

**THE
SOVIET UNION
TODAY**

**AN OUTLINE
STUDY**

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THE SOVIET UNION TODAY

An Outline Study

SYLLABUS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

The Staff of

THE AERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

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56 WEST 45th STREET, NEW YORK, 19, N. Y.

NEW YORK, 1943

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THE AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, INC.

56 West 45th Street
New York, 19, N. Y.

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Edited and Produced under union conditions; composed, printed and
bound by union labor.

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FOREWORD

This syllabus is intended as a guide for discussion on the Soviet Union, in order to give a survey of present organization and life in the U.S.S.R.

Division of Time: As various groups will have different time schedules for their courses, the syllabus is divided into time units, indicating the relative length of time that should be spent on the various topics. There are ten units in all.

Study Kit: With the syllabus, it is recommended that each group obtain a study kit, as basic reference material for the course. The following titles make a well-rounded and inexpensive kit.

<i>The Russians, the Land, the People and Why They Fight</i> , Albert Rhys Williams, Harcourt, Brace & Co.	\$2.00
<i>We're in This with Russia</i> , Wallace Carroll, Houghton Mifflin Co.	\$2.00
<i>The War of National Liberation</i> , Joseph Stalin, New York, International Publishers, 1943	15c
<i>Land of the Soviets</i> , Nikolas Mikhailov, Lee Furman, Inc.	\$2.50
<i>U.S.S.R. at War, 50 Questions and Answers</i> , American Russian Institute.	10c
<i>For World Peace and Freedom: A Survey of 25 Years of Soviet International Policy</i> , Alexander Troyanovsky, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.	10c
<i>Atlas of the U.S.S.R.</i> , Oxford University Press.	10c
<i>Map of the U.S.S.R.</i> (Wall Map), American Russian Institute.	50c
<i>Constitution of the U.S.S.R.</i> , American Russian Institute.	10c

Readings: At the end of each main section there is a general reading list on the topic. Under some of the sub-headings are given supplementary readings for those interested in more detailed information.

The full references for the titles listed in the reading suggestions are given in the bibliography, along with certain other supplementary reading in the general field.

Use of the Syllabus: It is suggested that the course should be planned in such a way as to cover the entire syllabus, rather than to specialize on any one section. Neither the discussion outline nor the suggested reading has been organized with a view to exhaustive treatment on single subjects.

The group discussion can be built around the discussion questions provided at the end of each section. The syllabus should be read and studied before each meeting, and reading should be assigned in preparation for the discussion.

Often in study groups composed of busy people not all can do any large amount of assigned readings; in such cases students may volunteer to read and report on specific sub-topics.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IST REPUBLICS (Soviet Union)



AREA OF THE U.S.S.R., 8,350,000 SQUARE MILES.



THE 16 UNION REPUBLICS

- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| U.S.S.R. | AZERBAIJAN |
| UKRAINE | KAZAKHSTAN |
| BYELO RUSSIA | KIRGHIZIA |
| UZBEKISTAN | KARELO-FINN. |
| TURKMENIA | MOLDAVIA |
| TADJIKISTAN | LITHUANIA |
| GEORGIA | LATVIA |
| ARMENIA | ESTONIA |

AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS in the UNION REPUBLICS

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 TATAR | 7 KABARDINO-BALKARIAN | 13. UDMURT |
| 2. BASHKIR | 8. KALMYK | 14. YAKUT |
| 3. DAGESTAN | 9 KOMI | 15. NAKHICHEVAN |
| 4 BURYAT-MONGOLIAN | 10 MARIISK | 16. ABKHAZIAN |
| 5 CHECHEN-INGUSH | 11 MORDVIAN | 17 AJARIAN |
| 6. CHUVASH | 12 NORTH OSSETIAN | 18. KARA-KALPAK |
| | | 19 CRIMEAN |

I.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

(One Unit)

I. AREA AND POPULATION AS OF JUNE, 1941

(Note: In discussing population, it must be borne in mind that the Nazis occupied about one-tenth of the territory, normally inhabited by some 60 to 70 millions. In view of mobilization and evacuation, it is estimated that no more than 40 million remained. At the point of farthest Nazi advance, five republics were completely occupied and parts of two others.

580,000 square miles were occupied at the height of the German advance in September, 1942. Of this territory, 300,000 square miles had been regained by the Red Army by the end of September, 1943.)

	Area (Sq. Miles)	Population (est. June 22, 1941)
Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR).....	6,375,000.....	109,278,600
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	202,540.....	38,960,000
Belorussian SSR	89,300.....	10,400,000
Azerbaijani SSR	33,200.....	3,209,727
Georgian SSR	26,875.....	3,542,289
Armenian SSR	11,580.....	1,281,599
Turkmen SSR	171,250.....	1,253,985
Uzbek SSR	146,000.....	6,282,446
Tadzhik SSR	55,545.....	1,485,091
Kazakh SSR	1,059,700.....	6,145,937
Kirgiz SSR	75,950.....	1,459,301
Karelo-Finnish SSR	64,220.....	869,000
Lithuanian SSR	22,800.....	3,000,000
Latvian SSR	24,700.....	1,950,000
Estonian SSR	18,050.....	1,120,000
Moldavian SSR	13,680.....	2,200,000

II. THE PEOPLES

The Soviet Union is a multinational state with some 50 major nationalities in its family of nations. Each of the above Republics represents one large nation, having within its borders a majority of the nationality represented in its name. Smaller national groups are organized in autonomous republics and regions within the Union Republics. In all, there are 175 distinct nations and peoples, large and small. 49 Nationalities comprise 99.5% of the population.

A. The Slavic peoples

The most important Slavs in the U.S.S.R. are the Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians. They are related in language and ethnic origin to the Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, Croats, Slovenians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Macedonians. Slavic people form about 72 per cent of the Soviet population. The Russian Orthodox Religion predominates.

B. The Turkic and Turco-Tatar peoples

These include the Azerbaidzhanians, the Uzbeks, the Turkmenians, the Yakuts, the Uigurs (most of whom live in Sinkiang, China), the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz (many of whom live in Sinkiang, China), and the Oirots (whom anthropologists claim are probably very closely related to the American Indian). These peoples are Mohammedan, except for the Yakuts who are Russian Orthodox.

C. The Transcaucasian peoples

The Japhetic peoples of the Transcaucasus (whom philologists have found close in language to the Basques of Spain and France) are the Georgians, the Abkhazians, the Mingrelians. Some are Russian Orthodox, others Mohammedan.

D. The Iranian peoples

The Iranian Tadzhihs, Osetins, Tats are close in language and culture to the people of Iran and Afghanistan. They are Mohammedan in religion.

E. The Baltic peoples

The Baltic Latvians and Lithuanians whose language is close to Old Sanskrit. Latvians are Protestant and Catholic, Lithuanians are Catholic.

F. The Finno-Ugrians

The Finno-Ugrian Karelians are Russian Orthodox; the Finns are Protestant; the Estonians are Protestant; the Mariis, Mordvinians, Komi are Russian Orthodox. All are related to the people of Finland, Hungary and Turkey both linguistically and ethnically.

G. The Mongols

The Mongol Kalmyks and Buriat-Mongolians are close relations of the Mongols of the Tanu Tuvan and Mongolian People's Republics and of the people of Inner Mongolia. They are Buddhist and Shamanist.

H. The Armenians

The Armenians have one of the oldest cultures of the world. Great numbers of them live not only in neighboring Turkey but throughout the rest of the world. Their church is the Armenian Christian.

I. The Jews

The Jews live in great numbers in the U.S.S.R. mainly in the western, but also in the eastern republics. Over a million Jews have been evacuated from the war zones to Uzbekistan, where there already was a considerable number of Jews who had lived there for centuries and spoke the Tadziki-Jewish language. Aside from the Yiddish-speaking East European Jews there are in the Soviet Union the Crimean Jews (Krymchags) and the Karaim of the Crimea who speak a Tartar language; the Georgian Jews of Georgia who speak Georgian and Hebrew; the Mountain Jews who live in Dagestan and Azerbaidzhan and speak an Iranian language (the Tat) with a Hebrew admixture.

J. The Germans

1,400,000 Germans live in the Soviet Union. About one-third of them, brought to Russia at the times of Peter I and Catherine I, formerly lived

on the Volga but were relocated in Siberia because of the Fifth-Column danger when the Nazi armies attacked. Their religion is Lutheran.

K. The Moldavians

The Moldavians are related in language and culture to their neighbors, the Roumanians. They are Russian Orthodox.

L. Peoples of the North

There are 26 small peoples in the northern regions of the U.S.S.R. Among them are Finno-Ugrian, Nenets, Tungus, Mongol, Turkic, Manchurian, Paleoasiatic, and Eskimo. They are Shamanist and Animist in religious background.

Readings: *The Russians*, Williams, pp. 12-35.

The Soviets, Williams, pp. 8-38.

Land of the Soviets, Mikhailov, *passim*.

III. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

A. General

Within the U.S.S.R. there are all kinds of climate, except tropical, and all ranges of topography. The country is two and a half times as big as the United States, with its main centers further north than ours. Generally, it has a cold climate, determined not primarily by latitude but by its continental position, away from oceans.

All seas and rivers are frozen part of the year. The great rivers flow to "locked" seas, including the ice-bound Arctic. The only ice-free ocean ports are in far north—Murmansk and Petropavlovsk on Kamchatka. Vladivostok on the Sea of Japan is kept open the year round by icebreakers.

B. Vegetation and soil from North to South may be described as follows:

1. The Tundra is a mossy, treeless steppe of the Far North.
2. The Taiga is a forest region south of the Tundra.
3. The forest steppe includes settled areas of northern European Russia and Siberia and the major cities of Leningrad, Moscow, Gorki, the Ural, Kuzbass, etc.
4. The Steppes are treeless plains of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Siberia, south of the main Trans-Siberian railroad.
5. Deserts extend east and west of the Caspian Sea and eastward to the Aral and Balkhash Seas.
6. Oases are found in central Asia north of the mountains whose rivers water them.
7. Mountains line the southern border from the Caucasus through the Pamir (the western extension of the Himalayas), Tien-Shan and Altai ranges to the Far East. The only north-south mountain chains are the Urals (an old, low range, north of the Caspian Sea, dividing Europe from Siberia) and those covering most of Far Eastern area, east of Lake Baikal.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 3-26.

Pratt, pp. 6-16.

C. Economic geography by regions

1. *European and Central Russia*: Flat plains predominate, with steppe in the south, forests in the north, low rolling hills in the central portion, and plateau in the west Ukraine. The black soils of the south are among the richest in the world. The climate is temperate near the seas, but cold inland. Iron ore, coal, manganese are found in the Ukraine, and coal south of Moscow. There is an immense undeveloped iron ore deposit near Kursk. Water power has been developed on the Volkhov River near Leningrad, on the Volga north of Moscow, at Kuibyshev (the largest hydro-electric plant in the world is in construction there) and on the Dnieper near Zaporozhe (the plant was blown up at the end of 1941). Grain, flax, sugar beets, livestock, dairy, lumbering, are the main agricultural products. The oldest and largest industrial centers are in this region. (Those of the Ukraine are now evacuated or destroyed).

Readings: Mikhailov, Chap. 3, 4, 5, pp. 77-148; 210-235.

2. *Urals*: The mountains are a low, eroded chain much like the Appalachians. Winters are long and cold, summers short and hot. The area is particularly rich in iron and non-ferrous metals. It has coal, though not sufficient for all its industries. Oil is found at the "second Baku" in the southern Urals and on the western slopes. There is a big chemical industry. It is the most important center of new and evacuated Soviet industries. The development has been greatly accelerated during the war. Added manpower is provided by workers evacuated from the Ukraine. It also has highly developed grain, dairy, and livestock farming.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 149-150.

Soviet Asia, Davies & Steiger, pp. 57-77.

3. *Siberia* is bounded by the Urals on west, Lake Baikal on the east, the Trans-Siberian Railway and Kazakhstan on the south. Most of the territory is flat forest steppe, with heavy virgin forest of the taiga to the north. There is some open steppe to the south. The Altai mountains are on the south-west. The climate is continental. The Kuzbass (Kuznetsk Basin or valley) in west Siberia has vast coal deposits with the thickest seams in the world. Many other minerals are found there. The steppes are a source of grain equal to the Ukraine in peace-time. With Kazakhstan it is now the most important bread-basket. Dairy and livestock industries are well developed. Its great rivers all flow northward. It has an important timber industry.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 161-171.

Davies & Steiger, pp. 78-104.

4. *The Far East* reaches from Lake Baikal to the Pacific, from the Amur River and the border of the Mongolian people's Republic to the Arctic. It includes the coldest spots on earth and the humid Ussuri forests, inland from Vladivostok. There are numerous mountain ranges which average 6,000 feet, running north-east paralleling the coast. Much of the sub-soil is permanently frozen. Its very small population is concentrated along the railroad and the Amur River. There is good farming and livestock raising around Lake Baikal. Lumber and fishing are

important industries. There are rich gold areas near Chita, along the Aldan tributary of the Lena, and in the Kolyma valley. Other vital non-ferrous metals and rare metals found there are tungsten, molybdenum, tin, lead, coal (Lake Baikal, Birobidzhan, Vladivostok, and Sakhalin), oil on Sakhalin Island, iron ore (near Lake Baikal, Vladivostok, and the lower reaches of the Amur). The port of Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka is nearer Seattle than New York is to London. Two great rivers serve as important transport arteries: the Lena to the vast north, and the Amur for the main developed areas.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 193-210.

Davies & Steiger, pp. 270-301, 241-256.

The Soviet Far East, William Mandel, IPR.

"The Pacific Seaboard," *Russia at War*, No. 25.

Buriat Mongolia, V. I. Pomus.

5. *The Caucasus* is bounded on the north by the Don River and the Caspian Sea, on the east by the Black Sea, on the west by Turkey, Iran on the south. It has the highest mountains in Europe (to 18,000 feet). There are rich alluvial plains on both sides of the mountains. Weather on the north slope is continental and cold. On the sheltered Black Sea coast and the south Caspian shore the climate is sub-tropical. There is resort country in the mountains and near the sea. In the Trans-Caucasian valleys the climate is temperate. On the north slope there are alluvial plains between the Kuban and Don Rivers, the richest non-irrigated farmland in the U.S.S.R. Grain, fruits, livestock, rice, cotton, rubber plants abound, and in the sub-tropical Black Sea and Caspian seacoasts there are tea, citrus fruits, wine grapes, and silk. There is oil at Baku, Grozny, and Maikop and the world's finest manganese on the south slope at Chiatury.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 139-145, 236-279.

Prometheus and the Bolsheviks, John Lehmann.

6. *The Kazakhstan Republic* stretches its dry plains between the Volga near Stalingrad on the west and China on the east, from the Trans-Siberian on the north to the Central Asian oases on the south. One-third as large as the United States, it had only six million inhabitants before the war, half of whom were Central Asian peoples. Now there are many more due to the influx of refugees and evacuees. It is the main livestock region of the U.S.S.R. and is rapidly expanding its dry farming (two million acres of virgin soil were ploughed in 1942). Irrigation is being extended. Kazakhstan also has important industry: Karaganda is the third largest coal center of the country; the largest copper development and other non-ferrous metals are near Lake Balkhash. There is an important new oil field at Emba at northern tip of the Caspian Sea.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 280-289.

Davies & Steiger, pp. 105-132.

7. *Central Asia* is a fabulous oasis country surrounded by desert, bounded on the south by the Pamirs, highest mountains in the U.S.S.R. (to 25,000 feet). Winter is mild and summer very hot. The region is watered by mountain rivers which disappear into the desert, except for

the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya which flow into the Aral Sea. It is separated from India by a nine-mile-wide tongue of Afghan mountain territory. Its Ferghana Valley is the richest irrigated farm land in the U.S.S.R. Cotton is the main crop and yields are very high. 1.5 million new acres of grain were planted in Uzbekistan in 1942 to feed the local population in wartime. There are fruits of all kinds. It is the Imperial Valley of the U.S.S.R. Many industries are developing, including the evacuated industries, centered in Tashkent.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 289-328.

The Soviet Far East and Central Asia, William Mandel, IPR.

Davies & Steiger, pp. 133-170.

Dawn Over Samarkand, Kunitz.

8. *Arctic*: The climate is little colder than most of the country, and its summers are quite warm. Except for the rich Kola peninsula, with its ice-free port of Murmansk, the Arctic is the least developed section of the country. It is being opened by the Soviets because it has the shortest sea-route from east to west and because the tremendous rivers draining important sections of the country flow into the Arctic Sea. It has great potentialities in mineral resources, lumber, etc. Coal and oil are found near the coast to fuel ships on the Northern Sea Route, open three months of the year. Farming is moving north.

Readings: Mikhailov, pp. 172-192.

Forty Thousand Against the Arctic, Smolka.

I Went to the Soviet Arctic, Gruber.

Davies & Steiger, pp. 171-217.

Conquest of the Arctic, Schmidt (W.F.P.).

General Readings on The Land and the People

Land of the Soviets, Mikhailov.

Soviet Asia, Davies and Steiger.

The Soviets, Williams, pp. 115-133.

The Russians, Williams, Chap. 2.

Soviet Russia in Maps, George Goodall, ed.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

1. What are the major nations and national groups in the U.S.S.R.? What are the major religions? Relate them to peoples living outside the U.S.S.R.
2. What are the main geographic divisions of the U.S.S.R.? What are the chief natural arteries of transportation? Why is the Arctic being developed?
3. Locate the sixteen Union Republics. Give their ethnic and geographic characteristics.
4. What are the main resources of the U.S.S.R.? How are they distributed geographically?
5. Where are the principal old centers of industry? Where are the principal new centers of development?
6. Where are the principal centers of agricultural production: grain, sugar, cotton, livestock?

II.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

(One Unit)

Study suggestion: This section is included only for the purpose of reviewing the chief stages in Soviet history as a setting for discussion of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) of today, to which this syllabus is devoted. In consequence it is recommended that, in order to confine this section to a single unit of the course, one member of the group, preferably the group leader or some other competent speaker, be asked to give a lecture planned according to the topics in this outline. This procedure is suggested only for this first section of the syllabus. Group participation in presenting the material, and discussing it, is advised for all other sections.

I. THE OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHY

A. Background

Tsarism was an autocratic monarchy based on a landholding nobility. The existing industry was concentrated in a few cities in western European Russia. The vast areas of the Empire inhabited by non-Russian peoples were treated as backward colonial areas, and a policy of "Russification" was applied. The Russian Empire was internally the weakest of the great powers in the World War. After two years of war in which the Russian armies made some great advances, constituting a tremendous contribution to the Allied cause in diverting German forces from the Western front, the economic backwardness of the country led to military defeats. The peasant soldiers deserted to return to their farms and help their starving families. The Central Asian minority peoples revolted in 1916 against the attempts to conscript them for labor service. The labor movement, which had been socialist-minded since the Revolution of 1905, led strikes against the hardships of war and against the Tsarist regime. Industrial and commercial interests, desiring greater freedom of development, opposed the land-owning nobility which controlled the Empire and sought as a compromise the abdication of Tsar Nicholas in favor of his brother Michael.

Readings: *From Tsarist Empire to Socialism*, Pratt, pp. 17-94.

A Short History of the U.S.S.R., Shestakov, pp. 9-171.

Russia, Pares, pp. 39-100.

B. The Revolution of March 12, 1917 (Known as the *February Revolution*)

The troops supported the striking workers, and together they forced the abdication of the Tsar. The opposition to the whole Tsarist system prevented the succession of Michael, and a *Provisional Government* was formed as the cabinet of the Duma (March 15th). This government was republican in form, but its existence was dependent on the support of the councils (so-called *Soviets*) of workers, soldiers and peasants which had been spontaneously formed as an expression of the popular will. The Petrograd Soviet had been elected on March 10th, before the abdication

and the formation of the new government. Thus, the Provisional Government which headed the formal state apparatus could function only so long as it was supported by the extra-legal soviets.

II. BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: November 7, 1917 (Known as the *October Revolution*)

A. The Soviets come to power

The Provisional Government, at first composed of representatives of capital and the land-owners and later of the wealthier peasantry and some labor leaders, wanted to continue the war, and failed to undertake any radical reforms to help the starving population. The city workers, faced with unemployment and a food shortage caused by speculative hoarding were won increasingly to the idea of public ownership and socialism. The peasantry wanted to end the oppressive rents and to get the land for themselves. They wanted immediate peace. The Bolsheviks, the revolutionary labor party that desired socialism, gradually gained a majority in the soviets by putting forward the slogan of "Peace, bread and land." The Provisional Government, fearing that it might lose control, prepared an armed *putsch* for the establishment of a military dictatorship under Kerensky. This was forestalled by the October Revolution in which the Petrograd Soviet, led by the Bolsheviks, seized power, on the eve of a nation-wide Congress of Soviets. The Soviets thus became the government. The first acts of the Congress of Soviets, November 8, 1917, were to call for peace, to nationalize the land and divide the estates among the peasantry; to set up a government (its cabinet called *The Council of People's Commissars*) with Lenin at its head. Stalin was then Commissar of Nationalities.

Reading: *Through the Russian Revolution*, Williams.

B. Steps taken to introduce Socialism

The banks, transportation system, foreign trade, and the large industries were socialized in the first months after the Revolution. (The banks were nationalized December 27, 1917; foreign trade on April 23, 1918; large industry on June 28, 1918.) Small plants, which were very widespread in Russia, and the internal distribution system were left mainly in private hands. With the estates divided up among the peasantry there were more individual farms than before. The 8-hour day was introduced as of November 12.

C. Peace of Brest-Litovsk

The Soviets made repeated appeals to all the warring powers for a general armistice (November 7, 27.) Beginning in December they started bilateral negotiations with the Germans. After the Allies were unable to send enough help to keep the Russian armies in the field and after the renewed advance of the German armies eastward, the Soviets finally accepted the Brest-Litovsk Peace which deprived the country of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Poland, and Georgia in the Caucasus.

D. The First Soviet Constitution

The First Soviet Constitution was written in 1918 for the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (the Russian part of the former Empire). "Russia is declared a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All authority, central and local, is vested in these Soviets. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of the free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics . . . setting as its fundamental aim the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the complete elimination of the division of society into 'classes.'" At the same time, Soviet governments were forming in the non-Russian parts of the Empire. The request of the non-Soviet Finnish Sejm for independence was granted (Dec. 31, 1917) in accordance with the principle of the right to self-determination of nations.

III. CIVIL WAR AND INTERVENTION; WAR COMMUNISM: 1918—1920

A. The military struggle

The Germans occupied large sections of the country. The Allies also invaded Russia, seizing all ports not already in German hands. They took control of the Trans-Siberian railroad and gave substantial help to the anti-Soviet Russians (so-called *Whites*) who, on the basis of the help they were receiving from abroad, were fighting to re-establish the monarchy or the Provisional Government. The Soviets, declaring all these armies traitors and tools of foreign powers, called upon the people to defend the nation. The Red Army was founded in 1918 with a few thousand men and soon grew to five millions. By 1920 the Soviets had gained control of virtually the whole country, with the exception of Finland, Poland and the Baltic states, whose non-Soviet governments had been recognized by the Soviets, and sections of the Far East still occupied by the Japanese.

Readings: *America's Siberian Adventure*, Graves.
The White Armies of Russia, Stewart.

B. Soviet economy during the war

In order to mobilize the war-torn country for further fighting, it had been necessary for the government to take over complete control of the economy; to ration all goods on the lowest subsistence level and therefore to equalize pay; to seize all grain above the minimum needed by the peasant families. This completely rationed and equalized economy was known as *War Communism*.

C. Leadership of the Communist Party established

Although the first Soviet government was a coalition of various left-wing parties, by the end of the Civil War and Intervention all the other parties had gone over to the Whites and fought the Bolsheviks. The people "voted with guns" and in the end the Bolsheviks won the Civil War and emerged as the only legal party.

Readings: Pratt, pp. 116-136
Shestakov, pp. 197-221
History of the CPSU, pp. 225-247

IV. THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY; THE FORMATION OF THE U.S.S.R.

A. Soviet economy after the war

After the Civil War was over, it was possible to relax the controls of War Communism, and in order to stimulate a revival of industry, trade and agriculture, the *New Economic Policy (NEP)* was instituted (1921). The unlimited seizure of grain was replaced by a fixed tax in kind, and the peasants were allowed to sell the surplus above the tax in the open market. Private trading and manufacture were allowed, while the government retained control of the banks, foreign trade, and the key large industries. *Planning* was first undertaken in Lenin's initiation of *Goelro*, a nationwide project for electrification which was the forerunner of the Five-Year Plans.

1. The workers organized into trade unions in the large-scale state-controlled industries. They were appealed to, to increase output in order to make socialism possible.
2. Consumers' and producers' cooperatives were fostered, particularly in rural areas to accustom the peasants to the collective idea.

B. First Constitution of the Union.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed in December, 1922 by the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Trans-Caucasian Soviet Republics. Soviet governments had been established in these republics at various times since 1917 and had previously been cooperating in the Civil War and Intervention on the basis of treaty arrangements. The first Constitution for the U.S.S.R. was adopted in 1924.

Reading: *Duranty Reports Russia*, Walter Duranty — Chap. 1 "Russia Under Lenin."

Life of Lenin, Kerzhentsev.

Life of Stalin, The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

V. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1928-1932); IN- DUSTRIALIZATION and COLLECTIVIZATION

A. Basis

In 1925 the decision was taken to convert the economy of the country into one predominantly industrial, rather than agricultural. It was felt necessary both for reasons of national defense and in order to create the abundance of goods necessary to a communist society under which distribution is "to each according to his need." By 1927, industry had recovered to its pre-war level of output, and in 1928 the first Five-Year Plan went into operation.

B. Objectives

The fundamental objectives of the first plan were: (1) to introduce mod-

ern technology; (2) to transform the country from "an agrarian and weak country, dependent upon the caprices of the capitalist countries, into an industrial and powerful country"; (3) "to squeeze out utterly the capitalist elements"; (4) to build up socially-owned heavy industry, to provide machinery for industry, transport and agriculture; (5) to collectivize agriculture, thereby introducing socialist economic relationships in the rural districts and removing the danger of a restoration of capitalism inherent in the continued existence of individual farms; (6) to increase the defense capacity of the country.

C. Difficulties

This was a very difficult period, because, in the absence of foreign loans, the industrialization had to be financed by profits from government-controlled branches of the economy, and by "tightening the national belt" to permit the export of foodstuffs and other consumers goods, which paid for imports of machinery. The collectivization of agriculture was resisted by the richer peasants (*kulaks*) and they were consequently forcibly dispossessed. Serious food shortages resulted in 1931-32. In 1928 2 to 3 percent of the peasants were on collective farms; by 1930 the figure was 50 percent and in 1934 75 percent.

