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COUNTRY USSR

REPORT

25X1

SUBJECT The Student in the USSR

DATE DISTR. 5 June 1958

NO. PAGES 1

REFERENCES RD

DATE OF
INFO.

25X1

PLACE &
DATE ACQ.

25X1

SOURCE EVALUATIONS ARE DEFINITIVE. APPRAISAL OF CONTENT IS TENTATIVE.

1. A detailed, 53-page report, with five appendices, on university student life in the USSR

Appendices A, B, and C of the report

are included in the attachment because of their pertinence to the subject matter.

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THE STUDENT IN THE USSR

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THE STUDENT IN THE USSR

I. Background of the Soviet Student

A. The majority of the students in the Soviet Union today are children of intellectuals and officials of the government. The number of students coming from worker or peasant stock has been considerably reduced over the percentage which existed in the 1930's, and today only an estimated maximum of 10 to 15% stem from these backgrounds. (A possible reason for this is the fact that until 1956 schooling from the 8th through the 10th year cost each student 400 Rubles per year. This represented a considerable cost to the average worker faced also with clothing and maintaining his children.) However, outside of the major cities in the provincial institutes the proportion of students from a worker-peasant background probably runs somewhat higher.

B. The estimate of students coming from a Communist Party background is based upon those whose parents are members of the party "apparatus", rather than party members in general. Only 5 to 7% of the Party are included in this apparatus. 95% of the children of these party apparatus members are students.

C. With respect to the number of students who are Jewish, more accurate figures are possible on the basis of personal knowledge. In the case of the Philology Faculty of the University of Moscow, prior to World War II 40 to 50% of the students were Jewish. But this figure declined after the war until in 1951 only 2 out of 250, in 1954 only 5 to 7 out of 250, and in 1956 only 2 out of 250 graduates in this faculty were Jewish. In such places as the Institute of Physical Technology (concerned with atomic energy matters) there are practically no Jewish students, whereas others of lesser importance and sensitivity probably contain more than Moscow University. It is assumed that in Odessa or Kiev the percentage is higher because of the larger Jewish population. However, in any area it is impossible for a Jew to become a student without excellent grades or extremely good connections.

D. The percentage of women students runs at almost 70% in the humanitarian faculties, whereas in the faculties of natural sciences only about 30% of the students are women. As an overall figure at the University of Moscow, it was estimated that 52% of the students are women.

E. Theoretically, in considering students for admission to institutes of higher learning, preference is given today to those who have been workers or have served in the Army. Practically, this is not true.

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It is the current policy that if the potential student has been in a factory or kholkolz for two years, and obtains grades of "3" or higher on the university or institute entrance examination he is admitted without regard to his grades in his former school. (The grading system runs from one to five. If one comes to the university with a gold medal, representing all excellent grades in preparatory school, he is admitted without examination. If one has a silver medal representing all excellent grades except for one good, he is examined only in the one subject most important to the particular institute.) A student brilliant enough to have attained entrance to the university without examination, or simply able to pass the difficult examinations, would hardly have gone to a factory or farm. If he does approach the university after these two years, he is not only met with the difficult examination, but frequently with the hostility of the examining board as well. (The examining board hostility stems from an apprehension that the student will be unable successfully to pursue his studies, and thus become a burden to the university.) To be able to adequately keep up with his studies during such a long period is possible if not probable for the farm or factory worker, but for the Army man it is simply impossible. The former factory or farm worker or Army man thus finds great difficulty in entering the universities.

F. How many students are "stilyagi"? In such institutes as the University of Moscow the percentage is so low that none were recalled. In what were termed the "easier institutes", such as the Mathematics Faculty at the Pedagogical Institute, the proportion was higher. But few, if any of the "stilyagi" ever managed to graduate, and for the most part these young "zoot suiters" exist outside of the universities.

