance is made up fo Armenians, Khirghiz, Persians, and Bokhara Jews.

Originally the Turkmens were nomadic horse-breekers. Recently the horse has given way to goats, cattle, and sheep. The herdsmen

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live in felt tents; their diet and clothing are similar to those of the Kazakh pastoral nomads.

Turkmens not engaged in stock raising produce silk or crops of cotton, fruit, and cereals in the few valley bottoms that may be irrigated. Some natives are employed in the salt industry along the east shore of the Caspian; some fishing is practiced there as well.

4. TADJAKS. The Tadjaks make up three-fourths of the population of their republic; Uzbeks are the next highest increment of the population; and the balance is made up of Russians, Arabs, Jews, and natives from adjacent areas.

Most of the Tadjaks are pastoral nomads, or at least commute between summer and winter pastures. They live either in circular felt tents or in huts of sun-dried brick. The few agriculturists grow cotton, fruit, and cereals along suitable glacier-fed streams. Coal and iron deposits have been exploited in recent years.

5. KHIRGHIZ. The Khirghiz occupy the best area in central Asia, although they also are exposed to the continental climate which is characterized by the greatest range between day and night temperatures in the world. The Khirghiz total 66% of the population, Russian settlers 20% and Uzbeks 11%.

Most of the country is mountainous and provides excellent meadow pastureland. The natives raise fat-tailed sheep, cows, yaks, goats, and the two-humped camel. As in much of Asia, "watch dogs guard every encampment."

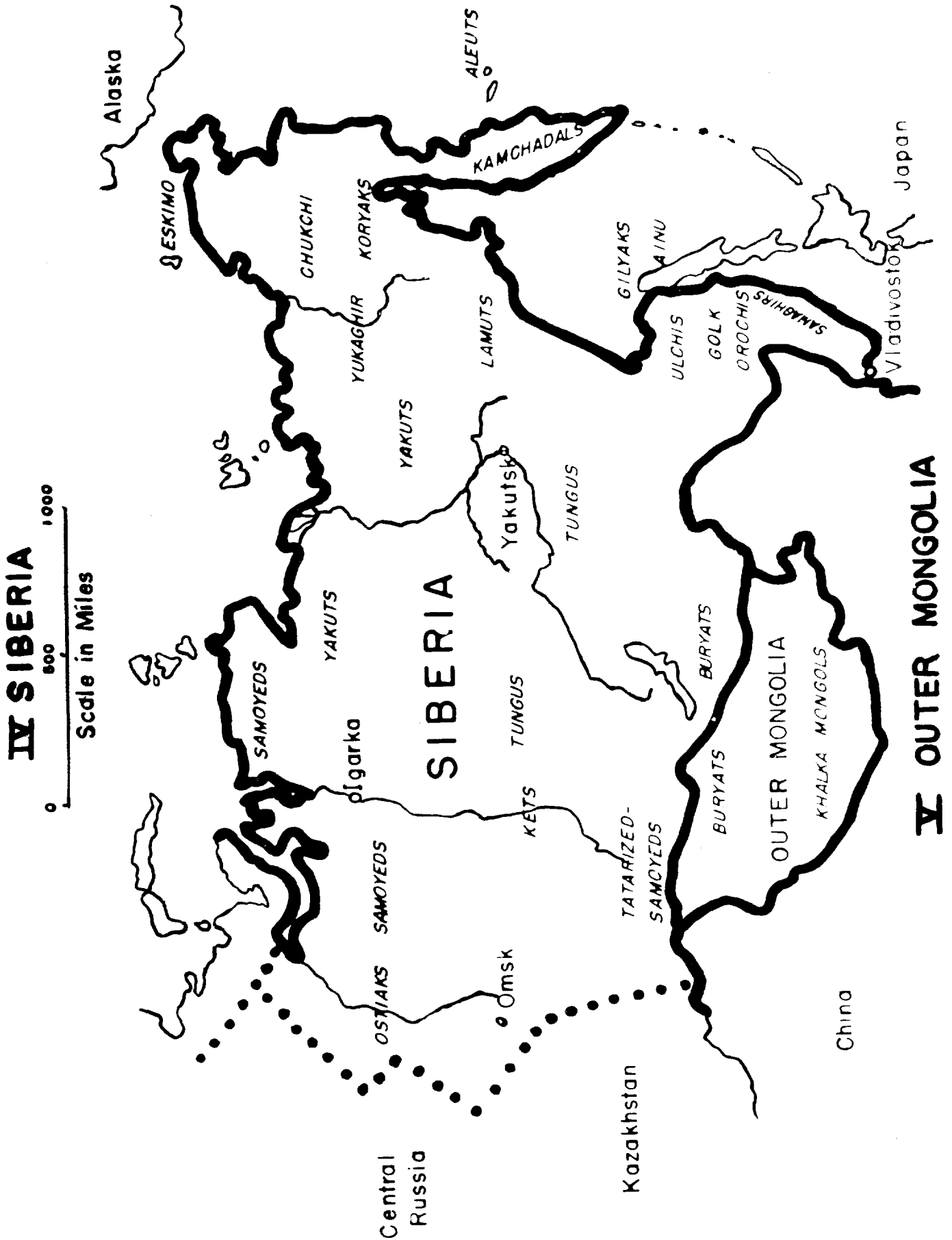
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The Khirghiz spend the summer in felt tents. Each family or band winters in a particular valley in permanent huts of sun-dried brick, each roofed with a haystack -- winter fodder for their animals. In addition to the usual diet of fried bread, milk, sour cheese, kummis, and a little meat, the Khirghiz rely on tea and sugar (this is also true of the Uzbeks).

Aside from stock raising and agriculture, the principal industries of the area include the manufacture of textiles and the mining of coal.

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PART IV

SIBERIA

The general impression of Siberia has always been that it is a cold country, covered with snow, unsuitable for agriculture and human habitation -- a good place to send exiles. This is true as far as the northern tundra and the southern, desert-like steppe is concerned. But, taken as a whole, Siberia has a predominantly continental climate; it offers opportunities for stock raising and agriculture and for such industries as mining, lumbering, fishing, and fur trapping.

Siberia has always been sparsely populated. Approximately 17% of the total Russian population inhabits Siberia; whereas its territory represents nearly 75% of the area of the Soviet Union. The over-all population of Siberia is estimated to be slightly over 33,000,000; about 80% are Russian colonists. About 25% of the population lives in cities with the greatest concentration along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, the Amur River, and sections of the south-east coast. There are five cities of over 100,000, of which Vladivostok (250,000) is the largest. Less than one individual per two square miles occupies the Arctic taiga, tundra, and coast -- and most of them are in settlements scattered along the banks of the larger rivers.

The population of Siberia may be divided into three groups; the Old Settlers, the New Settlers, and the Native Tribes.

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1. OLD SETTLERS. The Old Settlers, belonging to Great Russian and related stocks, are dominant politically and economically. They are the descendents of exiles, soldiers who fought in the Russo-Japanese War, and enterprising colonists.

2. NEW SETTLERS. The New Settlers, of Great Russian, Ukrainian, and related stocks, are virtually indistinguishable in appearance from the Old Settlers. They are settled around the cities, in the mining and lumbering areas, where they form the bulk of the industrial population. Most of them have been transplanted more or less willingly by the present regime.

The Old and New Settlers together -- about 80% of the entire population -- make up the collectivized farmers and fishermen, the industrial workers, and the government officials and employees. For practical purposes, they may be considered as proven Communists. The status of any particular individual may be correctly surmised by the newness of his clothing and the adequacy of his diet. Physically the Old and New Settlers are Caucasians -- varying from the brunette southern Europeans to the blonde Baltic stocks. In the course of several generations, a number of these Caucasians have interbred with natives.

3. NATIVE TRIBES. The native tribes are of four distinct stocks: Turkic, Manchu, Finno-Ugrian, and Americanoid. Their culture ranges from nomadic cattle-raising through reindeer breeding to hunting and fishing. The difference between the types is rapidly

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disappearing. Although varying somewhat in degree of Russification and easternization, they have all been affected by the Russian policy of making all people sedentary (in so far as their economy permits), literate, and able to speak Russian.

The natives enjoy special consideration in that they are permitted a degree of autonomy on local and cultural affairs. Most of them are organized into collectives for fishing, cattle and reindeer husbandry, and the trapping of fur-bearing animals; these collectives are supervised by representatives of established government agencies.

A. Turkic. Turkic speaking people include the Buryats and Yakuts, respectively around Lake Baykal and in the lower Lena River drainage, and Tatar tribes (Barba, Cholym, Abakam, etc) in southwestern Siberia, in the Altai Mountains, and on the headwaters of the Ob and Yenisei Rivers. The last-mentioned Turkic speakers of southwestern Siberia are closely related to large groups along the middle Volga River and in the Caucasus.