D. Results

Among the results of the first Five-Year Plan were:

1. The establishment of industries producing steel, tractors, automobiles, engineering machinery, chemicals and airplanes. The Gorki and Moscow automobile plants, and the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor plants, are outstanding examples of this construction. Industrial output as a whole was doubled.
2. A tremendous expansion of electric power, including the building of Dnieprostroi Dam.
3. New industrial centers begun for the first time in the eastern part of the country, especially the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk steel works.
4. Collectivization of farms. In 1928, 2 to 3% of the peasants were on collective farms; by 1930 the figure was 50% and 1934 75%.
5. Introduction of universal free elementary education; elimination of illiteracy in a large measure.
6. Great advances in transportation. The Turk-Sib Railway uniting Northern Siberia and Central Asia was built. Sea transport was opened in the summer to the mouths of the Siberian rivers.
7. A comprehensive, free, public program of health protection established.

Readings: *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan.*

Duranty Reports Russia—Chap. II "Stalinism"; Chap. III "Collectivization".

Pratt, pp. 162-184.

Shestakov, pp. 231-237.

History of CPSU, pp. 280-330.

VI. THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1933-1937); THE NEW CONSTITUTION; THE TREASON TRIALS

A. Objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan aimed to eliminate all remnants of capitalist economy and through a process of education to make the population "conscious, active builders of a classless, socialist society." Economically, while industrial expansion continued, the emphasis was on assimilating and mastering the operation of the new industries built under the first plan.

B. Results of the Plan

Results showed in the increasing output of industry, which was already fully socialized (99.58%) at the beginning of the second Five-Year Plan. By the end of the period, agriculture had become 93% collectivized. Private producers—both handicraftsmen and peasants—decreased from 22.8% of the population in 1934 to 5.6% in 1937. Labor productivity doubled as compared with 1929.

Reading: *Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*. Chapters by Stalin and Molotov.

C. The New Constitution—1936

The social, political and economic life of the country had changed markedly since the adoption of the 1924 Constitution. Nine-tenths of the peasantry were in collective farms; unemployment had been eliminated and the 7-hour work day introduced; real wages had doubled from 1933 to 1937. There were no groups, or classes, in the country with a "stake" in the re-establishment of capitalism. It was felt that the restraints in the 1924 constitution were no longer necessary. The 1936 Constitution recognized the attainment of socialism under which the principle applies "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It introduced the secret ballot; gave equal representation to the peasant and abolished the disfranchisement of certain groups on the basis of "social origin." It added a Bill of Rights which is unique in that it adds to political guarantees economic and social guarantees—the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to social security in illness and old age. The Bill of Rights also provided for freedom of religion and freedom of anti-religious propaganda, both of which had been guaranteed in the previous Constitution. It made racial discrimination a crime.

Readings: *The Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*

Pratt, pp. 185-198.

Shestakov, pp. 238-255.

History of CPSU, pp. 331-345.

Land of Socialism, pp. 19-35; 102-112.

D. The Treason Trials of 1935-1938

Trotsky and his followers had opposed certain major decisions of the

Bolsheviks. He had, for example, opposed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the industrialization program, and collectivization. In his theory of "permanent revolution" he held that "socialism in one country" was impossible, and that it was necessary to foment or impose revolutions. Stalin, on the other hand, held that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were fully capable of building a socialist society in their own country, and won majority support both for this principle and for the measures by which it was applied. Unwilling to accept the majority opinion of the Communist Party, and unable to gain support among the populace, Trotsky and his followers turned traitor. Trotsky, the leader, was expelled from the U.S.S.R. in 1929. The testimony of the trials of 1935-38 revealed that those of his followers who remained, some in high government posts, made use of their positions to sell state secrets, to conduct large-scale sabotage on behalf of the Axis powers, to offer the Ukraine and the Far East as the price for Axis support in placing them at the head of a puppet government that was to be established as a result of the war. The assassination of an important public figure, Sergei Kirov, led to an investigation and a series of trials in the years 1935-1938, during which the activities of these groups were exposed. This so-called *purge* was later credited with having eliminated on the eve of war the potential "Fifth-Column" in the Soviet Union.

Readings: *Mission to Moscow*, Davies, Chaps. III, IV.

Light on Moscow, D. N. Pritt.

History of the CPSU, pp. 346-352.

Verbatim Proceedings of the Trials.

VII. THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1938-1942); APPROACH OF WAR

(For foreign relations in the pre-war period, see pp. 71 ff.)

A. Objective

The objective of the third plan was to start the expansion of production of consumers' goods which would be necessary to the ultimate establishment of Communism.

B. Changes in the Plan

The approach of war compelled some changes in the plan, with more emphasis being laid on the expansion of war industries: e.g. the machine-building industry expanded 76% from 1937 to 1940, while consumers' goods industries fell behind their planned schedules. Nevertheless there was a 33% increase in the latter during the three years. The plan envisaged the creation of regional economic autonomy, eliminating wherever possible long hauls by train and developing local resources to their utmost. Besides raising industrial efficiency in general this program aimed at preparing local areas to withstand a state of siege in war. The working day was lengthened to eight hours and the working week to six days as an answer to the war threat. Other measures were taken to tighten up the

economy for war. Despite the threat of war, general progress was sufficient up to 1940 for the government to decide early in 1941 to initiate an overall fifteen-year plan, aimed at bringing the *per capita* productivity of Soviet economy up to the 1929 level in the United States. The war prevented the inauguration of this program.

Readings: *We're in This with Russia*, Carroll, pp. 212-224.

The Soviets Expected It, Strong.

Land of Socialism, pp. 101-172.

The Growing Prosperity of the Soviet Union, N. Voznesensky.

General Reading on the Historical Setting

From Tsarist Empire to Socialism, Helen Pratt.

A Short History of the U.S.S.R., A. V. Shestakov.

Russia, Sir Bernard Pares.

Soviet Power, Hewlett Johnson, pp. 66-78.

History of the CPSU.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON HISTORY

1. Describe the situation in Russia on the eve of the overthrow of the Tsar; economic, social, political, military.
2. What were the forces behind the February Revolution and the new Provisional Government?
3. What were the Soviets and what was their relation to the Provisional Government?
4. Why was the Provisional Government overthrown? What were the differences in policy between the Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks?
5. What was the reaction of foreign governments and dispossessed classes to the new Soviet Government?
6. When and why did the coalition Soviet Government set up after the October Revolution fail?
7. What was "War Communism" and why was it necessary?
8. What was the Soviet Government's policy toward the non-Russian parts of the former Tsarist Empire? By what process was the U.S.S.R. formed?
9. Why was the N.E.P. instituted and how far did it represent a return to capitalism?
10. What were the economic objectives of the Soviet Government? What are the Five-Year Plans? What was the relation of the development of industry to the development of agriculture?
11. How did the country differ socially, economically, and politically at the time of the 1936 Constitution from the situation at the time of the 1924 Constitution? How were these differences reflected in the new Constitution?
12. Discuss the treason trials.

III.

THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE 1936 CONSTITUTION

(One Unit)

Study Suggestion: This section should be discussed with constant direct reference to the text of the Soviet Constitution. In discussing many of the points, it will be helpful to refer to the commentary on the new constitution, explaining the innovations, by Stalin in his speech of Nov. 25, 1936 at the time of its adoption. In discussion it will also be useful to have a copy of the American Constitution for comparative purposes. It is recommended that the time spent on this section be about evenly divided between Part I, giving an exposition of the governmental structure, and Part II, dealing with the nature of "Soviet Democracy" and its "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

(Note: The words *Soviet* and *Council* are used interchangeably.)

I. THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

A. Organization of State Power

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a federation, in contrast to the Russian Empire which had a policy of "Russification" of all nationalities. Originally established by a Treaty of Union among four previously independent republics, it now has 16 Union Republics—some admitted from outside, e.g. Bukhara and Khorezm on People's Republics (reorganized into Uzbekistan and other Central Asian republics), Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia—others promoted from within—e.g. Kazakhstan. Each republic retains the legal right to secession. Republic boundaries cannot be changed without their consent. Other smaller national groups are organized in Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Areas, resulting in an elaborate federal structure.

The *Supreme Soviet* or *Supreme Council* is the Parliament, has a 4-year term and meets twice yearly. It has two chambers:

1. "*The Soviet of The Union* is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to electoral areas, on the basis of one deputy for every 300,000 of the population." (Art. 34.)
2. "*The Soviet of Nationalities* is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Areas on the basis of 25 deputies from each Union Republic, 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic, 5 deputies from each Autonomous Region and one deputy from each National Area." (Art. 35.)
3. The two houses have equal powers and are dissolved for reelection if they cannot reach agreement.
4. The two houses jointly elect a *Presidium* to carry on work between sessions. The Presidium has 16 vice-Presidents, one from each Union Republic, and 24 additional members.

5. Most legislation is initiated by the Council of People's Commissars. The Supreme Soviet, however, has permanent standing committees on Legislation, on the Budget, and on Foreign Affairs, which review proposed legislation, and initiate legislation themselves.

Reading: "The Permanent Committees of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.," A. Vasiliev, *American Review on the Soviet Union*, June, 1941.

B. Suffrage

Suffrage is universal for all citizens 18 and over, "irrespective of race or nationality, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property or past activities" (Art. 135). Men in the armed services vote. The new Constitution marks a departure from earlier constitutions under which representation favored workers, and certain categories of people were disfranchised. All who can vote can be elected to office.

C. Centralization of power

There is no division of powers. ". . . All power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies" (Art. 3). The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. controls the executive and administrative bodies and the judiciary as well as legislative. It has power to amend the Constitution. (See Art. 30.) The federal (*All-Union*) government has "enumerated powers." (See Art. 14.) Unenumerated powers remain with the Union Republics. In addition to the usual powers over matters of defense, foreign affairs, finance, etc., the federal government has control of industry of national importance (cf. control over inter-state commerce in U. S.) transportation, and the general formulation of the national plan for the economy. Republic governments retain control over local industry, justice, education, public health, social services. The language of each republic is its official language.

D. Administration

Executive and Administrative authority is vested in the *Council (or Soviet) of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom)*, similar to the cabinet in England. It is responsible to and elected by the Supreme Council.

1. *All-Union Commissariats* have their own representatives sitting in the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics.
2. *Union-Republic Commissariats* work through similarly named commissariats in the Councils of People's Commissars of the Union Republics.
3. The Republics have commissariats corresponding to the *Union-Republic Commissariats* of the federal government, and also commissariats dealing with matters mainly within the competence of republic government—usually the following:

Education	Automobile Transport
Local Industry	Social Maintenance
Municipal Economy	

The federal government lays down general principles in regard to education (e.g. universal compulsory 7-year education), public health, labor

STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USSR¹

STATE COMMITTEE
OF DEFENSE
(War Cabinet)
Stalin, Chairman

COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

Stalin, Chairman

All-Union Commissariats²

Defense

Foreign Affairs

Foreign Trade

Railroads

Communications

River Transport

Merchant Marine

Electrical Industry

Power Stations

Ferrous Metallurgy

Non-ferrous Metallurgy

Coal Industry

Machine Tools

Chemical Industry

Aviation Industry

Shipbuilding

Military Supplies

Armaments

Tanks

Mortar Armaments

Heavy Machine-
Building

Navy

Agricultural
Procurements

Construction

Oil Industry

Rubber Industry

Paper and Cellulose
Industry

Union-Republic
Commissariats²

Control

Finance

Internal Affairs

Justice

Public Health

Agriculture

State Grain and
Livestock Farms

Timber Industry

Fish Industry

Food Industry

Meat and Dairy
Industry

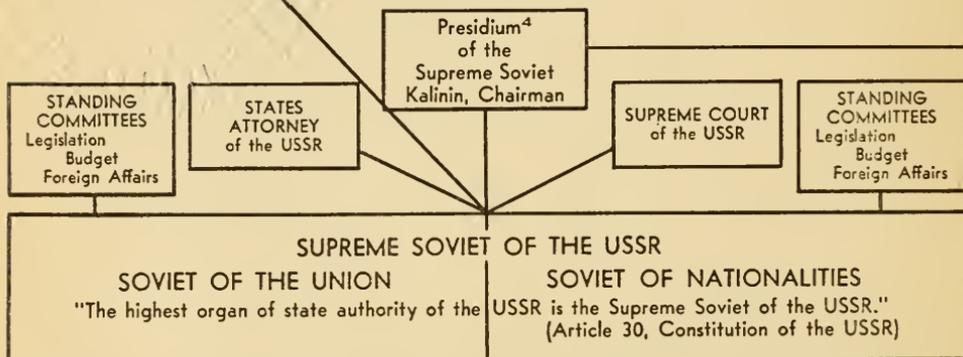
Light Industry

Textile Industry

Building Materials

Trade

The Chairmen of the Administration of the State Bank, the Committee on Art, the Committee on Higher Education, and the State Planning Commission are also members of the Council of People's Commissars.³



¹ In this diagram the lines connect the organs at the top of the diagram with the lower ones which elect them and to which they are responsible.

² The number of commissariats changes from time to time. For instance, several machine-building commissariats have been changed to armament commissariats during the war.

³ In addition, the Council of People's Commissars has a number of other agencies which do not have a voting representative in the Council. Among these are the Economic Council, the Committee on Defense, the Labor Reserves Administration, the Committee on Standards, the Committee on the Cinema.

⁴ The Presidium carries on the work of the Supreme Soviet when the latter is not in session. It chose the State Committee of Defense to meet the extraordinary problems of war.

**SUPREME SOVIET
of the USSR**

**SUPREME SOVIET
of the
UNION REPUBLIC**
(Russian, Ukrainian, etc.)

**Supreme Soviet of the
Autonomous Soviet Socialist
Republic**
(Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, etc.)

**Soviet of Working People's
Deputies of the Autonomous
Region (Oblast)**
(Jewish, etc.)

**Soviet of Working
People's Deputies of the
National Area (Okrug)**

**Soviet of Working
People's
Deputies of the
Administrative
Area (Okrug)**

1 representative for every
500-10,000 in the population,
depending upon the okrug.

1 representative for every 300 to 3000 pop., depending upon the okrug.

1 representative for every 1500 to 3500 population.

1 representative for every 3000-20,000, as determined by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

1 representative for every 150,000 in the population.

25 representatives from each Republic to the Council of Nationalities, and 1 for every 300,000 in the population to the Council of the Union.

1 representative for every 1500 to 80,000, depending upon the population.

1 representative per 1000; 25 members in counties of less than 25,000 pop., but no more than 60 members.

1 representative for between 350 and 1000 pop., but a minimum of 35 members.

1 representative for every 3000 population.

1 representative per 100 in
population, 9 members in
settlements under 1000, but
not more than 25 members
in any case.

**Territorial (Krai) or Regional (Oblast)
Soviet of Working People's Deputies**

**County (Raion) Soviet of
Working People's Deputies**

**City and Ward (Raion)
Soviets**

**City Soviets in Moscow
and Leningrad**

**Village and Town-
ship Soviet of
Working People's
Deputies**

THE ELECTORATE
All citizens of both sexes over 18 years of age, regardless of religion, race, nationality, education, property ownership, length of residence, social origin, or membership in the armed forces, vote in equal, direct and secret elections.

Electoral system of the USSR, with ratios of representation within individual republics illustrated by those in force in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1939.

legislation and land tenure. These principles are applied, each in its own way, by the member republics.

E. Court system

1. The *Supreme Court* is elected by the Supreme Soviet and supervises the work of lower courts.
2. The republic and regional courts are elected by republic and local soviets.
3. The people's courts are elected directly by the people for 3-year terms.
4. Procurators (state's attorneys) are free of local partisanship since they "perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever and are subordinate solely to the Procurator (Attorney General) of the U.S.S.R." (Art. 117). The latter is elected for a seven-year term by the Supreme Soviet.

Readings: "Soviet Law: An Introduction," John Hazard, *Columbia Law Review*, Dec. 1936.

The Court System in the Soviet Union, Morton Kent, Comp. Law Series, U. S. Dept. of Commerce.

F. Republic and local governments

1. The republic and local government structures are generally similar to that of the federal government, except that they do not have bicameral soviets.
2. Local variations due to cultural and economic differences are registered in Republic constitutions: e.g. the Central Asian republics have special penalties for oppression of women; the laws of Baltic republics have economic variations due to incomplete socialization of the economy, as well as special provisions for making land available for use by the clergy, etc.

Readings: *Moscow in the Making*, Simon and others.

"Constitutions of the Baltic Republics," Trainin. *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, April, 1941.

G. Territorial divisions

Territorial divisions in the Soviet Union are made according to:

1. Nationality
 - a. Union Republics—may include any or all other subdivisions
 - b. Autonomous Republics—include counties
 - c. Autonomous Regions (Oblast)—include counties
 - d. National Areas (Okrug)—may include counties
2. Administration within Union Republics
 - a. Territory (Krai)—may include autonomous areas, national areas, regions, and counties
 - b. Region (Oblast)—may include national areas and counties
 - c. County (Raion)

H. National defense

1. "Universal military service is a law. Military service in the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is an honorable duty of the citizens of the

U.S.S.R." (Art. 132). Under pre-war law conscription begins at 19. Women serve in the auxiliary services and in exceptional cases in the regular services.

2. In peace-time, the armed forces are under the Commissariats of Defense and of the Navy.
3. In this war, the armed forces, as well as the rest of government structure, are subordinated to the State Defense Council (established June 30, 1941) having the whole power of the state in its hands.
4. The civilian defense organization — *Osoaviakhim* — was a voluntary membership organization before the war. Now the training is compulsory for all men from 16 to 60 and women 18 to 50. All men 16 to 50 are also required to take 110 hours of military training.

Readings: *Russia's Fighting Forces*, Kournakoff.

The Great Offensive, Werner.

Attack Can Win in 1943, Werner.

U.S.S.R. at War: 50 Questions and 50 Answers.

General Reading on The Governmental Structure

Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The New Soviet Constitution, Joseph Stalin.

The Government of the Soviet Union, Harper.

The Russians: The Land, the People and Why They Fight, Williams.

The New Constitution, A. L. Strong.

Soviet Communism, A New Civilization, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

II. DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

A. Communist theory of the State

Communists believe that historically every state apparatus has been used by one class to suppress another. Speaking of the various forms of government in capitalist states, Lenin said: "in the final analysis, all these states are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." And, he continued, in the transition to communism, there may be a variety of forms of government, "but in essence there will inevitably be only one—the dictatorship of the proletariat". (*State and Revolution*.) It is in this sense that the Soviets use the word dictatorship. In early years, the working class dictatorship was directed against capitalist classes (through disenfranchisement, etc.) Democratic rights were not extended to all, but after the first two five-year Plans, the Soviets felt that the situation had changed. "The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress." Consequently, the new constitution extended the franchise to all, regardless of social origin. All rights and privileges are now extended equally to all members of society, and the Soviet state is thus now fully democratic in its form. The class dictatorship aspect of the state, in the Soviet view, is now aimed against external enemies and any attempts to overthrow the socialist state and to restore capitalism. Internally, on the other hand, the Soviets feel that they have advanced very far in bringing into being real democracy.

Readings: "The Soviet Union: A Working Class Dictatorship," Hazard, pp. 93-125 in *Dictatorship in the Modern World. State and Revolution*, Lenin.
"Stalin's Theory of the State," *The American Review on The Soviet Union*. Feb.-March, 1942.
Foundations of Leninism, Stalin.
The Government of the Soviet Union, Harper. Chap. V. "Determination of Policy."

B. The Communist Party:

The Communist Party now is the only political party. ". . . and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and which represents the leading core of all organizations of the toilers, both public and state." (Art. 126)

1. In 1941, there were 2,515,481 members and 1,361,404 candidates for membership. Reports indicate that membership has grown very rapidly during the war. By July, 1942 it was reported that about 750,000 new members had joined since the beginning of the war. The Party has the largest active membership of any political organization in the world.
2. A large percentage of deputies in the Supreme Soviet and most high officials in all spheres of Soviet life are members of the Communist Party.
3. Constitutionally, the Party has no special relationship to the government, except that it, along with the trade unions and other social organizations, may nominate candidates to office (cf. Art. 141) The Communist Party often co-signs important decrees, thus giving its moral sanction and stressing the importance of the particular legislation.
4. Stalin and other leading government figures hold offices in both the Party and the government. Their public official acts are performed as government officials.

Readings: *History of the C.P.S.U.*

Source Book on European Governments, Rappard, Sharp, etc.
Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow, pp. 173-234; 447-464
Soviet Communism, Sidney & Beatrice Webb, pp. 413-415;
1130-1132

C. Democratic processes

The elective principle is basic in all phases of Soviet life. "Accountability" or responsibility to the electorate is embodied in Art. 142: "It is the duty of every deputy to report to the electors on his work and on the work of the Soviet of Toilers' Deputies, and he is liable to be recalled at any time in the manner established by law upon decision of a majority of the electors." Recall is operative in regard to all elective offices. The practice is to make frequent reports to the electorate.

1. The 1937 election to the Supreme Soviet was the first nation-wide, direct, universal secret election. The major part of the public discussion, as well as the elimination of candidates, took place at the nomination stage. The final ticket at the election was termed a unity slate of "Party and non-Party candidates." The elections were all but unanimous, and a high proportion elected were communists.
2. Collective farms and trade unions are managed by elected officials. Here, as in local government, the percentage of communists is much lower.
3. Within the Communist Party the elective principle also applies. "The guiding principle of the organizational structure of the Party is democratic centralism, the application of the elective principle to all leading bodies of the Party from the lowest to the highest. . . ." (Art. 18, *Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*). "At the elections of Party bodies, voting by slates of nominees is forbidden. The voting must be done by individual nominees and all members of the Party have the unlimited right to nominate candidates and to criticize the nominees. The elections take place on the basis of secret ballot for the candidates." (Art. 23) Decisions once adopted are binding on all members.

Reading: "The New Soviet Elections," Rose Somervelle, *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, October, 1938.

D. Popular participation in government

1. There are no professional deputies in the soviets. Deputies hold other jobs. The most famous people in the country were elected to the Supreme Soviet in 1937.
2. Appointive administrators are responsible to the deputies who themselves come directly from factory, farm, Red Army, educational institutions, etc. The Commissariat of Control relies on popular help in securing facts on efficiency and honesty of officials.
3. Volunteer citizens committees cooperate with soviets, especially in local government.
4. Public discussion of important legislation takes place before it is enacted: e.g. the nation-wide six-month discussion of the new Constitution from which amendments resulted; widespread discussion of the ban on abortions. There is constant public discussion in the press and in meetings of the actual operation of government. Criticism and suggestions for changes are often acted on.

E. Civil rights

The Soviet Constitution guarantees the same rights found in the American constitution, and a number of others in addition.

1. The right to work (Art. 118) In fact, there has been no unemployment since 1930. Provision is made for finding jobs for students before graduation.

2. The right to rest and leisure (Art. 119) Annual vacations with pay are provided for all—at least two weeks. The government, trade unions, and other agencies provide rest homes. The work-day is basically limited to 7 hours (8 hours plus overtime in war).
3. The right to maintenance in old age and sickness, or loss of capacity to work (Art. 120) The social security system is largely administered by the trade unions. There is cooperative insurance for collective farmers.
4. The right to education (Art. 121)
5. "Women in the U.S.S.R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life." (Art. 122) In practice, this necessitates giving equal opportunity by providing care for children, maternity leave, etc. Especially important changes have taken place among Moslems. Women are now in every occupation. In the war, women from 16 to 45 have been made subject to labor mobilization in wartime industry; from 14 to 50 for farm work during harvest season, as are men within other age groups. 45% of all workers and employees now are women (only 27% in 1929). There are 19 million women members of collective farms. They bear a large share of farm work, including administrative work.

Readings: *Woman in Soviet Russia*, Halle.

Women in the Soviet East, Halle.

Soviet Power, pp. 215-237.

6. "The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt is punishable by law." (Art. 123) The policy is based on the scientific theory of the inherent equality of all races and nationalities, as well as on the Bolshevik solution for problems of inter-racial and international relations, formulated primarily by Stalin. Theoretical equality is translated into real equality by extending help to previously backward nationalities in order to raise them to the same economic, educational, health and cultural level of more advanced groups. There has been a larger proportional capital investment in former backward areas than in advanced sections. Written languages have been developed for previously primitive peoples. Development of national cultures is encouraged.

Readings: *Marxism and the National Question*, Stalin.

Soviet Power, Book V. "The Plan and the People."

7. "In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propagandism is recognized for all citizens." (Art. 124) Under the Tsar, the Church

and the State were united. The church had immense wealth and power. The Provisional Government under Kerensky had disestablished the Orthodox Church. The Soviets confirmed this by the decree of Jan. 23, 1918 which separated the Church from the State and the school from the Church; abolished previous privileges accorded the Russian Orthodox Church; confiscated church property and forbade compulsory collections. In reply, the Patriarch pronounced anathema on the Soviet State and in many places the clergy took up arms against it. The Soviets disfranchised the clergy along with the former landlords, gendarmes, etc., but provided a constitutional guarantee of freedom of religious worship. In 1923, the Patriarch declared his loyalty to the Soviet State.

In 1925 the League of Militant Atheists was founded and anti-religious propaganda became very strong, in line with the Communist theoretical rejection of religion, but persecution of the religious was not permitted. Freedom of religious worship and anti-religious propaganda were guaranteed in all constitutions. Under the 1936 Constitution, the clergy is again enfranchised. The churches are now supported entirely by their own congregations and are tax exempt. The law of 1929, governing the churches in the R.S.F.S.R., provides for annual registration of religious societies (groups of not less than 20 adults); forbids educational and social service activities by these societies; permits the societies to obtain places of worship free of charge. There is some variation between the different republics in the degree to which religious institutions are given a place in the community.

During the war there has been a marked change in the public activities of the various religious sects, and anti-religious propaganda has virtually ceased. All sects—Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Moslem, Armenian Christian, and Protestants have called for active support of the war effort. Churches are cooperating in aiding families, sending gifts to the front. A leading churchman was appointed to the government commission to investigate pillage by Nazis. The churches are contributing funds to build tank and plane units, named after canonized historical figures—Nevski and Donskoi.

On September 4, 1943, Stalin, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, approved the holding of a congress of bishops to re-establish the Holy Synod. On September 12, 1943, Metropolitan Sergius was installed as Patriarch. The Patriarchate had been vacant for 250 years except for a brief period after 1917.

Religious seminaries for adults are again to be permitted to function. Religious education for organized groups of youth under 18 continues to be forbidden, though such instruction, as in the past, may be given privately.

Readings: *Interview with Metropolitan Benjamin, Russia at War*, Oct. 9, 1941.

The Russians, Williams, Chap. 20, pp. 209-219.

Shooting the Russian War, Bourke-White, Chap. XI.

Soviet Power, Book VI.

8. Freedom of speech, press, assembly and street demonstrations is guaranteed. (Art. 125) The press, radio, etc., are owned and operated by the government or by membership organizations such as trade unions. Individuals have access to press, etc. and use it for wide range of criticism of individuals, practices, conditions, etc. The limitations of the exercise of this right is that it must be "in conformity with the interests of the toilers, and in order to strengthen the socialist system."

Reading: *The Russians*, Williams, Chap. 19.

