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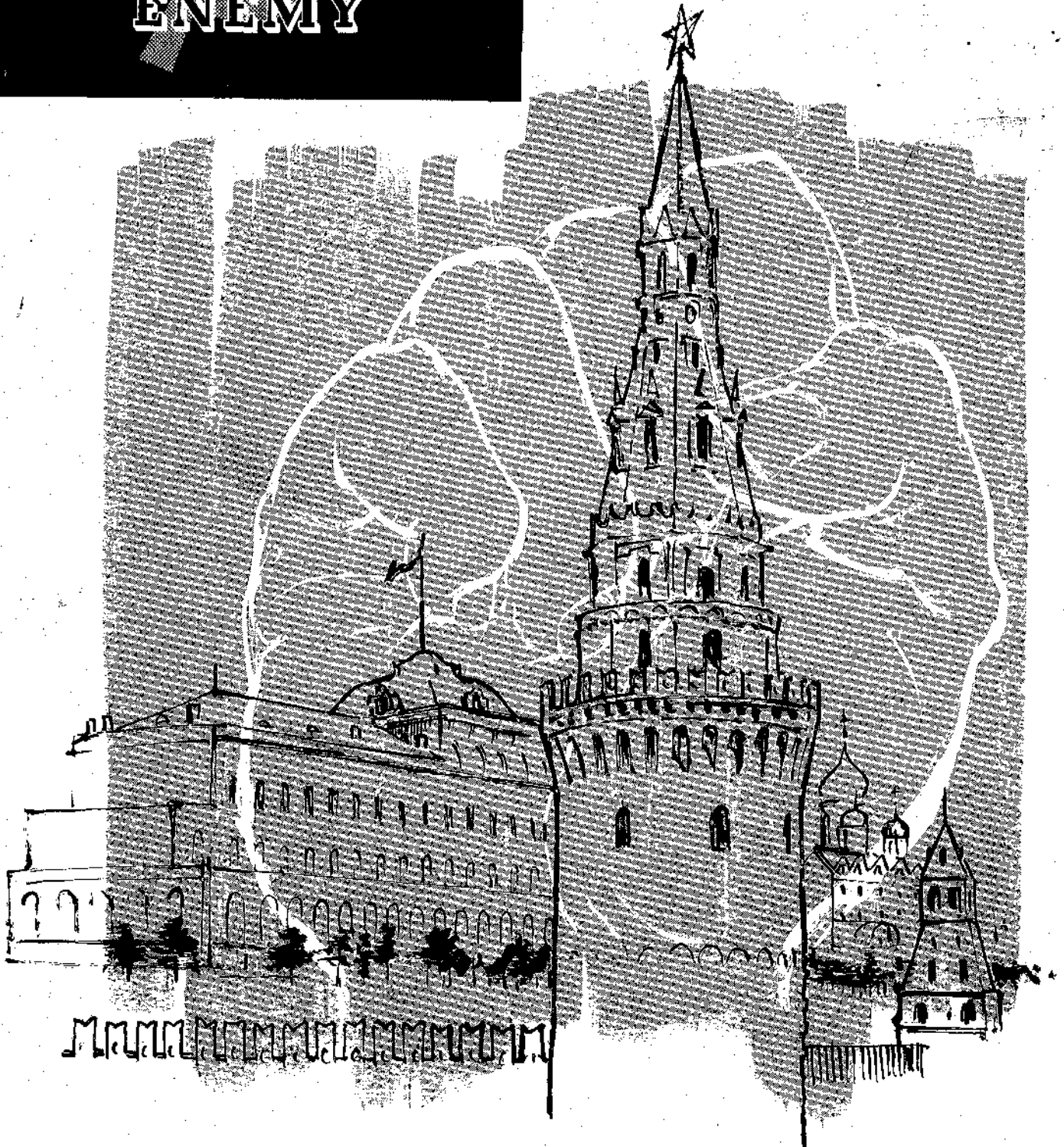
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**KNOW YOUR
COMMUNIST
ENEMY**

**IN THE IRON GRIP
OF THE KREMLIN**



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

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C. E. Wilson

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IN THE IRON GRIP OF THE KREMLIN



The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has never represented more than a very small fraction of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. Its present membership of between 6 and 7 million is a little more than 3 percent of the total population of some 210 million and a little more than 5 percent of the adult population. Yet a few top leaders of this small party maintain an absolute dictatorship over the 210 million. How do they do it?

It would be an enormous task under any circumstances to govern so many people, even if they all lived in a fairly compact area and shared common backgrounds and traditions. It would be a very complicated business even if the Government policy were to interfere as little as possible with the lives of its citizens, leaving them as free as possible to govern themselves. Since these things are *not* true of the Soviet Union, governing that country is even more difficult.

First, the 210 million Soviet citizens do not live in a compact area. They are scattered almost halfway around the globe, though most of them live in what is usually called "European Russia"—the area west of the Ural Mountains. The Government concentrates on this area, but it also rules with an iron hand a land that stretches, west to east, some 6,000 miles—almost twice the distance from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oreg., by way of Chicago.

Second, only a little more than half of the 210 million Soviet citizens share common backgrounds and traditions. This means that the Soviet rulers have to face problems of differing races and nationalities among their subjects.

Third, the Soviet rulers have constructed the most elaborate machinery of government and suppression the world has ever seen for the purpose of controlling totally the lives of the 210 million citizens. The rulers control everything from mines and mills to magazines and moving pictures, from farms and factories to fishing and fur trapping. They control the use of the land and its resources, the tools of production, and the means of distribution. And they try to control the minds of the people under their rule, as well.

Virtually every employed person in the Soviet Union works for, and under the control of, the governing authorities. That means artists, writers, scientists, ballet dancers, and circus clowns as well as factory workers, farmers, and managers of retail stores. This requires a very large and complicated government machine, and—as we know—size and efficiency do not always go hand in hand. A huge bureaucracy is always in danger of becoming inefficient and corrupt, and there is much evidence that corruption and inefficiency are plentiful in the Soviet Union.

Our aim in this pamphlet is to show how the rulers of the Soviet Union actually do the job. Who are the real rulers of the Soviet Union? How do they get their power? How do they use it? And how do they maintain it? These are the A-B-C questions we should ask about any government—and especially about the Soviet Government, which calls itself "the most advanced democracy in the world."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT

Actually, the governing power in the Soviet Union wears two faces. One face is the Government, and the other is the Communist Party. The face most often presented to the world is that of the Government. This is made to appear as a constitutional, representative system in which, according to the Soviet Constitution, "all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies." This, of course, is untrue. Actually the Government is a mask for the real source of power, which is the Communist Party.

Remember that it was the Communist Party (then called the Bolshevik Party) that seized control of the Government of Russia in 1917 and established a new government. In the following years the Party, first under Lenin, then under Stalin, consolidated and strengthened its control by eliminating all opposition. The departments and officials of the Government are the primary agencies for carrying out the decisions of the Party bosses. In other words, the Government of the U. S. S. R. is a creation of the Communist Party, and it has no existence apart from it. You can go through a long list of Government officials and pick any name at random; you will find that he is almost always a Party official, too, holding about the same rank in the Party that he does in the Government.