(1) Buryats

The Buryats number about one-third of a million, and the population is increasing. They are the most advanced natives, readily adapting themselves to urbanization -- about 30,000 of them live in Ulan-Ude, where they constitute about 20% of the population.

They are predominantly horse and cattle breeders, occupying the steppe areas east, west, and south of Lake Baykal. They lead

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a semi-nomadic life, changing abode twice a year (meeting the need for seasonal pastures) and maintaining established dwellings in both habitats. Under Russian direction, agriculture has been encouraged but it remains of secondary importance.

The old octagonal wood huts and felt tents are giving way to log cabins of standard Russian type. Their dress and household accessories are gradually being replaced by clothing and utensils of Russian manufacture. Their diet consists of cheese and fermented milk, bread and tea, and small amounts of fish, meat, and vegetables.

Many Buryats remained Lamas (a form of Buddhists) in spite of past Russian intolerance. The majority are Greek Orthodox Christians, although they still cherish many old shamanistic practices.

They are stocky, of medium stature, with narrow shoulders and short, often bowed legs. Their skin color ranges from yellow to brownish. They have broad faces, flat noses, slanting, dark-brown eyes, and straight, coarse black hair (sparse on the face).

(2) Yakuts

The Yakuts, numerically the second most important native tribe in Siberia, occupy the vast area north of Lake Baykal.

In the Yakutsk autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic, which stretches from the Yenisei River east to the Kolyma, and from the Arctic Ocean almost to Lake Baykal, the Yakuts form 85% of the population.

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The non-natives (Russians 11%, Chinese, and Koreans) live in the Aldan mining region and in the city of Yakutsh. This Yakutsh Republic is almost equal in size to European Russia, totaling about 1,500,000 square miles.

Culturally and racially the Yakuts are similar to the Buryats. Formerly they led a nomadic life, raising horses on the steppes; at present horse raising is generally replaced by cattle breeding. The chief means of livelihood is the fur industry; with furs the Yakuts pay for imported grain and manufactured goods. The great mineral deposits of the region have not as yet been adequately developed, owing to the low density of population and the absence of transport facilities. In the extreme north, some groups depend upon herds of reindeer (this economy is supplemented by hunting and fishing). In the south, as with the Buryats, some have become agriculturists through Russian influence.

The Yakuts are of two physical types. Both groups closely resemble the Buryats; however, one group has an incongruous and unexplained prominent nose. The Yakuts are characterized by remarkable vitality and adaptability to environment.

B. Manchu. The Manchu speaking people are further subdivided into Tungusic tribes (Tungus, Lamuts, Crochoni, etc) and Manchu groups (Golds, Ulchis, Crochis, Samaghirs, and Udehe).

All are characterized by yellowish or smoky skin; low, broad, frequently slanting forehead; straight black hair; black eyes; low stature; slender build; and short legs.

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(1) Tungus and Lamuts

The Tungus (Euyenki) and the closely related Lamut are scattered in small groups north of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, from the Yenisei River east to the Sea of Okhotsk (Tungus in the west, Lamut near the coast).

In the 17th Century, when the Russians approached the head of the Lena River, they encountered a number of indigenous peoples and applied the name Tungus indiscriminately to all of them. Regardless of their original tribal names (Orochoni, Luoravetlans, etc), they are all nomadic; the majority are forest hunters. Some in the north are reindeer herdsman, using the animals for pack, saddle, and draft purposes. The Tungus around Lake Baykal and the Okhotsk coast Lamuts do more fishing than hunting.

The diet varies from the near-starvation meat rations of Arctic groups to menus of fish, berries, and dairy products consumed by the natives near Lake Baykal and along the Okhotsk coast. Reindeer milk is a staple, but the meat is rarely eaten.

The northern Tungus live in portable conical tents, of reindeer skins in winter and of bark in summer. Winter camping grounds have permanent store houses built on stilts (protection from foraging animals, and easy to locate in deep snow). Currently, square log cabins are replacing the old style dwellings. The coastal Lamuts live in villages composed of log cabins; a small number in the Kolyma River drainage are nomadic reindeer herdsman and hunters.

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Cold weather outer garments of deerskin are still worn. Ready-made Russian clothing has replaced the old costume, which showed a number of affinities with the Japanese style in cut and ornamentation.

Many of the Tungus peoples are Greek Orthodox Christians; however, they cling to a number of shamanistic beliefs and cherish many idols and amulets.

(2) Manchus

The Manchu tribes may be subdivided into hunters (Gold and Udehe) and fishers (Samaghir, Orochi, and Ulchi), although they all rely primarily on agriculture and stock raising. They occupy small and delimited ranges in extreme southeastern Siberia, in and east of the Amur River drainage. Numerically, they are the least important Siberian natives.

They live in villages; the old style grass and clay houses have given way to log cabins; brush shelters (near permanent store houses on stilts) serve as dwellings near summer pastures.

The diet consists of fish and vegetables, some game, and bread. Clothing is a combination of Chinese cotton-type garments and Russian manufactured apparel.

C. Finno-Ugrian. Finno-Ugrian tribes in western Siberia include Ostiaks (and the Ket on the lower Yenisei River), Samoyedes, and such little known groups and the Voguls and Dolgans -- in the northwest corner, and the Tatarized-Samoyedes along the headwaters

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of the Yenisei River (near Abakan in the Altai Mountains). The lower Yenisei River may be taken as the dividing line between the Tungus people (to the east) and the Finno-Ugrian groups (to the west); a few Yakuts persist north and east of the river mouth.

These Finno-Ugrians are medium to short; they have dark hair and brown eyes; their noses are flat and broad; mouths are large and lips full; and the facial hair of the men is scanty.

(1) Ostiak

The Ostiak occupy the lower Ob River drainage and adjacent taiga and tundra lands. The river dwellers are comparatively settled -- and therefore Russianized. They depend on fishing. The tundra Ostiaks, confusingly mixed with the Samoyedes, tend herds of reindeer. All of these natives depend on winter fur-trapping to trade for imported needs.

They are good hunters; it is reported that some continue to use bows and arrows. Snowshoes are usual for winter travel; dugout canoes facilitate summer transportation. Rude huts of skins, sod, or stone furnish shelter in summer; semi-subterranean earth lodges are the conventional winter dwellings, although log cabins are increasingly used. Skin clothing still predominates.

(2) Samoyedes

The arctic Samoyedes or Nentsy, numbering less than 20,000 occupy the tundra and taiga of the lower Ob and Yenisei River

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drainages and coastal areas (westward to the White Sea). The major tribes are (a) the Yuraks, who inhabit the coast of the Arctic Ocean; (b) the Tavghi, from the Yenisei east to the Khatanga; and (c) the Ostiak-Samoyede hybrids of the Tobolsk and Yenisei backwoods and tundra.

These people live by hunting and fishing and reindeer herding. They dwell in stone huts and flimsy, although easily transported, summer tents. Their religion is primitive shamanism, although there have been a few converts to the Greek Orthodox Church.

(3) Tatarized-Samoyedes

The Tatarized-Samoyedes (such tribes as the Kaibals and Beltirs) have almost completely blended with the Tatar groups on the northern slopes of the Altai Mountains. They are a mixed lot linguistically, physically, and culturally. Their economy is based on agriculture and stock raising.

D. Americanoids. The Americanoid tribes are small and widely scattered. They are related in language, culture, and physique to the American Indians.

(1) Gilyaks

The Gilyaks are a sea-going, fishing people who live on both sides of the mouth of the Amur. They number less than 5,000 persons. They are semi-nomadic, changing their dwelling place several times during the summer -- moving up and down the coast

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in search of fish and sea mammals. They live in wooden frame huts, lined with sleeping shelves which are warmed by long smoke vents. A favorite winter dwelling is a semi-subterranean lodge, the upper half of which is of wattle and daub construction. They still wear sealskin boots; manufactured clothing has replaced their native garb of animal skins. Their diet consists overwhelmingly of fish and seal meat.

(2) Yukaghirs

The Yukaghirs are the most primitive of the Americanoid tribes. They exist along the southern tributaries of the Kolyma River. They are reindeer hunters; seasonally the individual bands visit their own particular fishing grounds. They live in conical tents of reindeer hide; a few bands living near the coast spend the winter in villages composed of semi-subterranean lodges. The clothing of men and women consists of a sack-like coat made of reindeer hide or other animal fur, leggings, and boots. Winter travel is accomplished by dog sleds; in the summer they use dugout canoes.

(3) Kamchadals

The Kamchadals of the Kamchatka Peninsula were essentially a fishing people, dependent on the reindeer (which they did not domesticate) only secondarily. No pure Kamchadals remain; the Russian native hybrids of Kamchatka and adjacent posts are often described as Kamchadals.