9. The rights to organize in trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, etc., are ensured. (Art. 126) Such organizations are widely encouraged to perform many functions for Soviet society, e.g. trade unions administer social insurance. Civilian defense was organized through *Osoaviakhim*, a huge voluntary organization. Physical culture is developed through voluntary societies often sponsored by trade unions.
10. Inviolability of person, (Art. 127) inviolability of home and of mail (Art. 128) are new guarantees in the 1936 Constitution. Formerly, the G.P.U. was an independent agency, not responsible to the Council of People's Commissars. Its functions are now assigned to the regular Commissariat of Internal Affairs, and search and seizure are subject to court order.

F. The effect of the war on operation of democratic procedures

1. The *State Defense Council* was established June 30, 1941 by the Presidium of Supreme Soviet. It has all the power of the State in its hands. Membership on it: Stalin, Chairman, V. M. Molotov, Vice-Chairman, K. E. Voroshilov, G. M. Malenkov, L. P. Beria, L. M. Kaganovich, N. A. Voznesensky, A. I. Mikoian.
2. Martial law operates now in the section west of the Urals. Under martial law, civil authorities are subject to the military in all matters affecting defense. They have the right to mobilize people for defense work and civilian defense activities; military courts handle all cases affecting defense, protection of public property, treason, murder, draft evasion, speculation, etc. In those places where there is no civil authority due to war, the military performs all functions of government. It has the power to establish curfew, rationing, and deportation of suspicious people. There is no appeal against the decision of military court. Sentences can be changed only if the military court reviews its own decision.
3. Workers in armament industries were drafted for the duration in Dec. 1941.
4. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet still operates and issues legislation.
5. Regular sessions of the Supreme Soviet have been postponed and only one special session has been called—in June 1942, which discussed and ratified the mutual assistance pact with England.
6. Elections were scheduled for December, 1941, but were postponed because the most populated areas of the country were occupied by the Nazis,

and technical difficulties of elections were even greater than those involved in the convening of the Supreme Soviet.

7. In wartime there has been increased participation by the population in governmental activities to replace drafted government officials, especially in areas near the front, occupied or reoccupied. Participation of women and the clergy, in public, governmental and social activity has been greater.

General Reading on Soviet Democracy

Soviet Communism, Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

The Russians, Williams, Chap. 6, 7, 8, pp. 70-79.

This Soviet World, A. L. Strong, Chap. III, IV; V, VI.

Soviet Power, Dean of Canterbury, Book VI.

The Government of the Soviet Union, Harper, Chap. X.

In Place of Profit, Ward, Part III.

"The Soviet Government, Its Structure and Administration", *Soviet Russia Today*, May, 1941.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON GOVERNMENT

1. What is the meaning of each word in the name UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS?
2. Describe the structure of the federal government of the U.S.S.R. Why is the Supreme Council called "the highest organ of state authority?" (How does its relation to the Council of People's Commissars differ from the relation of Congress to the President, Cabinet and Judiciary in this country?)
3. How is the Supreme Soviet elected and by whom?
4. What rights and powers are retained by the Constituent Republics?
5. Discuss popular participation in government operation. How does this act as a check on bureaucratic tendencies?
6. In view of the structure of the Soviet Government and the extension of universal suffrage, what is meant by the "dictatorship of the proletariat?"
7. What is the relationship of the Communist Party to the Government?
8. How far are the "four freedoms" in existence in the U.S.S.R.?
 - a. Freedom of speech and expression.
 - b. Freedom of every person to worship God in his own way.
 - c. Freedom from want.
 - d. Freedom from fear.
9. How far are Vice-President Wallace's "five democracies" in operation?
 - a. Political or "bill-of-rights" democracy.
 - b. Economic democracy.
 - c. Ethnic democracy.
 - d. Democracy of education.
 - e. Democracy of sexes.

What guarantees are there for these freedoms?

IV.

NATIONAL ECONOMY

(Two Units)

Study suggestions: Details are given in this part of the syllabus both to illustrate the principles of Soviet economic development and to indicate the present level of economic development of the U.S.S.R.

It is suggested that different members of the group be assigned to report on various aspects of the economy, while the leader pays special attention to the interrelation of the various parts of the economic organization.

I. LEGAL BASIS

A. Social system

"The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production firmly established as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system of economy, the abrogation of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R." (Constitution, Art. 4.)

B. Public property

"The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, post, telegraph and telephones, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine and tractor stations and the like) as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people." (Art. 6.)

C. Cooperative property

"Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of state property (the possession of the whole people) or in the form of cooperative and collective-farm property (property of a collective farm or property of a cooperative association." (Constitution, Art. 5.)

"Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations with their livestock and implements, the products of the collective farms and cooperative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations." (Art. 7.)

"The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for their free use for an unlimited time; that is, forever." (Art. 8.)

D. Private property

". . . In addition to its basic income from the public, collective farm enterprise, every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of land attached to the dwelling and, as its personal property, a subsidiary establishment on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements—in accordance with the rules of the agricultural artel." (Art. 7.) "Alongside the socialist system of economy, which

is the predominant form of economy in the U.S.S.R., the law permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labor and precluding the exploitation of the labor of others." (Art. 9.)

"The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils and articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law." (Art. 10)

E. Economic planning

"The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the state national economic plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material conditions of the working people and raising their cultural level, of consolidating the independence of the U.S.S.R. and strengthening its defensive capacity." (Art. 11)

F. Moral bases of economy

"In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'" (Art. 12)

II. THE PLAN

"The economic life of the U.S.S.R. is determined and directed by the state national economic plan. . . ." (Art. 11)

A. Gosplan

Gosplan (State Planning Commission) is under the Council of People's Commissars. Its chairman is a member of the Council.

1. It is charged with preparing annual and quarterly plans for the country, based on draft plans submitted by the Commissariats, etc. Plans are subject to the approval of the Council of People's Commissars.
2. "The principal task of Gosplan is to ensure in the plan of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. a correct interrelationship in the development of various branches of the economy and to ensure that the necessary steps be taken to prevent disproportions in the national economy" (Decree on Gosplan, Feb. 2, 1938). It is concerned with the location of industry; the relation of industry to agriculture; the relation of consumers' goods to producers' goods; the relation of industry to resources.
3. It checks on the fulfillment of plans.
4. It is in charge of all national statistics.

B. Other planning organs

Every republic, city, village, factory, farm, industry, etc. has its planning department.

C. Continuity of planning

The process of planning involves coordinating draft plans from the smallest to the largest economic units into an overall plan. It is a continuing process, with constant revision and adjustment.

Readings: *The Russians*, Williams. Chap. 9.

Soviet Communism, Webbs. Chap. VIII, "Planned Production for Community Consumption".

The Soviets, Williams, pp. 134-158.

III. INDUSTRY

A. Enormous industrial resources

The resources now known and developed make the U.S.S.R. less dependent on imports of raw and semi-manufactured products than any other country.

Readings: *Mineral Resources of U.S.S.R.*, Gubkin (W.F.P.).

Mikhailov, pp. 20-25.

B. Aims of industrialization

1. To increase the public wealth and advance social welfare.

Industry as a whole produced twelve times as much in 1940 as in 1913, five times as much as in 1929. Despite the emphasis on heavy industry, cotton textile output rose 50% from 1913, socks and stockings more than 100% from 1932, silks four times from 1928, knit goods over four times from 1913 to 1938. Meat production was up 50% from the very poor year of 1932, sausage and smoked meats up 6½ times from 1913, fish up 50%, animal fats increased 2½ times from 1928 to 1938, vegetable fats 20% from 1932 to 1937. Bread and bakery products doubled from 1913; sugar doubled from 1913; confectionery output increased 15 times from 1913 to 1938.

Housing space in the cities has been increased from 1,400 million square feet in 1923 to 2,550 million square feet in 1941. Most of the new houses are provided with central heat and other modern conveniences. Hundreds of towns which were formerly hardly more than big villages, have been equipped with public utilities and modern means of transportation.

Readings: "Food Industry of U.S.S.R.", Zhemchuzhina (W.F.P.)

Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow. pp. 29-32, 142-152, 364-373.

"Soviet Economy: 1941", *The American Review on the Soviet Union*. June, 1941 (statistics).

2. To advance the peoples of the formerly colonial areas, which were forcibly retarded under Tsars, to a status of material, as well as legal equality with the Russians. Tremendous quantities of capital were poured into the Caucasus, Central Asia, etc. Thus, the 1941 plan, interrupted by war, provided a more than 50% increase in investment over 1940, to have been distributed as follows:

<i>Republics</i>	<i>Increase in Capital Investment</i>
Russians S.F.S.R.	50% over 1940
Ukraine	76%
Belorussia (nearest border)	45%
Georgia	101%
Armenia	135%
Azerbaidzhan	122%
Kazakh	51%
Tadzhik	83%
Kirgiz	132%
Turkmen	72%

Readings: "Industrial Progress in the Soviet Republics of the Non-Russian Nationalities." M. Papyan (W.F.P.)

3. To insure the economic independence of the U.S.S.R.

The Russian Empire was dependent on foreign capital and industrial imports. The objective is to achieve economic balance, freeing the country from the danger that its welfare and independence can be affected by foreign control of essentials. Now, no single commodity is utterly lacking. Cotton and rubber no longer need be imported in quantity. The objective is not autarchy, but a well-rounded economy and production of defense essentials.

4. To strengthen the defensive capacity.

Industry was modernized: electric power output in 1938 was 21 times greater than in 1913, and 8 times greater than in 1928. All branches were expanded: by 1937 output of industry as a whole was second only to the U.S.A.

Industry was dispersed and brought closer to raw material resources. Under the Tsars, industry had been concentrated in the West near Leningrad, Moscow and in the Ukraine, and the resources of the East were little known or developed. Among important pre-war developments are the following:

a. The Urals: from Sverdlovsk to Magnitogorsk now produce steel, non-ferrous metals, chemicals. (In 1929 there was no iron and steel output on an industrial scale east of the Ukraine).

Reading: "Magnitogorsk," Baikov (W.F.P.)

b. The Kuzbass in Siberia now produces steel, chemicals, and coal.

c. The Far East: the steel city of Komsomolsk, built in virgin wilderness on the Amur, 200 miles from civilization, whose population was planned to reach 300,000 by 1942.

d. Kazakhstan and Central Asia: copper, coal, and oil now developed; chemicals, textiles, machinery are now produced in Central Asia.

5. The tremendous development and more rational distribution of various branches of industry, resulting in European Russia's providing 85% of the total industrial output at the time of Hitler's attack. (Leningrad—10%; Moscow-Tula-Gorky triangle—30%; Ukraine—18%, the rest in the Caucasus, Volga valley, and Far North). Formerly, almost 100% of industry was in Europe.

The Nazi successes early in the war changed this situation considerably. The Ukraine was lost at the outset. Much of its industry, as that of Moscow and Leningrad, was evacuated to the east. The Urals are probably now the greatest center, the Kuzbass is greatly expanded; and Central Asia has basic industries for the first time. The Volga cities, such as Kuibyshev, etc. have a much more important place in the total. In the Caucasus and the Far East expansion has possibly been tempered by the proximity to the frontiers. Reconquest of the Donbass restores to Soviet control an area which produced 60% of its coal when the war began.

6. To help the modernization and collectivization of agriculture by providing machinery, in order to raise the productivity of farm workers to a par with industrial workers and eliminate the social and economic contrasts between town and country.

Readings: *Land of Soviets*, pp. 34-49.

The Russians, pp. 119-139.

Land of Socialism, pp. 20-24, 121-125, 301-329.

"National Income of the U.S.S.R."—Sautin (W.F.P.)

"The Industrial Might of the U.S.S.R."—Bardin (W.F.P.).

C. Management

The central government of the U.S.S.R. has jurisdiction over: "Foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly . . . Establishment of the national economic plans of the U.S.S.R. . . . Approval of the single state budget of the U.S.S.R., as well as of the taxes and revenues which go to the all-union, Republican and local budgets. Administration of the banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises and trading enterprises of all-Union importance. Administration of transport and communications. . . ." (Constitution, Art. 14).

1. The most important industries are administered by the U.S.S.R. government, each headed by a Commissariat, the head of which (the Commissar) is in the "cabinet" (Council of People's Commissars). Under the Commissariats are factories or trusts, etc., each one operated as a separate unit financially, on a cost-accounting basis. Each is supposed to remain "in the black" after it is in full operation. Since the war industrial commissariats have the right to shift equipment from one plant under their jurisdiction to another, thus legalizing the changes made necessary by conversion and evacuation. Losses of individual enterprises under the management of a given Commissariat may now be written off against over-plan profits of the Commissariat as a whole, thereby compensating for temporary losses due to conversion, bombing, etc. The purpose of this measure is to maintain the credit of these enterprises with the banks serving them.
2. Textile and other light industries, the food industry, the timber industry, are administered either by the U.S.S.R. government or that of the individual republics.

3. Cooperatively owned small industry, and public enterprises of local importance (roughly under \$100,000 capitalization), and such matters as water supply for agriculture of irrigated Central Asia, are administered and planned entirely by the Republics and smaller administrative units, such as cities and counties (raions). This type of industry constitutes 20% of all industry and accounts for a large portion of the consumers' goods produced in wartime.
4. Managerial personnel is appointed by the controlling Commissariat (except for cooperatives). The manager has full power and responsibility. He can be removed only by the Commissariat, though public pressure via the soviets, the Communist Party, the trade unions may lead to such removal. Managers now come primarily from the ranks of labor. Workers are nominated or seek entrance into higher educational institutions to be trained as industrial managers, engineers and technicians.

Readings: *The Russians*, Williams. Chap. 12.
In Search of Soviet Gold, Littlepage.
 "Who Directs Soviet Industry?" Smetanin (W.F.P.).

D. Labor

1. Numbers:

In 1940 there were approximately as many wage workers and salaried employes in the U.S.S.R. as in the United States, 30.4 million (11.2 million in 1913). Since the war, nearly half the workers are women. The increase in the number of industrial workers is a direct result of the release of farm population to industry through the mechanization of agriculture. The pre-war plan was to add 1.5 million workers per year from the rural areas.

2. Trade Unions:

Four-fifths of the workers (25,500,000 members) are in trade unions. They are organized on industrial lines. The nearly 200 unions are united in the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Locals make wage contracts with plant managers on the basis of nationally established rates. Since the abolition of the Commissariat of Labor in 1933, the trade unions have been responsible for: administration of social insurance, inspection of safety and work conditions, recreation and health facilities for workers. They are also closely concerned with raising the productivity of workers through training courses, etc. The trade unions have a large press. They are supported by dues, government subsidy and a levy on industry.

There has never been any anti-strike legislation. However, strikes are unknown, due to workers' feeling of ownership of industry, generally noted by foreign observers. The workers' interest in increasing production results both from the assurance that the increase will be reflected in higher pay, as a result of the incentive wage system, and from the consciousness that benefits to the nation at large will ensue, with no danger of unemployment.

Readings: "Labor in the War Effort," *Russia at War*, No. 10.
 "Soviet Trade Unions All-Out for Victory," *Russia at War*, No. 31.
Organized Labor in the Soviet Union, Edwin S. Smith.

3. *Wage System:*

Piece-work rates and wages are set generally by the Economic Council, attached to the Council of People's Commissars, on which serve the industrial commissars and Shvernik, Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions. Piece-work is the general system, with an elaborate system of incentive bonuses. The financial stimulus is widely used to increase output.

4. *Working Conditions:*

- a. The 8-hour day is the wartime basis. (Maximum for minors—4 hours plus a possible 2 overtime). The pre-war day was seven, with shorter hours in dangerous occupations, a differentiation retained in wartime.
 - b. Paid vacations were provided for all. In war they have been suspended, with extra pay given instead.
 - c. In wartime, overtime may be obligatory up to three hours daily, at time-an-a-half pay.
 - d. Provision of housing is considered the responsibility of industry. The housing facilities for a factory are part of its initial capital investment, just like the plant.
 - e. Public health facilities are provided at the place of work.
5. *Labor productivity* is lower than in the United States, but is higher than in European countries. It was advanced greatly through technical education, socialist competition, social and financial incentives, "Stakhanovism" ("working with your head as well as with your hands"), rationalization, wartime "200 percenters" movement.

Readings: *In Place of Profit*, Ward. Part II.

The Russians, Williams, Chap. 13, 14.

Soviet Communism, Webbs, Chap. IX.

"The Stakhanov Movement Explained," Stakhanov (W.F.P.)

"How Soviet Workers Spend their Leisure," Korobov (W.F.P.)

IV. AGRICULTURE

A. *Collective farms*

The *Kolkhoz* (collective farm) is a producers' cooperative of farmers who have pooled their land, equipment and livestock. The bulk of the produce, acreage and farm population is now on collectives. They date from 1930-1934, or earlier. (See section on "History"). They were organized to increase the country's food resources and to meet the need for marketable grain to feed the growing cities which the individual peasant farms were too inefficient to supply. The organization of collective farms eliminated the last stronghold of private property in production; it helped meet the need for labor in industry as efficient mechanized collectives needed fewer hands. The Soviet view of the advantages of collectivization to the farmers were stated by Stalin in *Problems of Leninism*: "Under the new collective farm system, the peasant works in common, cooperatively, with the help of modern implements—tractors and agricultural machinery; they work for themselves and their collective farms; they live without capitalists and

landlords, without kulaks and profiteers; they work with the object of raising their standard of welfare and culture from day to day." No farm unemployment resulted, but industry contracted with farms to employ given numbers of workers each year, the latter to be trained and advanced according to ability. The long time objective is to eliminate the disparities between life in the towns and in the countryside, where lower cultural standards had prevailed.

Much already has been accomplished: there is an agronomist on most farms; a supply of selected grain; increased use of machinery, which results in an increase in the interest in mechanics and science. Farms have laboratory huts, where farmers experiment in improving crops, etc. Collective farms have erected club-houses with movies, radio reception, etc. New schools have been built (see "Culture").

1. Organization of Collective Farms.

- a. A kolkhoz averages about 75 families. Each family retains house and garden plot. They may and generally do own a milk cow, goats, sheep, and fowl, for private use, with the right to sell the surplus. During the war, the government which had provided cows to peasants during preceding years (most of them had had none), has bought up many to restore the herds reduced by German occupation of the rich farm regions.
- b. Most of the machinery with operators is rented to the collective farms by government Machine and Tractor Stations (M.T.S.) in return for rent payable in produce. The farms own some machinery of their own.
- c. After payment of rent to the machine stations, the compulsory sale to the government of fixed quantities of each type of produce, the payment of taxes, the setting aside of seed and catastrophe insurance funds and of funds for such capital construction as the farm may have voted on, the remaining produce and cash income is distributed among the members in proportion to the time worked and the type of work done. The law requires each farmer member to put in 100 to 150 "work days" a year on collective work. A "work day" earned means that a set quota of work has been done: skilled workers may complete two quotas in one actual day and are accordingly paid for two "work days." In simplest work the "work day" tends to correspond in time with an actual day. The "work day" wage system is an incentive to increased output and mastery of skilled farm trades. The rest of the year may be spent on the farmer's own plot, but many farmers earn 400-600 work-days on the collective in a year. The success of collectives is evidenced in the growth of the individual farm-family's share (after the collective makes all payments and provisions listed above) from slightly over one ton of grain per year in 1933 to nearly three tons in 1937 and thousands of rubles in cash, not including the income in cash and kind from their own plots.
- d. The collective farms are required to maintain subsidiary livestock and dairy farms.

2. Results of Collectivization.

Grain crop (all types of farms) was up 50% from 1913 to 1941, although acreage rose less than 20%. Cotton output was up almost 4 times, sugar beets almost double, potatoes almost triple, flax almost double, tea up 70 times, citrus fruits 160 times from 1928 to 1940. Milk was up 50% from 1932; wool doubled in same period.

Readings: "The Kolkhoz," by Klimenko (W.F.P.).

"Machine and Tractor Stations," by A. Oskin (W.F.P.).

B. State farms

These huge farms (called *Sovkhoz*) are operated jointly by the Republic and the U.S.S.R. governments. They are similar to the United States experimental farms. They concentrate on producing seed grain for the collective farms, livestock breeding and dairy and beef farming. They employ labor and are comparable to factories in their economic organization. They have altogether one-tenth as much acreage under crop as the collective farms.

Readings: "The State Farms of the U.S.S.R.," by P. Loganov (W.F.P.).

C. Individual farms

Peasants who had not joined collectives in 1938 sowed 2,250,000 acres, less than one percent as much as the collectives and only one-sixth as much as the collective farmers tilled on their private plots.

D. Wartime changes

Nearly half of the normal sown acreage was lost at the time of the farthest German advance in 1942. Huge new acreages were opened in Siberia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and the Far East with the aid of refugees and farm machinery evacuated in advance of the Germans. Scientists worked hard to produce higher yields. Children and city people were drafted for farm work at the height of season. About 2,000 school children assisted in the farm work during the 1942 growing season. In the Moscow oblast alone 110,000 children worked on the farms and earned a total of 5,000,000 work days. The main losses in the occupied areas were grain, flax, and sugar (which had been concentrated almost entirely in the Ukraine). To provide for the local supply of fresh vegetables, victory gardening was encouraged, the Soviet press giving detailed instructions on how to cultivate kitchen garden crops. In 1942 some 5,000,000 workers and office employees tilled their own gardens; while in 1943 there were above 10,000,000 such private gardens embracing about 2,500,000 acres in and around the urban centers. Workers were obliged to care for their gardens only in spare time, after their regular working hours. Moreover, the 28 industrial commissariats operated auxiliary farms attached to the basic industrial plants. The 2,000,000 acres sown in these auxiliary farms in 1942 was expanded to 2,500,000 in 1943.

The overall expansion of the sown area planned for 1943 was 16,000,000 acres in all industrial crops, most of it taking place in the eastern areas.

Readings: "Socialist Farming," Borin (W.F.P.).

"Science at the Service of Soviet Agriculture," Tsitsin (W.F.P.).

"Livestock Raising in the U.S.S.R.", Liskin (W.F.P.).
The Russians, pp. 108-119.
The Soviets, pp. 172-188.
Hitler Cannot Conquer Russia, Hindus, Chap. V, VII, VIII.
Mikhailov, pp. 50-59.
Land of Socialism, pp. 24-28, 126-129, 245-268.
Lenin on the Agrarian Question, Rochester.

V. TRANSPORT

A. General observations

Huge distances, a heritage of roadlessness, rivers and seas frozen three to nine months, are the problems faced by Soviet transport.

B. Railroads

Railroads carry four-fifths of the total freight in ton-miles. Much of the trackage was lost in the war, but locomotives and rolling stock were saved. Wartime performance has been efficient. Before the intensification of services due to the war, the density of traffic was almost three times that in the United States, and the speed was second only to the United States. The main lines are: (1) The Trans-Siberian, with its main European connections to Moscow and Donbass. (2) The Turkestan-Siberian. (3) The Murmansk line. (4) Archangel-Moscow-Donbass-Rostov-Baku-Tbilisi. The densest networks are: Donbass, Moscow, Leningrad, Ural, Kuzbass. There has been a 50% increase in total track from 1913 to 1939.

Readings: "The Railroads of the U.S.S.R.", Obrastsov (W.F.P.).

"The Stakhanov Movement on the Soviet Railroads", Krivonos (W.F.P.).

C. Rivers and seas

Volga and Caspian tankers carry Baku oil to industries of European Russia, Urals, as well as Central Asia and Siberia through transshipment by rail. The Black Sea grain trade was of great importance in peacetime, fed by Dnieper and Don. Siberian rivers act as spurs of the Trans-Siberian railroad. The Okhotsk and Japan Seas and the Pacific are the only means of bulk transport in the Far East. One indication of the importance of river transport is the opening of the Amu-Darya in Central Asia to river transport in 1942, which made it possible to take 60% of the freight from the overloaded vital Tashkent railroad, linking this area to the Urals.

Readings: "Waterways and Water Transport in U.S.S.R.", Blidman (W.F.P.).

"The Moscow Volga Canal," Romanovsky (W.F.P.).

D. Roads

There are no long-distance highways except in the extreme Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and in the extreme west. The latter are now largely in German hands. However, trucks carried half the total freight by weight (not weight and distance) before war.

E. Aviation

Before the war, the Soviets held all height-weight-distance records (now

important for heavy bombers) and had the largest air freight service in the world. Air transport is particularly highly developed in outlying regions and is also used for emergency shipment to new industries. Aviation probably has a larger future in the immediate post-war years. It is essential in the Arctic.

Reading: "Civil Aviation," by V. Molokov (W.F.P.).

VI. FINANCES

"Finances are essentially an economic expression of state activity." (*The Financial System of the U.S.S.R.*, Bogolepov.) Though the economic structure and the financial system of the U.S.S.R. are essentially different from other countries, finance terminology current in the U.S.S.R. is not substantially different, e.g., "money" is the means of calculating expenditure of social labor and consumption, and the means of exchange. "Capital" is the technical designation for the basic resources of the national economy. "Profit" represents national financial accumulation. From the beginning, Soviet leaders were aware of the importance of the financial system to economic development. "It must not be forgotten that every radical reform we introduce is doomed to failure if we do not make a success of our financial policy." (Lenin, 1921.)

A. Money

The currency is secured by precious metals, mainly because of trade relationships to the outside world. Actually, money in U.S.S.R. bears a closer relation to goods than to gold reserves. "What determined the stability of Soviet currency? Of course not simply gold reserves, but the tremendous stocks of commodities in the hands of the state marketed at fixed prices. Who can deny that such a backing, which exists only in the U.S.S.R., constitutes a more genuine security than any reserves of gold?" (Stalin, *From First to Second Five-Year Plan.*)

B. Capital accumulation

1. About 75% of the revenue is derived from State-owned industries and trade through the turn-over tax, collected at the point of production (ranging from 5% of sale price on iron and coal to 83% on vodka); the tax on profits; and fixed deliveries in kind from agriculture. 60% of the revenue comes from the turn-over tax.
2. Relatively smaller revenues, about 6%, come from direct taxes on the population: 4-8% on income from sale of farm products; income tax on workers' incomes, 150 rubles and over, are graduated to 3%; inheritance taxes are graduated to 90%; customs revenues, etc.

The average worker pays three taxes, of which the war tax is a special levy imposed in January, 1942.

<i>Annual Wage</i>	<i>Income Tax</i>	<i>Cultural Tax</i>	<i>War Tax</i>
1,800 rubles	14.40 r.	12.60 r.	120.00 r.
4,300 r. (average wage)	172.00 r.	150.50 r.	360.00 r.

Higher incomes are subject to a graduated tax. The higher paid workers are taxed 7% for income tax, 6% for cultural tax, and approximately 10% for war tax.

3. Government loans, floated annually, contribute about 6% of the budget. Lottery bonds, the total winnings of which are 4% of the amount of the issue, are sold to individuals in denominations of 25 rubles to 500 rubles each. One-third of the individuals win something. Bonds bearing an interest of 2%, and not participating in the lottery, are sold to all types of cooperative organizations. Bonds are tax free. The loan issued June 5, 1943, in the amount of 12,000,000,000 rubles was oversubscribed within a day.
4. The social insurance tax, paid entirely by the enterprises, accounts for most of the remaining revenue.