This close interlocking of Party and Government leadership is illustrated in the chart on pages 10-11. The Party's big bosses are Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, and their associates who compose the Presidium¹ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This same group supplies the entire membership of the Government's Presidium of the Council of Ministers. Thus the Party leaders are the real rulers of the Soviet Union. They set the goals and formulate the policies for the Government. As one Soviet writer says: "Every act of the Soviet State—a statute, an edict of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the decrees and decisions of the Government, the orders and instructions of a minister, the decisions and bylaws of the local soviet which determine some rules of conduct—all of them express the policy of the Communist Party."

¹ This Presidium is an inner council with supreme authority. At lower levels of Party and Government, Presidiums serve as administrative committees, carrying out the policies and programs prescribed by higher authority.

The Council of Ministers

The most important organ of the Soviet Government is the *Council of Ministers*, which directs the carrying out of the Party policies. Now note on the chart that all but two members of the Party Presidium are in the upper ranks of the Council of Ministers. This simple arrangement insures that the Party is the Government, since the most important *makers* of policy are in charge of *executing* their own policies.

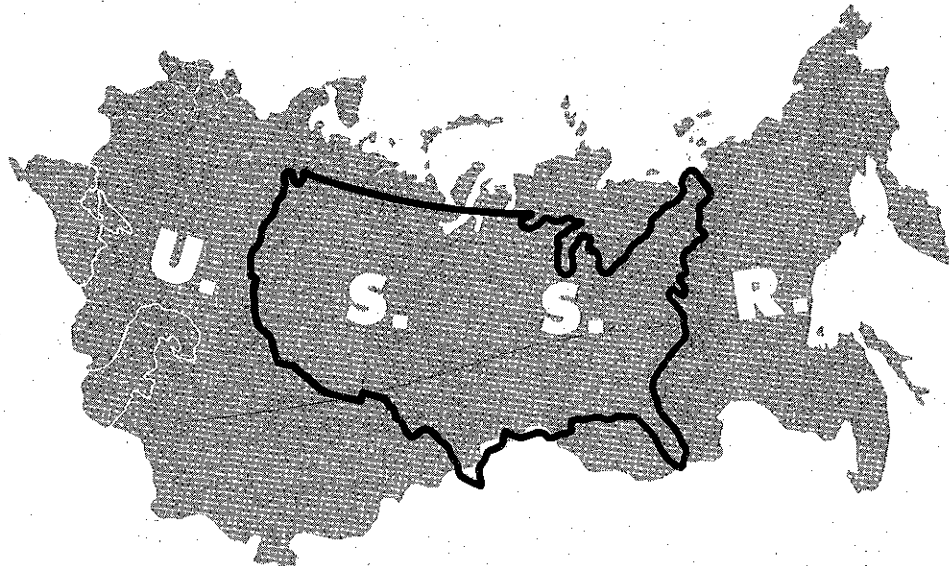
Bulganin, a ranking member of the Presidium of the Party, is Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or Premier of the Soviet Union. He, along with five other top members of the Council of Ministers, who are first deputy chairmen, form an inner ring within the Council called the *Presidium of the Council of Ministers*. They stand at the very top of the Government as well as at the top of the Communist Party. Below this group is a second rank of eight deputy chairmen without the title "first."

Only one leading member of the Party Presidium, Khrushchev, has—in a technical sense—no position in the Government. Actually, his power over it is very real. But since he exercises this power through the Communist Party, his role will be explained in the section dealing with the Party.

The chart does not list the entire membership of the Council of Ministers, which may vary between 50 and 60. In addition to the traditional ministries, which non-Communist governments also have, such as foreign affairs, defense, and justice, the Council of Ministers includes the top people who run the Soviet economy—the collective and State farms, electric power production, mining, heavy machine production, the oil industry, construction, consumer goods industries, and so on.

One of the most important ministers is that of Internal Affairs (MVD), which controls the secret police. Kruglov is the Internal Affairs Minister. Unlike the former Internal Affairs Minister, Beria, who was removed from office, "tried," and executed a few months after the new regime came into power in 1953, Kruglov is not a member of the Presidium of the Communist Party or the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

Of course, all of the ministers are Communist Party members, and most of them are also members of the Central Committee of the Party. These ministers are under the overall control of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers and the



Stretching across two continents from the Gulf of Finland to the Pacific Ocean, the Soviet Union covers an area more than two and a half times that of the continental United States.

deputy chairmen, who make sure that there is perfect coordination between the Party's decisions and actions of the Government.

The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

According to the Soviet Constitution, "the highest organ of state power" in the U. S. S. R. is the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. The Constitution states further that the legislative power of the U. S. S. R. is "exercised exclusively" by the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R.

The Supreme Soviet consists of two houses of more than 1,000 deputies, who are elected by the people from a single slate of candidates chosen by the Party leaders. It is elected for a term of 4 years and is supposed to meet twice a year. Actually, the Supreme Soviet meets for only a few days once a year and exercises no real legislative power. It merely meets to approve, unanimously, the decrees and edicts that have been issued by Party and Government leaders since its last session (and which are already in force), and to approve (again unanimously) new laws proposed by these leaders. In short, the Supreme Soviet is just a rubber stamp for decisions already taken by the Party bosses, *all of whom are deputies to the Supreme Soviet*. In a special session after Stalin's death in 1953, the Supreme Soviet took less than an hour and a half to approve the most sweeping changes in Government organiza-

tion and administration that had been made since Lenin's death 29 years earlier.

Theoretically—that is, according to the Soviet Constitution—the Supreme Soviet "appoints the Government of the U. S. S. R., namely the Council of Ministers." Let's see how this is done. The changes made in the Soviet Government in February 1955 will serve as a good example. Near the end of a 6-day meeting of the Supreme Soviet, Malenkov resigned as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or Premier. Defense Minister Bulganin was appointed Premier in his place. Marshal Zhukov was named Defense Minister, and former Premier Malenkov was reduced to a Deputy Premier and given the post of Minister of Electric Power Stations. The following account is based on a report by the *New York Times'* Moscow correspondent, who witnessed the proceedings.

"The scene was the Great Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace, a lofty columned chamber with an imposing stage and rostrum. . . .

"At 1 p. m. last Tuesday [8 February], the leaders took their places on the stage. For the first time on such an occasion, Khrushchev [First Secretary of the Party] led the Communist Presidium into its small box at upstage left. Malenkov, in a blue business suit, sat beside him.

"A functionary began to read rapidly from a statement by Malenkov [in which he offered his resignation on the grounds of "insufficient ex-



Big bosses in the Communist Party are the real rulers of the U. S. S. R. Most Party leaders hold high Government posts, like Bulganin (left) and Molotov (center), who serve on the Council of Ministers. Khrushchev (right), though not actually in the Government, exerts great power over it as First Secretary of the Party.

perience in local work," and "guilt and responsibility for the unsatisfactory state of affairs . . . in agriculture"].