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(4) Koryaks

The Koryaks, who number about 5,000, are scattered throughout the area immediately north of the Kamchatka Peninsula. Most of them are nomadic reindeer people living in small encampments. Each settlement consists of one or more large deerskin tents, each housing twenty to forty people. The few coastal Koryaks depend on fishing and live in more permanent houses.

(5) Chukchis

The Chukchis are divided into groups. The Maritime Chukchis number about 3,000 and live in about seventy small villages along the Arctic coast. The Reindeer Chukchis, numbering about 9,000, are more nomadic. Their herds are less domesticated than those of the Tungus tribes; their reindeer are kept for food only; salt is the bait used to attract the half-wild animals. Although some manufactured clothing is now used, skin garments still predominate. The coastal Chukchis are impoverished and lead a very unsatisfactory existence; visitors to their settlements speak of them as diseased and dirty, untrustworthy and thieving. On the other hand, the Reindeer Chukchis lead more secure lives and are more upstanding people.

(6) Asiatic Eskimo

The Asiatic Eskimo number about 2,000. They live in small settlements between Big Diomedé Island in Bering Strait westward along the coast of the Arctic Ocean. They are closely related to

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the Eskimo of north Alaska and are indistinguishable from them in language, physique, and an economy dependent upon the hunting of sea mammals. They are reported as being friendly and honest.

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PART V

OUTER MONGOLIA

Outer Mongolia has been buffeted back and forth since the Chinese revolution of 1911. Russia has definitely been of dominant influence since 1917. In 1924, A Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Mongol People's Republic was adopted and on June 30, 1940, the constitution now in force was accepted. This states that "The Mongol People's Republic is an independent state of workers who have annihilated the imperialistic and feudal yoke, insuring a non-capitalistic approach to the development of the country to pave the way to socialism in the future." In other words, Outer Mongolia is definitely behind the Iron Curtain and has been for so long that our knowledge of the changes in the area is very scanty.

The area known as Outer Mongolia has been largely the territory of a single tribe, the Khalka Mongols. Chinese and Russian merchants have always been prominent in the area, their numbers varying with the ups and downs of Chinese and Russian political influence. By far the largest immigrant group are the Buryats from the adjacent Lake Baykal region of Siberia.

The Mongols are characterized by yellowish skin color. They have the Mongoloid eyefold or "slant eyes," broad faces, high cheekbones, and coarse black hair. They are medium to tall in stature. The women look Chinese, primarily because of

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similarities of dress with their neighbors to the south. Until the time of Russian domination, about 60% of the population of Outer Mongolia practiced Lamaism, a form of Buddhism. Until 1924, the Living Buddha in Urga (now Ulan Bator) was the head of Mongolian Lamaism; he was lower in rank to the Living Buddha in Tibet. With his death the Russians prevented the selection of a successor. They also confiscated the herds and properties of the lamaseries so that they lost their powerful economic control. Now only a small percentage of the men are lamas; they dress in red and yellow robes and hats.

The Mongol's outer garment is a full length, loose fitting gown belted at the waist -- it resembles a bathrobe. For ordinary wear the robe is cotton, but the women often have them of beautiful Chinese silk. In winter they wear full length sheepskin lined overcoats.

Men and women wear high boots with turned up toes which are no more intended for walking than the cowboy boots of Texas.

Non-lama men wear little skull caps with ear tabs. In winter a fur cap is not only in style but a necessity. The women arrange their black hair into two lateral prongs, and balance a little cone-in-saucer hat or embroidered cap between the horns.

The people of Outer Mongolia are herders and stock raisers. Wealth is figured in horses, sheep, camels, and cattle. Live animals are the Mongol's capital. Cash money is for throwing about recklessly. It is no good until it is spent, but live stock

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are a Mongol's "money in the bank," and only the interest is to be used. That interest consists of milk and wool together with the natural increase which may be sold to traders. They export live animals, wool, and hides.

The Khalka Mongols have always moved from one grazing ground to another. Therefore their dwellings are portable. In summer they may use a blue cotton cloth tent of the A type. It is not showerproof but it does provide shade. The yurt is a year-round dwelling. It looks like a cheese box with a conical roof and is composed of heavy felt over a collapsible wooden frame. The felt is tied in place with goat hair rope. The door may be of wood or it may be a loose flap of felt. A yurt can be taken down or erected in a few minutes and makes about a camel load when moving.

Their food is mainly milk, butter, and cheese, which they produce themselves, supplemented with rice, tea, and some flour, which is imported. They do eat mutton, beef, and camels, but depend almost entirely on milk and cheese.

Each Mongol carries his own wooden bowl and his chop sticks. These he licks clean before returning them to the folds of his gown after eating. He wipes his fingers on his gown so that it is frequently as easy to smell the Mongol as it is to see him.

Travelers in Mongolia will find the routes marked by large piles of stones, wood and stone in areas where wood is available. Each is known as an "obo," also is a combination light house for caravans and religious monument for placating the spirits of the area.

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On meeting you, a Mongol will offer you his snuff box. The offer is made with the box or both hands extended. One need not actually take the snuff but the gesture must be acknowledged. Another frequent greeting is the silk scarf presented on outstretched hands. This gift can be accepted on extended hands and you are expected to reciprocate with something of value, a coin, a trinket, or on occasion when nothing better is available, the same scarf. Some individuals stick out their tongues as a friendly gesture.

Until the 1930's Urga or Ulan Bator was the only city in Outer Mongolia and probably still is. There were log houses, felt yurts, and masonry buildings. The Mongols are definitely plains dwellers and their country probably is the only place in the world where the population per square mile statistics really give a true picture. While there might be a few score or even hundreds of lamas in a large lamasery, the general population was, and probably still is, well scattered in the area, averaging not over two per square mile.

This native of the plains is thoroughly at home on horseback. One explorer said, "If you could arrange a kitchen to be operated by a man on horseback, the Mongol would be an excellent cook."

The Mongol does not like agriculture and has so far resisted the Russian attempt to make a farmer of him. Chinese and Russians in his country have been the farmers.

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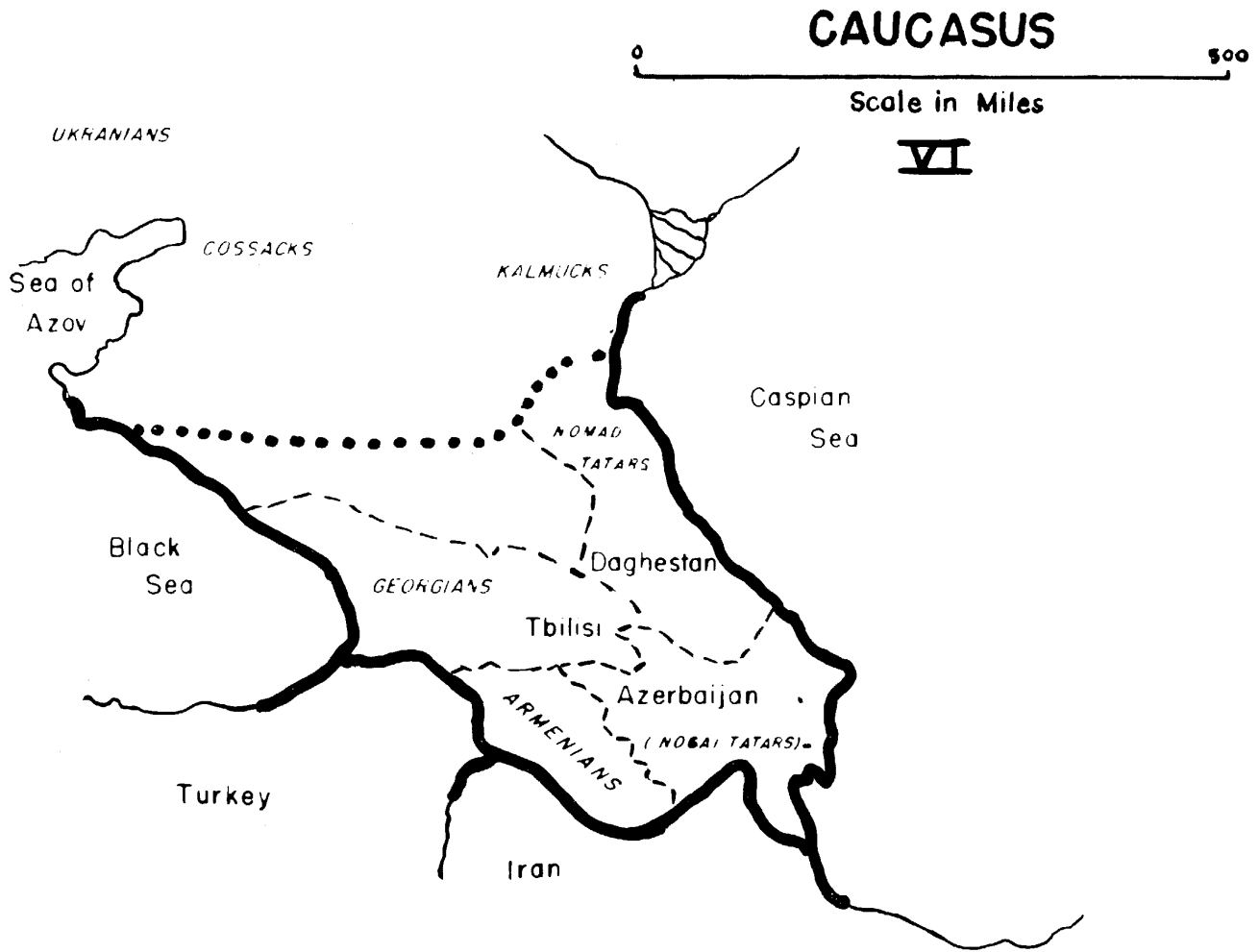
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Indications are that young Mongols have been trained to operate motor vehicles, from tractors and tanks to airplanes. They have become teachers, veterinarians, and even government bureaucrats. They operate haying stations, meat processing plants, a tannery, and a shoe factory in Ulan Bator.