C. Financial Appropriations

Appropriations are handled entirely through state-owned banks and through budget appropriations. The national budget reflects the process on a national scale. With minor exceptions, the national budget includes only the funds transferred from one branch of economy to another, from one part of the country to another. Operating capital and funds "plowed back" into industries where accumulated, as well as reserves for depreciation and amortization, are not included in the national budget.

The National Budget includes expenditures on army, schools, public health, courts, governmental agencies, as well as investment in industry and agriculture: e.g. in 1941, the 216 billion ruble budget was spent as follows:

1. 33% for capital construction in industry, agriculture, transport.
2. 22% for social and cultural services—education, health, science, etc.
3. 33% for defense.
4. 12% for government, courts, banks, social security, reserves, pensions, emergency funds, etc.

D. Banks

Banks are the channel for redistributing national wealth in the U.S.S.R. Their clients include practically all agencies or enterprises. They settle accounts between trusts, factories, cooperatives by a system of book entries. There are five specialized banks, each with wide network of branches:

1. *Gosbank* (State Bank) with 3,200 branches. This is the bank of issue. It floats government loans, holds reserves of specie and foreign currency. It receives tax payments, grants short-term credits to enterprises, handles foreign exchange transactions.

Allocations from the National Budget pass through the four long-term credit banks, under *Gosbank*, which operate entirely by debit and credit entries and handle no cash transactions.

- a. *Prombank* (Industrial Bank). It advances money to new enterprises, some in the form of long-term loans for as long as 40 years, some as non-repayable, non-interest-bearing subsidies. In return, *Prombank* receives a percentage of the profits of each enterprise, holds on deposit the funds for amortization, gets interest on long-term loans. It exercises financial supervision over the operations of debtor enterprises.
- b. Bank of Agriculture.
- c. Bank of Municipal Economy and Housing.

- d. Bank of Commerce and Foreign trade.
(Note: The three last operate similarly to *Prombank* but in their own fields.)
2. Accounts for individuals are handled by an extensive network of savings banks; they operate gyro accounts; they pay 3% interest (5% on accounts over 6 months). There are now 17 million individual accounts. There are branches in schools, villages, plants, post offices, etc.
 3. Soviet banking has undergone various changes in wartime. Short-term loans were issued in increased quantity to finance the resumption of production in evacuated plants, to build emergency stocks, to build reserves of finished materials, and to provide larger stocks of materials than normally needed in order to enable plants to manufacture their own equipment and process their own raw materials. The availability of short term loans under wartime arrangements has made it possible to cut the reserve funds which enterprises were previously required to accumulate against emergency needs, these reserves now going to the state which needs them for over-all war purposes. On the other hand, these loans have served to render flexible the economy of plants which had been unsuccessful in accumulating reserves for required changes.

Readings: *The Russians*, Chap. 15.

Banks, Credit and Money in Soviet Russia, Arnold.

VII. DISTRIBUTION

A. Wholesale distribution

Handled largely by direct contracts between producer and retailer. There are some wholesale warehouse organizations.

B. Retail trade

Handled through three principal channels:

1. In urban areas distribution is almost entirely through state stores under the Commissariat of Trade.
2. In rural areas there are, in addition to state stores, some consumers' cooperatives.
3. There are *Kolkhoz* markets in towns and cities at which collective farmers sell their share of the collective farm produce or the products from their own garden plots.

C. Prices

Prices in state stores and cooperatives are set by the government, as are prices of industrial products. Ceiling prices are established for markets.

D. Problem of selection of goods and consumers choice

There is competition between various stores and various manufacturers of similar consumers' goods, subject, however, to check if it results in irrational long railway hauls or other economic waste. Within limits of fixed prices and fixed costs in wage rates, etc. there are variations in quality depending on the efficiency of management. There is a very large selection of consumers' products such as cigarettes, candy, cloth, perfumes, bread products, etc. Strict standards for food and medical products are set by the government and inspection is enforced.

E. Advertising

Advertising is used largely for the purpose of public education in the use of products, rather than for competitive selling.

F. Wartime rationing

Bread rationing is universal. General food rationing in many cities began four weeks after the Nazi invasion. Food rationing is handled through "closed stores," with individuals assigned to trade in specific stores, usually near the place of work. There is coupon rationing of food and clothing. Food purchases above rations are possible when supplies are available. This is handled in "open stores" in which anyone may trade. This practice discourages the development of a black market. The amount of rations varies according to the type of work performed by the purchaser. It also varies in different localities, depending on the ability to supply the goods.

Readings: *U.S.S.R. at War*, pp. 23-24.

Soviet Trade and Distribution, Hubbard.

"Soviet Advertising", *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*,
January 1939.

Webbs, Part I, Chap. IV.

General Readings on National Economy

The Russians, Williams, Chap. 9-15 incl.

The Soviets, Williams, Part II—"Economic Life".

Soviet Communism, Webbs—Chaps. III, IV, VII, VIII, IX.

Soviet Power, Johnson, Books II and III.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON NATIONAL ECONOMY

1. What is the essential difference between socialist and capitalist economy?
2. What forms of property are there? Is there any private property in the U.S.S.R.?
3. How is the socialist economy administered? What is the plan and what is the planning process? What was the attitude to the 5-Year-Plans abroad?
4. Discuss the new industrial developments in relation to (a) Soviet nationality policy (b) foreign trade (c) foreign policy.
5. What is the function of management? What are the functions of the trade unions?
6. What is the wage system? What are the incentives to individual work and the means to advancement? Is there freedom of choice in jobs?
7. What is the place of industrial cooperatives in the economy?
8. How is agriculture organized? How does it differ from industry?
9. How are the farmers paid?
10. What is the financial system, budget, taxes, etc.? How is capital accumulated and distributed?
11. How has the transport system of the U.S.S.R. been developed? Describe the role of the railroads, truck transport, waterways, air transport. How has the system stood up under the strain of war?
12. How are the consumers' goods distributed?
13. How has the Nazi invasion affected industry, agriculture, planning?

V.

SOCIAL SERVICES

(One and one-half Units)

I. EDUCATION

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education; by education including higher education being free of charge (n.b. see below); by the system of state stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in the universities and colleges; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language and by the organization in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people." (Art. 121, *Constitution*.)

For the care and education of its youth, the U.S.S.R. has a network of institutions. Education begins at birth and may go through the university. Education is a responsibility of the Republics, but the general principles are set by the federal government. Republics have Commissariats of Education which supervise the schools, etc. There is also a federal Committee on Higher Education whose chairman is on the Council of People's Commissars.

A. Basic principles of Soviet education

1. Three-sidedness of training: mental, physical and polytechnical ("technical training which acquaints the pupil with the basic principles of all processes of production and at the same time gives the child and adolescent habits of handling the simplest tools of all production." Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII.)
2. Cultivation of collective outlook and attitude; understanding of self-government are principles adhered to even in pre-school training, where to develop beginnings of polytechnical training children learn what a factory is and how it looks, harvesting, sowing, etc. To cultivate a collective outlook, the children are given play material that can be used only collectively, though individual self-expression is fostered. To train youngsters in self-government, nothing is done for him that he can do alone or with another child's help.

Of further importance methodologically is the unity of theory and practice, which is especially evident in technical education. In addition to study, students are given actual bench practice to a maximum of four hours a day, e.g. in trade schools students produce goods for the market; receipt of a diploma in higher technical schools is dependent on the completion of the "practicum," which is an actual project in connection with the industry into which the student is going.

B. Teaching methods

The education system has passed through various stages. In the early stage, they largely discarded textbooks on the theory that "Life must teach." They found that children grew up without sufficient specific knowledge. It was hard to train working members of modern society without specific knowledge.

They now have stable text-books, along with supplementary reading, use of newspapers, excursions and projects. They tried the Dalton Plan in the classroom, and brigade methods. They found the learning was uneven—some learned, others did not. Now they have both the lecture and the laboratory method in secondary schools and institutes, supplemented by extra-curricular activities, excursions, etc. Projects are used to supplement the text, not to replace it. The present method is regarded not as a return to the formal class method, but a combination of the best of both methods. Orientation towards a place in society and the choice of profession begins in early childhood. Extra-curricular activities, in circles, clubs (art, music, etc.) help to develop vocational abilities. Specialists in various fields discuss their work with school children. Children are given orientation consultations regularly. Institute students go into offices and factories as recruiting agents for their institutes.

C. Pre-school education

1. *Creche or nursery school.* These creches care for children from infancy to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Working mothers may use them, though they are not compulsory. They are located at the place of work when possible. Provision is made for nursing mothers. The creches care for the child for the full working day, or if the mother is on night shift for the full night. The child is brought to school and called for by its parents. There has been a large expansion of nurseries in wartime, especially night nurseries. The children are bathed and given breakfast. Infants are put in cots, crawlers in play pens, toddlers in play rooms. They spend much of the time out-of-doors. They have dinner, two hours sleep, milk, indoor play.

Creches are supervised by the Commissariat of Health of the Republics. They are financed by the Commissariat of Health or by the factory, club, housing association, farm, etc. to which they are attached.

2. The kindergarten comes under the Commissariats of Education of the Republics. They take ages $3\frac{1}{2}$ through 7. The usual day is 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 P.M. Children whose mothers work late spend the night in kindergarten. A characteristic schedule begins with the change to school clothes, washing, free play and exercise. Breakfast is followed by lessons in drawing, carpentry, nature study, reading, writing and number. The four to five-year group has two fifteen-minute formal lessons; the next age group has two twenty-minute formal lessons; the six to seven-year age group has two lessons of thirty minutes. All such lessons come in the morning. After dinner the children have two hours of rest in bed. Then they have milk and carefully supervised play. Those who spend the night have their supper and go to bed at 8:00 p.m.

D. The ten-year school (7-17 years)

1. *Divisions:* This school course can be considered in three parts: (a) Primary: 1st through fourth grades; (b) the "incomplete secondary" (5th through 7th); (c) the higher classes (8th to 10th) which, with

the two former, make the "complete secondary school." It was the aim to make the ten-year school universal and compulsory by 1942. The war interfered. The seven-year school is universal and compulsory. The ten-year schools are mainly in the larger cities.

2. *Content*: The class lesson is the basic method used. It is supplemented by excursions and practical work. The subjects studied are the native language and literature, Russian and Russian literature, mathematics, nature study, history, geography, physics, chemistry, astronomy, social science, a foreign language, art, handiwork and manual work, mechanical drawing, singing, physical culture, military studies. After school classes for music, dancing, etc. which are free to all are provided by schools, clubs and other organizations. Every effort was made to keep schools open in the war, even those near the front.
3. *Wartime Changes*: During the war, all study was intensified. Practical agriculture was made part of the regular curriculum; formerly, military studies were taught in 9th and 10th grades. Now they begin in 4th. Boys are taught hand-to-hand combat and platoon exercises. Girls are trained in nursing and as radio and telephone operators. This training is under direction of the Commissariat of Defense. Logic and psychology and two new subjects on the theatre have been added to the curriculum, and pedagogy is also being introduced in girls' schools. Children now enter school at the age of 7, instead of 8.

However, all subjects, so far as possible, are tied in with defense. Pupils are being trained in the use of maps and compasses, elementary plan drawing, the taking of measurements. Rudimentary training is given in the handling of optical and telegraphic instruments, knowledge of terrain, ballistics, and diesel motors. Basic courses are given in methods of combating poison gases, extinguishing incendiary bombs, fire fighting, and knowledge of war explosives.

To build up morale, stress is laid on the study of history, on the exploits of the old Russian heroes and the heroes of the other peoples of the multinational Soviet Union; on their victories in the past against foreign invaders; on the achievements of Soviet science, literature and art. Physical training has been amplified, particularly in the higher grades. These courses have been allotted more time and now include swimming rivers, surmounting obstacles, throwing hand grenades, using firearms and bayonets.

Beginning with the school year of 1943-44, coeducation, formerly universal, is replaced by a system of separate classes for boys and girls, in 72 large cities, probably those with a population in excess of 100,000. A Moscow school director, A. A. Solokhin, explains the change, saying that differences in the physical and intellectual rate of growth of boys and girls require "different pedagogical methods, special elaboration of studies and different assignments. . . . This differentiation cannot be

achieved if girls and boys are sitting in the same classroom. . . . All jobs in society cannot be performed with equal success by men and women. There are many examples . . . a man must . . . be prepared to join the Red Army, and his preparations must have started in school. But women have duties which men have not, and they are extremely important. The girl as a future mother must know how to care for children and how to educate them. Whatever is said about the various duties of men and women in the education of children, mother is always mother, and the schools must give the girl special knowledge of anatomy, psychology and hygiene."

This change does not apply to the extensive extracurricular and after-school program. "After lessons, work must be organized so that boys and girls spend their leisure hours together. . . . Literature, singing, dramatic, and other clubs should be coeducational." Higher educational institutions continue coeducation.

E. Middle education

1. *Tekhnikums*: On completion of seven-year school, the student may enter a *tekhnikum*, or a special professional and technical high school where a four-year course trains junior specialists in the fields of science, industry, the arts, medicine, education, etc., or he may enter:
2. *Special schools* established by the Labor Reserves Decree (October 2, 1940) are:
 - a. Railway Schools where there is a two-year course to prepare skilled workers.
 - b. Industrial Schools (*promyslennyyi*) in which a two-year course trains skilled metal workers, oil workers of assistant technician rank.
 - c. The Trade Schools (*remyslennyyi*) in which a six-month course trains for semi-skilled industrial jobs in mining, oil metallurgical industry and construction industry.

By May 1942, 700,000 young men and women had completed this training. The 700,000 still studying there work eight hours a day and receive half adult pay in addition to food and maintenance. All also take 110 hours of military training a year.

F. Higher education

1. On graduation from a ten-year school or a *tekhnikum*, the student may enter an institute or a department in a university. There he receives professional training in some special field. From the institute he may go on to graduate work. Institutes issue degrees equivalent to B.S. or B.A. They give graduate work degrees equivalent to M.A., M.S., or Ph.D. Courses vary from four to five years, or longer for medicine and some other forms of specialization. Job placement takes place before graduation.
2. All higher institutions are under the All-Union Committee on Higher Education, except those coming under the aegis of the All-Union Committee of Art.

3. Higher educational institutions of the U.S.S.R. are divided into the following general categories: a) industrial and construction; b) transport and communications; c) agriculture; d) social sciences; e) teacher training; f) the arts; g) public health. All institutes and universities are departmentalized to train for one main profession. The student may get "liberal arts" training in universities, but this is aimed toward preparing research workers or teachers.
4. Before the war, 700,000 students were enrolled in 800 higher educational institutions of U.S.S.R. Since the war, the college curriculum has been rearranged. The number of academic hours per week has been increased and holidays shortened. In 1941-42, 170,000 trained specialists were graduated—double the usual number. Many institutes have enlarged their facilities for training specialists in war industries. In others, war industry departments have been organized. New subjects have been introduced, such as field surgery, transport of war materials, repair of bridges, railroads, fortifications and defense installations, camouflage, chemistry of explosives, etc.
5. Many higher educational institutions were evacuated from invaded zones: Kiev Industrial Institute to Tashkent; Kharkov Medical School to Chkalov. Many students and teachers went to the front. Many also remained in occupied areas as guerrillas.

G. Tuition

Until the end of 1939, tuition was free in all primary and secondary schools and for almost all in tekhnikums and institutes. In addition, most students in higher educational institutions received monthly stipends to support themselves. In October 1940 tuition fees for tekhnikums, institutes and the last two years of secondary schools were instituted (except for needy students with excellent grades), and stipends are now granted only to those with excellent standing. This change was explained as necessitated by increased defense expenditure, and it was made possible by the fact that people were able to afford to pay something for higher education. It also encouraged attendance at free technical schools. However, in wartime the system of stipends and free tuition has been greatly extended to meet students' needs. During the war, the Council of People's Commissars passed a decree exempting from tuition fees students who have been wounded, shell-shocked or are sick. War invalids are given scholarship aid, regardless of their academic standing. Members of families of Red Army men and commanders are exempted from tuition fees.

H. Special and adult education

After the revolution the immediate problem was literacy. In the 1897 census, there was 27% literacy in Russia proper: 12.4% in the Caucasus; 5.3% in Central Asia. The average for the country, 24%. By 1926 it was raised to 51.1% and by 1939 was 81.2% over-all (67—76% in Central Asia). Literacy schools for adults were the first emphasis. But the country is also honeycombed with courses and study circles for adults. All enterprises (factories, shops, offices, etc.) have regular study courses to improve

the qualifications of workers, as well as to give general knowledge. Workers are required to take "technical minimum" tests and to improve their qualifications. "Free-day universities" are conducted by institutes to supplement the specialized curriculum; many correspondence courses are provided. Also there is education by radio, movies, museums, etc. The whole country studies. "An illiterate people cannot build the Communist State." (Lenin). Special schools for the blind and handicapped have been established.

General Reading on Education

The Russians, William, pp. 181-187.

Changing Man, King, pp. 129-203, 222-243.

The U.S.S.R. at War, pp. 25-26.

Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia, Fediaevsky and Hall.

World's Fair Pamphlets:

"Mass Technical Training in U.S.S.R."—T. Fyodorova.

"The Little Citizen of a Big Country"—M. Hill.

"Soviet Students"—S. Kaftanov.

"Soviet Youth at Work and Play"—S. Kaftanov.

"Sport in the U.S.S.R."—A. Starostin.

"Palaces of Culture and Clubs in U.S.S.R."—M. Kuznetsov.

"Parks of Culture and Rest in the Soviet Union"—K. Ivanova.

"Children in the Land of Socialism"—A. Makarenko.

II. PUBLIC HEALTH

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance . . . in case of sickness. This right is ensured by . . . free medical service for the working people and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of working people." (Art. 120, Constitution).

Medical and dental care in the U.S.S.R. is free, and the accent is on Preventive Medicine. Health of the individual is considered a public affair. Legal penalties are imposed for spreading social diseases. Medical services are socialized. All hospitals, rest-homes, sanatoria are socially owned. 98% of the doctors and nurses are civil servants. After graduation they must serve at least three years where assigned. They are all required to take advanced courses with pay every two years. All medical personnel is under the Commissariat for the Protection of Public Health. There are both federal and republic commissariats. These commissariats also supervise research institutes (tropical diseases, aviation medicine, vitamins, public feeding, etc.); propagandize for hygiene and public health, stressing causes rather than symptoms of diseases; press for reforms of conditions menacing general public health; aid in the selection of sites for new construction; encourage sports. Now there are 140,000 physicians (23,000 in 1913) of whom more than half are women. Now there are 600,000 hospital beds (140,000 in 1913). Outlying districts, especially border areas, were almost completely without medical aid. Uzbekistan—1913, 900 hospital beds, 1939—16,000; Kirgizia—1913, 100 hospital beds, 1939—over 2,800. In 25 years the number of institutions of medical science increased from 14 to 213, and the number of higher medical schools from 13 to 72.

A. Care of mother and child

New-born children are registered in district child welfare centers. They are under direct supervision of a doctor. The mother is instructed in child care. Her child is vaccinated and innoculated, and is provided with medical aid at home or in a children's hospital in case of illness. Doctors and nurses visit homes periodically to advise parents. There are over 4,000 child and maternity welfare centers in U.S.S.R. (9 in 1913). There is also medical supervision of creches (see above) in which over 4 million children are cared for.

B. General medical care

Every large district has a polyclinic. Large factories have their own hospitals. Smaller districts and factories have dispensaries. In rural areas, travelling dispensaries reach the scattered population. Any sick person may send for or visit a doctor at his factory, farm or polyclinic in his district. He may also call in an outside physician of his own choice. This, however, can only be done on a private basis for which there is a charge. The people have free services of the staff of specialists in hospitals and free treatments. Full wages are paid to the sick for a limited period and then part pay, and if necessary accommodation in sanatorium or rest home is provided.

C. Public health service

Among the functions of the Commissariat of Health are: the organization of medical aid for the population; the health inspection of dwellings, factories, food stores, etc.; inspection of water systems, sewage systems, laundries, bath houses, and sanatoria; organization of production and distribution of drugs and pharmaceuticals; organization of public health education; organization of medical education.

Great strides have been made in fighting social diseases. There are one-tenth as many cases of syphilis in the U.S.S.R. as in pre-revolutionary Russia. There has been a decrease of 83% in the incidence of tuberculosis. Mortality among tubercular patients has been reduced by 50%. Vaccination for smallpox, diphtheria and intestinal disease is required.

D. Medical services for the Red Army and Navy

It is organized around the Red Army Medical Service with sections in each branch of the armed forces. It is assisted by the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of U.S.S.R. By giving aid at the firing line, these services are able to return up to 73% of their wounded.

General Readings on Public Health

The Russians, Williams, pp. 187-193.

The U.S.S.R. at War, pp. 24-25.

Public Health Protection in the U.S.S.R.", Propper-Grashchenkov (*W.F.P.*)
Socialized Medicine, H. E. Sigerist.

Health Protection in the U.S.S.R., Semashko.

Soviet Health Care in Peace and War, Rose Maurer.

III. SOCIAL INSURANCE

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work." (Art. 120.)

A. General Administration

Republic and Local Commissariats of Social Maintenance administer social welfare not directly concerned with workers. They are now expending large sums for aid to families of Red Army Men and for the disabled. They also care for evacuees, children, etc. The expectant mother is given 35 days before and 28 days after birth with full pay. Layette and nine-months allowance for milk and extra clothes are provided the mother. Extra aid is given to mothers of large families.

B. Administration through unions

"The biggest social insurance company in the world" is what Albert Rhys Williams calls the Soviet trade unions. Trade unions administer old age, sickness, disability insurance funds. Funds are obtained from an assessment on the employing organization and from state appropriations. The system protects worker and family from cradle to grave.

Workers are paid while ill or quarantined. They are compensated for injuries while at work. Old-age pensions of $\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{2}{3}$ wages are given men over 60 after 25 years service; to women over 55 after 20 years service. Pensions are given in many strenuous or unhealthful occupations. The social insurance takes care of burial costs and insurance benefits are extended to surviving dependents.

C. Group insurance

1. For collective farmers unable to work because of age or physical disability, funds are provided through mutual benefit societies. Rules of collective farms provide that 2% of the gross income be set aside for the mutual benefit fund. These societies maintain rest homes for the sick and aged.
2. There are group insurance plans for life insurance, fire and theft, etc., and other insurance not provided under trade union program of social insurance. This is also organized in mutual benefit funds. Workers can also make personal loans through these funds.

D. State Insurance

Life, theft, and fire insurance, etc. may also be purchased from the State insurance companies.

General Readings on Social Insurance

The Russians, Williams, pp. 147-149.

U.S.S.R. at War, pp. 9-10.

Soviet Communism, The Webbs, Chap. X.

"How Old Age is Provided for in U.S.S.R.," Shalimova (*W.F.P.*).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON SOCIAL SERVICES

I. EDUCATION

1. What are the basic principles of Soviet education?
2. Describe the present educational set-up of the U.S.S.R.
 - a. Pre-school: Provision of care for children of working women.
 - b. Primary and secondary.
 - c. Middle.
 - d. Higher.
3. How is educational opportunity provided and what choice of professions is there?
4. What special provisions are made to raise the level of technical education of workers and others?
5. Discuss special (adult) education in the U.S.S.R.

II. PUBLIC HEALTH

1. What is the attitude of the Soviet State to the health of the citizens?
2. What institutions are provided for health care?
3. What is the position of the doctor? Is there free choice of doctors?
4. How have the Soviets handled problems of social and epidemic diseases?
5. How is the workers' health protected on the job?

III. SOCIAL INSURANCE

1. What types of social insurance are provided and by whom?
2. How is it financed and administered?
3. What coverage is there for farmers and others not covered by trade unions?
4. What other forms of insurance are there?

VI.

CULTURE

(One Unit)

I. THE ARTS

A. Importance of the Arts in the Soviet Union

"Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad masses of workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts and desires. It must arouse and develop the artist in them." (Lenin.)

Art is considered an integral part of every-day life. It is sponsored and largely financed by the Soviet government. Trade unions and collective farms set aside specific sums for cultural facilities for their members. The creative artists—musician, writer, painter, etc. are among the best known and most highly esteemed members of Soviet society. Many are Deputies to the Supreme Soviet, eg., the Ukrainian playwright, Korneichuk; the new director of the famed Moscow Art Theatre, Moskvín; opera singer, Valeria Barsova; the novelist, Sholokhov (*And Quiet Flows the Don*); the composer, Gliere (Red Poppy ballet); the architect, Iofan (New York World's Fair Pavilion); the Kirgiz composer, Abdymas Maldybaev; the Kazakh bard, Dzhambul.

In addition to a very widespread professional art world, there are over 60,000 amateur art circles—dramatic, choral and instrumental, poetry and dance groups—to be found on collective farms, in factory clubs, "palaces of culture," in every type of institution. Non-professional theatre groups are reckoned at 5,000. Amateur groups are given great assistance by professionals in all the art fields. The interchange between professional and amateur groups is furthered by the fact that professional theatrical troupes, concert performers, etc., yearly tour the outlying parts of the country. During the war, these groups have frequently visited the fronts and the new industrial centers. Throughout the Soviet Union there is a network of specialty art schools—music, dancing, painting and sculpture, dramatics. Primary and secondary schools provide extra-curricular art facilities.

B. Organization and administration

Practically the whole professional art field, with the exception of the cinema, is under the aegis of the All-Union Committee on Art Affairs whose chairman is on the Council of People's Commissars (equivalent to a cabinet post). The Committee's supervision covers every phase pertinent to these fields: art education, theatres, circuses, music halls, museums and galleries, prices of tickets, repertories, royalties, awards of titles, advertisements, wage norms, recordings and artistic radio programs, manufacture of equipment, erection of monuments, etc. The All-Union Committee on Cinema (attached to the Council of People's Commissars) has similar comprehensive control over movies.

C. Status of cultural workers

Creative artists are organized into unions according to specialty: Union of Soviet Composers, Union of Artists and Sculptors, Theatre Societies, Union of Writers, Architects Union. The over-all organization is RABIS, the Trade Union of Art Workers. These unions are concerned with the material welfare of their members and with raising the cultural standards of the country. They work very closely with the Art Committee and the Cinema Committee. The unions frequently act as agents in disposing of the works of their members and they also provide special loan funds for them, in addition to offering the standard social insurance.

Cultural workers are among the highest paid people in the Soviet Union. Writers, artists and composers can arrange through their unions for allowances for special projects, granted by the so-called *Litfond* and *Musfond*. Painters and sculptors through their union and cooperatives can receive traveling allowances covering long periods during which they can work at anything they choose; in return they give the endowing organization a small amount of work as compensation. There is very great demand from social, educational, government and industrial institutions for all kinds of art works. Authors and playwrights get royalties for their work. Actors, singers, directors, instrumentalists, ballet dancers, etc., are attached to given theatres and other entertainment enterprises and are on a regular salary basis. They can also accept outside work.