"There was a call for a vote, and 1,300 upraised hands signaled approval. In less than 10 minutes it was over. . . The Supreme Soviet recessed.

"At 4 p. m. the Supreme Soviet reconvened. . . . Khrushchev went to the rostrum. Evidently the deputies knew the score; they gave him a standing ovation. He said:

"Comrade Deputies . . . I [submit] the proposal to appoint as [Premier] Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin . . . worthy pupil of the great Lenin . . ."

"Another show of hands carried the motion. Within 5 minutes after the session started the change of leadership was an accomplished fact."

The next morning in the Great Kremlin Hall, "Premier Bulganin had two announcements of his own. To replace himself as Defense Minister, he named the war hero Marshal Zhukov." The appointment was approved unanimously and with "warm applause" by the Deputies.

"After announcing the new assignments for Malenkov, Premier Bulganin "expounded on the urgency of heavy industry and Soviet strength. . . . The Deputies interrupted again and again with applause. . . ." Soon the Supreme Soviet Deputies were headed for home."

It is hardly necessary to add that no Deputy ever opposes any of the appointments to the Council of Ministers, which is a self-perpetuating body,

reelected year after year with such replacements as the Party leaders may desire.

Now we come to the third and last Presidium and the least important of the three—the *Presidium of the Supreme Soviet*, which is elected from the members of the Supreme Soviet and numbers 33. Its job is to carry on the duties of the legislature between sessions of the Supreme Soviet. The Constitution gives this Presidium wide powers, among which are the power to (1) issue decrees; (2) interpret the laws of the U. S. S. R.; (3) annul decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers; (4) exercise the right of pardon; (5) appoint and remove the high command of the armed forces; (6) declare war; (7) ratify and denounce international treaties; (8) proclaim martial law.

This is an imposing list of powers (and there are others not listed here), which would appear to make the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet the most powerful body in the state. But here again, appearance and reality are quite different things. The Presidium issues decrees and exercises its other powers only in accordance with the will of the leadership of the Communist Party—leadership that is concentrated in the *Party* Presidium and in the Council of Ministers. Note again the tie-in between Party and Government on the chart, where you will see that several members of the Party Presidium are also members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. One of them, Voroshilov, is Chairman of the latter Presidium;

this makes him, in name, Chief of State, or President of the Soviet Union.

We can now see that the Supreme Soviet as the "highest organ of State power in the U. S. S. R." is a very transparent fiction of the Soviet Constitution, like much else in the Constitution. And we now have part of the answer we are looking for: *Soviet citizens are ruled by the Communist Party through the Government.* In all the key spots, Party and Government are practically identical or use the same personnel.

The Republics

Below the Union Government come the governments of the union republics, which correspond roughly to our States. In 1936 there were 11 of these, but since 1940 there have been 16. They range in size and importance from the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR), with an area of 6,500,000 square miles and a population of more than 109 million,² to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has an area of 11,580 square miles and a population of more than 1,280,000. The RSFSR stretches from Europe to the Pacific and contains roughly 75 percent of the total area and more than 55 percent of the total population of the U. S. S. R.

The organization of the governments of the 16 republics is similar to that of the Union Government, with supreme soviets and councils of min-

² No population figures are available for the republics since the 1939 census.

isters. Of course they do not have anything like the independent powers of our State governments, since the republics are under the tight control of the Union Government in Moscow. But they do have some say in such fields as grocery supplies, and light industry.

Within some of the union republics are so-called autonomous republics, regions, or areas made up of national minorities. These have governments of their own, but they are completely subordinate to the governments of the union republics in which they are located.

Other subdivisions within the republics are territories, some of which are very large, regions (provinces), districts (counties), cities, and villages.

The Soviet citizen naturally comes most often into contact with his Government at the local level. In his daily life he deals mostly with the local authorities of his village, district, or city. We can now add another little piece to the answer we seek: *Soviet citizens are governed partly through the machinery of local governments.*

THE SOVIETS AND HOW THEY WORK

At each level of government there is an elected assembly called a "soviet." "Soviet" is the Russian word for "council." At the top stands the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., and there are soviets at each lower level from the union republics down through the villages. The total number of soviets runs into the scores of thou-



Voting in the U. S. S. R. is a farce by our democratic standards. Ballots carry only the single slate of candidates picked by the Communist Party. Posters (left) urge people to elect members to the Supreme Soviet (right), which always gives rubber-stamp approval to Government decisions really made by the Party leaders.



Communist Party organization reaches down to Soviet grassroots. It appears on collective farms, in industrial plants, in the labor unions, and in the military services.

sands (there were 83,000 in 1954), and the total number of deputies elected to all of them is about 1,500,000.

Over a period of 4 years a Soviet citizen will probably vote in a half-dozen elections of deputies to the various soviets. By our standards, these elections do not mean much. All the candidates are chosen by the Communist Party, and there is only one candidate for each office. A candidate is not necessarily a member of the Party (though most candidates are), but it makes no difference—he must follow the Party line anyway. Official announcements of the results of the 1950 election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. proclaimed that 99.73 percent of all votes cast went to the official candidates; and the percentage was slightly higher in the 1954 elections.

Although such elections are a farce, we ought to realize that they are a farce with a purpose. The bosses of the Party-Government insist on mass participation in all elections, and they get it. They proudly announced that 99.98 percent of all those qualified to vote in the 1950 election did so. This is one way by which the bosses seek to enlist popular support. They try to create in the people a feeling of partnership in their Government, partly by using election campaigns as a spectacular method of carrying on agitation and propaganda in behalf of the Party's leaders and program, and partly by using the election results as "proof" of popular backing.

If the Soviet citizen has a feeling of partnership in his Government, it is mostly an illusion, but not entirely so. The smaller and less important soviets do exercise some authority of their own in strictly local matters. The citizen looks to his local soviet to take care of such things as the building and repair of houses in his community, the school his children attend, and the supply of goods in the stores where he shops.

The citizen is allowed—even encouraged—to criticize his local soviet if it fails to do its job. He *cannot* criticize National Government leaders or their policies, but he can blast local Government agencies or officials for not carrying out these policies or for falling down on their jobs.

For example, Ivan Petrov, of Bolinsk, is often late for work because the streetcar service is bad. Actually, service is poor because the Soviet Government has not allotted enough steel to build all the streetcars needed. This Ivan *cannot* say, but he *can* and *does* write to the local newspaper

criticizing the Bolinsk City Soviet for not providing better service. The paper either publishes Ivan's letter or sends it on to the City Soviet for action. If nothing happens, the City Communist Party Committee then prods the City Soviet. If the matter still drags, Ivan then writes to *Pravda*, the big Communist newspaper in Moscow. There the editors investigate. If they find Ivan has a good case and they think the issue important enough, they publish his letter. Two weeks later the Bolinsk City Soviet Executive Committee may fire its secretary for neglecting his duties.