G. The "stilyagi" first began to be noticed in 1948 or 1949, and were first mentioned in the press in 1953. They are a mixed crowd, many living off rich parents, others blackmarketing in home-made jazz records and Western clothes, and others living by a combination of both, depending upon how much the parents can or will give. In all of Moscow's seven million people, it is estimated that there are no more than three to five thousand of this group. An interesting example of "stilyagi" (and from the parental standpoint, an interesting solution to the problem) was the son of Orekhovich, the biochemist and member of the Academy of Science. This son, a big fat boy known because of his appearance as "Burgher", was a "stilyagi" who failed in three or four institutes but through the influence of his father was able to continue. The father, after trying many ways to bring his son to his senses, finally cut him off completely from financial aid and had him enlisted in the Army.

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II. What does the Soviet Student know and think about America?

A. Since the middle of 1955, a great number of Western and American publications are to be found in the big libraries of Moscow, Leningrad, and other major cities. Although available only in these large center libraries, Time, Newsweek, Life, The New Statesman and Nation, Saturday Review of Literature, and many others are read by students capable of reading English, and the contents thereof widely spread by word of mouth. The publications are not expurgated. Such things as the Life story by Don Levine concerning Stalin as a Czarist agent were broadly read and discussed. From these and other publications, the student is able to obtain a fairly broad and clear, if not detailed, picture of America.

B. In addition to the above, the student receives considerable information from newspapers. The London Times, Amsterdam Edition of the New York Times, Svenska Dagblad, the Spanish "Ariba" and "ABC", as well as French and East German papers were available in Moscow, whereas before 1955 only Communist publications were to be found. A major limitation is the fact that no foreign publications printed in the Russian language were to be found. The radio, which will be discussed hereinbelow, was also a major source of information on America for the Soviet student.

C. Thus many students are able to gain a very cosmopolitan picture of American life. The picture obtained is often exaggerated with respect to the wealth and material possessions of the average American, but this may stem in part from the fact that in many cases there is a wish to believe more than really exists.

D. As a general rule, the student does not believe what he reads in Pravda. What he reads there about his daily life and the conditions surrounding him is often a lie uncovered from his own personal experience. There are occasions, nevertheless, when Pravda plays a role in helping him get at the truth. If, for example, American news or propaganda attempts to belittle or cover-up the facts of American racial problems, Pravda will follow up with comments thereupon. Though these may not be factual, they exert an influence upon the student by contrast, and he tends to believe what he reads in Pravda. However, this is the exception rather than the rule.

E. Although the average student's knowledge of the details of America is not great, the general attitude is quite positive. On a higher than average level, the general attitude toward a society which maintains what is felt to be disproportionate privileges is critical, because it is felt that without these privileges the society might have been more prosperous and free. Specifically, with respect to foreign policy, the student feels that America is failing to pursue a positive foreign policy, and the reaction to such things as the Geneva Conference

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was quite hostile. As one student at the University of Moscow stated, "It is the greatest tragedy of our time that Churchill was not an American citizen." The Truman Administration was preferred to that of Eisenhower, since the average student feels that Ike is attempting to carry out in a weak way the positive doctrines begun by Truman. Baghdad and SEATO are considered failures. American political institutions are not generally well known - it is the exceptional student who possesses detailed knowledge in this field. However, despite these opinions, there is a continuing interest on the part of the student toward US policy and institutions.

F. The Soviet student has had little opportunity to get to know American students in the USSR simply because of the scarcity of these. It is felt that more American should be given the opportunity to study in the USSR, not only for the effective propaganda results, but because the Soviet student is tremendously interested in meeting colleagues from America.

G. Particularly admired by the Soviet student is the outer glamor of America, since it contrasts so strikingly with his own surroundings. The high style of living, the fancy automobiles, American jazz - these surface pictures of America have great appeal. And of course, on a higher plane, the basic freedoms of American are most appealing. But when an American general makes statements which can be interpreted as threats, when the term "Russian" is used in all-encompassing fashion, or when social injustice is not honestly discussed, the Soviet student finds these particularly distasteful. Why was Paul Robeson not permitted to have a Passport? How did McCarthyism gain such appeal?