D. National cultures

"National in Form—Socialist in Content" is the slogan of Soviet art. Arts are developed in all the Republics, with emphasis on the local languages, art forms, handicraft techniques, etc. To stimulate the development of arts of non-Russian nationalities and to promote exchange of cultures among all the nationalities, ten-day festivals of some one of the nationalities' arts are held annually in Moscow, where major art works are exhibited, operas and plays performed, dances and instrumental music performed and poetry read.

E. Soviet Aesthetics

The Soviets believe in using the best in the artistic heritage. Theories on art passed through many stages. At first everything new—however worthless, unaesthetic—was considered revolutionary and appropriate. After several years during which the majority of the audiences rebelled against these art styles, a reaction set in, sometimes gradually, sometimes sharply. (cf. case of Shostakovich). Today the greatest importance is attached to the cultural heritage of Russia and of the world. There is great interest in the arts of all ages and all peoples. The present objective in art is "socialist realism" which was defined by Gorki as the "means of reflecting life in art, distinctive of socialist society. Socialist realism demands a true portrayal of actuality in its revolutionary development."

F. The Arts at war

"Everything for the front; everything for victory." Current films and plays deal largely with war themes—this war or historical events—guerrillas, the Red Army, war industry, etc. (Broadway has seen two Soviet plays dealing with this war—"The Russian People" and "Counterattack"). Artists turn from the easel to paint exhortative war posters and writers go to the front as correspondents to tell the story of their country under attack. Composer Shostakovich writes a symphony describing Leningrad under siege in the intervals when he isn't on duty as a fire warden. Entertainers of all kinds travel widely and frequently to all sectors of the front. A Front Line Theatre has been specially formed with the leading actor of the Jewish Theatre, Mikhoels, at its head. All art is geared to wartime morale and cultural needs.

In the first 18 months of war Soviet theatres gave 200,000 concerts and performances to service men at the fighting fronts. Typical of this effort was that of one brigade from the Moscow Art Theatre which in the summer of 1942 travelled about 1,000 miles along the western front in an autobus, giving 40 performances in forest clearings, barns, hangars, and garages. The Theatre of the Baltic Fleet gave 3,000 performances during 13 months of the siege of Leningrad.

There has been an equally impressive migration of the art services from the occupied areas into the interior. The State Symphonic orchestra of the Ukrainian SSR has removed to Stalinabad in Tadjikistan. The Belorussian State Opera has removed to Gorki on the Volga. The Kamenets-Podolsk (Ukraine) Theatre is serving to entertain the Soviet Far Eastern Army. The Kiev Dramatic Theatre is now resident in Semipalatinsk, near the borders of western China. For two seasons the Vakhtangov Theatre, its building bombed out in Moscow has domiciled in Omsk, Siberia. The Leningrad Opera, the Moscow Theatre of Satire, the Leningrad Theatre of the Young Spectator, the Ukrainian Theatre of Music, Drama, and Comedy performed in the new Ural centers of industry. However, in September 1943, after an absence of 22 months, 8 Moscow theatres returned to the capital. The war continues disrupting life in certain areas, but the continuity of art is preserved both at the front and in the rear. The State Jewish Theatre of Moscow, evacuated for two seasons to Tashkent, has again returned to Moscow. During the war film studios from Leningrad and Kiev likewise migrated east to settle in Tashkent and Alma Ata, in Kazakhstan.

Architects are working on fortifications, on camouflage, on new methods for speedy construction and for the utilization of local materials, on the building of new cities behind the Urals to house the industries and the people evacuated from the West.

G. Characteristics of Soviet Arts

1. *Drawing, Painting, and Sculpture*

The best work has been done in graphic arts and miniature lacquer paintings. The latter are the direct outgrowth of the world-famed Russian

ikon paintings, using the traditional style but with new subject matter. The Soviets excel in poster work, book illustration, cartoon and caricature drawing. The poster has been very widely used since the inception of the Soviet regime as an educational medium in promoting literacy, industrialization, collectivization, public health, etc. Since the war the poster has been actively revived. Oils and water colors are widely produced and hung in various institutions, and sculpture is highly popular.

2. *Music*

The Soviet Union is a vast country of song ranging from nationality melodies centuries old sung by itinerant bards to thousands of amateur musical groups and the Red Army Song and Dance Ensemble. A number of music schools and conservatories turn out many instrumentalists. Some of the younger piano and violin players have competed in world contests and taken the majority of top prizes. There are many instrumental groups from jazz bands to full symphony orchestras in every major city. Classical composers—Chaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Mussorgsky, Borodin, and those of all countries—are highly revered. America is becoming familiar with the compositions of the many contemporary Soviet composers—Shostakovich, Prokofieff, Gliere, Miaskovsky, Khachaturian, Kabalevsky, Zhelobinsky, Khrennikov.

3. *Theatre*

There are close to 800 theatres, distinguished by varying acting techniques—dynamic, experimental, as well as traditional. The best known here is the Moscow Art Theatre, including in its repertory Russian and foreign classics—Ostrovsky, Chekhov, Gorki, Tolstoi, Richard Sheridan, G. B. Shaw, Eugene O'Neill, Schiller, Lope de Vega and, of course, Shakespeare—as well as contemporary Soviet plays. The Stanislavsky system of acting originated by the founder of that theatre is famed throughout the world. Other major theatres in the Soviet Union on which numerous local theatres model themselves are the Kamerny, Vakhtangov, Maly, Red Army and Jewish. All Soviet theatres work on a repertory system, with actors and everyone connected with the theatre on a permanent salary arrangement. There are over 100 Children's Theatres at which specially trained adult actors perform. Theatres have been opened in the various republics where none existed before the Revolution; plays are performed in 60 languages. There are 2 theatre institutes and 75 drama schools. Annual audiences are calculated in the tens of millions.

4. *Opera and Dance*

Opera is very popular and very widespread in the Soviet Union. Emphasis is on an integration of good acting, music and staging. Most popular among the classical Russian operas are "Eugene Onegin," "Ruslan and Liudmila," "Boris Godunov," "Ivan Sassunin," among Soviet operas—"Quiet Flows the Don." The foreign classics are also performed frequently. Best known of the opera theatres are the Bolshoi in Moscow and the Alexandrinski and Mariinski in Leningrad. Copartner with opera is the ballet and performed in the same theatres. The traditional Russian

ballet is widely taught and performed. New ballets based on contemporary themes and demonstrating changes in the old technique are to be seen. There are 2,600 professional ballet dancers. Dancing as such is very popular throughout the U.S.S.R.—the various nationalities having their own distinctive folk dances. At the Theatre of Folk Art in Moscow one can see dozens of these during any evening's program. There are thousands of amateur dance groups.

5. *Literature*

Soviet literature, especially poetry, the novel and the drama have passed through many stages from the futurism of Mayakovski, "Poet of the Revolution," to the socialist realism of the present day. In the early days of the new regime, the collective idea and the new machine were the central themes of Soviet literature. Today, more and more the individual in his relation to the new society is written about. Soviet writers whose works have become familiar to American audiences through translation are Maxim Gorki, whose literary life bridged the old and new Russias; Alexei Tolstoi; Mikhail Sholokhov; playwright and noevlist, Valentin Kataev; journalist-novelist Ilya Ehrenbourg; playwright and poet, Konstantin Simonov; playwright, Alexander Afinogenov; novelist of the stormy days of the Revolution and the Civil War, Nikolai Ostrovsky; humorous writers, Ilf and Petrov.

6. *Cinema*

Soviet cinema, unlike the other arts, has been almost entirely developed under the new regime. It is marked by extreme realism and new techniques. Contributions to world cinema development have been made by Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Dovzhenko, the Vassiliev brothers, etc. As in the theatre, there is no "star" system in their cinema production—all actors attached to a given studio play successive roles of varying importance. Special films are produced for children on a large scale. On an even larger scale is the production of scientific-educational films which are used for training in industry, agriculture, medicine, science, public health, etc. For those wishing to specialize in some branch of the cinema industry, there is a State College of Cinematography which offers a four-year course. Scenario writing is encouraged on a country-wide scale with occasional open contests; leading writers are asked to do movie scenarios. Soviet cinema technicians have great regard for the Hollywood techniques. Sound films are slowly being introduced into every hamlet of the U.S.S.R.

7. *Architecture*

Soviet architecture shows a great variety of forms based on the traditions of the various nationalities. Some of these, like the Armenians and the Uzbeks, are heirs to a great national architecture. The architects emphasize the design of the "ensemble," treating the individual building as part of a composition embracing the street or plaza; architecture merges with city planning in new workers' settlements like those of Zaporozhe and Baku. Industrial architecture is strongly influenced by

American precedent. Original solutions have been found for new tasks such as the workers clubs. Considerable progress has been made in developing modern methods of construction, especially in reinforced concrete. Soviet architects strive for both monumentality and richness of expressions of the pride of achievement and the joy of life of the Soviet people. They are attempting a synthesis of architecture, sculpture, and painting. These tendencies have led to a rejection of "international style" which had been somewhat uncritically copied in earlier years. The new trend found its expression in the project for the gigantic Palace of the Soviets, in the impressive stations of the Moscow subway, in the colorful agricultural exhibition in Moscow. All of these were the subjects of lively popular interest, discussion, and critical comment.

H. Museums

Museums in the Soviet Union, which total over 750, are devoted to such diverse fields as art, science, literature, music, history, education, theatre, the Arctic, public health, industry. This number is in addition to those maintained by industrial enterprises, scientific research institutes and schools. The museums are either government-supported or maintained by the enterprise to which they are attached. Conducted tours ensure an audience counted in tens of millions annually.

Many former churches and cathedrals have been turned into museums. Every effort is made to preserve these buildings in the finest condition, and where possible they are restored to their original state. Many of these were formerly used as anti-religious museums, but there is reason to believe that this is no longer the case.

General Reading on Art

The Seven Soviet Arts, Kurt London, pp. 93-314.

An Outline of Modern Russian Literature: 1880-1940, E. J. Simmons.

The Soviets, A. R. Williams, pp. 363-423.

The Place of Art in the Soviet Union, O. Beskin.

World's Fair Pamphlets:

"Fine Arts in the U.S.S.R.", A. Gerasimov.

"Children and Art in the U.S.S.R.", S. Marshak.

"Museums of the U.S.S.R.", O. Leonova.

"Palaces of Culture and Clubs in the U.S.S.R.", M. Kuznetsov.

"The Soviet Theatre", I. Moskvina.

"Folk Arts and Crafts of the U.S.S.R.", A. Y. Bakushinsky.

"The Soviet Screen", S. Eisenstein.

II. PRESS AND PUBLISHING

A. Newspapers

1. General characteristics

The Soviet press is the educator and organizer of the life of the nation. Unlike American papers, they carry no headlines of murder, arson, kidnapping, love nests. Advertisements, death notices, help wanted, news

stories occupy relatively little space. Most of the articles correspond to our feature articles and editorials. Papers rarely run over six pages and the format is somewhat larger than ours. Cartoons are features of most papers.

2. *Numbers*

In 1938, there were 8,550 newspapers in the Soviet Union with a circulation of 37,500,000 of which one-third were printed in 68 non-Russian languages. All Republics, regions and cities have their own official newspapers. Over half of the newspapers fall into the category of "lower press," that is, they are house organs for factories, collective farms, cultural and educational institutions. These account for one-fifth of the total circulation.

3. *Publishers*

Newspapers are published by the following general groups:

- a. Communist Party.
- b. The central and local governments.
- c. Trade unions and commissariats.

4. *Readers*

Newspapers cover all age, nationality and special interests.

- a. 20% are for Pioneer and Komsomol age (10-25).
- b. 20% are on agriculture.
- c. 30% are on industry, technology, transport.
- d. 4% are on education and culture.

5. *Leading newspapers*

Pravda and *Izvestia* are published in Moscow, each with a daily circulation approximating 2,000,000. These are the political mentors of the U.S.S.R.—*Pravda*, the organ of the Communist Party and *Izvestia* of the Government. The leading "specialty" newspapers are: *Literaturnaia Gazeta* for culture; *Gudok* (The Whistle) for the Commissariat of Railways; *Krasnaia Zvezda* (Red Star) for the Red Army; *Trud* (Labor) for the Central Council of Trade Unions; *Sotsialisticheskoe Zemledelie* (Socialist Agriculture); and *Krestianskaia Gazeta* (Farmers Gazette).

6. *Newspapers as courts of appeal*

Newspapers are frequently barometers of Soviet public opinion and the thousands of letters printed in them help in the formulating of the laws of the country. There is a close interrelationship between the editorial staff and the reading public with frequent conferences being held among them. Letters from the public are printed also for pointing up local foibles and shortcomings. Specially assigned persons check up to see that action is taken on the complaints contained in the letters. There are over 3,000,000 volunteer correspondents from farm and factory who supply local information to the papers, central and local. These are known as the *Rabselkor* or Worker and Peasant Correspondents and efforts are made to provide them with training in journalism.

B. Periodicals

The 1,800 periodicals in the Soviet Union are patterned very much after the newspapers; that is, they are published by the Communist Party, the Government, the trade unions, the commissariats and scientific institutions. They are very largely specialty journals for various groupings. There are a few humorous journals, and no love story, detective, or other types of thriller magazines; they are devoted to theory, literature, science, art, medicine, music, industry, technology, agriculture, the Arctic, transportation, education, cinema, theatre, etc. Much of the most important Soviet scientific and academic work is published in these journals.

C. Books

1. *Publishing*

Approximately 40,000 titles, including pamphlets, are published annually in the U.S.S.R. in editions totaling 692,678,000 books. Production and trade of books was nationalized in December, 1917 and in 1930 one system of publishing houses was established—the State Unified Publishing House (*OGIZ*)—combining 20 publishing houses. Book publishing is under the aegis of the Commissariats of Education. Publishing houses are set up on the basis of specialty. Most important of these are: Text book — Pedagogical (*Uchpedgiz*), Socio-Economic (*Sotsekgiz*), Agriculture (*Selskhogiz*), Medicine and Biology (*Biomedgiz*). Each publishing house is an independent unit with its own cost accounting system. It confers only with the printing trust, the distributing trust and the Commissariat of Education. There are three large publishing houses outside of the *OGIZ* chain—*ONTI*, the United Scientific-Technical Publishing House (now under the Commissariat of Heavy Industry), *Partizdat*, the Communist Party Publishing House, and *Goslitizdat*, the Artistic Literature Publishing House. There are also, on a smaller scale, authors' cooperatives, and *Academia*, famed for its fine bindings.

Publishing houses are established from money allocated for this purpose in the state budget.

2. *Censorship*

All publications in the U.S.S.R.—periodical and non-periodical—are supervised and censored for their political and ideological content. Counter-revolutionary matter, writing which incites to nationalistic and religious fanaticism, and pornographic writing are banned. Censorship is exercised by *Glavlit*, a branch of the Commissariat of Education. *Glavlit* has its representatives working in the major publishing houses to save time.

3. *Distribution*

Distribution of books is handled by one organization, *KOGIZ*, which has exclusive distribution rights for the publications of all *OGIZ* houses throughout the U.S.S.R.

4. *Libraries*

There is a wide network of libraries in the Soviet Union: 43,000 libraries serving the general public; 3,000 special libraries for children; 6,000 specializing in science and technology; and 20,000 travelling libraries, serving the rural districts. The largest, the Lenin Library in Moscow, is one of the five largest libraries in the world.

A unified system of indexing for all these libraries has been worked out by two American librarians, working with the Soviet librarians.

III. RADIO

A. Stations

The U.S.S.R. is one of the leading countries in the world in the power of its broadcasting stations. There are large stations in the principal cities and a network of 10,000 local stations.

B. Programs

Radio programs are centrally planned by the All-Union Committee on Radio, which is attached to the Council of People's Commissars. This Committee also organizes and operates radio stations, including the handling of foreign broadcasts. It is likewise in charge of the weather reporting and hydro-meteorological stations on which the Machine-Tractor Stations and the collective farms are dependent in planning their work. The Committee works with the Commissariat of Communications in distributing available radio apparatus, and with the Central Council of Trade Unions in establishing new radio centers where large groups of people can listen in.

C. Listening

Most apartments and most kolkhozes have loudspeakers which broadcast the programs of the city stations. There are radio sets in factories, clubs, collective farm centers, schools, and other public places where there is group listening.

Commercial advertising is used in connection with the introduction of new types of products and in popularizing various features of life in the Soviet Union. Otherwise the Soviet radio audiences hear daily programs of much the same type as in the United States: news broadcasts, frequent concerts, dramatic presentations, setting-up exercises, educational discussions. There are many programs for children concentrating on animal and nature stories, and simple musical compositions. These are prepared with the Children's Broadcasting Section of the Committee on Radio.

Unique to the Soviet radio are the answers to the letters of listeners. These serve as a barometer of public opinion, as do the letters to newspapers.

A new type of broadcast has been instituted since the beginning of the war and is presented at least five times a day. This is the "Letters to the Front" and "Letters from the Front."

Broadcasts are given in sixty languages.

IV. SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Science is financed by the government. All enterprises have scientific laboratories, no matter how modest, in farms, mines, plants, museums.

A. The Academy

The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. is the center of scientific research. Founded in 1725 by Peter the Great in St. Petersburg, it moved to Moscow in 1934. It is attached to the Council of People's Commissars. There are similar Academies in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia. Other parts of country are served by branches (affiliates) of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

The Academy of Sciences is divided into the following divisions: physio-mathematical sciences, chemical sciences, geologo-geographical sciences, biological sciences, technical sciences, economics and law, history and philosophy, literature and languages.

There are 82 institutes, 2 affiliated institutes directed by the Academy. The Academy has 136 full members and over 3,600 scientists on the staff. Though most of the 1,500 scientific organizations in the U.S.S.R. (34,000 scientists, 50,000 scientific technicians, etc.), are not directly administered by the Academy, their activities follow a general plan drafted annually by the Academy, outlining main fields for research.

B. Research Institutes

The country is covered by a network of 750 Scientific Research Institutes in fields of industry, agriculture, transport and communications, socio-economic sciences, education and arts, protection of health, labor protection, nutrition.

C. Inventions

Promotion of inventions is lodged in the industrial and agricultural commissariats, each having an Inventions Division. Inventors and those developing technological improvements are given "author's certificates" and cash premiums. All factories and farms have laboratories and experimental departments whose work is supplemented by the industrial and agricultural research institutes. A very large number of inventions and rationalization suggestions come from workers. The trade unions, through their Divisions of Mass Production Work and Workers' Inventions in each plant, stimulate such proposals by providing leisure-time facilities for worker-inventors, and by checking with management on the quick application of workers' suggestions. So important is this source of inventions that the Commissariats publish lists of the problems for which they are seeking solutions. Worker-inventors receive premiums and special privileges in the matter of vacations, etc. in recognition of the savings effected by their inventions.

Patents for 15 years are granted by the Bureau of Inventions of *Gosplan* if desired, provided the invention has practical application within three years. This practice is very limited since there is almost no opportunity for private manufacture, and there is greater income to be derived through accepting the premium and "author's certificate."

D. Science and the war

Since the Nazi invasion, many scientific institutions have been evacuated from front-line zones. They were given evacuation priority. The headquarters of the Academy of Sciences are still in Moscow, but many divisions moved East—in order to continue work and to direct new work in connection with the development of the country behind the Urals. The remarkable work of the Committee for Mobilization of Resources of the Urals, Western Siberia and Kazakhstan made possible the rapid reestablishment of evacuated industries. All branches and affiliates are doing extensive research in geology, chemistry, minerology to find new resources and substitute products. The scientific institutions are working in very close conjunction with factories, farms, mines to increase war production.

E. Scientific achievements

There is a close connection between scientific research and technical application in the organization of Soviet science. Advances in technology, as well as in pure science, are recognized each year in the annual Stalin awards. The advance in the technical capacities of the Soviet people is most evident in their wartime production.

The following indicates some of the fields in which Soviet science has been outstanding: Soviet medicine was first to use widely the blood-bank, without which untold thousands of wounded soldiers would have died. Thousands more have had their sight saved by the transplantation of the cornea from the dead, thanks to the experiments of Dr. Filatov. American industry now has at its disposal the synthetic rubber formula of Prof. Favorskii and the seeds of kok-sagyz, the rubber-bearing dandelion discovered by Soviet scientists. The Soviets have developed and applied extensively artificial insemination of livestock which makes possible the improvement of herds more rapidly than otherwise. The U.S.S.R. leads the world in Arctic development, through the work of its meteorologists, oceanographers and explorers during the past decade. Vegetables and grains now grow north of the Arctic circle, as a result of the work of such men as Eikhfeld, Michurin, Lysenko and Tsitsin.

Wheat production may soon be increased through the use of perennial wheat perfected this year by Soviet agronomists. After the Germans had seized much of the 1941 grain crop in European Russia, the Siberian crop was saved from a premature frost by the application of the remarkable theories on plant growth of Trofim Lysenko, who demonstrated that grain can be harvested before full ripeness. This year, the reduced acreage of Soviet farmland will produce more food than before, thanks to Lysenko's development of potatoes that can be planted in the summer and of a new method of obtaining seed from potatoes used as food. Kapitsa's work in the physics of gases has great industrial significance. In the military sciences, new weapons such as the rocket gun have been invented, and the manufacture of ply-wood airplanes is in advance of other countries.

General Readings on Science

Russians, Williams, pp. 194-200.

The U.S.S.R. at War, pp. 26-27.

"Soviet Science Fights for Victory," *Russia at War*, #33.

Webbs, Chap. XI.

"Planning Science," Bach (W.F.P.).

"Science at the Service of Soviet Agriculture," Tsitsin (W.F.P.).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON CULTURE

I. ARTS

1. What is the attitude of Soviet society to art?
2. What is the place of the creative artist in Soviet life?
3. How are art workers organized? Paid?
4. What are the opportunities for freedom of artistic expression?
5. What has been the contribution of creative artists to the war effort?
Give specific examples.

II. PRESS AND PUBLISHING

Discuss the role of the press in Soviet society.

III. SCIENCE

1. How is science organized and financed?
2. How are scientific advances stimulated and applied? What is the relation of science to technology?
3. In what fields of science have the Soviets made the greatest strides?
4. Discuss the contribution of scientists to the war effort.

VII.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

(One and one-half Units)

I. REVIEW OF SOVIET FOREIGN RELATIONS

A. The Soviets make peace

1. The Soviets came to power with the slogan "Peace, Bread and Land." They made repeated attempts to obtain a general armistice, beginning with the Decree of Peace, Nov. 8, 1917:

"An overwhelming majority of the exhausted, wearied and war-tortured workers and the laboring classes of all warring countries are longing for a just and democratic peace. . . . Such a peace the government considers to be an immediate peace without annexation (i.e. without seizure of foreign territory, without forcible annexation of foreign nationalities) and without indemnities."

2. Point VI of President Wilson's Fourteen Points in his speech of Jan. 8, 1918, concerned Russia:

"The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

3. Soviet efforts to obtain a general armistice failed as did the Allied efforts to keep Russia in the war.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was accepted in March 1918, following renewed German advances into Russia. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Germany annexed Russian Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and "guaranteed" the "independence" of Finland, the Ukraine and Georgia. ". . . the generation of Nazi Germany—regards the principles of Brest-Litovsk and the motives lying behind it as an actual political program." (*The Forgotten Peace*, Wheeler-Bennett, p. xv.)

B. Versailles

The Soviets were excluded from the Versailles conference 1918-19. (Later they expressed disapproval of the Versailles system.) The Soviets recognized the independence of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—the last two attaining statehood for the first time in history, and first recognized by the Soviets.

C. Intervention

Allied intervention and blockade lasted until Jan. 1920. A "Cordon Sanitaire" of small states was erected along the Soviet western borders.

D. Rapallo

The Treaty of Rapallo, 1922, was concluded with the Weimar Republic after the failure of the Genoa Conference to regulate relations with the Soviet Union. It broke the isolation of the U.S.S.R.

E. 1922-1934

Diplomatic and commercial relations are established with all the principal countries. The United States, last of major nations to do so, recognized the U.S.S.R. in 1933. Non-aggression and neutrality treaties were negotiated with almost all neighboring countries, including Germany (1926). The Soviets participated in the Disarmament Conferences. They signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war as an instrument of national policy and brought it into force with its neighbors before it received general ratification. Friction over debts, confiscation, Comintern, and trials involving foreigners diminished as the threat of Nazi Germany grew.

F. Relations in the Far East: 1917 - 1931

1. The Soviets abrogated all special rights and privileges in China and other semi-colonial countries.
2. There was close Chinese-Soviet cooperation 1925-1927 until the break between Kuomintang and the Communists in China.
3. Relations were established with Japan after the end of Japanese intervention in Soviet Far East in 1925.
4. Clash on the Chinese Eastern Railway took place with Manchurian troops in 1929, and at that time the Special Red Banner Far Eastern Red Army was established. Relations with China were broken.
5. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, China reestablished relations with the U.S.S.R. (Dec. 1932). The Soviets then sent aid to China.

G. The struggle for collective security

Sept. 1934, the Soviet Union became a member of the League of Nations. It attempted to build up a collective system through the League and through a regional system of mutual assistance pacts, such as the Franco-Soviet and Czech-Soviet Pacts. It favored sanctions in the Abyssinian war and aid to Spain when the Non-Intervention Committee failed. It urged united aid to China at Geneva and Brussels. It exposed the Anti-Comintern Pact as a "threat to all peace-loving countries." Serious border clashes took place with Japanese troops especially 1938-1939. A non-aggression pact was signed with China (1937).

H. Munich

At the breakdown of collective security at Munich, the Soviets were not consulted, despite their pacts with the Czechs and French. On the eve of Munich, the Soviets again offered the Czechs military aid and Litvinov said: "At a moment when the mines are being laid to blow up the organization on which were fixed the great hopes of our generation, and which stamped a definite character on the international relations of our epoch; at a moment when, by no accidental coincidence, decisions are being taken outside the League which recall to us the international transactions of pre-war days, and which are bound to overturn all present conceptions of international morality and treaty obligations; at a moment when there is being drawn up a further list of sacrifices to the god of aggression, and a line is being

drawn under the annals of all post-war international history, with the sole conclusion that nothing succeeds like aggression—at such a moment, every state must define its role and its responsibility before its contemporaries and before history. That is why I must plainly declare here that the Soviet Government bears no responsibility whatsoever for the events now taking place, and for the fatal consequences which may inexorably ensue.” (Sept. 21, 1938.)

I. Final attempts to stop the war

The last efforts were made in 1939. The Soviet proposal for conference of all interested governments was declined as “premature” by Chamberlain in March. The Anglo-Soviet-French negotiations through the summer failed. “The British and French attitude, however, is hard to understand. On April 15, they had asked the Soviets to help them defend Poland. Now after four months of tortuous negotiations, they were telling the Soviets that they must not defend Poland. . . . If the Russians had ever had any doubts, everything was now clear to them. Chamberlain did not want to save Poland or stop Hitler—the only way to do that (and the German effort to neutralize Russia proved it) was to let Hitler know that he would meet the Red Army on the plains of Poland. The scrap of paper which Chamberlain was offering the Soviets could serve only one purpose—to draw the Soviet Union into war with Germany. So reasoned the Russians . . . new information is not likely to alter one salient point which seems amply supported by all the present evidence—that Chamberlain never offered Stalin anything which the government of a great power could accept. . . . ‘The result was inevitable,’ wrote that patriotic and discerning Briton, Arthur Berriedale Keith. The Soviet-German pact was the bitter and inescapable fruit of Chamberlainism.” (*We’re in this With Russia*, Carroll, pp. 41-46.)