Not all complaints are handled through the newspapers, but a good many are. Thus the Party tries to give Ivan Petrov and millions like him the illusion that they have some voice in running things. But it is unlikely that Ivan has many illusions on this subject.

Soviet citizens are subject to imprisonment for leaving their jobs without permission, and Ivan's great concern about the poor streetcar service was due quite probably to his fear of being punished for tardiness. Ivan is well aware of the many other harsh laws that govern his daily life, and he knows also that he has no voice in making them.

The Soviet Government promised in 1953 that some of the harsh penalties would be relaxed for minor offenders, but 2 years later the Government still had a long way to go to fulfill its promise. Moreover, "justice" is often dispensed in a high-handed manner. The Government is trying hard to convince Soviet citizens that their rights will be respected, but even when it pleads its case you can read between the lines and see the true facts. For example, consider an article by Constantin P. Gorshenin, Soviet Minister of Justice, that appeared early in 1955 in the *Kommunist*, a Party organ.

Gorshenin cited one case in which a worker, charged with leaving his job without permission, was found innocent because his supervisor had not fulfilled his obligation to provide proper housing. However, it still remains true that the worker could have been punished *under Soviet law* for leaving his job if proper housing had been provided.

The Soviet criminal code is being revised, Gorshenin disclosed, with two objectives in mind. One aim is to reduce the severity of punishment for "unimportant" violations of laws governing family life, economic responsibilities, and work duties. But the other aim is to "strengthen the

struggle" against crimes such as treason, murder, espionage, etc.

Knowing that treason can consist even of whispered criticism of the Government, Ivan Petrov has little reason for rejoicing. If the harshness of the law is being relaxed a little in one quarter, it is being increased in another.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The official position of the Communist Party is stated in the Soviet Constitution, which declares that the Party is "the leading core of all organizations . . . both public and State." The Communist Party is the only party in the Soviet Union and is the source of all power in the Soviet Union. Stalin made this clear when he said that not a single vital political question was ever decided in the Soviet Union without directions from the Party. He added: "Our country is the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the dictatorship is headed by a single party, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share power with other parties."

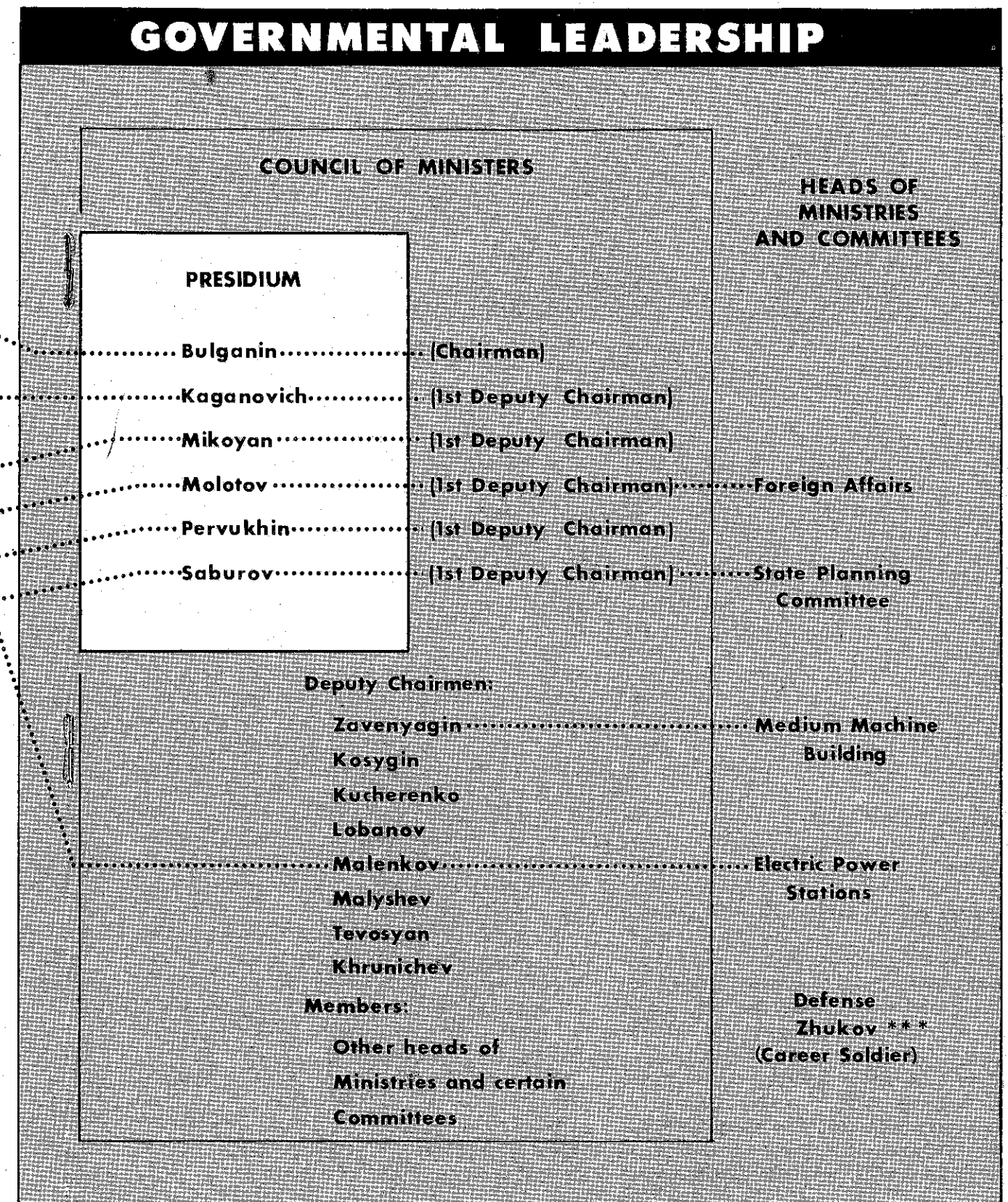
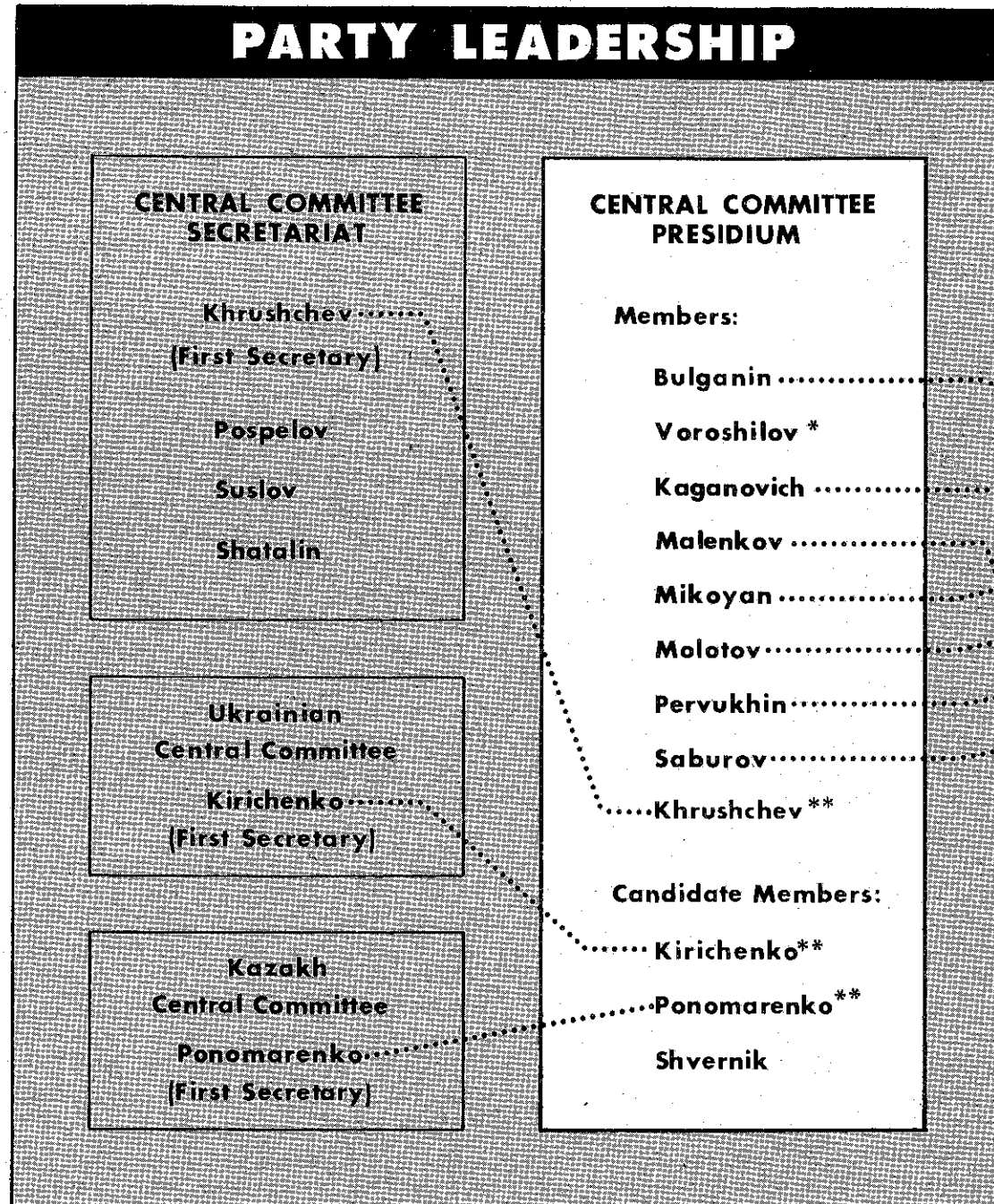
In each city or district, a conference of all members elects delegates to another conference at the next highest level, the region or territory. This conference in turn elects delegates to a Party congress at the republic level, and the republic congresses elect delegates to the All-Union Party Congress.