H. On the literary side, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Saroyan and Faulkner (the last not yet well known) are widely read and enjoyed. American publications such as those previously noted, and including such specialized ones as Art News and Architecture, are so popular that precautions exist in the libraries to protect them against being stolen or mutilated. (When one checks out a magazine from the rack to the table in the Lenin Library in Moscow, a sign admonishes him to count the pages first. If one is missing, the last man to have read the magazine will be held responsible.)

I. Radio broadcasts emanating from outside the USSR supply the student with a great deal of his information about America and the West. The BBC is probably the most popular, and for a time during the period between the Bulganin-Khrushchev visits to England and the Hungarian uprisings, was not jammed. Not quite as popular as the more calm and objective BBC is the Voice of America, which although difficult to hear because of jamming, contains many programs of interest and enjoys a wide audience. (The VOA has an obnoxious habit of overworking the words

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"notorious" and "so-called" so that they grate on the hearers' ears.) Both of these stations are thought to be generally objective, and it is said of the BBC that it never skips the unpleasant.

J. Of the other radio stations heard, Radio Free Europe has only a limited audience, since it does not broadcast in Russian. Radio Liberation was almost inaudible in Moscow, but its broadcasts are considered excellent, and though high level in tone are presented in terms which the average student can readily understand. It was very heavily jammed. Radio Madrid, of small interest, was jammed. Strangely enough, the Hessische Rundfunk, broadcasting in German from Frankfurt am Main, was well heard in Moscow. Several of the more popular programs included the General Overseas Service of the BBC, London Calling Europe, the Tribune of History of the VOA, and the London Forum.

K. Students with radios listen to broadcasts if not regularly, at least on frequent occasions. Programs of interest are widely discussed. For the most part, because of the day's schedule, evening programs are listened to, but sometimes the student will tune in on early morning programs. The student expects to hear information about his own country, and tends for the most part to believe what he hears unless it definitely conflicts with his own knowledge or experience. But wherever the broadcast is reasonable and within the limits of truth it is believed, and certainly the student prefers to believe BBC or VOA over Pravda or the official Soviet radio. Even when this turns out to be wrong, there is a tendency to by-pass the results.

L. If the student could choose what he would like to hear, he would prefer more cultural subjects - for example, a serialization of Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon." More news of his own country would appeal, but this must above all be very authentic. Jazz has a continuing appeal, as does by contrast objective news commentary which does not avoid or sugar-coat the unpleasant. A sound criticism of Communism would be in order, but criticism of a high order and not the simpleton statement that Communism is bad.

M. Generally the Soviet student feels that defectors from the USSR are qualified to comment by radio. The government attacks on such broadcasts are objective evidence of their effectiveness. However, in order to be believed, these broadcasts must be within the language and experience sphere of the defector and not, as is sometimes the case, merely the public mouthing of old Western cliches.

N. Although those broadcasts which are in foreign languages are not jammed, others as noted herein are quite heavily jammed. In Moscow, for example, this jamming is very effective, yet twenty kilometers outside of the city reception may be tolerable. Not only do the students intensely dislike this jamming, they refuse to accept the official explanations for it.

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III. What does the student think about political, social, and economic questions in the USSR?

A. (With respect to the attitude of the student to official communist ideology, see Annex A. Soviet Youth's Attitude to the Communist Regime, which appeared in the April 1957 Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of the USSR, and Annex B, Soviet Youth's Opposition to the Communist Regime, appearing in the May Issue of the same bulletin.)

B. The Soviet student has an understanding of the recent changes in Marxist-Leninist political ideology in the sense that he realizes that these changes are of a tactical nature, and are not so much changes of ideology as of phraseology. To those who are actually hostile to the regime the changes come as no great surprise, and they tend to play the new forms against the old to the sly detriment of the regime. Amongst the fence-sitters, there is a feeling of bewilderment - they are baffled and ask what should be done now, for their life experience and intellect keeps them from open hostility. However, the result of this reaction is also, though in a more subtle way, injurious to the present system. Of course, to the active supporters (and these in most cases give the regime support out of a desire for personal aggrandizement rather than idealism) shifting with the tide presents no problem.