In an interview with *Izvestia*, August 27, 1939, Marshal Voroshilov gave the Soviet view:

“Question: The Reuters Agency reports by radio: ‘Voroshilov today told the heads of the British and French military missions that in view of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, the Soviet government regards further negotiations with Great Britain and France as purposeless.’ Is this statement by Reuters in conformity with the facts?

“Answer: No, it does not conform with the facts. The military negotiations with Great Britain and France were broken off not because the U.S.S.R. concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany, but on the contrary the USSR concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany, among other reasons, as a result of the fact that military negotiations with France and Great Britain reached a deadlock in view of insuperable differences.”

J. The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, and commercial agreements, August, 1939

“Article I—The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from any violence, from any aggressive action and any attack against each other, either individually or jointly with other powers.”

"The Soviet foreign policy therefore has been consistently addressed to the prevention of war. When they lost faith in both the will and the capacity of the Western Democracies to join them realistically to stop Hitler, they still tried to maintain their security and their peace by entering into a non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939. That was not a pact for a mutual offensive against Germany's enemies. In that particular, it provided only that neither would attack the other. They gained precious time which they feverishly employed to protect their security against the inevitable Nazi attack." (Joseph E. Davies, former Ambassador to the USSR, in *Life*, March 29, 1943)

Molotov's explanation:

"It is true that it is not a pact of mutual assistance that is in question as in the case of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, but only a pact of non-aggression. . . . The USSR is not obligated to involve herself in war on the side of Great Britain against Germany, or on the side of Germany against Great Britain." (speech, August 31, 1939)

Stalin's explanation after Hitler attacked the U.S.S.R.

"Non-aggression pacts are pacts of peace between two states. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state even though the latter was headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop.

"But that, of course, only on one indispensable condition—namely, that this peace treaty does not infringe either directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving state.

"As is well known, the non-aggression pact between Germany and the USSR is precisely such a pact.

"What did we gain by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured for our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact.

"What has Fascist Germany gained and what has she lost by treacherously tearing up the pact and attacking the USSR?

"She gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the world as a bloodthirsty aggressor.

"There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the USSR is a serious and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for development of decisive military success of the Red Army in the war with Fascist Germany." (speech by Stalin, July 3, 1941).

K. September, 1939 — June, 1941

1. Upon the collapse of the Polish government and army following the Nazi attack, the Soviets occupied eastern Poland, the section east of the Curzon line established as the ethnic division between Poland and Russia at the time of Versailles, but west of the border established after the Soviet-Polish war in 1920.

Winston Churchill's view:

"That the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace . . . Thus (at some risk of being proved wrong by events) I will proclaim to-night my conviction that the second great fact of the first month of the war is that Hitler, and all that Hitler stands for, have been and are being warned off the East and South-East of Europe." (Broadcast, October 1, 1939)

Molotov's official stand:

"Abandoned to her fate and left without leadership, Poland has become a fertile field for any accidental and unexpected contingency which may create a menace to the USSR. Hence, while it was hitherto neutral, the Soviet Government can no longer maintain a neutral attitude toward these facts; nor can the Soviet Government remain indifferent when its blood brothers—Ukrainians and Belorussians—inhabiting Polish territory, having been abandoned to their fate, are left without protection." (Note to the Polish Ambassador, Sept. 17, 1939)

Attitude of Lloyd George, former British Prime Minister:

"It is essential to draw a distinction between the action of the Soviet Republic and that of the Nazis. The latter is seeking to annex territories essentially Polish. The German invasion was designed to annex to the Reich provinces where a decided majority of the population was Polish by race, language and tradition. On the other hand, Russian armies marched into territories which were not Polish and which were forcibly annexed to Poland after the Great War despite fierce protests and armed resistance by the inhabitants. Inhabitants of the Polish Ukraine are of the same race and speak the same language as their neighbors in the Ukraine republic of the Soviet Union . . . White Russia was annexed by Poland as the result of a victorious war against Russia. "It would be an act of criminal folly to place the Russian advance in the same category as that of the Germans, although it would suit Herr Hitler's designs to do so . . . My contempt was and still is reserved for the government which fled for safety in a foreign country whilst their brave soldiers were still fighting desperately for the remnants of their country against overwhelming odds. . . .

"It is a notorious fact that the Polish peasantry are living in great poverty owing to the operation of the worst feudal system in Europe. That aristocracy has been practically in power for years. All the promises of concessions made from time to time to the peasants have been thwarted by its influence on recent Polish governments. That is why the advancing Russian troops are being hailed by the peasants as deliverers . . ." (Letter of David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain during

World War I, to the Polish Ambassador to London, September 28, 1939.)

2. The Soviet-Finnish War was waged between November, 1939 and March 1940. The Allies sent aid to Finland.

"The only purpose of our measures is to insure the security of the Soviet Union and especially of Leningrad with its population of 3,500,000." (Molotov's broadcast of November 29, 1939, reporting the outbreak of hostilities.)

The peace treaty ceded to the Soviet Union the Karelian Isthmus and territory on the Gulf of Finland up to and including the towns of Viipuri, as well as the western shore of Lake Ladoga, minor territories further north and the Rybachii and Srednii Peninsulas, commanding the seaway to Murmansk. The U.S.S.R. also received the right to maintain forces at Hango, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. Upon the cessation of hostilities, Soviet troops withdrew from all other Finnish territories occupied during the war, including the Arctic port of Petsamo, and the nearby nickel mines, one of Finland's most important mining enterprises.

3. The Baltic States were absorbed into the U.S.S.R. August, 1940; Bessarabia was repossessed and northern Bukovina ceded by Rumania to the U.S.S.R. June 1940.

"It should be remembered that the Baltic States were all carved out of, and taken away from Russia, after the last war. Bessarabia, which was taken from Russia at about this time by Rumania, had been Russian for 100 years." (Joseph E. Davies in *Life*, March 29, 1943).

4. There was increasing tension in the Balkans:
 - a. The U.S.S.R. warned Bulgaria and Hungary against cooperation with Germany, March 1941.
 - b. An agreement was made with Turkey, reaffirming friendly relations, March 1941.
 - c. A Pact of Friendship and Non-Aggression was made with Yugoslavia, just before the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia, April 1941.
5. There was friction with Great Britain and the United States over trade. They feared that their goods might be reexported to Germany.
6. A Neutrality Pact was signed with Japan, April, 1941, after Soviet refusal of a joint agreement with Germany and Japan.

L. Nazi Invasion of USSR, June 22nd, 1941. Declaration of War on the USSR by Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Rumania, and Finland

1. Churchill and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles make statements in support of the U.S.S.R., June 22-23, 1941.
2. Roosevelt pledged all possible aid, June 24, 1941.

3. Stalin said in his July 3 speech:

“The aim of this national war in defense of our country is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism. . . . Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of all peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler’s fascist armies.”
4. The Anglo-Soviet military alliance, July 12, 1941, provided that:

“(1) The two Governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

“(2) They further undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement.”
5. A Soviet-Czech agreement for establishment of Czech armed forces in the U.S.S.R. was signed July 18, 1941.
6. A Soviet-Polish agreement for wartime cooperation was signed July 30, 1941.
7. Harry Hopkins was sent to Moscow and returned with a report to the Atlantic Conference. Roosevelt and Churchill sent a message to Stalin offering material aid.
8. On August 2 a United States-U.S.S.R. trade agreement was made, in which the United States assured unlimited export licenses.

“I am pleased to inform you that the Government of the United States has decided to give all economic assistance practicable for the purpose of strengthening the Soviet Union in its struggle against armed aggression. This decision has been prompted by the conviction of the Government of the United States that the strengthening of the armed resistance of the Soviet Union to the predatory attack of an aggressor who is threatening the security and independence not only of the Soviet Union but of all other nations is in the interest of the national defense of the United States.” (Undersecretary Welles’ Note to Ambassador Oumansky).
9. The Atlantic Charter was signed August 14.
10. Roosevelt and Churchill sent a message to Stalin, proposing a 3-Power Conference.
11. Soviet-British trade, credit and clearing agreement was made August 16.
12. The U.S.S.R. and Britain jointly occupied Iran to expel Nazi agents, August 25.
13. At a meeting of the European allies in St. James’ Palace, London, September 24 the U.S.S.R. and other nations endorsed the principles of the Atlantic Charter.
14. The Three-Power Conference (Harriman-Beaverbrook mission) at Moscow to determine the military needs of the Soviets resulted in the signing of the first material aid protocol. Loans were advanced.

Molotov said at the closing session: "The political significance of the conference lies in the fact that it has shown how decisively these plans of the Hitlerites (to destroy their adversaries one by one) have been thwarted by the powerful front of freedom-loving people which has been formed. . . . We do not doubt that our great anti-Hitler front will gain strength, that there exists no force which could break this anti-Hitler front."

15. President Roosevelt extends billion-dollar non-interest-bearing loan to U.S.S.R. to be repaid beginning 5 years after the war. The loan is to cover Lend-Lease aid, which is extended to the U.S.S.R. as of this date.
16. Stalin's speech, November 6, 1941, included the following:

"We have not nor can we have such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories or the conquest of other peoples, irrespective of whether European peoples or territories, or Asiatic peoples or territories, including Iran, are concerned. Our first aim is to liberate our territories and our people from the German Nazi yoke.

"We have not nor can we have such war aims as the imposition of our will and our regime on Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny and then to accord them the possibility of arranging their own lives on their own land as they see fit, with absolute freedom. No interference of any kind with the domestic affairs of other nations."
17. The U.S.S.R. and Poland made a Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance, December 4, 1941.
18. Foreign Secretary Eden went to Moscow in December, 1941, to discuss wartime and post-war relations.
19. The Soviets remained neutral in the Pacific war, beginning December 7, 1941, though expressing sentiments indirectly. "We're all in the same boat together" (Litvinov). President Roosevelt expressed a similar view on December 9: "The course that Japan has followed for the past ten years in Asia has paralleled the course of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe and Africa. Today, it has become far more than a parallel. It is collaboration, actual collaboration, so well calculated that all the continents of the world, and all the oceans, are now considered by the Axis strategists as one gigantic battefield. . . .

"For weeks Germany has been telling Japan that if Japan did not attack the United States, Japan would not share in dividing the spoils with Germany when peace came.

"We also know that Germany and Japan are conducting their military and naval operations in accordance with a joint plan. That plan considers all peoples and nations which are not helping the Axis powers as common enemies of each and every one of the Axis powers."
20. The Soviets continued aid to China. Despite their own shortage of supplies, and partly as a result of the loss of the Burma Road by the Allies,

Soviet aid to China continued to be larger than that coming from any other source. The extent of that aid prior to the outbreak of the general war in the Pacific had been describe dby Mme. Chiang Kai-Shek in the following terms:

"Intellectual honesty constrains me to point out that throughout the first three years of resistance, Soviet Russia extended to China, for the actual purchase of war materials and other necessities, credits several times larger than the credits given by either Great Britain or America. Both these countries, indeed, circumscribed their advances with conditions which prevented even one cent of the money being used for badly needed munitions, equipment, or war materials of any kind. Furthermore, at the meetings of the League of Nations, it was Russia who took an uncompromising stand in support of China's appeal that active measures should be adopted to brand Japan as the aggressor. Russia acted similarly during the Brussels Conference. On both occasions Britain, France, and other member nations compromised their consciences. When Japan protested through the Ambassador in Moscow that the aid extended was a breach of neutrality, Russia did not wilt, or surrender, or compromise, but continued to send supplies of arms to China. It will doubtless be said that Russia has been aiding China for selfish interests. In reply to this I may point out that Russian help has been unconditional; that China has never asked any nation to fight for her."

M. The Soviet Union as member of the United Nations, signatory to the United Nations Agreement, Jan. 1, 1942.

1. Molotov visited London and Washington, May and June, 1942, with the following results:
 - a. Conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet Twenty Year Mutual Assistance Treaty.
 - b. Conclusion of the American-Soviet Lend-Lease Agreement, of a preliminary nature and embodying certain leading principles of post-war cooperation. Second Mutual Aid Protocol.
 - c. Joint Communique on urgent task of opening second front. "In the course of the conversations full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942."
2. Diplomatic relations were established with most of the other United Nations.
3. Churchill went to Moscow to discuss the military situation, August, 1942.
4. Stalin in a letter to an American newspaper reporter urged the allies to carry through their obligations fully and on time, October 3, 1942. "As compared with the aid which the Soviet Union is giving to the Allies by drawing upon itself the main forces of the German fascist armies, the aid of the Allies to the Soviet Union has so far been little effective. In order to amplify and improve this aid, only one thing is required: that the Allies fulfill their obligations fully and on time."

5. Stalin, commenting on the American-British African Offensive, wrote, "What matters first of all is that, since the campaign in Africa means that the initiative has passed into the hands of our allies, the campaign changes radically the political and war situation in Europe in favor of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. . . . Finally, the campaign creates the prerequisites for the establishment of a second front in Europe nearer to Germany's vital centers, which will be of decisive importance for organizing victory over the Hitlerite tyranny." (November 13, 1942).
6. A Czech force went into action on the Soviet front early in 1943.
7. The Soviets participated in United Nations statements on Jewish persecution and looting.
8. A Polish army organized in the U.S.S.R. was withdrawn to Iran on the orders of the government-in-exile at London, at a time when the Soviet military position was critical. Moscow suspended relations with the government-in-exile on the grounds that it had established contact with Hitler in opposition to the U.S.S.R., with the aim of reoccupying Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Belorussian territories, and had conducted espionage and anti-Soviet propaganda through its diplomats and relief agencies set up to provide for refugees in the Soviet Union.

Immediately after this break, Stalin specifically reaffirmed the Soviet "desire to see a strong and independent Poland after the defeat of Hitler's Germany." A Union of Polish Patriots, previously formed at Moscow, denounced the withdrawal of the Polish army from Soviet soil as being contrary to Polish interests. It was given the right to raise a new force, which fights under the Polish flag, wears Polish uniforms, has Catholic chaplains and is commanded by an officer who was Chief of Staff of the army withdrawn from the U.S.S.R., but refused to leave at that time.

The Union of Polish Patriots advocates cession of West Ukrainian and West Belorussian territories to the U.S.S.R., but demands the Polish districts of Silesia, the mouth of the Vistula on the Baltic, and East Prussia from Germany.

9. The Soviets participated in the United Nations Food Conference, May, 1943.
10. TASS Soviet press agency, stated that the U.S.S.R. was not invited to the Quebec conference and that Soviet participation is not envisaged, due to the nature of the conference.

War and the Working Class, a new, authoritative, Soviet foreign affairs journal, urged a 3-power conference for the specific purpose of adopting measures to shorten the war and prepare collaboration afterward.

11. The U.S.S.R. granted full recognition to the French Committee of National Liberation "as the representatives of the state interests of the French people.
12. Eisenhower's accepted Italian surrender in the name of the United Nations upon terms previously approved by the U.S.S.R. as well as the United States and Great Britain.

13. The Allied Permanent Political Commission was formed on Soviet initiative, to direct fulfillment of the Italian armistice terms and discuss military and political problems pertaining to Germany's remaining partners. The Soviet member is Andrei Vyshinsky. The French National Committee was given representation on the Allied Commission, as a result of a Soviet proposal to that effect.
14. The conclusion of a Czech-Soviet post-war mutual-aid pact was postponed.
15. A draft agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was approved by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China and sent to other countries for approval, September 23, 1943.
16. "The Second Front has become the test which Russia applies to the sincerity of British and American intentions" (London *Economist*). "Unless the second front on the European continent is opened in 1943 the war will be prolonged and Hitler's doom postponed. "When we say a second front we imply the concrete concept of which Stalin spoke with utmost clarity as far back as the autumn of 1942 when he specified that a second front in the west would divert some 60 German divisions and some of Germany's 'allies.'" (Nikolai Shvernik, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, head of the Soviet trade unions, and member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, September 14, 1943).
17. The presentation to President Roosevelt in October, 1943 of the credentials of Andrei A. Gromyko, replacing Maxim Litvinov as Soviet Ambassador to the United States, was accompanied by a cordial exchange of pledges of continued cooperation between the two countries. Said Gromyko, "The friendship of the peoples of our countries is not accidental. It is the expression of the basic interests of our people and our nations. . ."
18. At the Moscow Conference, Oct. 19-30, 1943, the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China pledged "1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security. 2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy. 3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy. 4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security. 5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the reestablishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another, and as occasion requires, with other members

of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations. 6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation. 7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the postwar period."

II. THE SOVIET UNION IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. STATEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES.

"The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitlerite regime." (Stalin, Nov. 6, 1941).

A. Post-War Cooperation

The Soviets believe that socialist and capitalist states can cooperate.

"Our collaboration with other countries and our participation in the League of Nations are based on the principle of the peaceful coexistence of two systems—the socialist and the capitalist." (Speech by Litvinov, Nov. 28, 1936).

"Stalin and his followers believed that the all-absorbing task before them was to make socialism work in Russia. They were convinced that Soviet socialism could in the long run set such high standards of achievement and provide such prosperity that the peoples of other countries would be impressed by the Soviet example and would want to adopt the Soviet System." (*We're in this With Russia*, Carroll, p. 212).

B. Self-Determination

Self-determination of nations was proclaimed in the first Decree of Peace, 1917. It is the basis of the whole Soviet international and internal policy in regard to various nations. The U.S.S.R. itself was formed only after the independence of the various national groups in the former Tsarist Empire was established. The principle is embodied in the Atlantic Charter; also in Stalin's speeches, *op. cit.*

"The High Contracting Parties . . . will act in accordance with two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states." (Pt. 2, Art. V. Anglo-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact, May 26, 1942).

1. The question of the border territories.

- a. The official position of the Soviet government is that Bessarabia was seized by Rumania in 1918 when the U.S.S.R. was weak, and was regained when it was strong enough to demand it.
- b. As for the Baltic states, Moscow holds that they voted, under their

own non-Soviet constitutions, to re-enter the U.S.S.R. because, in the words of the declaration of the Lithuanian Sejm (Parliament):

"Life has shown that only the united Soviet republics can withstand the onslaught of imperialist powers which aim at the conquest and subjugation of small nations. . . . The People's Sejm of Lithuania is confident that only admission into the U.S.S.R. will ensure the real sovereignty of the Lithuanian state, real prosperity in industry and agriculture, real advancement of national culture, the real development of the material and spiritual forces of the people."

- c. The Soviet diplomatic position on the areas formerly under Polish rule is governed by the treaty of July 30, 1941, nullifying the Soviet-German boundary agreement, but making no territorial settlement with the Poles. However, Soviet Ukrainian spokesmen have declared that they want a united Ukrainian state within the U.S.S.R., and Belorussians have taken a similar stand.
 - d. The Soviet attitude toward Finland at present is governed by the treaty ending the war of 1939-1940, which gave the U.S.S.R. areas near Leningrad and dominating the entrance to the Gulf of Finland.
2. Attitude toward Germany:
- a. Permanence of Germany

"It is not our aim to destroy Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia. But the Hitlerite state can and should be destroyed. And our first task in fact is to destroy the Hitlerite state and its inspirers.

"It is not our aim to destroy all organized military force in Germany, for every literate person will understand that that is not only impossible in regard to Germany, as it is in regard to Russia, but also inadvisable from the point of view of the victor. But Hitler's army can and should be destroyed. Our second task, in fact, is to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders.

"Our third task is to destroy the hated 'new order in Europe,' and to punish its builders." (Stalin, Nov. 6, 1942).

The Moscow Conference decided that Germans guilty of atrocities were to be returned to the scenes of their crimes for punishment.

- b. The Soviets officially hold the German leaders personally responsible for the atrocities and call for their punishment under criminal law. An authoritative public figure, D. Z. Manuilsky, discussing the destruction of property and the forced exiling of the inhabitants of the areas from which the Germans were being driven in the summer of 1943, he said:

"Let no one say that these acts of violence are perpetrated by Gestapo men, Elite Guard men and special detachments of assassins and incendiaries. We know that power is in the hands of German generals and that arms are in the hands of German soldiers.

"They could have stopped these crimes at any moment, but they continue to execute the orders of their frenzied Fuehrer. Therefore, with full reason, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Red Army make the whole of the German Fascist army responsible for these

shameful and criminal acts." (New York Times, September 30, 1943).

The Soviet note of May 11, 1943, to all friendly nations, adds that private persons in Germany "who inhumanly exploit at their enterprises or in their households the forced labor of peaceful Soviet citizens" will also be held criminally responsible.

c. Reparations.

The edict setting up the Soviet commission on atrocities and war damages specified, among the tasks of this commission, the listing of all property damage, including that to the state, private individuals, religious institutions and other societies, in the fullest and most precise detail.

Numerous public statements, semi-official in character, indicate that Germany is to rebuild all that its troops destroyed. In October, 1943, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. resolved that "together with the entire Soviet people the scientists of the Soviet Union demand indemnification for the damage caused by the German fascist aggressors."

One expert, Professor Eugene Varga, head of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics at Moscow, estimated that damage inflicted upon the Soviet Union by Germany was twice that suffered by all other countries combined. He urged, as a matter of economic necessity, that reparations be paid first to those countries which suffered direct occupation, including the U.S.S.R. He estimated that it would require the work of 10,000,000 skilled men for 10 years to repair the damage done, and said that Germany and the vassal states should supply that manpower, stating that they could come from among those rendered unemployed by the closing of the war industries. He urged that this labor be supplemented by payments in money, goods, livestock, machines and other deliveries to the equivalent of the damage done. Finally, he proposed that the rate of reparation payments be such as to prevent the Germans from enjoying a higher standard of living than the peoples whose national economies they ruined, but made clear that the reparations were not regarded as punishment, but simply as payment for damage done. (New York Herald Tribune, September 2, 1943).

d. The future of Germany.

". . . it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people and the German state. History shows that Hitlers come and go, but the German people and the German State remain." (Stalin's speech, February 23, 1942).

A National Committee for a Free Germany was set up in Moscow on July 13, 1943, as a result of a conference of German political refugees and war prisoners, comprising persons of diverse political views and social origin. The committee issued an appeal to other Germans on the basis that:

"If the German people in good time are courageous enough and prove in deed that they want to be a free people and that they are de-

terminated to free Germany from Hitler, they will then win the right to decide their fate themselves, and other nations will take them into consideration. This is the only way of saving the very existence, freedom and honor of the German nation."

C. Attitude Toward Italy and Other Satellites

The Soviet Union advocated joint Allied negotiation with minor Axis countries for their surrender, with joint supervision of the execution of armistice terms, and proposed the formation of the Allied Political Commission for that purpose.

The Moscow Conference pledged the complete destruction of fascism in Italy and "the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government." Germany's annexation of Austria was held invalid, but the latter shares responsibility for the war.

D. Non-interference in Internal Affairs of Other Nations

This is a corollary of self-determination. It was exemplified by the Soviet renunciation of special rights in China and Persia, 1918, reasserted in their pledge to evacuate Iran after the present war. The principle is embodied in the Anglo-Soviet treaty.

The question of the Comintern: The Third International was founded in January, 1919, after the split in the Second International in which socialist parties of many countries had been united.

The Government of the Soviet Union always maintained that it did not control the Communist International although the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had long been the largest affiliated party, and it rejected protests from other governments regarding the activities of the Communist International.

On May 22, 1943, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International submitted for ratification to the various Communist Parties of the world a proposal to dissolve the Communist International. The statement urged Communists throughout the world to "concentrate their forces on all-round support and active participation in the liberation war of the peoples and states of the anti-Hitler coalition in order to hasten the destruction of the mortal enemy of the working people—German fascism and its allies and vassals." Secretary of State Cordell Hull said of the dissolution of the Comintern that it will "promote a greater degree of trust among the United Nations and contribute very greatly to the whole-hearted cooperation necessary for winning the war and for successful post-war undertakings."

Stalin commented in similar vein, in reply to the queries of a Reuter's correspondent:

"The dissolution of the Communist International . . . exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that 'Moscow' allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to 'Bolshevize' them. An end is now being put to this lie."

E. Collective Security

The U.S.S.R. was the leader in efforts to erect a system of collective security against aggression. It recommended strengthening the League Covenant.

It now seeks collective security for the post-war period.

"We in the United States honor Maxim Litvinov, when we recall how as Foreign Minister of Russia he worked for 'collective security.' Litvinov in those days when Hitler was rising to power wanted to preserve the peace by banding together the non-aggressor nations so they could take a decisive stand against any ruthless nation that might be out for loot." (Vice-President Wallace, Nov. 8, 1942.)

". . . it will be the task of the allied states to ensure a durable and just peace. This can be achieved only through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. Respect for international law, backed by the collective armed force of all the allied states, must form the decisive factor in the creation of such an organization." (Polish-Soviet Declaration, Dec. 4, 1941).

"The High Contracting Parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period." (Pt. 2, Art. III, Anglo-Soviet Alliance).

F. International Economic Cooperation and Trade

"We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country." (Stalin, 1939).

1. Foreign trade policy.

- a. Foreign trade is a government monopoly in the U.S.S.R. It is conducted according to plan. The Soviet export in order to pay for imports. Its international balances are settled in gold.
- b. The general aim is to balance the trade with one country where possible; not to rely too heavily on any one source of supply or market; to trade where the best credit terms are available.
- c. They do not favor autarchy, though they wish to develop internal sources of all vital materials.

2. International economic cooperation: in the past interest-free loans, and industrial equipment were given outright to Turkey, the Mongol People's Republic and China to assist them economically. It has made gifts in case of disaster, as in the case of the Turkish earthquake. It has participated in international economic conferences and international commodity agreements, such as the wheat agreement, and the United Nations Food Conference.

"The High Contracting Parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war." (Pt. 2, Art. VI, Anglo-Soviet Alliance.)

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States" . . . by the U.S.S.R. in return for Lend-Lease aid, "the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the

U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed . . . to the attainment of all the economic objectives" of the Atlantic Charter. (Art. VII. United States-Soviet Agreement, June 11, 1942).

General Readings on Soviet Foreign Policy

We're in This With Russia, Carroll. Chaps. 4, 20-25

The Russians, Williams. Chap. 21, 22.

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Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East, Yakhontoff.

Record of Soviet Far Eastern Relations, Moore.

Mission to Moscow, Joseph E. Davies.

Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow

For World Peace & Freedom, Troyanovsky.

The War of National Liberation, Stalin's war-time speeches.

The American-Anglo-Soviet Alliance, National Council of American Soviet Friendship.

Soviet Export, Zhirmunski.