According to the Communist Party statutes, the *All-Union Party Congress* (we shall call it just the "Party Congress" from now on) is the highest governing body of the Party. It is supposed to decide all matters of policy and to elect the Party Central Committee, which in turn is supposed to elect the "inner council," the Party Presidium. Both the Presidium and the Central Committee are supposed to be responsible to the Party Congress.

In the early days of the Soviet Union the Party Congress really did discuss and decide matters of Party policy. The catch was that the Central Committee had the power to decide when to call a Party Congress, and after 1930 it called them less and less often. For example, no Congress was held between 1939 and 1952. Today the Party Congress, like the Supreme Soviet, is simply a rubber stamp used to give approval to the directives put out by its leadership.

INTEGRATION OF SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

MAY 1955

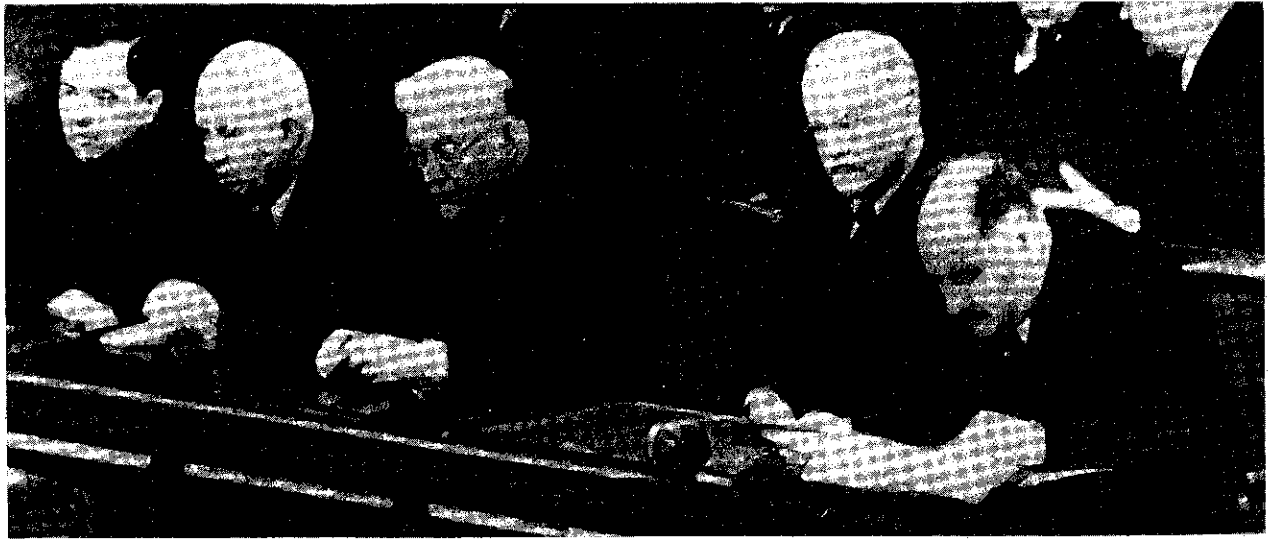


NOTE: Listings are alphabetical (Russian alphabet), consequently Khrushchev, now highest ranking member of the Party Presidium, is listed last.

* Also Chairman of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet (Titular Chief of State).

** Also member of Presidium of USSR Supreme Soviet.

*** Also member of Central Committee of Communist Party.



Top Communists often "disappear" in purges marking the constant fight for Party control, but Malenkov, deposed as Soviet Premier, for the time is still seen with Party big shots. Left to right: Malenkov; Khrushchev, Party's First Secretary; Bulganin, now Premier; Molotov, Foreign Minister; and Kaganovich, First Deputy Premier.

The *Central Committee* is supposed to direct and control Party activities between meetings of Congress. It is also supposed to elect the members of the Party Presidium, which is officially called the Presidium of the Central Committee. But under Stalin's ruthless drive to get all power into his own hands, the Central Committee lost much of its former importance, and did not meet for years at a stretch. Today it is the most important members of the Presidium who determine the membership of both the Central Committee and of the Presidium. Under the new Soviet leadership, the Central Committee has been revived. It meets more regularly now and serves as a forum for reports to the people from the Party bosses.