However, when the Communists tried to collectivize their herds, the Mongols effectively objected by slaughtering the animals. The effort at collectivizing was abandoned in favor of cooperatives, in the hope that the Mongols "will see the advantages of group action on many of their problems."

Gay, light-hearted, friendly and hospitable, loving a good joke, the Mongol is the sort of individual with whom an American can get to be real friends. Russia is controlling him by taking advantage of his needs and his abilities, by catching him young and educating him in the "new freedom."

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PART IV

THE CAUCASUS AND TRANS CAUCASIA

The Russians call the combined Caucasus and Trans Caucasia regions "Kavkaz." It comprises 2% of the total territory of the USSR (194,500 square miles). It is inhabited by more than 16,000,000 people, who portray a variety of religious faiths, languages, and physical stocks.

Perhaps nowhere in the world is there such a confusion of tongues, religions, and physiques. Since prehistoric times the area has been a meeting point for Greeks and Romans from the Mediterranean, Persians and Turks from the south, Mongols and Tatars from the east, and Russians from the North. The isolated mountain valleys in Trans Caucasia still serve as havens for remnants of the historically vanquished. The shores of the Black Sea and the few passes through the Caucasian Mountains have received invasion after invasion from the east, south, and west. The ethnic picture of the region is extremely complicated and -- in brief treatment -- it is better to focus attention on the major native stocks, those composing an appreciable amount of the regional population. At the same time it is well to remember that the refugees in the remote areas undoubtedly possess customs and beliefs not in complete accord with the dictates of the Russian government.

The whole area, the Caucasus and Trans Caucasia, is defined by the Black and Caspian Seas on the west and east respectively, by

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northeastern Turkey and northwestern Iran at the south end of this intersea isthmus, and by an east-west line running from slightly south of the Volga River north to slightly south of the Sea of Azov.

The Trans Caucasus contains the three republics of Georgia, Armenia, and Azarbaijan. The republic of Daghestan comprises most of the Caucasus itself.

The Trans Caucasus is a mountain and plauteau country; the Black Sea coast has a mild, subtropical climate, cold weather is met within a few miles inland and at higher altitudes. The Black Sea coast is Russia's second "Riviera" (western Crimea is the primary rest, resort, and spa region of the USSR). Good pastures have encouraged stock raising. In addition, about 40% of the land is arable and hard wheat (used especially in the making of such foods as macaroni), barley, and corn are grown. Garden produce, vineyards, tobacco fields, and citrus groves are of great importance economically. In the last two decades, iron mining and the petroleum industry have made the whole Trans Caucasus area for its size the most valuable part of Russian territory.

The climate and vegetation of Daghestan are similar to those of the southern steppes. On the whole the climate is moderate although dry; dust storms are common and winters may be bitterly cold. The main occupation is agriculture. Although most of the arable land belonged to rich peasants and the size of individual

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estates was large, the Russians encountered less opposition in the formation of collectivised farms in this area than in other sections of the USSR. wheat, corn, sun flowers, and tobacco are the main crops. Although some of the non-Russian inhabitants are agriculturists, fishermen if they live along the coast, or workers in the tobacco and leather industries, most of them are engaged in stock raising; the more pleasant and lucrative pursuits are definitely in Russian hands.

1. GEORGIANS. There are approximately 2,000,000 Georgians concentrated in their own small republic, which is the western half of the Trans Caucasus. They speak a Japhetic dialect which they have further subdivided into three regional tongues. Most Georgians are members of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The physical characteristics of the Georgians are pronounced round-headedness, medium and stocky stature, dark eyes and hair, and prominent, straight noses. One reporter describes them as "brave to a fault, large hearted, songful, cheerful; a little given to the drinking of wine."

Maynard,
1949.
p.454.

The Georgians have a proud and ancient history. They are extremely nationalistic. Stalin himself is a Georgian and undoubtedly his success and position contribute much to the keeping in line of the Georgians. However, according to historic records, they have been in constant strife with all of their neighbors and given to internal schisms.

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2. ARMENIANS. The Armenians number over 2,000,000, mostly occupying the intermountain plain of the eastern Trans Caucasus. They speak a Japhetic dialect and have retained the old forty-letter alphabet. Due to certain dominant physical characteristics, they form a representatively uniform group of conspicuous appearance. They have broad, round heads which appear extremely high and very flattened at the back; they have very prominent noses which would be termed "Jewish" although the Armenians are not Jews. They have dark hair and eyes and a swarthy skin color.

The Armenians have had a tragic history. They have been successively overrun by Persians, Turks, Mongols, and Russians. The Turks killed off a large number of them during and following World War I. For most of the past fifty years the excuses for oppression of the Armenians have been ethnic, linguistic, or religious; in the preceding centuries the Armenians were simply overrun with no reason.

3. AZERBAIJANS. Turkic-speaking Tatars, belonging to the Shiite Mohammedan sect, occupy much of Azerbaijan and Daghestan.

A. Mountain Tatars. The mountain Tatars occupy the foot-hills and high valleys in eastern Trans Caucasia. They are nomads or agriculturists, depending on the nature of the environment of their particular settlements. They are of an extremely mixed origin. Although basically they are remnants of the Mongol invasion

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of the 13th Century, they present a variety of physical types and cultural associations. Many writers (and the Russians themselves) call all Trans Caucasus people Tatars if they are not obviously Georgians, Armenians, or Russians, or members of an easily recognizable adjacent ethnic group such as the Turks or Persians.

B. Nomad Tatars. The Nomad Tatars form a distinct minority of the Daghestan Republic, in which Russians account for 83% of the population. Although they are Mohammedans, they have mixed and exchanged culture trends with the Kalmucks to the north (an ethnic group numbering about 185,000, who are Buddhists, predominantly sheep herders, and occupants of the semi-arid land on both sides of the lower Volga River). The Nomad Tatars tend their herds of sheep, cattle, goats, and horses in the least favorable northeastern part of the area. Regionally they are energetic agriculturists and -- along the coasts -- fishermen.

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KORYAK

REINDEER BREEDERS IN NORTH-EAST SIBERIA



TUNGUS

**THESE ARE REINDEER BREEDERS LOCATED IN
THE OKHOTSK DISTRICT. HAVE SQUARE FACES
AND HIGH CHEEK BONES.**



**KIRGHIZ
BOTH MEN AND WOMEN ARE SKILLED
EQUESTRIANS.**



**ASIATIC ESKIMO OR INUIT
THE ARWANAT GROUP IS LOCATED NEAR INDIAN POINT
ON THE BEHRING SEA COAST.**



BASHKIR

**TURKIC-SPEAKING, MOHAMMEDAN PEOPLE LOCATED
BETWEEN THE VOLGA AND THE URAL RIVERS. THEY
ARE REALLY TARTARIZED FINNS.**



BURYAT (MONGOLIAN)



TURKMENIAN



YAKUT
BASICALLY MONGOLOID, WITH FLAT FACES,
PROMINENT CHEEK BONES AND NARROW EYES.

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INTRODUCTION

T. G. Tatsios,
The USSR and
World Revolu-
tions...
(M. A. Essay)

Ever since the Bolshevik regime in Russia arose from the debris of the Tsarist empire, the entire non-communist world has been haunted by the spectre of Communism. The militant aspect of the Marxian doctrine class struggle, world revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat became known the world over and the Soviet government has lived up to these teachings of Marxism by promoting and supporting revolutions abroad. From the first moment it became clear that the Russian revolution was not merely a replacement of one form of government with another but an event of world-wide significance, particularly because the avowed aim of the new regime was world revolution and the establishment of Communist dictatorships the world over.