DISCUSSION QUESTION ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. What are the underlying factors determining the attitude of the Allies toward the Soviet Government immediately following the Revolution and at Versailles?
2. What were the principles of the relations between states as enunciated by the Soviet Government?
3. What circumstances led to the end of the isolation of the Soviet Union after the Intervention period?
4. Discuss Soviet participation in international organization:
 - a. What has been the attitude of the Soviet Government to capitalist states?
 - b. What is the attitude of the Soviet Government to war?
5. What were the main reasons for the breakdown of collective security?
6. Discuss the relation of Soviet foreign policy to its domestic policy.
7. American-Soviet Relations:
 - a. How is American-Soviet wartime cooperation organized in regard to:
 1. Military conduct of the war?
 2. Material supplies for the war?
 3. Political conduct of the war?
 - b. What have been the obstacles to closer American-Soviet relations in the past, and what have been the factors leading to closer relations?
 - c. Would continued American-Soviet cooperation after the war aid both countries in returning to peace-time economy?
 - d. Would continued American-Soviet cooperation after the war aid both countries in preventing future wars? What is likely to be the significance of the Anglo-Soviet twenty-year Alliance?
8. What are Soviet views on the post-war world? How do they compare with American views?

VIII

THE U.S.S.R. AT WAR

(One Unit)

I. RESOURCES ON THE EVE

A. Industry

1. *Production*: Gross industrial output in 1940 was five times as great as in 1929. The Soviet Union was thus becoming the second most powerful industrial nation on earth, having progressed from fifth place, behind the United States, Germany, England and France, in ten years. By 1937, Soviet production of locomotives, agricultural machinery in general and harvester combines in particular exceeded that of any other country. The U.S.S.R. exceeded other countries in Europe in the production of machinery and especially of trucks, tractors, and freight cars, as well as of superphosphates, copper and iron ore.
2. *Self-Sufficiency*: Of particular importance was the success of the Soviets in developing their immense natural resources to a point where they were less dependent on imports than other countries. Statistically, Soviet steel production in 1940 was 18,400,000 tons, as against 25,500,000 for Germany (without Lorraine) and 15,000,000 tons for the United Kingdom. Petroleum output in 1940 was 34,200,000 tons, four times as much as the rest of Europe put together. The production of other important materials in 1940 was as follows: coal—164,600,000 tons; pig iron—14,900,000; rolled steel—12,800,000; copper—166,200; and aluminum—59,900.

B. Agriculture

1. *Extent*: Since before World War I, Russia has had a larger acreage under cultivation than any other country, including a larger acreage, crop by crop, of seven of the ten important food and industrial crops, the exceptions being rice, corn and cotton. Despite heavy losses in its livestock as a result of the opposition of the wealthier peasantry to collectivization, the Soviet Union led the world in its head of horses, stood second in the number of pigs, and third in cattle.
2. *Influence of Collectives and Mechanization*: The unbroken fields of the collectives led to the widespread introduction of the harvester combine, of which the Soviet Union had more in operation by 1936 than even the United States. Likewise, huge number of tractors were manufactured, and the number in use on the eve of the war was second only to the figure for the U.S.A. Through the system of Machine and Tractor Stations Soviet agriculture was highly mechanized.

Reading: *The Growing Prosperity of the Soviet Union*, N. Voznesensky.

C. Manpower

1. *Numbers*: Soviet population at the time of Hitler's attacks was 193,000,000, including the Baltic states, Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia which had been part of Poland from 1920 to 1939, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. During the last war the population was 140,-

000,000, of which 15,000,000 were mobilized into the armed forces. The same ratio of mobilization would make more than 20,000,000 available for this war. Early in this war a Soviet General Staff spokesman said that 27,000,000 men were available for the Red Army.

2. *Significance of Women Workers*: The above high figure is to be explained by the fact that even before the war 37% of the country's 30,000,000 wage and salary earners were women, and women made up a large part of the agricultural labor force.
3. *Age Groups*: The census of 1939 showed 56,000,000 persons in the Soviet Union to be between 20 and 39 years of age, inclusive, of whom approximately half, or 28,000,000, were male. There were another 3,000,000 men in the 18 and 19-year-old groups.

Reading: "Counting Noses in the Soviet Union," *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, November, 1940.

D. Military Power

1. *Soviet Strength*: It is estimated that between 1925-26 and 1940 11,000,000 men received full military training under the Soviet peace-time selective service law, and 11,000,000 more received partial training. The number under arms at the time of Hitler's attack is not definitely known, but the number available for use on the European front was considerably less than the 170 divisions Hitler threw into his all-out assault. Soviet preparedness, however, is shown by the fact that in 1939 the armed forces were $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as in 1930; the borders of the country were protected by belts of fortifications; Japanese armies had been defeated in large pitched battles in 1938 and 1939; the amount of mechanical horsepower per man had risen from 3.07 in 1930 to 13 in 1939, while artillery multiplied 7 times during the same period, and tank and anti-tank artillery grew 70 times. Anti-aircraft artillery quadrupled in the 5 years ending in 1939, while the number of tanks multiplied 43 times in 9 years, and the number of planes increased $6\frac{1}{2}$ times in the same period. Early in 1939, the Soviet Union had planes in service with speeds in excess of 310 miles per hour and ceilings of 46,000-50,000 feet. At the same time, personnel was being trained in 63 schools for the land forces, 32 for the air forces, 14 military academies and 6 military faculties in civilian universities. In 1938 the Red Navy claimed to have the largest submarine and torpedo motor-boat fleets in the world.

Reading: *The Red Army Today*, by K. Voroshilov and others. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1939.

2. *German Superiority*: German conquest of continental Europe gave Hitler superiority in manpower and materiel at the time of his assault on the U.S.S.R.

II. THE PEOPLE IN ARMS

A. Initial Military Strength

1. *Standing Army*: The standing army at the time of Hitler's attack, June 22, 1941, consisted of men 19 to 22 years of age serving their period

of compulsory military training, plus some 18-year-olds. (In 1939, on the eve of the outbreak of war in Europe, the age of induction had been lowered from 20 to 19, and to 18 for youth who had completed their high-school education. The sons of formerly hostile groups—employers, Tsarist government officials, etc.—who had previously been excluded from active service, were made subject to induction by the law of 1939.)

2. *First Mobilization*: The first mobilization call, issued immediately on the outbreak of war, called up the 23 to 36 years age group everywhere except in the area facing Japan east of Lake Baikal and in Central Asia south of the Trans-Siberian railroad. Later calls mobilized men in these areas as well.
3. *Citizens' volunteer armies* rose up in defense of Leningrad, Odessa and Moscow in the early months of the war. Men not yet liable for military service, and numerous women, volunteered for this service. Originally they consisted primarily of members of the Communist Party and Kom-somol (Communist League of Youth), but large numbers of citizens without political affiliations joined as well.
4. *Mass Training*: A decree of September 18, 1941, instituted a compulsory part-time military training for the entire male population between 16 and 50. 42,000,000 men in these age groups have, by this date, presumably gone through the full 110-hour course prescribed, which was devised so as to make each man reasonably proficient in the use of one modern weapon under field conditions, and particularly in street fighting for home defense.

Reading: *The U.S.S.R. at War*, pp. 1-10.

B. Soviet Martial Law

1. *In Soviet Territory*: Martial law was invoked on the outbreak of war in all Soviet territory west of a line running from just east of the port of Archangel in the Arctic to a point east of Novorossiisk on the Black Sea. In this area all duties of the maintenance of public order were taken over by the military, which was granted the right to draft citizens for the building of fortifications, for fire-fighting, for guard duty at important industrial and transport facilities and for combatting epidemics. Furthermore, the military authorities now had the right to quarter troops in the homes of citizens, to impress citizens for labor and transport duties in connection with the regular army, to requisition all facilities required by the army for transport or other purposes from public organizations and private citizens, to set hours of business for all offices, stores, theatres and industrial enterprises, to supervise all meetings and public activities, to set curfew hours, to limit traffic both pedestrian and vehicular, and to search and detain suspicious persons.
2. *In Occupied Territory*: Martial law remains in force even in those sections of Soviet territory where regular organs of government may not exist due to "exceptional circumstances." It is under this provision that guerrilla courts act in occupied areas against collaborationists.

Reading: *Mother Russia*, Maurice Hindus.

III. ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION

A. Problem to be solved and handicaps to be overcome

1. German control of resources, plant and labor power of Europe.
2. Need to convert while at war, requiring new technology, new organization of production and labor, new placement of existing equipment, basic re-tooling in many instances, complete stoppage of production for conversion in some cases.
3. More basic, nation-wide problems of economy, changes in relative importance and size of industries, re-adjustment of existing ties between industries and regions, redistribution of the flow of materials and supplies, and new "sub-contracting" arrangements, which had to be made under conditions of invasion of the most important industrial centers.
4. Loss of the Ukraine, and other great industrial and agricultural regions producing half of the coal, three-fifths of the iron ore and pig iron, one-third of the manganese, two-thirds of the sugar, half of the salt and one-fourth of the grain of the U.S.S.R., made necessary measures to replace these essential raw materials and finished products.
5. Invasion of the great manufacturing centers of the Ukraine, loss of Belorussian and west Russian centers of industry (Byransk, Minsk, etc.), isolation of Leningrad and the threat to Moscow making necessary the large-scale evacuation of industry and requiring the location or erection of new plant housing, the organization of supply, the housing of workers, under circumstances requiring that the evacuated plants be back in operation in the briefest possible period of time.
6. Reconstruction of reoccupied areas to make use of their economic potential for the war—the Moscow coal basin (Spring, 1942); the Leningrad steel industry, the Maikop oil field, and the Don-Volga-North Caucasus farm lands (Spring, 1943); the Donbass coal fields and the farm lands of the Ukraine (Fall, 1943).

B. How it was done

"The Soviet Union is performing the miracle of long-term planning coupled with improvisation in re-establishing all its key war industries in provinces east of the Volga, the British Ministry of Economic Warfare disclosed today. This seemingly impossible task is being accomplished with such efficiency that by next spring it is expected that Russia will have made good in production of a large percentage of what is now lost through German occupation." *New York Times*, November 17, 1941.

1. *Economic Measures:*

- a. Civilian industry was converted to war purposes, including even the smallest municipally-owned enterprises (large industry is nationally operated) and industrial cooperatives, successfully effected despite a shortage of persons experienced in the manufacture of war goods, a shortage of proper equipment, and tremendous transport difficulties. The organization of industry has not changed basically (see Chapter IV), but conversion has been so complete that even the

names of government departments have been changed, e.g., the General Machine-Building Commissariat is now the Commissariat of Tank Industry.

- b. Evacuation was carried through with the assistance of enterprises existing at the new site, which provided floor space, labor, advice on local conditions, etc. With their assistance, the workers, who traveled in box cars with their machines, rigged them and operated them under conditions of incredible hardship, brought many plants back into operation within 2 or 3 weeks of the arrival of their equipment at new sites.
- c. To replace the loss of primary materials in the Donbass, new blast furnaces, open hearth furnaces, power stations, coke-and-chemical plants, and coal and ore mines were placed in operation.
- d. To replace the loss of agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs, the acreage sown to winter grains east of the Volga was greatly increased, while the sugar beet, sunflower, and kok-sagyz rubber plant were cultivated on a large scale in areas to which they were supposedly not adapted and whose farmers had no experience with them.

2. *Legal Measures:*

- a. In June, 1940, a resolution of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions pointed out to Soviet labor, then enjoying a 7-hour day, the danger to the country involved in the fact that potential enemy states were enforcing a ten-to-twelve-hour day in order to pile up armaments. The unions proposed an 8-hour-day and a six-day week. These proposals were enacted into law by the government.
- b. Following Hitler's invasion an order was issued enabling management to require up to 3 hours overtime daily, payable at time-and-one-half, but 14-to-16-year-olds could be called upon for only 2 hours overtime beyond their legal 4-hour day. Vacations, normally 2 to 4 weeks per year, were cancelled, with the vacation pay deposited in banks to the names of the individual workers, not to be withdrawn until after the war. 8-week maternity leaves at full pay remain in force and neither women in the 6th month of pregnancy nor working mothers may work overtime.
- c. A law of February, 1942, made men between 16 and 64 and women between 16 and 45 liable for mobilization into war industry. A prior law of December, 1941, made all workers already in war industry subject to punishment for desertion for quitting jobs. A law of April, 1942, made men 14-55 and women 14-50 not employed in industry and transport subject to draft for farm labor in the harvest or planting seasons. Under this law, 2,500,000 children of the R.S.F.S.R. alone worked on farms in 1942. A law adopted on the eve of the war empowered the drafting of 14 to 17-year-old boys into boarding schools teaching skilled trades. Graduates were exempted from the draft. During the war this law was extended to include girls.

- d. Management, equally, became liable to more stringent controls. Since the Fall of 1940, the manufacture of defective goods has been punishable by a 5 to 8 year prison term for the responsible members of management. The sale or transfer of factory equipment for any purpose whatever, without the approval of higher authorities, likewise became punishable as a criminal offense. These measures served primarily to curb irresponsible elements.
- e. Since the time-and-a-half payment for overtime has resulted in a general 50% increase in actual earnings, on the basis of an 11-hour day, the need for special bonus funds at the discretion of the plant manager has disappeared. The "Director's Fund," consisting of a percentage of extra profits, which was previously at the disposal of the plant manager in order to improve the workers' conditions, has, therefore, been eliminated.

3. *Popular Initiative*

The laws discussed above served to replace the vast numbers of men withdrawn from civilian life into the army. Actually, popular initiative played at least as great a role as did law in speeding up the national economy to reach parity and then superiority in armaments with Germany, having the factories and labor of all of Europe to draw from. Many of the achievements of the war, such as the erection of factory buildings in the Urals in periods ranging from twelve days to a few weeks, were possible only because of the initiative and ingenuity displayed by Soviet management and labor and the smooth functioning of a highly-developed system of labor-management cooperation. (U. S. and British Lend-Lease supplies were equivalent to only 20% of the 30,000 tanks, and 25% of the 23,000 aircraft which the Red Army reported having lost during the first two years of war, not counting the vast quantities of these arms still in the hands of the Soviet forces at that time—June, 1943—which made possible the immense Summer offensive that followed). Workers' production ideas, inventions and mutual aid schemes helped in increasing productivity per person in 1942 by 15% in the arms industry, 30% in aircraft, 38% in tank, and 46% in light industry, despite the drafting of large numbers of skilled workers and their replacement by persons physically weaker as well as less skilled. The bulk of the working population now consists of women, young boys and old men

Reading: *Russia at War*, Bulletins of the American Russian Institute.

C. Economic Achievements

1. *Industry*

- a. Increases: Actual industrial achievements include the production of more aluminum in the Urals in 1942 than the entire country refined before the war, when the industry was centered around Leningrad and the Dnieper Dam. Likewise, production of manganese in the Urals multiplied ten times by the end of 1942, reaching an annual rate sufficient to replace fully the lost mines of the Ukraine, which

had accounted for one-third of the total output before the war. Airplane production rose 75% from 1941 to 1942, and tank output rose several times over.

- b. *Substitute Materials*: The cost of the huge KV tank fell 25% by the spring of 1942 as a result of the use of substitute materials. Iron has been substituted successfully for aluminum with no increase in weight of the finished product. American experience in the use of plastics, steel, ceramics has been followed. There has been a partial substitution of furnace coal for coke in some processes. Fire-proofed wood has been substituted for metal in many instances. Binding wire, oil, and paints are used over and over again, while entire departments and small plants have been equipped with overhauled discarded tools and machinery. In the machine-building industry, one typical product now requires only half of the sheet steel, 60% of the carbon steel and 70% of the cast iron previously needed.
- c. *Reorganization*: Enforced wartime economies have resulted in the following general changes in inner-plant operation: raw materials, fuel and power has been economized, more rational processes of production have been adopted, local sources of power and raw materials have been widely exploited, and inner-plant flow of materials has improved, with the introduction of conveyor systems in almost every type of industry.

2. *Agriculture*

Having lost nearly half its normal sown acreage at the time of the Nazi advance to Stalingrad and Mozdok in the Caucasus during the summer of 1942, the Soviet Union's ability to meet its own food requirements during that year and 1943 was seriously impaired, despite the fact that 20,000,000 acres of virgin soil were brought under the plow in the East and 10,000,000 city people planted Victory gardens averaging a quarter-acre each.

3. *Transport*

Loss of the bulk of the railroad trackage at the height of the invasion seemed an insuperable obstacle, but vigorous measures, including the introduction of martial law and military rank on the roads, overcame the transport crisis. The counter-offensive at Stalingrad was supplied from 3 single-track railroads. Repair of reconquered railroads took place so rapidly that the first Moscow-Kharkov through train made this run only 3 weeks after the Ukrainian city had been freed, and normal schedules were put into effect immediately thereafter. 5,000 miles of track were repaired between March and September, 1943. New railroads were built to serve industry. These included the completion of the "2nd Trans-Siberian" between Magnitogorsk in the Urals and Stalinsk in the Kuzbass, and the fabulous Kotlas-Vorkuta railroad into the northeast corner of the European Arctic. Construction of the latter road was to make possible the mining of $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much coal in that area in 1943 as in 1942, and 26% more than the total output of the last decade. Railroads were also built connecting existing lines east and

west of the Volga. (The Germans built a link from Kherson in the Ukraine to the isthmus of Perekop which connects the Crimea to the mainland.)

4. *Reconstruction of Recaptured Regions*

In areas liberated by the Red Army, the first steps taken by the authorities are to provide food, housing and medical care, and to rehabilitate the local economy and educational institutions. The homeless are given lodging with those whose homes escaped destruction. Farmers are exempt from current and back taxes, are given free lumber with which to rebuild their homes, and government credit is extended for the restoration of collective farm property. Tractors, horses and seed are also provided by the government. Much of the ploughing and planting has to be done by hand.

One-fourth of the normal sown acreage in that district was planted in the spring of 1943. Krasnodar Territory, between Rostov and Novorossiisk, reconquered in December, 1942, was so fully recovered by September, 1943 that the acreage then being sown was large enough to assure not only the feeding of its own population in 1944 but surpluses to resume shipments from this breadbasket to other parts of the country. In the field of industry, the wrecked coal mines south of Moscow, recaptured in December, 1942, were producing at pre-war levels nine months later. The Moscow-Kalinin railroad, retaken at the same time, was operating on pre-war schedule within eight months.

In the cultural field, of 18,000 schools normally functioning in 12 regions that had been overrun by the Germans, 10,500 were open again by August, 1943. Government credits extended to municipalities for reconstruction invariably included sums for the rebuilding of theatres, film houses and libraries.

Generally speaking, although the economy of recaptured regions has been placed in full operation within a year, much of the equipment used is makeshift and temporary; there are huge food deficits in the areas most recently liberated; and the restoration of pre-war standards of appearance, durability, services and comfort is a matter of years.

D. **The Soviet system as a factor in successful economic mobilization**

"No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injury so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia." (Winston Churchill, Quebec, September 1, 1943).

1. State control of supplies of materials, compulsory conversion of industry to war purposes, the closing down of enterprises not necessary to the war economy but using important raw materials and labor, and similar measures could be instituted through the normal government planning machinery.
2. Evacuation of industry, foodstuffs, cattle and agricultural machinery, and the destruction of what could not be removed was facilitated by public ownership of these facilities and availability of nationally-owned lands in the interior for resettlement.

3. The system of economic planning was carried over to meet wartime conditions, and its regulation of supplies minimized the common wartime phenomena of speculation and the black market. Despite the interference of "unplanned" factors, such as the invasion and the extent of the economic losses resulting therefrom, Soviet economists maintain that planning and the degree of the organization of the economy improved in wartime.
4. The incentive wage system commonly used in the U.S.S.R. was continued, to stimulate increased production. During the war there have been many acts of extraordinary sacrifice and effort on the part of industrial labor, competition among workers for higher production, conscious efforts to improve system of production, and a huge voluntary influx of pensioners, youth and women into industry.

IV. SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

A. Civilian Defense

34,000,000 persons had been trained in defense against air and gas raids by April, 1943, under a compulsory scheme introduced upon the outbreak of war. The training system remained in the hands of a volunteer preparedness society, *Osoaviakhim*, which had embraced fully one-third that number of citizens in its pre-war activities.

B. War Relief

Soviet citizens in the areas not directly engulfed by the war have helped their refugee brethren through a widespread system of voluntary donations generally averaging a day's pay per month. (It is to be remembered that earnings have increased about 50% as a result of overtime). Collective farms have planted "Acres of Friendship," the crop from which goes to the farmers of the devastated regions. Under the slogan "There are no orphans in the Soviet Union," great numbers of children have been adopted, very often by persons of different nationality and background in such areas as the Caucasus and Central Asia. Evacuee children whose parents may be living are placed in special boarding schools, of which there were 1,745 in the spring of 1943. These homes are often supported by donations from the treasuries and memberships of trade unions, cooperative societies, and the like.

C. War Bonds

The internal loan of 1943, issued in the sum of 12,000,000,000 rubles, was oversubscribed in one day, and when subscription was closed at the end of a week, 20,000,000,000 rubles worth has been bought. They may be paid for over a ten-month period. The average citizen buys bonds equivalent to one month's salary—approximately the same as our "10%."

D. Minority Groups

Huge numbers of evacuees were moved into non-Russian areas. In Central Asia, for example, large numbers of Slavs, Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians, as well as about a million Jews, were placed in an area of predominantly Mohammedan religious background and Middle Eastern

culture and traditions. Tashkent, with approximately the same wartime population as Detroit and having similar defense industries, witnessed extreme overcrowding and related difficulties. Nazi agents, penetrating from neighboring countries of the Near East, sought to stir up the native Uzbeks against the "intruders." These efforts were completely unsuccessful, as a result of the Soviet policy of complete equality among all nationalities, and the German agents were revealed to the authorities by the populace. On the positive side, the native population built and repaired housing in its spare time for the newcomers, European workers taught their trades to Easterners coming into industry for the first time, Uzbek families adopted Slavic and Jewish children, Uzbek women knitted for the troops of the far-off Karelian front, and European artists educated and entertained the local population.

E. The Church

Organized religion, having the bulk of its adherents among the older generation, came forward to take an active part in the war effort, and the government lifted restrictions on the activities of the church. Thus there ended a mutual hostility dating from the separation of church and state at the time of the revolution and the active opposition of the church to that measure. Religious bodies have collected funds for the purchase of tanks and planes; they have sent gifts to the front, and priests in occupied territory have fought with the guerrillas and preached sermons to maintain popular morale. Priests siding with the invaders have been excommunicated by the mother church. The government has placed a high churchman on the highly important War Damages Commission investigating the crimes of the Germans and listing the damage done, has permitted the Synod of the Orthodox Church to meet and elect a Patriarch for the second time in 250 years, has permitted the establishment of religious publications and of seminaries for adult candidates to the priesthood. The new church authorities have exchanged visits of high dignitaries with the Church of England, and have stepped forth into the political arena by urging the speedy invasion of Western Europe. For the government, Mikhail Kalinin has urged non-religious members of the armed forces not to discomfit their religious comrades who wear religious emblems or pray before going into action. The government has also set up a special committee for affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, to regulate the relationship between church and state

F. Children

Children have played an exceptional role in the war activities of the Soviet Union. Aside from doing full or part-time factory work, and helping on the farms, first as volunteers and, since 1942, under law, they have helped women to enter industry by taking care of younger children, doing housework, running errands, and fetching fuel in a regular and organized manner through their "Timur Gangs" and "Pioneer" organization. On their own initiative they have set up children's workshops for the production of light war materials.

G. Cultural Activities

673,000,000 copies of 35,000 titles were issued during the first two years of war, including 40 titles of children's literature in 1,000,000 copies and 13,000,000 school books. In the fall of 1942, there were 50,000 students in higher and secondary art schools and conservatories in the U.S.S.R. 15,000 teachers graduated from pedagogical institutions in June, 1943, of whom 4,000 were assigned to the areas liberated from the Germans during the offensive of the preceding winter. In September, 1943, Dimitri Shostakovich completed his 8th Symphony, embodying his thoughts on the post-war world. The Bolshoi Opera House in Moscow, bombed in 1941, was reopened on September 26, 1943.

Readings: *Mother Russia*, Maurice Hindus.

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V. THE COURSE OF THE WAR

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counter-attack which is driving the enemy back to his own land. The scale and grandeur of the effort mark it as the greatest military achievement in all history." (General Douglas MacArthur, Feb. 23, 1942).

A. German Offensive, Summer 1941

On June 22, 1941, Germany, using 170 divisions, invaded the Soviet Union. Its plan was to take Moscow by a pincers movement in 6 weeks, to take Leningrad, to destroy the Red Army, secure Soviet capitulation, end the war along a line from Archangel to the Volga and Astrakhan, then throw their army against Britain, North Africa and, ultimately, the Western Hemisphere. The German offensive lasted until December 6, 1941. It reached Tikhvin, 100 miles due east of Leningrad; Kalinin, on the Leningrad-Moscow railroad; Moscow itself (10 miles from the heart of the city); Skopin, 80 miles east of Tula; Elets, 100 miles east of Orel; Rossosh, 140 miles east of Kharkov, and Rostov. The German commanders were von Leeb in the north, opposed by Marshal Voroshilov, whose great achievement was that of holding Leningrad; von Bock in the center, who was slowed by Timoshenko and stopped by Zhukov; and von Rundstedt in the south, who advanced against Budyenny and was stopped by Timoshenko. The Germans advanced rapidly during the summer and were slowed during the muddy fall period. The official Soviet figures on their own casualties were 490,000 killed, 1,112,000 wounded and 520,000 unreported (prisoners or killed) totalling 2,100,000. The German losses were larger. Stalin became Defense Commissar, replacing Timoshenko.

B. Soviet Winter Offensive, 1941-42

On December 6, 1941, the Red Army launched an offensive which lasted

until March 8, 1942. Although the Soviet forces advanced all along the line, they were not yet strong enough to engage in an offensive on the entire front, and the main scene of the advance was between Kalinin, north of Moscow, and Orel to the south, approximately one-third of the total length of the front. First Marshal Timoshenko, in command in the south, launched a counter-drive against von Kleist on the Rostov front, beginning on November 30, 1941, and capturing Rostov on November 28, decimating a force consisting of 3 Panzer, 1 motorized and 1 infantry division. Then Army-General Kirill Meretskov, who has been in command of the Volkhov front without interruption during the war, struck at Tikhvin, December 2, and routed von Schmidt's army group of 2 Panzer, 2 motorized and 2 infantry divisions. On December 6, Marshal (then Army-General) Grigory Zhukov launched the main offensive against the immense concentration of 50 German divisions (13 Panzer, 4 motorized and 33 infantry) organized in 3 groups north, west, and south of Moscow, the largest army ever thrown against a single objective in the history of war. The Russians advanced 100 miles west of Tikhvin, and 240 miles west from Moscow through Kalinin to Kholm. During the first month of the offensive, carried out during an exceptionally cold winter and in deep snows, the Red Army lost, by its own figures, 434,000 killed and wounded. The German losses were more than twice as large. During this period all the German commanders of fronts at the start of the war were removed, Hitler replaced von Brauchitsch as supreme German Commander.