The *Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party* is the center of power in the Soviet Union. It consists of nine members (plus three candidate members) who set the goals and determine the policies for the Soviet Union and for world communism. They are the real rulers of the U. S. S. R.—accountable to no one but themselves—for they stand at the top of the Communist Party and of the Government. The Presidium is a self-chosen and self-perpetuating body. That is, when a member dies or is dropped, his replacement is chosen by the other members.

During his long years in power, Stalin made himself master of the Presidium (then called the Politburo), and thus dictator of the Soviet Union. Since his death in 1953, no Soviet leader appears

to have acquired his absolute power. Malenkov, who succeeded Stalin as Premier, soon was relieved of the First Secretaryship of the Party. This vital post went to Khrushchev, who thus acquired a position of considerable power. Malenkov's resignation of the Premiership seemed to establish Khrushchev as the dominant figure—at least temporarily—in the Party and in the Soviet Union.

The *Party Secretariat*, which has four members, assists the Presidium in many important ways. It is concerned with problems of Party organization. It appoints the secretaries of the lower Party organizations in the republics, territories, regions, and so on, and through them it controls the vast network of local Party organizations. It checks to see that Party decrees are carried out. The Secretariat is a channel for information to the Presidium about what is going on in the Soviet Union. It prepares and puts out the propaganda line of the Communist Party.

The *First Secretary*, Khrushchev, is in a particularly strong spot, as he controls the strings to all the Party organizations throughout the U. S. S. R. (Note on the chart that only the First Secretary is a member of the Presidium.) It was from this position that Stalin moved, after the death of Lenin in 1924, to eliminate all actual or possible rivals to his power. By destroying, physically or politically, thousands of Communist leaders who might have opposed him, Stalin eventually made himself dictator of the Soviet Union.

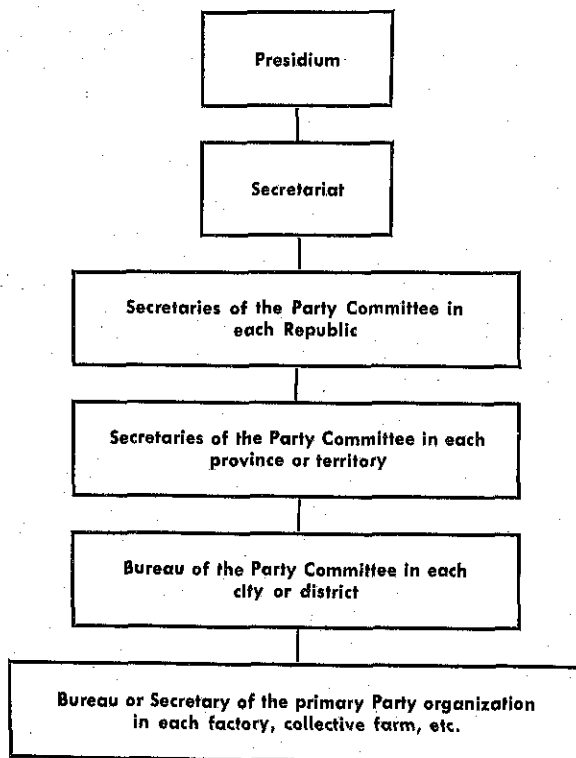
A third central organ of the Party is the *Party Control Committee*, which has the job of seeing that members observe Party discipline and of calling them to account for violations. It has representatives, independent of local Party organizations, in the republics, territories, and regions.

The Lower Party Organs

The same general pattern of organization is repeated at the lower levels. The bureaus or secretaries of the lower Party committees are "little presidiums" subordinate to the big one in Moscow. They have the same sort of relationship to their local Party committees, conferences, and congresses as the Presidium does to the Party Central Committee and the Party Congress.

Party orders are passed down through a chain of command, while reports and requests flow upward through the same channels. Stalin said that the 3,000 or 4,000 top leaders were "our Party's corps of generals." The members of the Presidium are the high command and general staff.

The Party numbers between 6 and 7 million men and women, and has organizations on every level from the very top down to the smallest village and the individual collective farm or factory. Here is a diagram—very much simplified—that shows how the Party chain of command works:



There is one important exception to this organization. The largest of the Union Republics, the Russian Republic, does not have its own Party organization. The various territorial and regional units of this republic report directly to the Central Party organs in Moscow.

This brings us down to the primary Party organizations. These are the basic units, the foundations of the Party structure, and they number about 350,000. Primary organizations are to be found everywhere—on collective farms, in factories, on board ship, in laboratories and educational institutions, in units of the armed forces, in Government departments and agencies—wherever, as the Party statutes put it, "there are no less than 3 members." And wherever they are, these organizations are expected to take the lead in whipping up enthusiasm for the fulfillment or overfulfillment of production plans. They check up on any abuses or shortcomings and report them either to their superiors at work or—if necessary—through Party channels.

They run study groups to teach their fellow workers Marxist-Leninist theory. They explain Party policies and directives to their non-Party associates. In short, they are the sparkplugs of Soviet life.

The number of paid, full-time Party workers is a carefully kept secret. One estimate gives a ratio of one Party official to every 35 members and candidates. Some ex-Party members who have escaped from the Soviet Union put the ratio as high as 1 to 10.

This network of Party organizations is the indispensable "apparatus" of dictatorship. It unites even the outermost fringes of Soviet society—the nomadic Mongols of central Asia and the Samoyed reindeer herders of the Arctic region—to the center in Moscow. The Party machine sustains the dictatorship by enforcing loyalty and carrying out its policies.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Unlike other political parties, the Communist Party is very strict about its membership. The leaders do not want, and will not accept, all comers. They want only those who are willing to dedicate themselves completely to the Party and who will obey unquestioningly the orders of its leaders.

In the Soviet Union applicants for membership are carefully screened, not only on their political



At age 9 Soviet children may join the Pioneers, a Communist organization. If they make good records, they enter the Young Communist League and may eventually become Party members.

beliefs but also on their private lives and personal character. They must be sponsored by at least three persons who have been Party members in good standing for 3 years or more and who have known the applicant as a fellow worker for at least a year. If the applicant gets through the screening, he is admitted on probation. This lasts a year, during which he is tested and watched. Only if he passes this probation can he enter into full membership. If he fails to measure up, he is dropped. Moreover, his sponsors are due for a sharp reprimand—if nothing worse. Therefore, such sponsorship is not given lightly.

If it is hard to get into the Party, it is even harder to stay in. The Party statutes list over a dozen specific duties and obligations of members. One is "to accept the program and statutes of the Party." This is a polite way of saying that members must accept without question the discipline and obey the orders imposed by the Party bosses. Another requirement is "to be an active fighter for the fulfillment of Party decisions." Passive acceptance or agreement is not enough; a member must work at it. Not every member lives up to these requirements, and some get away with it. But the Party bosses do not intend that any should fail and get away with it. The record of the Party shows frequent "purges" of unreliable members.