The Russian Communist Revolution of 1917 was the first successful forcible seizure of a government by Communists. It set the example for a wave of dictatorships, Communist, Fascist, or Nazi, which plagued Europe and Asia since the end of World War I. The Soviet dictatorship, however, is so novel, so revolutionary, that it constitutes a type by itself. It differs from the rest in another respect, in a certain ambiguity that has led different authorities to give the most conflicting reports concerning its character and its institutions. When all is said, however, it becomes evident that, because of its program for world Communism, the Soviet dictatorship is a world-filling threat to the slowly won liberties of man, to the creative struggle in which his vision has been extended to ever new

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horizons, and to the initiative and enterprise of individuals and groups by means of which they have fought their way upward and brought advancement to their societies.

The Soviet system, the first of the modern dictatorship, was not initially the expression of any mass-generated sentiment. It was the result of the breakdown of the traditional Russian society in the stresses of the First World War, the revelation of its incompetence, bureaucratic ineptitude, and general decay, all of which contributed to the defeat of the country. In the ensuing chaos the Tsar abdicated and the Provisional government which took over was the first attempt for the creation of a democratic form of government in Russia. It did not last long, however, because the well organized and iron disciplined Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin capitalized on the mass discontent and succeeded in overthrowing it.

The Communist Party is not only the ruling party in the Soviet government but it is also the only legal Party under the Soviet system enjoying a monopoly of legality. As a result, any study of the political structure of the Soviet Union must rightly emphasize the structural aspects of the Communist Party and its role in both, legislation and administration. In other words, as will be shown later, the Communist Party is the ruler of the Soviet Union.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A One-Party Regime. As used in the United States and other Western democracies, the term "political party" denotes

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Ogg, Zink
Foreign
Governments

some element or segment of the people (especially the voters) drawn together in support of some more or less definite program of public character. It carries the implication, too, of a number of organized elements, existing side by side and competing for offices, parliamentary seats, and other means of power. With political democracy widely stifled or openly repudiated during the period since World War I, the world has seen many so-called one-party or monolithic regimes, based on authoritarian refusal to permit any political party to exist except only the one supporting the ruling dictatorship. In two important countries--Germany and Italy--such regimes have now disappeared as a result of defeat in war, followed by collapse of the nazi and fascist systems. The one major country in which the one-party plan is still rigidly maintained is the U.S.S.R. There, from the Bolsheviks' original capture of power in 1917, only the party once known as the Bolsheviks, but now called the Communist Party, has had any legal recognition, or for that matter any actual existence. There might (or still may), it has been remarked, be other parties, but "on the sole condition that one is in power and the others in jail."

The Relation of Party and Government. Where the one-party system prevails, one may be sure that the government not only has been created and maintained as a going concern by the controlling political group, but is closely interlocked with the party structure in personnel and even in function.

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In the case of the Soviet Union, to be sure, government and party are, on paper, separate and simply complementary. From Moscow down through the constituent republics, the regions and districts, and out into the remotest villages, the two run parallel, each with its own headquarters, congresses, councils, officers, treasuries, newspapers, and what not; and officially it is the government, not the Party, that makes laws, issues decrees, conducts foreign relations, carries on administration, controls the army and navy, and gives orders to the police. Actually, however, it is the party that rules. Higher officials in the government are picked by Party bureaus, and Marshal Stalin has transcended them all, not so much because of formal government connections that he has had (such as chairman of the Council of Ministers) as from the vantage point of the party positions that he has occupied. Whether it be a five-year plan, a veto of a Security Council proposal, a policy affecting labor or the press, the Party in effect decides, the government receives the decision and carries it out. "The party openly admits," Stalin has said, "that it guides and gives general direction to the government." In point of fact, the Party is the government in all except form, and the Communist dictatorship is the dictatorship of the Communist Party--a party which has on its rolls approximately 6,300,000 members out of a total national population of 200,000,000, and which, notwithstanding formal arrangement tending to give a contrary impression, is organized and run on lines affording little scope for democracy. Any study of government in

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the U.S.S.R. today must, therefore, start with an inquiry into what the Communist Party is and how it works.

Communist Doctrine. Like most organizations of the kind, the party is both a creed and a mechanism. It is a creed in the sense that it cherishes an elaborate body of economic and political doctrine to which all of its members must unswervingly adhere. It is a mechanism in the sense that it is geared in all of its parts to highly centralized control by a single compact group driving steadily toward an ultimate goal. The party principles are derived largely from the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Like Marx, the party sharply indicts the whole structure and theory of modern capitalistic society. The Communists claim that, Democracy, as it is operating in countries like Great Britain and the United States, is not popular rule, but bourgeois rule. Social justice therefore, they say, requires that the type of state, and the instrumentalities of government, known to the Western world, be overthrown and dictatorship of the proletariat substituted; and while Marx had the idea that this could come about only after capitalism had wrought its own destruction in a highly industrialized society, Lenin and his followers boldly planned-- in an agricultural country which according to the Marxian hypothesis was least prepared of all for a socialist revolution--to take a short cut and proceed to the revolution forthwith. The Communist Party became the activating agency in the program.

T. G. Tatsios
The USSR and
World Revolution

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The Party Line. In order to realize their objectives, namely world domination, the Communists have developed the so-called "Party Line." It is an unswerving allegiance and blind obedience to the policy formulated by the Politbureau of the Communist Party. At any given time, the party line is, of course, binding upon all party members; and party "directives," i.e., orders, on whatsoever subjects, must proceed from it. Over a period of years, however, the "line" is very flexible, in the light of altered circumstances. The Bolshevik leaders may give it new twists and slants. In other words, while the goal--world Communism--remains the same, the methods by which the Communist leaders plan to achieve it change in accordance with the circumstances, and the party members must follow these changes blindly.

The Communist Party insists on maintaining its monopoly of legality and its unity at the command of its founder-- Lenin. Of all the Russian socialist parties of the pre-revolutionary period, it alone accepts the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as worked out under the Soviet system. The Soviet leaders insist on absolute unity within the ranks of the Party on the grounds that the revolution is still in progress, and its aims have not yet been attained.

The Party and Legislation. The relationship between the Party and the Government in respect to formal legislative procedure requires special emphasis; it is an illustration of the ruling position of the Party in the Soviet system. It seems to be the general principle that the initiative in

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formulating policy even in its details is part of the role of the Party, while formal enactment rests with the Governmental body. The Party passes resolutions and the formal legislative enactment of the content of these resolutions always follows. Thus Party congresses generally immediately preceded Soviet congresses. The five-year plans have been programs of the Party and actually went into force before formal enactment by the Soviet Congress or Central Executive Committee. Frequent departures from this practice, in the form of actual legislation by the Party alone, have occurred, due to the need of immediate action or of the desire to emphasize the responsibility and authority of the Party.

The role of the Party with respect to the formal legislative procedure is also determined by the presence in all grades of Soviets of the so-called "Party group." Even, where in the lower units this Party group is a minority, it is the only organized group permitted and its leadership is therefore effective. In the higher units the Party group always has a majority. There is, therefore, no question that the Party directives, which must be followed by all Party groups in elective institutions, the group acting as a unit will prevail in the legislative activity of the Soviet assemblies or executive committees. The sole right to "caucus" of the Party members in any Soviet has been an effective sanction of this ruling position of the Party in the field of legislation. All "non-Party members" of a Soviet have been designated as

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such and could meet only as a general and not as an organized group. And the provisions of the constitutions that Party members shall form the "directing nuclei" in all Soviet institutions implies that they will retain as their monopoly the important right which they have enjoyed to date of forming the only organized "group" in the Soviet legislative bodies.

Party and Administration. The role of leadership assumed by the Party in the Soviet system extends to administration. In all except the village executive committees of Soviets, Party members have a majority and generally the chairmanship. In the local and central committees of labor unions the Party members also predominate. Party predominance in the personnel of the administrative boards of the co-operative societies is less general except for the highest co-ordinating organs; Communists looked down on commercial or trade activities, and even under Party discipline were directed into this field only with difficulty. In appointive commissions the same Party leadership is found. Those appointed as directors of institutions and managers of economic enterprises - particularly the many new construction projects - are almost invariably Party members, although of late this former practice is not followed so rigidly. In a very concrete way, therefore, the ruling position of the Party expresses itself in the personnel of the multiform apparatus of administration.

The provision for special training of those holding administrative positions has been generally supplied, practically

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from the beginning, by the special Party-Soviet schools to train not only Party organizers and workers, but chairmen or secretaries in local Soviet institutions.