This offensive was conducted entirely with Soviet arms. In the words of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., "shipments to the Soviet did not go in important quantities until the early months of 1942." (March, to be exact.)

Reading: *Russia's Fighting Forces*, Sergei N. Kournakoff.

C. German Offensive, Summer 1942

June 13, 1942, the German launched an offensive which lasted until November 10. This was preceded by the local offensive beginning May 10, which drove the Russians off the Kerch Peninsula, at the eastern tip of the Crimea, and by the offensive to capture Sevastopol, besieged 11 months, which ended with the Soviet withdrawal from that naval base on July 3, 1942. From June 13 to November 19, the Germans advanced from Kursk to Voronezh, from Kupyansk in the Donbass to Stalingrad, and from Taganrog on the Azov Sea almost to Grozny in the Caucasus. The plan was to cut Moscow off by encirclement from the South, to destroy the Soviet armies between Moscow and the Volga, and thus to win the war. A separate force was to take Baku with its oil. The Germans reached Voronezh on July 5, could not get beyond it, and were forced to turn southeast toward Stalingrad, which they reached on August 22. The city itself was a battleground for more than five months, beginning on that date. The German commander was Marshal von Paulus.

The Germans reached Mozdok, west of Grozny, in the Caucasus, on August 26, and took Novorossisk on September 9.

Soviet strategy in the Stalingrad defense and counter-offensive was planned by Stalin. Zhukov became 1st vice-Commissar of Defense at about the time

the Stalingrad siege began. General Yeremenko was commander of the Stalingrad front during the siege, and General Chukov's 62nd Army held the city itself.

Reading: *The Great Offensive*, Max Werner.

D. Soviet Winter Offensive, Winter 1942-43

1. *General Course of the Offensive*: On November 19, 1942, the Red Army launched an offensive which lasted until March 31, 1943. Marshal Zhukov was the coordinator of Soviet arms in each area, with the aid of Marshal Vasilevsky, Artillery Marshal Voronov, Air Marshal Novikov, Marshal Voroshilov at Leningrad, and a galaxy of great generals—Vatutin, Rokossovsky, Golikov, Yeremenko, Meretskov, all directly supervised by Stalin, who was given the rank of Marshal at this time. The Red Army advanced as much as 400 miles in certain sectors. It regained 184,000 square miles of territory, of the 580,000 which the Germans held at the height of their advance. The recaptured area is normally inhabited by 20,000,000 people. 112 German divisions were completely destroyed during this offensive, including those at Stalingrad. The Red Army captured 343,525 prisoners, and estimated German dead alone at 850,000. Wounded generally outnumber dead by two to one, at least. German materiel losses were 5,090 planes, 9,190 tanks and 20,360 pieces of artillery, including 1,490 planes, 4,670 tanks and 15,860 cannon were captured in working or repairable condition. Other trophies included 10,000 trench mortars, 50,000 machine guns, 500,000 rifles, 890 locomotives, 22,000 railway cars, 17,000,000 shells and 128,000,000 cartridges.

In his Lend-Lease Report of January 25, 1943, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., then Administrator, said that "only a small part of the weapons used up to now against the Axis have been of American make", and that "more Nazi soldiers have been killed by Russian-made weapons since the beginning of the war than on all the other fronts combined."

2. *Stalingrad-Kharkov Offensive*: The encirclement and annihilation of von Paulus' 22 divisions of 330,000 men at Stalingrad was the opening gun, the key, and the greatest achievement of the campaign. Voronezh was captured on January 25, 1943, Krasnodar in the North Caucasus on February 13, Rostov on the Don and Voroshilovgrad in the Donbass coal area fell on February 15. The Red Army captured Kharkov on February 18, but was forced to relinquish it on March 14, along with much of the Donbas to the southeast and Belgorod to the north. Von Mannstein was the commander of the German counter-offensive. 30 German divisions were transferred from Western Europe during the winter to support the tottering Eastern armies. In the Soviet view, they could not have been transferred had the allies opened an offensive into France.
3. *Leningrad Siege Lifted*: The siege of Leningrad was lifted on January 18, 1943, after 16 months.
4. *Offensives West and Northwest of Moscow*: Soviet offensives west and northwest of Moscow took the Demyansk fortified area, southeast of

Lake Ilmen, on March 2 (Timoshenko in command), Rzhev on March 3, Gzhatsk on March 7, Sychevka on March 8, Bely on March 10, and Vyazma on March 12.

5. *Summary of Two Years of War*: According to the Soviet information Bureau, in two years of the Russian campaign, up to June 22, 1943, Axis losses on the Eastern front were 6,400,000 dead and taken prisoner, and 56,500 cannon, 42,000 tanks and 43,000 aircraft. Soviet losses were 4,200,000 killed and missing, 35,000 cannon 30,000 tanks and 23,000 planes.

"Russia has already inflicted injuries upon the German military organism which will, I believe, prove ultimately fatal." (Winston Churchill, May 19, 1943).

E. German Offensive and Soviet Counter-Offensive, Summer 1943

1. *Drive to the Dnieper*: The Germans, now having 257 divisions on the Eastern front, instead of the 200 German and 30 satellite divisions of 1942, launched their third summer offensive on July 5th from Orel southward and Belgorod northward, seeking to encircle and destroy the Soviet forces in the Kursk salient. The offensive was stopped in one week's time in battles of unprecedented destructiveness, and by July 23 the original position was restored and the Soviet summer offensive began. During those 18 days, 2,900 German tanks and 1,392 planes were destroyed, of which 930 were downed during the first week. On August 5 the Red Army took Orel and Belgorod. During the month ending on that date, the Germans lost 4,605 tanks, 2,492 planes, and 11,000 trucks. Continuing its offensive, the Red Army took Kharkov on August 23, Stalino on September 8, thereby clearing the Donbass coal and industrial region, Novorossiisk on September 16, thus breaking the Germans' hold on the North Caucasus, and Bryansk on September 17. By August 20, prior to the liberation of Kharkov, the Donbass, and the northern Ukraine, the Germans had lost, since July 5th, 300,000 dead, 6,400 tanks, 4,600 planes, 3,800 guns and 20,000 trucks. Including wounded, more than 1,000,000 Germans had been put out of action in 6 weeks and 4 days. Late in September, Joseph Stalin announced that 500 divisions were engaged on both sides on the Eastern front, indicating approximate equality of forces.

At the end of September, the Red Army had reached the Dnieper along the front of 350 miles between Chernigov and Zaporozhe, and had recaptured 115,000 square miles of territory in 2 months. The river was crossed early in October.

"From July 5th to October 5th . . . our troops have routed 144 enemy divisions, including 28 tank and motorized divisions . . . The enemy lost in killed alone up to 900,000 men . . . 98,000 German officers and men were taken prisoner . . . Altogether in summer battle the enemy lost in killed, wounded and prisoners more than 2,700,000 officers and men. "Altogether, between July 5th and October 5th, the enemy lost 10,189

planes, 17,700 tanks, 19,800 cannon, 74,460 machine guns, 19,180 mortars and 75,981 trucks." (Soviet Information Bureau, Nov. 4, 1943) German losses during 27½ months of the Soviet campaign thus totalled 7,400,000 dead and prisoners, and 76,300 cannon, 59,700 tanks, and 53,189 planes.

The Marshals coordinating the summer campaign were Vasilevsky, Timoshenko, Zhukov, Voronov, Golovanov and Novikov. By November 4th, the Red Army had advanced 190 to 280 miles and had liberated 135,000 square miles of territory. It regarded its most important military achievements to have been the destruction of the Orel-Kursk, Belgorod-Kharkov, Donbass-Mius River, Desna River, Smolensk "gate", Novorossiisk-Kuban, Dnieper River, and Molochnaya River (Melitopol) zones of permanent fortifications.

Reading: Monthly summaries of the war in *Soviet Russia Today*.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS ON THE WAR

1. How did Soviet industrial output on the eve of its entry into the war compare to that of the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Axis-held Europe?
2. What factors made it possible to mobilize a relatively large proportion of men for the armed forces without disrupting industry and agriculture?
3. Discuss the opinions of Soviet strength generally held on the eve of the war.
4. How did the war affect normal processes of government?
5. What were the main economic losses at the height of the German invasion, in sources of raw materials, processing and manufacturing facilities, transport, and sown acreage?
6. What steps were taken to prevent these losses from crippling the war effort?
7. When did Allied supplies begin to appear on the battlefield, and how large a percentage of Soviet losses of tanks and planes did they replace?
8. Discuss Churchill's statement: "No government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injury so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia."
9. Discuss the role of legal measures, incentive pay, workers' initiative, and the trade unions in raising the output of Soviet labor.
10. What has been done for war sufferers by government and by the people?
11. How have the people helped to finance the war?
12. What have been the results of the intermingling of nationalities due to mass evacuation?
13. How has the position of the Church changed during the war?
14. How has the war affected publishing and the arts?
15. How does the scope of the Soviet-German fighting compare to wars of the past in area, men and materiel involved, and in casualties and devastation inflicted?
16. What effect did the Soviet offensive at Moscow in December, 1941, have on Axis strategy, the war at large, and the Pacific war in particular?
17. How far did the Germans advance in the summer of 1942?
18. Why, in the Soviet view, was it necessary to call a halt to the winter offensive from Stalingrad to Kharkov?
19. Discuss Churchill's statement that "Russia has already inflicted injuries upon the German military organism which will, I believe, prove ultimately fatal."

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I.

GENERAL BOOKS

The following books cover the Soviet Union as a whole and in them can be found material on almost every aspect of Soviet life. Those marked with the asterisk are of special value because of their comprehensiveness and accuracy; the others are useful for special purposes. Those marked with two asterisks are pamphlets.

The files of the following publications should be consulted for articles on special aspects of Soviet life:

The first four of these are publications of the American-Russian Institute.

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- Soviet Russia in Maps*, Edited by George Goodall, M. A. Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, 1942.

Women in the Soviet East, Fannina W. Halle, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1938.

A careful study of the position of women in the East, before and after the Soviets came to power.

IV.

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A. General

***Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, as amended to date. American Russian Institute, New York, 1943.

The Court System in the Soviet Union, Morton E. Kent, Comparative Law Series, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, March, 1939, pp. 130-137.
Analysis of the new court law.

Dictatorship in the Modern World, Edited by Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota Press, 1939. Section *The Soviet Union: A Working Class Dictatorship*, by John N. Hazard, pp. 93-125.

This is an analysis of the theoretical principles underlying the Soviet form of government and the dictatorship of the working class.

**The Government of the Soviet Union*, Samuel N. Harper, Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1938.

A textbook for American universities. Contains sections on historical development of government in Russia and the U.S.S.R.; structure of government; determination of policy; public services; the state and the individual; the Soviet Union and the world.

Concise and accurate description of government under the new Constitution.

Leninism, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 2 volumes.

Moscow, 1937, Lion Feuchtwanger, The Viking Press, New York, 1937. 151 pp.

A discussion of Soviet society, including a chapter on "Democracy and Dictatorship."

Moscow in the Making, E. C. Simon and others, Longmans Green & Co., New York, 1937. 253 pp.

A group of English government experts examine in detail the operation of the city government of Moscow.

The New Soviet Constitution, Anna Louise Strong, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1937. 169 pp.,

Account of historical development of new Constitution; analysis of the provisions of the Constitution. Contains the text of the Constitution unamended.

***The New Soviet Constitution*, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1936.

Russian Justice, Mary Callcott. The MacMillan Co., New York, 1935. 265 pp.

Careful description of court procedure and treatment of prisoners, by a sympathetic observer. Documented. No bibliography.

Source Book on European Governments, W. E. Rappard, W. R. Sharp, H. W. Schneider, J. K. Pollock and S. N. Harper. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., New York, 1937.

Prof. Harper has prepared 198 pages of Documents on the Government of the Soviet Union, plus references to other documents available in English, and an index. The documents are: the Program of the Communist Party, the Rules of the Communist Party, the Program of the Communist Union of Youth, the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, the Constitutions of 1918, 1924 and 1936, and two interpretive articles by Soviet authorities.

**Soviet Communism, a New Civilization*, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Longmans Green Co., New York, 1935.

Although this book was written before the new Constitution, it remains the most detailed study of the actual operation of the Soviet government and economy. In 1942 the Webbs issued a postscript *The Truth about Soviet Russia*, Longmans Green Co., 128 pp., containing the text of the Constitution, unamended and an essay on *The New Civilization*.

Soviet Law: An Introduction, John Hazard, Columbia Law Review, Dec. 1936, pp. 1236-1266.

Documented account of background of legal system and of its organization by an American studying in the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russia Fights Crime, H. Van Koerber, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1935. 240 pp. Illustrated.

Deals almost entirely with the treatment of criminals, with reports of conversations and criticisms by prisoners.

***State and Revolution*, V. I. Lenin, International Publishers, New York, 1935.

B. Discussions of Soviet Democracy

- **In Place of Profit*, Harry F. Ward, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933. 460 pp.
Discusses social incentives under the headings: Shifting Incentives; Initiative of the Masses; New Forms of Control; The Urge Toward Unity; The Idea and the Ideal.
- **Marxism and the National Question*, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1942.
Stalin's views on the nationality problem.
- Russia without Illusions*, Pat Sloan, Modern Age, New York, 1939. 243 pp.
- Soviet Democracy*, Pat Sloan, Gollancz, London, 1937. 288 pp.
- This Soviet World*, Anna Louise Strong, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1936.
- *"Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union," An Interview with the Most Reverend Benjamin of the Russian Orthodox Church. *Russia At War*, Oct. 9, 1941.
This interview discusses the current status of religion, religious training, etc.
- Woman in Soviet Russia*, Fannina Halle, The Viking Press, New York, 1935. 409 pp. Ill.
A careful and thorough study of the place of women in the old Russia and in the Soviet Union. Discusses mores as well as actual participation of women in social, economic and political life.
- Women in the Soviet East*, Fannina Halle, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1938.

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ECONOMICS

- **Banks, Credit and Money in Soviet Russia*, Arthur Z. Arnold, Columbia University Press. 1937. 559 pp.
Most exhaustive study of Soviet financial system.
- ***The Growing Prosperity of the Soviet Union*, N. Voznesensky, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1941.
- Handbook on the Soviet Trade Unions*, edited by A. Lozovsky, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1937, 144 pp.
- In Place of Profit*, Harry F. Ward, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933. 460 pp.
A discussion of the incentives under Socialism.
- In Search of Soviet Gold*, John Littlepage and Demaree Bess, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1938. 310 pp.
An account of the experiences of an American engineer in developing the mineral resources of Siberia.
- Lenin on the Agrarian Question*, Anna Rochester, International Publishers, New York, 1942.
- ***Organized Labor in the Soviet Union*, Edwin C. Smith, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York, 1943.
- **The Russians*, Albert Rhys Williams, *op. cit.* sections.
9. "The Soviet Plan for War and Peace"
 10. "The Revolution on the Land"
 11. "Industry Grows up and goes East"
 12. "Industry—Self-run and State-run"
 13. "The Men Behind the Machines"
 14. "What Are the Incentives to Work?"
 15. "Where Does the Money Come from?"
- The Russian Peasant and Other Studies*, John Maynard, Victor Gollancz, London, 1942, 2 vols.
Contains some interesting background and historical material on Russian peasant life.
- The Soviets Conquer Wheat*, Anna Louise Strong, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1931.
An account of the beginning of the mass drive for collectivization.
- **Soviet Communism, A New Civilization*, *op. cit.*
- Chap. III "Man as a Producer"
 - Chap. IV "Man as a Consumer"
 - Chap. VII "The Liquidation of the Landlord and Capitalist"
 - Chap. VIII "Planned Production for Community Consumption"
 - Chap. IX "In Place of Profit"
- Soviet Export*, N. Zhirmunski, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow, 1936.

**The Soviets*, Albert Rhys Williams, *op. cit.*

Part II "Economic Life." Gives a much fuller account of the economy than does his newer book.

Soviet Trade and Distribution, Leonard E. Hubbard, MacMillan & Co., London, 1938.

***The Trade Unions of Our Soviet Ally*, Clifford McAvoy, American Council on Soviet Relations, 1942. 32 pp.

VI. EDUCATION

**Changing Man: the Education System of the U.S.S.R.*, Beatrice King, The Viking Press, New York, 1937. 319 pp.

A comprehensive study of the Soviet educational system and administration. Deals with pre-school education, primary and secondary school systems in detail, with curricula, etc. Treatment of higher schools and adult education less exhaustive.

***Education in the Soviet Union: A List of Source Material in English with Comments and Introductory Notes*, American Russian Institute, 1935.

Comprehensive bibliography to 1935.

Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia, Vera Fediaevsky and Patty Smith Hill, E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., New York, 1936, 265 pp. Ill.

Carefully prepared authoritative material by two experts.

Child Care in the Soviet Union, Rose Maurer, National Council of Soviet American Friendship, New York, 1943.

VII. PUBLIC HEALTH

Health Protection in the U.S.S.R., N. A. Semashko, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1935. 176 pp.

An account of Soviet public health system by a Soviet specialist. Includes sections on social insurance, labor protection, Soviet Red Cross, medical sciences, as well as discussion of medical institutions and services.

Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia, Arthur Newsholme and John Kingsbury, Doubleday Doran & Co., New York, 1933. 312 pp.

Report on a trip through the Soviet Union by a British and an American public health expert.

Russian Youth and the Present Day World, Frankwood E. Williams, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1934. 270 pp.

An account by a leading American psychiatrist of the psychological problems of the new society and the way in which they are met.

**Socialized Medicine in the U.S.S.R.*, Henry E. Sigerist, Norton, New York, 1937. 378 pp.

Complete survey of the public health system of the U.S.S.R. Good reading for both lay and medical readers.

***Soviet Health Care in Peace and War*, Rose Maurer, American Russian Institute, New York, 1943.

The most recent study of the question.

VIII. SOCIAL INSURANCE

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Chap. XVI—Social Insurance.

"Social Insurance in the Soviet Union." *Industrial and Labor Information*, Geneva, Sept. 13, 1937. pp. 346-351.

"Social Security—Soviet Style," Jill Martin, *Soviet Russia Today*, May, 1936.

Soviet Communism: A New Civilization, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *op. cit.*

Chap. X—The Remaking of Man.

Contains an account of the system of social insurance.

IX. ART

Handbook on Soviet Drama, H. W. L. Dana, American Russian Institute, New York, 1938, 158 pp.

Very full bibliography on theatres, plays, operas, ballets and films, including both English and Russian sources.

Moscow Rehearsals, Norris Houghton, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1936, 291 pp. Ill.

An account of methods of production in various theatres of Moscow, by an American producer.

The New Soviet Theatre, by Joseph Macleod, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1943. 292 pp.

An Outline of Modern Russian Literature, 1880-1940, E. J. Simmons, Cornell University Press, 1943.

***The Place of Art in the Soviet Union*, Osip Beskin, American Russian Institute, New York, 1936. 31 pp.

An essay on the role of the artist in the Soviet Union, with bibliography.

**Seven Soviet Arts*, Kurt London, Faber and Faber, London, 365 pp.

Careful account of the organization of the arts in the Soviet Union.

**The Soviets*, Albert Rhys Williams, *op. cit.*

Questions 68 to 79 contain the best available discussion of the organization and development of the arts.

X. SCIENCE

***Science and Technology in the Soviet Union*, Faculty of Science of Marx House, London, 1942. 32 pp.

***Science in Soviet Russia*, Joseph Needham, Ed., Watts & Co., London, 1942. 65 pp.

Soviet Communism, A New Civilization, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, *op. cit.*

Chap. XI—Science the Salvation of Mankind.

A good account of the organization of science and a description of the work being done in some fields of science.

Soviet Science, J. G. Crowther, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1936. 342 pp. Ill.

Theory and organization, physics, chemistry, applied science, biology, the history of science. This is the account of the work being done in thirty leading scientific institutes in the U.S.S.R.

XI. FOREIGN RELATIONS

**Against Aggression*, Maxim Litvinov. International Publishers, New York, 1939. 208 pp.

Speeches by Ambassador Litvinov made up to the time of Munich at Geneva and in the U.S.S.R. Also contains the texts of various Soviet non-aggression treaties. Very important to show the development of Soviet foreign policy.

American Policy Toward Russia since 1917, Frederick Schuman, International Publishers, New York, 1928. 399 pp.

Only full account of Soviet-American relations up to 1928, prior to recognition. Important for its account of the American attitude toward the Soviet Union.

"America's Relations with Russia and the U.S.S.R.," by Harriet Moore, *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, November, 1940.

America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920, William S. Graves, Jonathan Cape, New York, 1931. 363 pp.

Account of American intervention forces in the Soviet Far East by the commanding officer.

***The American-Anglo-Soviet Alliance*, Documents and Comments, with an introduction by Joseph E. Davies. American Council on Soviet Relations, New York, 1942.

Contains text of Lend-lease agreement with the Soviet Union and of the Anglo-Soviet twenty-year Mutual Assistance Pact.

- **For World Peace and Freedom: A Survey of 25 years of Soviet International Policy*, Alexander Troyanovsky, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, New York, 16 pp.
A reprint of a review article by the former Soviet Ambassador to the United States. Gives the Soviet view of world affairs since 1917.
- **Interview between J. Stalin and Roy Howard*, March 1, 1936, Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R. Moscow, 1936.
- Light on Moscow: Soviet Policy Analyzed*, D. N. Pritt, Penguin Books, New York, 1939.
- *Mission to Moscow*, Joseph E. Davies, Simon & Shuster, New York, 1942. 662 pp.
Confidential reports and extracts from the diary of the former U. S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. Important for its discussion of Soviet foreign policy and for the possibilities of future American-Soviet relations. Ambassador Davies attended the treason trials of 1936-37 and writes his observation of them.
- A Record of Soviet Far Eastern Relations, 1931-1942*. Harriet Moore, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942.
A documentary account of Soviet relations in the Far East since Japan's invasion of Manchuria.
- **Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East*, Victor Yakhontoff, Coward McCann, New York, 1931. 454 pp.
Full, documented account of Soviet relations in the Far East up to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria.
- **The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union in the Far East*, Victor Yakhontoff, American Russian Institute, 1936. 30 pp.
Outline of history of Russia in the Far East with chronology and bibliography.
- The Russians*, Albert Rhys Williams, *op. cit.*
Chap. 21 "What will Russia do after the War?"
Chap. 22 "Russia and America"
A good discussion of Soviet foreign policy and the possible developments for the future.
- Soviet Power*, Hewlett Johnson, *op. cit.*
The epilogue and appendices give a British view of Soviet foreign policy up to 1941.
- The Soviets Expected It*, Anna Louise Strong, *op. cit.*
A discussion of pre-war Soviet foreign policy and wartime cooperation.
- The Soviets in World Affairs*, Louis Fischer, Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, New York, 1930. 2 vols. 892 pp.
The only full history of Soviet foreign relations. It only covers the period down to 1930, and therefore does not include the important period of Soviet membership in the League of Nations.
- **The War of National Liberation*, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1942. 61 pp.
Stalin's five public speeches and orders from June, 1941, to Nov. 1942. Deals with Soviet wartime policies and war aims.
- We're in this With Russia*, Wallace A. Carroll, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1942.
An American correspondent discusses the future of American-Soviet relations, on the basis of his observations in Geneva prior to the war and in Moscow during the war. Well-informed discussion of Soviet life.

XII.

THE SOVIETS AT WAR

- All-Out on the Road to Smolensk*, Erskine Caldwell, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1942.
- *Attack Can Win in 1943*, Max Werner, Little, Brown, New York, 1943. 216 pp.
Describes Soviet campaign through Spring, 1943. Analyzes course of general war.
- The Great Offensive*, Max Werner, Modern Age, New York, 1942. 384 pp.
Detailed analysis of the military history and significance of the first year of the German-Soviet war.
- Hitler Cannot Conquer Russia*, Maurice Hindus, Doubleday, Doran, New York, 1941.
- Journey Among Warriors*, Eve Curie, Doubleday, Doran, New York, 1943. 501 pp.
Extensive section on the Soviet Union reflects the outlook of a keen European observer.

- The Last Days of Sevastopol*, Boris Voyetkhov, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1943. 225 pp.
Epic of the siege by a Soviet correspondent on the spot.
- Moscow Dateline*, Henry C. Cassidy, Houghton Mifflin, Co., Boston, 1943. 367 pp.
- **Mother Russia*, Maurice Hindus, Doubleday Doran, New York, 1943. 395 pp.
Observation on wartime changes in Soviet society by one who has known the Soviets from their inception.
- **One World*, Wendell Willkie, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1943. Paper. 86 pp.
The author's prominence makes his sections on the Soviet Union the most authoritative eye-witness account since *Mission to Moscow*. Of special interest are his conclusions regarding Soviet-American relations.
- R.A.F. in Russia*, Hubert Griffith, Hammond, Hammond & Co., London, 1943. 96 pp.
Story of the collaboration of Soviet and British airmen in the defense of Murmansk by a participant.
- The Red Army Today*, K. Voroshilov and others, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1939.
- Round Trip to Russia*, Walter Graebner, J. B. Lippincott Co., New York, 1943. 216 pp.
Vivid eye-witness report of the country behind the lines, based on travels which took the author to Stalingrad just before the siege.
- Russians Don't Surrender*, Alexander Poliakov, Dutton, New York, 1942. 191 pp.
The diary of a Red Army man and war correspondents on the Leningrad front, telling of a break through by a handful of troops encircled for a month by the German army.
- **Russia's Fighting Forces*, Capt. Sergei N. Kournakoff. Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 258 pp. Fifty-cent edition, International Publishers, New York, 1942.
Well-written history of Russian and Soviet army, month-by-month analysis of first year of war, based on Soviet communiques.
- Shooting the Russian War*, Margaret Bourke-White. 92 photographs. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1942. 320 pp.
Miss Bourke-White was in the U.S.S.R. with her husband, Erskine Caldwell, at the time of the Nazi invasion. The captions to the photographs supplement the word descriptions of Moscow under air attack, a visit to the front lines, and open-minded impressions of the Soviet people and institutions. Pictures and chapter on religion is of particular value.
- ***The Soviet People at War*, Alvah Bessie, American Council on Soviet Relations, New York, 1942. 48 pp.
An American novelist who fought fascism in Spain uses his first-hand knowledge of popular morale in such a war to present a convincing, narrative account of the participation of all sections of the Soviet population in the war effort.
- Struggle is Our Brother*, Gregor Felsen, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1943. 220 pp.
Well-written fictional story of Soviet children in wartime. For children and youth.
- ***The U.S.S.R. at War—50 Questions and 50 Answers*, The American-Russian Institute, New York, 1943.
- The Voice of Fighting Russia*, edited by Lucien Zacharoff, Alliance, New York, 1942. 336 pp.
Reportage from the front, the guerrilla districts, and the home fronts in factory and farm by outstanding Soviet writers, journalists and the men of the armed forces. Exciting and informative. What the Soviet people think and do, in their own words.
- **The War of National Liberation*, Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1943.
Stalin's wartime speeches.
- White Mammoths*, Alexander Poliakov, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1943, 189 pp.
Story of Soviet tanks from factory to front.

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