Compare this situation with the casual way in which Americans drift into and out of our political parties, and you see another reason why the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union cannot be compared to our major political parties.

Who Are Party Members?

We know that the Presidium of the Communist Party is made up of shrewd, experienced, and successful Party leaders. We also know that they are ruthless and determined to hold onto their personal power. We suspect that there are bitter rivalries among them, as evidenced by the 1955 changes in top Government positions. But their own interests make the Soviet leaders present a solid front to the world. These men apparently believe that they are the sole masters of a kind of magical formula that enables them not only to understand the past and the present, but also to foresee "how events must develop in the future." They call this formula "the science of Marxism-Leninism." This so-called science teaches that capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction but that Communists must help destroy capitalism to insure the worldwide triumph of their cause.

Are the rank and file equally fanatic and dedicated? Some of them—perhaps a sizeable number—are, but by no means all of them. Party members seem to fall generally into three groups, as follows: (1) the hard core of devoted fanatics; (2) the out-and-out opportunists—people who do not care what means they use to advance their personal fortunes; and (3) those who joined the Party as the price they had to pay in order to get anywhere in Soviet life.

To understand this last group, you must know that Party membership offers almost the only road to success in any field. The best jobs in practically every line of work are open only to members. Opportunities for advancement are much greater for Party people than for others. This is no accident. It is a carefully calculated device to attract ambitious and capable persons into the Party and to hold them there.

Remember that the Communist Party represents only 3 percent of the Soviet population—only three persons out of every hundred. The function of this 3 percent is, to use Stalin's expression, to hold the "commanding heights" of Soviet life. The ambitious young engineer, army officer, lawyer, or factory executive knows that the big job he is aiming for in the future must be filled by a Party man, so he joins the Party early in his career. And he continues to serve it faith-

fully after he has achieved his objective. The Party made him and he knows that the Party can break him if he doesn't measure up. There will always be plenty of other able and ambitious men to take his place.

So here is still another piece of the answer to our question about how the Soviet people are ruled. *The Presidium rules the Soviet Union by making sure that all the key positions in Soviet life are filled by people who owe their success to the Party.*

Party membership pays off in many ways, but it also makes heavy demands. Members have almost no private life and no leisure. When they are not working at their regular jobs, they are working for the Party. Among other duties, they have to attend meetings, go to Party schools, study the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin, and explain the decisions of the Party to non-Party people. They are expected to set an example in their private affairs as well as in their public duties—to be a group set apart from the rest of the people by Party discipline.

The Party demands that they join several non-Party groups in order to dominate such groups. This is still another way by which the bosses enforce their will—by seeing to it that Party members, in effect, take over all non-Party organizations.

The Party's Auxiliaries

The Communist device of having agents join other groups and then work to control them is really a repetition of the trick of filling different

jobs with the same Party people. The Party also uses young people to do its work. It relies on the *Young Communist League* as its "active aid in all state and economic work." The age for membership in the YCL is from 14 through 26.

Membership in the Young Communist League brings hard work and heavy responsibilities as well as privileges and opportunities. For example, it is easier to gain Party membership if the applicant has been a League member in good standing.

In its turn, the YCL controls the junior youth organization, the *Pioneers* (ages 9 through 14). Like their elders in the YCL and in the Party, the Pioneers get more privileges than nonmembers and more demands are made upon them.

The youth organizations differ from the Party itself in that they are *mass* organizations. As of 1952, there were 19 million Pioneers (75 percent of children in the 9-14 age group) and 16 million YCL members (32 percent of youth in the 14-26 age group) for a total of about 35 million.

Here is another way in which people are more closely linked with the Party and brought more surely under the control of its leaders. *Think of these millions plus the almost 7 million Party members as the eyes, ears, hands, and voices of the Party bosses, and you begin to complete the picture of how a handful of men dictate the lives of 210 million subjects.*

TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

Indoctrination

The Presidium of the Communist Party controls completely every tool that can be used to



The Communist Party completely controls Soviet life. For example, it decides what military schools may teach (left); what may be broadcast (center); and what music may be created by composers like Shostakovich (right). From birth to death, Soviet citizens must follow the Party line.



Communist Party members form privileged classes in supposedly "classless" Soviet society. They enjoy such opportunities as studying at swank schools like Moscow State University.

mold public opinion in support of the Communist regime. These include:

- The regular school system from nursery schools through universities.
- Special school systems for Party members and other special groups.
- Labor unions, which mobilize workers to fulfill production plans.
- All forms of art.
- All printed matter from books to posters.
- All forms of entertainment.



The Communist Party offers its members material incentives for being loyal. Faithful ones get choice promotions, top pay, and chances to be "production heroes" like those above.

From the cradle to the grave, the Soviet citizen has it pounded into him that, thanks to the Communist Party and especially to its leaders, he lives in the best of present worlds, and that his is going to be even better in the future. In time, this unceasing propaganda may become tiresome to him, but by that time some of it is likely to have shaped his attitude toward the regime and toward the outside world.

It is also important to remember that most Soviet citizens today have known no other kind of government and no other system than the one imposed upon them by their Communist rulers. And the rulers go to tremendous lengths to see that their subjects have no chance to learn the truth about other governments and other ways of life.

In spite of their skillful use of all the indoctrination techniques and mediums at their command, the Soviet leaders have not been wholly successful in binding the Soviet peoples to the Communist image of the world. There are several explanations for this:

1. The Soviet peoples, particularly the peasantry, have a traditional suspicion of Government pronouncements that dates back to the prerevolutionary Czarist era.
2. Many people are aware of at least the more transparent contradictions in the Soviet propaganda line, and realize the difference between official statements and actual conditions in the U. S. S. R.
3. Many Soviet citizens remember American assistance during the famine in the early 1920's, and countless others partook of, witnessed, or heard about the bountiful American lend-lease foods and materials during World War II.
4. Many of the Soviet troops who were in the West during or after World War II observed the higher standard of living and realized the falsity of official Soviet descriptions of the economic, political, and social conditions in Western Europe.
5. Despite the attempts of the Soviet rulers to jam our foreign broadcasts, such as those of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), Voice of America (VOA), and Radio Free Europe (RFE), these programs do get through the intensive jamming, and a considerable number of Soviet citizens receive another version of world events. Thus, the impact of the official Soviet propaganda bombardment is reduced and perhaps in some cases is nullified.

Incentives

The Soviet rulers cannot rely on indoctrination alone to hold the loyalty of their subjects. Incentives in the form of material rewards play a big part in enlisting the support of ambitious and capable men and women. Outstanding workers receive extra pay, prizes and medals, and opportunities for promotion.