A special organ of the Party--the Commission of Party Control--exercises, as its name indicates, general supervision over administration, constantly investigating and reporting, many of its findings being made public. For this function it was decided to centralize the control over performance, in order to free this function from the pressure of local interests. Local "mass" control, formerly exercised by the organs of Workman - Peasant Inspection, a Commission of Soviet Control, appointed by and responsible to the Central Executive Committee, checks upon performance in Soviet administrative and economic institutions. Organized like the Commission of Party Control with centralized authority through local representatives responsible only to it, the Soviet institution co-operates closely with the Party institution, and both represent the tendency toward decentralization in management and administration and centralization in respect of checking up on performance.

It is through such a structure that the three basic principles of organization -- monolithic unity, democratic centralism, and iron discipline -- are enforced. Factional groupings of any kind are strictly forbidden. A faction is any grouping which organizes and meets outside the framework of organization established by the statutes of the Party and which elaborates its own platform of principles and introduces its own internal discipline.

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AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

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Young Communists. The founders of the Communist regime were well aware that the ultimate success of their ambitious experiment would not unlikely depend upon the extent to which they succeeded in indoctrinating with their views a younger generation which had known nothing of the struggles against czarism. Upon boys and girls of even tender ages must be imposed a "proletarian morality," precisely as in Western countries the ruling elements are alleged to impose a "bourgeois morality." Like the Italian Fascists, and later the German Nazis, the founders therefore made special provision for the political instruction of youth. The basic youth organization is an All-Union Communist League of Youth (abbreviated into Komsomol), organized on lines roughly similar to those of the party, embracing some 450,000 "cells," or branches, in factories, secondary schools, universities, etc., and on collective farms, and having a present membership of approximately 9,300,000. Membership is open to young people of both sexes, between the ages of 15 and 26, and drawn from non-Communist as well as from Communist families; although in the case of youth of non-proletarian origin, an applicant must present recommendations from two Party or Komsomol members of two years standing and undergo a year's probation. Discipline is somewhat less rigorous than in the Party. Nevertheless, there are plenty of rules that must be obeyed, under penalty of expulsion. As would be surmised, the prime object of the organization

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is the training of youth in Communist doctrine and practice; and although it is not contemplated or desired that all Komsomol "graduates" shall pass into the Party ranks, the day is anticipated when the Party will be composed exclusively, or nearly so, of people who have come up through the ancillary organization.

Young Communist Activities. Although charged above all else to "study, study, study," Komsomol members have served the Communist cause in many practical ways - coaching illiterate voters in the use of the ballot, training aviators, helping round up and discipline homeless and incorrigible children running wild in the streets of the great cities, and providing leadership for organizations of younger elements generally in the population. The Komsomol also carries on an elaborate sports program for its members and devotes a great deal of energy to their general education, maintaining numerous scholarships in universities and technical schools for the most promising. Its vocational training projects have received considerable publicity.

Pioneers and Little Octobrists. The Komsomol is only the inner circle of a scheme of youth organization planned eventually to embrace the whole of the 60,000,000 or more children and youth in the Soviet Union. Next beyond it is the circle represented by the Pioneers, embracing over 12,000,000 children between the ages of 10 and 16; and beyond this, the organization of Little Octobrists, formed of children of from 8 to 11.

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Admission to these junior organizations is without reference to origin or class; and emphasis is placed largely under Komsomol tutelage, on indoctrination with Communist principles, formation of habits of "socially useful labor," and elementary military training. As of October 29, 1948, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Komsomol, the total membership of all youth organizations exceeded 33,000,000.

Comintern and Cominform. In 1919, a world organization of Communist parties was organized under the name of the Third International, frequently referred to as the Comintern. While in theory the policies of this world-wide group were decided by a congress drawing representatives from more than 60 countries, there was a good deal of evidence to indicate that the executive committee and central headquarters in Moscow actually dominated. Leaders of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., including Stalin himself, occupied seats on the executive committee, and indeed they bulked so large as a group that their very number suggested Russian domination. The main object of the Comintern was proclaimed to be that of spreading Communism throughout the world, and in this connection it carried on activities widely resented; indeed, its battle cry of "world revolution" and its avowed objective of overthrowing the capitalistic system were accompanied by underground operations carried out by the Communist Parties in their respective countries. The Soviet Union, as the parent body, gave the Comintern substantial support until World War II, when (in 1943), as a gesture to the

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Western Allies, Stalin announced its liquidation. In some quarters, this move was interpreted as a relinquishment on the part of the U.S.S.R. of all intention to push the spread of Communism outside of its own borders. However, it proved only temporary; for shortly after the defeat of Germany and Japan, the formation of a Cominform was announced. While less elaborate in formal scope than the Comintern--the Cominform is ostensibly a clearing house or central bureau of Communist organizations--the new agency seems to have substantially the same purposes as its predecessor. There are, however, certain differences. The Comintern had its headquarters in Moscow, and consequently was regarded as more or less as an offshoot of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. In order to create the illusion, at least, of some truly international character, the central offices of the Cominform were located in Yugoslavia to begin with, and then after the Tito rebellion were moved to Rumania. Such camouflage, however, did not prove very effective after it came to light that the moving figure in the Cominform was none other than A. A. Zhdanov, one of the most ambitious and energetic of the party's leaders, secretary of the Party's important Leningrad district, and, most significant of all, a member of the Politbureau. The fact that Zhdanov had been very close to Stalin and that he had been used to handle difficult tasks for the party added to the strong impression that the Cominform was to play a far more important role than that of mere clearing-house or information center. Allegations made by high officials of the French government,

involving the discovery of correspondence between Zhdanov and the Communist party in France in which orders were directed at sabotaging the recovery program, strengthened the earlier view of the organization as being actually an instrument for the promotion of world revolution.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

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Hierarchical Aspect. The organization of the Communist Party is probably more elaborate than that of any other political group in the world at the present time, although in this respect the former National Socialist Party of Germany may have surpassed it. Organization, too, follows the lines of the purest type of hierarchy. Among Party rules are two which stress an almost military aspect: (1) the acceptance of strict Party discipline, and (2) unquestioning acquiescence of lower echelons, and indeed of all Party members, in decisions reached at higher levels. In an address delivered prior to World War II, Stalin gave some description of the general nature of the Party set-up. At the top, he noted three or four thousand "generals" who were responsible for the work of the central organizations. Below there were from thirty to forty thousand "field officers" who carried on Party programs at the level intermediate between the central organization and the local Party units. And at the bottom, from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand "non-commissioned sergeants and corporals" commanded the members in the ranks. There is the

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same "command" type of arrangement as is to be observed in military formations, with responsibility running from the bottom upwards and orders originating from the top and proceeding downwards through the intermediate levels to the basic units. Some observers have been led astray by another rule providing for the election of Party officials and organs, and have viewed the set-up as intrinsically democratic. But while lip-service is given to such a rule and some leeway may actually be permitted to local units in choosing their officers, a reasonably objective analysis reveals that the emphasis is placed on the Party rules prescribing strict discipline and full responsibility of lower echelons to higher ones. Important policies are established at the center, and must be implemented by people at the regional and local levels irrespective of personal preference.

The All-Union Congress. Ultimate authority in the Party is supposedly lodged in a large body known as the All-Union Congress, which in a sense antedates the revolution of 1917; the first Party congress assembled at about the turn of the century as a Social Democratic Party conference and a number of other meetings were held before the Communist Party as we now know it emerged. According to the rules, the All-Union Congress convenes at least every three years. For a decade covering the period of World War II and its aftermath, however, no meetings whatever were held; and the fact that the affairs of the Party could be handled during so critical a time without the Congress ever once being called into session indicates the body's

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essentially formal nature and the superiority of other Party agencies as the actual formulators of policy. All-Union Congresses are made up of approximately 2,000 delegates and "candidates" (alternates) representing the Party organizations of the constituent republics, the autonomous republics, and the other regional areas; and meetings are held in Moscow, with manifestations of much popular interest and color. Top leaders are ordinarily present in full force, adding luster to the proceedings by making speeches and lending themselves to more or less informal associations with the less important delegates. Reports are made on various phases of the work of the Party; programs of future action are presented; and formal approval is given by the assembled delegates to what has been done or is anticipated. All this can be completed in from one to two weeks, and consequently the Congresses are not long drawn-out affairs. Sessions, furthermore, are not open to the public.

The Central Committee. In order to make some provision for the long periods between meetings of the All-Union Congress, a Central Committee has been set up; and this is a fairly sizable body of 71 members and 68 candidates or alternates, all chosen, at least in form, by secret ballot of the Congress itself. The Committee meets anywhere from three or four dozen times each year in executive session and carries out the decisions of the All-Union Congress, occasionally taking action also on its own initiative, although major policies are supposed to be laid down by the parent body. With the Congress

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sometimes not meeting for several years at a stretch, it is obvious that the Central Committee, on the whole, does not receive any large amount of guidance from that source; in any event, Committee decisions rank with those of the Congress itself and are not subject to question after a final pronouncement has been made. Although meetings of the Committee are executive in nature, reports are given out as to at least some matters discussed, with formal announcement also made of important decisions reached.