Although communism is supposed to produce a classless society, many privileged groups have grown up in the Soviet Union whose position is dependent on standing in well with the Party bosses. The goals of industrial and military power set by the Soviet leaders have required a host of scientists, engineers, administrators, and managers, without whom these goals could not be achieved. Their services to the State are rewarded by a standard of living far above that of the ordinary citizen. The intellectuals, such as writers and artists, are richly rewarded for singing the Communist tune in all their works. The prize of promotion in the Party apparatus is held out to Party workers who show zeal and complete loyalty in carrying out orders.

All of these people have a direct, personal interest in serving the Communist cause. That does not mean that they all approve of it or are happy in serving it; for all of these people pay a heavy price for their success. The price is fear—fear of failure, fear of making a mistake, fear of falling out of favor with the Party bosses. The punishment for a misstep, however innocent, may range from disgrace and loss of a job, to a forced-labor camp or death.

Terror

Calculated and heartless terror, efficiently exercised through a nationwide network of secret police, spies, investigators, and stool pigeons, is the main support of the Soviet dictatorship. That is why we call it a police state. The function of terror is to prevent the rise of any possible opposition to the dictatorship and to strengthen the power of the dictator.

The *Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs* (MVD) is a superministry that watches all the other ministries and has agents in every organization in Soviet society. It is a primary source of information for the leaders of what is going on throughout the U. S. S. R. and in foreign countries as well.



They chose freedom. Soviet code clerk Igor Gouzenko (masked, top) sought asylum in Canada in 1945. Mrs. O. Kasenkina (center) jumped from a high window in 1948 to defeat Soviet attempts to send her home from New York. In 1954 Australia rescued Mrs. V. Petrov from Reds (below) and let her join her defector husband.

Since no one can be sure when an MVD informer may be listening, Soviet citizens have learned to keep their mouths shut. Just a word that shows discontent with the Communist regime may be enough to send the speaker to a forced-labor camp. Failure to achieve planned production goals, inefficiency, and absence from work may also be punished in this way. The higher the position, the bigger the fall. Stalin sent thousands of Communist leaders to their deaths and thousands to forced-labor camps simply because he did not trust them. To obtain confessions of guilt, the MVD uses endless interrogation, threats against the families of the accused, and torture.

The MVD runs the forced-labor camps, which are situated in the far North and in the vast areas of central Asia where few people would go of their own free will. More than 120 of these camps are known to exist. The cheap labor they supply is an important element in the Soviet economy.

In addition to forced labor, the Soviet Government has sent many people into exile in these distant areas. Exiles are free to find whatever work they can in the town or region to which they are sent, but they can never leave without permission of the MVD. People condemned to exile have been mostly national minorities whom the leaders believed, with or without reason, were not entirely loyal to the regime. Among the minorities shipped off to Asia have been the 500,000 Volga Germans, thousands from the Baltic states, Tartars from Crimea, mountain tribesmen from the Caucasus, Greeks from Odessa, and Jews.

The Soviet people's knowledge that this system exists generates fear and compels obedience. And there can be no doubt that they know about the terror, for no group has escaped having some of its members sent into forced labor or exile. These are the ever-present shadows under which the Party bosses force their subjects to live. *Force and terror can thus be added, along with indoctrination and incentives, to our list of the means by which the Soviet people are governed.*

TO SUM UP . . .

The Soviet people are governed by a totalitarian dictatorship as absolute and ruthless as any the world has ever seen. The one-man dictatorship of Stalin appears to have been replaced by the dictatorship of a small group. This group is the Presidium of the Communist Party Central Committee, and it completely controls the Party and the Government.

It does this by making sure that all the key positions in the country—including Government posts—are filled by Party members who owe their success to the Party and can therefore be counted on to be completely loyal. These members occupy the "commanding heights" of Soviet life all the way down from the Kremlin to the smallest factory or collective farm. At the lower levels, they are in constant contact with the masses of the Soviet people and dominate all organized activities.

To make their dictatorship more acceptable to the average Soviet citizen, the Party tries to make him feel that he is a partner in his Government. This is done, for instance, by allowing him to vote—for candidates carefully selected in advance. The Soviet citizen is also permitted to express criticism and complaint—but only against local officials, never against the Party and its policies.

Opportunities for advancement and liberal rewards are given to the individuals who work faithfully and unquestioningly to achieve the goals of the Party leaders. But the Party also uses secret police terror and forced-labor camps to keep the people in line.

The men in the Presidium enlist the loyalties of the people where possible and compel their obedience where necessary. They think of themselves as being in a continuous war, fighting for the Communist cause against the capitalist enemy. It is a war for the eventual enslavement of all peoples throughout the world by the tyranny of communism. In this war the Soviet people have been the first victims.

Summary...

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Members of Soviet Communist Party are a small fraction of Soviet population.

B. Geographical and national factors make governing of Soviet Union difficult.

C. Soviet rulers have created an organization for the total rule of the people.

II. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT

A. Governing power in U. S. S. R. wears two faces: Communist *Party* (CP) and *Government*.

B. Most Government officials are CP officials.

C. Council of Ministers is most important organ of Soviet *Government*, but the Communist Party controls it.

1. Presidium of Council of Ministers at top.

2. Ministers run Soviet economy.

3. All ministers are CP members and many are members of CP Central Committee.

D. Supreme Soviet, so-called legislative body, is rubber stamp for decisions made by Party leaders.

1. (See text for role of Supreme Soviet in 1955 changes in Government.)

2. Presidium of Supreme Soviet, supposed to act for Supreme Soviet between sessions, has no real power.

E. Conclusion: Soviet people are ruled by Communist Party through the Government.

F. Governments of 16 Soviet republics parallel central Government and are controlled by it.

III. THE SOVIETS AND HOW THEY WORK

A. Soviets at each level of government.

B. Voters elect candidates chosen by CP leaders.

C. Citizens may complain about performance of local officials but may not criticize Government leaders or their policies.

D. Laws are harsh.

IV. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A. CP not "just another political party;" it is the only party and sole source of power in U. S. S. R.

B. Former powers of Party Congress and Central Committee have been taken over by Presidium of Central Committee, which is center of power in U. S. S. R.

C. Party Secretariat controls network of Party organizations.

D. Khrushchev, as First Secretary, is in position from which Stalin moved to become absolute dictator.

E. Lower Party organizations are subordinate to central organs and compose "apparatus" of dictatorship.

V. COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

A. Membership limited to those who obey orders and work actively for Party goals.

B. Not all members are fanatic Communists.

C. Party membership is key to advancement.

D. Many Party duties required of members.

E. Party control youth through Young Communist League and other youth organizations.

VI. TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL

A. Indoctrination of people through CP control of all means of communication.

B. Incentives in the form of material rewards for outstanding service to the state.

C. Use of organized terror by secret police and forced labor camps to keep people submissive.

VII. SUMMARY

A. Soviet people are ruled by the absolute dictatorship of a small group of men in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

B. All key positions in Soviet life are given to loyal Party members.

C. System of liberal rewards for faithful service and severe punishment for getting out of line keeps people in subjection.

D. In the Communist fight for world domination, Soviet people have been the first victims.

The peoples of the U.S.S.R. are ruled by the Communist Party through the government