The Central Committee is rather large for really efficient action, and consequently it delegates its authority in large measure to its officers and subcommittees. It has a president, a secretary-general, several assistant secretaries, and two subcommittees, one of which, the Politbureau, is of the greatest importance and in reality overshadows the Central Committee itself.

The Party Conference. Before passing on to a consideration of the Politbureau, Orgbureau, and central headquarters, notice should be taken of the Party Conference, which in recent years has to some extent been a substitute for the All-Union Congress. Starting in 1919, this Conference was held at frequent intervals for several years, but afterwards less often until in 1934 it was officially abandoned. In 1939, however, the Congress re-established it, specifying that thereafter it meet at least once a year. Varying in size from 118 to 911 (in 1941, a total of 595), and made up of the Party leaders from the regional

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organizations, the Conference serves the purpose of keeping the central headquarters familiar with what is going on in the field and of making it possible for regional leaders to make their ideas known to the top-level people in Moscow. Conferences give their attention primarily to the domestic economy and to problems involving the operations of the Party.

The Politbureau. Composition and Organization. The Politbureau, or Political Bureau, is a small body made up of the top leaders. Inasmuch as the exact number of dominant personalities in the Party varies somewhat from time to time, as some pass from the scene as a result of death or loss of status and others force themselves to the front, the size of this inner council is not entirely constant. At the same time, it should not be assumed that there is any rapid or sensational expansion or contraction, for additions or other changes are not lightly made. Starting out as a permanent agency of the Party as a result of action taken by the Eighth Party Congress in 1919, the Politbureau had five members. By 1923, it consisted of seven full members and four candidates or alternates. Since then, the number of full members has ranged as high as ten and the number of candidates from two to eight. Inasmuch as membership involves a long drawn-out process of the survival of the fittest in the service of the Party, the average age of the group is fairly high, despite the recognition commonly given to younger people in Soviet procedures; indeed the average age has gone up rather sharply during the most recent period, as the

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revolution of 1917 has receded into the past. The Politbureau is headed by a chairman whose exact status is a subject of uncertainty and even controversy among foreign observers. Stalin has occupied the position for many years, and it is difficult to separate his personality from the office. Some writers ascribe to the chairman virtually dictatorial powers, while others go quite far in the other direction and refer to him as a "prisoner" of the Politbureau. It is probable that the truth lies somewhere between, but just where is the question. Perhaps a good deal depends upon the exact time. The fact that the Politbureau meets several times each week during much of the year, and that it frequently does not adjourn until the early hours of the morning, after long hours of debate, would seem to indicate that the members do not defer to the chairman without expressing themselves in some detail. That the chairman wields greater influence than any other single member may certainly be taken for granted.

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Functions. As a matter of theory, the Politbureau is, of course, a subcommittee of the Party Congress. In reality, it is no exaggeration to say that the Politbureau is the keystone of the entire Party structure, and indeed of the U.S.S.R. Exactly what decisions are made by the Politbureau and what ones stem from some other source, it is not always easy to ascertain, but there can be little doubt that the policies which determine the general course of the Party and of the Soviet Union originate with this comparatively small body. Furthermore, while the

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title of the little group suggests that the main concern is with political matters, it would be a mistake to construe this too narrowly. In the last analysis, almost everything of over-all significance - economic, social, international, or domestic has political implications and is therefore likely to receive the Political Bureau's attention at some time or other. The various ministries of the central government report to the Politbureau, as do such agencies as the State Planning Commission. The single major exception is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; but in this case the relationship of the Politbureau to the field is so intimate that the two are more or less fused together. Anyone who attempts even a casual understanding of the Soviet Union must therefore give careful attention to the Politbureau, despite the fact that it is enshrouded in a veil of secrecy not easy to penetrate.

The Orgbureau. A second, but distinctly less important, subcommittee set up by the Central Committee, and closely related to the secretariat and central Party headquarters, is known as the Orgbureau, or Organization Bureau - an agency authorized along with the Politbureau by resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Party in 1919. Like that of the Politbureau, its membership has varied from time to time, ranging from five to 13 members and from no candidates to seven. Like the Politbureau, it is made up of influential members of the Party, in some cases the same men who hold seats in the more powerful body, although its general standing is considerably inferior.

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Its jurisdiction extends to most matters relating to the organization and operations of the Party, and accordingly it has an important role to play in Party affairs. Much of its work may be rather routine, but it also has to do with matters which sometimes turn out to involve issues needing to be transferred to the Politbureau for decision; and thus the dividing line between the two committees becomes somewhat vague. Over the years, the secretariat has tended to assume more and more of the Orgbureau's work, with the result that the committee is probably less active at present than during an earlier period.

Central Party Headquarters. The control headquarters of the Communist Party in Moscow are so elaborate in organization and so completely staffed that a student of government from the United States or Great Britain finds nothing in his own country which is comparable. For more than a quarter of a century, the Party headquarters were managed by a single energetic official, Joseph Stalin, in his capacity as secretary-general. Employing several thousand persons in Moscow alone, and occupying a large amount of office space, the central headquarters of the Party are now organized in numerous sections and bureaus which supervise Party activities and interests throughout the U.S.S.R. and to some extent throughout the entire world. Paralleling the administrative structure of the government, the Party maintains subdivisions which deal with industry, agriculture, finance, transportation, schools, political affairs, and other major

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activities; and these, of course, are intended to check on the corresponding government agencies and in large measure to determine their policies. Their heads frequently occupy commanding positions in the government departments. In addition to subdivisions giving their attention to government operations, the central headquarters naturally maintain offices, responsible for the operations of the Party as such in all of its ramifications. One such subdivision handles the administration of cadres; another gives attention to instruction-indoctrination. One of the most active has charge of propaganda and agitation projects; and some idea of the elaborateness of the organization may be derived from noting that this section of propaganda and agitation, divided into various branches, has responsibility for the press and publishing houses, scientific inventions and discoveries, Party propaganda and agitation, and the promotion of Communist programs through clubs, the radio, libraries, theatres, and related media.

The Auditing Committee and the Commission of Party Control.

Under reorganization measures adopted at the seventeenth meeting of the Party Congress in 1934, the Congress elects not only the Central Committee, but also (1) an Auditing Committee, of 22 members, charged with checking up on the finances of all Central Party organs, and, more important, (2) a Commission of Party Control, of 61 members, sometimes described as the "collective keeper of the party conscience." In the last-mentioned

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agency, we encounter the disciplinary arm of the Party - the authority which keeps the Party membership lists, inspects (through observers) the meetings of committees and other organs to see that the "Party line" is not departed from, calls before it for questioning Party members suspected or accused of disloyalty, serves as final court of appeal in cases of expulsion, and directs the carrying out of all general purgings and cleanings. Since 1934, the Commission of Party Control has been associated, in the supervision of all institutions and activities of the state, with a Commission of Soviet Control - later transformed into a Ministry of State Control; and this relationship, combined with the fact that the latter, although an organ of government, is dominated by the Party Central Committee, illustrates how the government is subordinated to the Party - even though this point is the only one at which, officially, government and Party are connected.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE SOVIET REGIME

Wide Scope of Governmental Activity in Russia. Although its basic philosophy is supposedly different from that of Fascism and National Socialism, Russian Communism is singularly like both the former Fascist regime in Italy and the old system of National Socialism in Germany in that it has given to the government a very extensive mandate in almost every field of human activity. In Russia, the dictatorship is designated a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and the state as such is not openly

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glorified; for under the Marxian philosophy the state in itself is evil. However, the most that can be said is that in practice the dictatorship is "for the proletariat" and that the glory has been seized by the Communist Party. There are few if any fields of human interest which the government and the Communist Party have not penetrated, and in many of these areas the government has exercised exceedingly vigorous activity. The family, the social structure, the economic system, education, science, and the arts are all actively subject to government and Party control.

Organization of the Soviet State. The government of the Soviet Union consists of five major subdivisions: (1) the Supreme Soviet (Council); (2) the Presidium; (3) the Council of Ministers; (4) the Supreme Court; and (5) the Prosecutor General. The last two are merely the upholders of Soviet justice and will not be discussed here. The best known prosecutor of the Soviet Union is Andrei Vishinsky who, because of the ruthless and thorough prosecution in the purges of the 1930's, was elevated to the position of Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

The Supreme Council. It is not a simple matter for a foreigner to assess the place of the Supreme Council in the Soviet Union. Under the Soviet system the role of almost every agency of government differs from that of any corresponding part of the government of the United States. The highly important position occupied by the Communist Party and the almost

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invisible division between government and Party add to the difficulty of arriving at anything like satisfactory understanding of the place of the Supreme Council.

The principal function of the Supreme Council of 1,100 members is to give the appearance of approval of Party policies and to pass on legislation initiated by other government agencies. But in a country as large and complicated as the Soviet Union there are matters which, because of their non-political or routine character, do not interest the Politbureau; and here the role of the Supreme Council becomes more impressive. With sessions covering only ten days or sometimes less twice each year, it is obvious that the Council does not spend the time on introduction of bills, consideration by committees, debate, amendments, and voting that is spent in the Congress of the United States and many other legislative bodies. Legislation in general is initiated in the Soviet Union by the Council of Ministers or the Communist Party or some other agency. But there seems little ground for doubt that decisions in regard to important matters are made by the Politbureau, to challenge or even amend. Rather, what may be expected to happen is that the Council will merely, receive recommendations made, perhaps engage in a bit of general debate, and end by obediently giving its approval.

The Presidium. In a joint meeting of its two chambers, the Supreme Council elects a Presidium made up of a chairman (who is sometimes regarded as the President of the Soviet Union), a

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vice-chairman for each constituent republic, 15 ordinary members, and a secretary. This comparatively small group represents the Supreme Council when it is not in session and also has something to do with planning and organizing the work of the body when in session. It may also, at least in theory, grant pardons, appoint commissions for the consideration of special problems, name the heads of the army and navy, provide for the mobilization of the armed forces, ratify treaties, and interpret the laws enacted by the Supreme Council. If the Council is not in session, the presidium may appoint and remove ministers, subject to subsequent confirmation by its parent body, and declare war in case of armed attack on the U.S.S.R. or need for fulfilling international treaty obligations of mutual defense against aggression. Thus it may be seen that the Presidium is both a legislative and an administrative agency, and that it combines some of the functions performed in other countries by a cabinet with those usually associated with an upper chamber or executive council.

Actual Role of the Presidium. The records show that the Presidium has taken a more active role in handling the work of government than has its parent body, the Supreme Council. But the same situation exists here that was noted in the case of the Council; most matters of any considerable consequence are canvassed and decided by the Politbureau. Consequently, it is impossible for the Presidium to exercise real authority in foreign

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relations, national defense, or domestic policies. Its job is, rather, a more or less perfunctory one involving routine matters and formalities incident to carrying out policies already determined by the Politbureau. Of course, the fact that the members of the Presidium are for the most part active in the Communist Party relieves the strain to some extent. Nevertheless, with the tradition of having the Party rather than the agencies of the government decide important policies, it will be extremely difficult to infuse much real vigor into the Presidium. On the other hand one ought not to lose sight of the amount of routine work involved in any government, particularly in a police state, and which in the Soviet Union is handled to an important degree by the Presidium.

The Council of Ministers. Under the 1936 constitution, a Council of Ministers, once known as Council of People's Commissars or Sovnarkom, bears some similarity to the cabinets of certain other countries. Described by the constitution as "the highest executive and administrative organ of state power," and declared "responsible and accountable" to the Supreme Council for its acts, the group is nominally designated by the two houses of the latter body meeting in joint session. But despite the apparently clear position conferred by the constitution, the body's actual status is somewhat difficult to determine. At times, the Council probably does little more than confirm the decisions already made by the Communist Party through

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the Politbureau. Certainly it is hardly the supreme executive authority in more than a formal sense; the Politbureau would leave it no room for such a role. On the other hand, inasmuch as some of the ministers are members of the more powerful body, there is actually a certain identity between the two; and it is not always easy to differentiate between the role of a minister and the work of a member of the Politbureau.

Chairman and Vice-Chairmen. The chairman of the Council of Ministers is frequently referred to as the "premier," and in so far as the Soviet Union has an official corresponding to the Prime Minister of Britain or the Premier of France, it is doubtless this officer. Two prominent members of the Politbureau have served as Chairman of the Council of Ministers during recent years - Molotov and Stalin. Stalin took over in 1941, held it throughout World War II, and continued in office after the war years. By employing a member of the Politbureau as chairman of the Council of Ministers, it is obvious that a link has been provided between the Communist Party and the government which is of the utmost importance in achieving a working relationship. Even when Molotov held the chairmanship of the Council of Ministers, there was a considerable fusion of the two bodies. With Stalin as both Chairman of the Politbureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the correlation became even more complete.

All-Union Ministers. The Soviet Union is perhaps the only government in the world which maintains two types of ministers,

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although in Britain and France there are, of course, ministers who head departments and ministers without portfolio. The situation is accounted for by the fact that the U.S.S.R. is nominally a federal rather than a unitary state. Certain functions are formally assigned to the central government while others are given primarily to the constituent republics and other regional governments. In so far as the central government has exclusive jurisdiction, All-Union ministries are maintained. But in fields in which the constituent republics are given responsibility a different type of ministry is provided. Inasmuch, however, as the federal system seems to operate more in theory than in practice, the dividing line between All-Union ministries and Union-Republic ministries is frequently rather tenuous. Certain of the All-Union ministries correspond quite closely to the major administrative departments found in other countries. On the other hand, there are also ministries which grow out of the peculiar role of the state in Soviet economic affairs. Not all of the latter are All-Union ministries, but those relating to heavy industries, defense industries, and the production of power are such.

CONCLUSION

The Marxian doctrine of the "temporary dictatorship" is contradicted in the Soviet Union and the "stateless" society becomes an empty myth. The doctrine of the "peoples rule" is flatly rejected by the rigorous insistence on the Party line.

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The thoroughly democratic constitution of 1936 proclaimed that all political power vested in "the working people of town and country." There is an impressive framework of electoral systems stretching all the way from the local soviets to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. There are everywhere People's Courts and People's Commissars. But the voting at elections is practically unanimous, and the one party retains complete control. The doctrine of the abolition of class has been negated by the occupational gradings, but far more thoroughly by the pyramid of power, which rises as steeply as, and perhaps more rigidly than, it did under the the Czarist regime. The principle, "to each according to his need" has been rewritten, "to each according to his work," with important implications for the social system. Two types of functionaries regulate the everyday life; first the functionaries of the Party, the officials, and next the closely allied managers of industrial and other enterprises.

Soviet Russia did not and could not abolish social class. Instead it set up a new elite and there is in effect a new class system, in which classes are distinguished not by wealth nor by birth but by nearness to or remoteness from the seat of political power. The elite is the Party membership, itself a pyramidal elite. With greater power goes greater prestige, greater opportunity, and greater privilege. The Party, local, regional, or central, exercises general supervision over every

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aspect of the economic and social life of the community. Those who are outside the Party must be content on the whole, with a lower status. In short, there is a new class system. Those who deny this conclusion either refuse, in the face of evidence to admit that a class system can exist except on an economic basis, or else they plainly believe that the inveterate expressions of human nature no longer manifest themselves under a collectivistic regime.

Under the Democratic system, government becomes an agent and the people the principal who holds it to account. The community establishes its formal superiority over the state. There are difficulties in the actual assertion of this superiority. Some areas, and particularly the area of foreign relations, are hard to bring under control. But always the community sets determinate limits to the power of government. Always even if belatedly, the community exerts its authority over its government.

While any kind of government, whether it be oligarchy or dictatorship or monarchy, can claim to rest on "the will of the people," only Democracy rests on the constitutional exercise of the will of the people. Every other kind prevents the minority - or majority - from freely expressing opinion concerning the policies of Government, or at least from making that opinion the determinant of Government. Quite possibly in Russia today the majority of the people approves and supports its government as do the peoples of Democratic Governments.

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But that fact is quite irrelevant to the question of Democracy. In the Soviet Union, under these conditions there is no free exercise of opinion on matters of policy, nor any constitutional means by which the changing currents of opinion can find political expression. It would therefore be the sheerest confusion to classify the Soviet system as democratic.

It is clear that there is fundamental conflict here between the ideology and the whole scheme of government. No dictatorship can promote or even tolerate the cultural liberty professed by the Soviet Union. Modern dictatorship is in the first instance a control of the mind by power. To this end it employs all the monopolized agencies of propaganda, making insistent appeal to mass emotions. It is a peculiarity of this appeal that it professes to give the people precisely the thing it takes away from them - cultural liberty. Discerning students of dictatorship pointed out this fact long ago. Thus in the time of Napoleon, Benjamin Constant, who used the term "usurpation" to denote what we name dictatorship, wrote that dictatorship has need of the form of liberty to achieve its ends and therefore offers men a counterfeit of liberty. It even compels people to pretend they are free and bribes writers to convince them. Despotism, says Constant, "allows men the right to be silent" but dictatorship compels them "to lie to their conscience, depriving them of the only consolation remaining to the oppressed." So long as only one "party" is

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permitted to function in the state, so long as policy is determined by the program of the exclusive party, according to the party line enunciated from the top, there can be no cultural liberty. The numerous electoral exhibits, cited by uncritical partisans as evidences of democracy in being, are merely, with their near-unanimous polls, an additional revelation of its absence.

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