C. The doctrine of separate roads to socialism is particularly pleasing to the hostile student because of its potential world-wide effect, whereas the fence-sitter has no understanding except in terms of making up with Tito. During the 1956 Tbilisi riots, the students attempted to apply this slogan of separate roads to socialism, not with the intention of separating Georgia from the Soviet Union, but rather to obtain a slackening of controls. They failed miserably. The slogan of the non-inevitability of war acts as an escape mechanism to the fear of war of the fence-sitter, whereas the hostiles are convinced that any such slogan is without meaning - war will come or not as the regime pleases. The only sure thing is that blame will be placed upon capitalism. The idea of peaceful and parliamentary roads to socialism is irreconcilable with things as they really are - what is true for the home country is also true abroad, and no communist party has yet come to power via this road. The students know this.

D. Why do the students believe that de-Stalinization took place? Stalin used terror not because he was essentially a bad man, but because as the leader of a new ruling class climbing to power over immense opposition it was necessary to use terror. Because this terror was directed against an entire regime and not restricted to the enemies of the rulers, it could be eliminated once the ruling class reached a secure position. Since it was no longer needed, and since it was good for no one including the rulers because of the mass hysteria it induced, and since it is impossible to maintain a collective dictatorship based on terror, the terroristic regime could have been eliminated without degrading Stalin.

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But the present collective dictators knew how much he was hated, and wishing to make political capital, established under their collective dictatorship a police state rather than a terror state. The foregoing represents the opinion of the hostiles. Among the other students, it is considered that the change took place out of personal envy and hatred of Stalin, and nothing really changed. The process involved making a political dollar by kicking the dead.

E. The primary impulse of students on all levels, and particularly on the average level, is to keep as far away as possible from all government officials and administrators. Among the intellectuals in the student body there is a tremendous contempt for party officials with their dull yellow faces and peasant voices. Khrushchev is often a laughing stock. Whereas the average intellectual student is continually looking for things about him to laugh at, no one laughed at Stalin. The immediate superiors of the students, such people as party and Komsomol functionaries, are considered to be where they are simply because they were actively in the party and knew how to break through. They are treated with a contempt mixed with dislike, since they are as individuals usually lacking in culture or positive personal traits. The administrators are considered on the basis of their personal qualities and no general rule can be made for student reaction to these people.

F. Among the many student ideas for changing or correcting the present political situation, there are two major trends. One might be called neo-Bolshevistic or Leninistic, and is based upon the allegation that the great ideals of the first October days have been corrupted and distorted and the country bureaucratized. Although the economic system of the country is generally accepted in this group, it is felt that the best way to change is to get rid of the bureaucratic system by the institution of more controls from below. However, the form which these controls should take is usually indefinite. The other trend might be termed anti-communist. Stalin and bureaucracy did not happen by chance, but were the result of a system entirely controlled from the center and completely undemocratic in nature. To correct this, it is necessary to decentralize the economy without creating a capitalist class, to establish factories owned by the workers, to obtain a free market, free elections, and two or more parties.

G. Student ideas for these changes come from their own experience, from the evident inconsistencies in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, from the conflict between that doctrine and reality, and to a certain extent from abroad. Radio, periodicals, the high US standard of living, rumours, and even the student's own wishes contribute. The ideas are discussed quite hotly with many displays of temper, but only within limited circles of trusted friends. These discussion groups may run as high as seven persons, but the average runs between two and five.

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H. The students attempt to express their ideas in modified form before the broadest possible audience - in the Komsomol meetings, for example. The greatest care is used in the manner of expressions, and questions are frequently posed as a search for the limits of truth within the one true doctrine. In this process, a few of the student's own ideas bubble to the surface. Among those students who write, a few words of their own are inserted into each piece written, giving it at least a non-conformist flavor. But here one must be quite careful - the first and last paragraphs must be completely conformist, since these are the ones which are always read!

I. The class and economic inequalities existing in Soviet society are recognized and criticized by nearly all students, excluding those few supporters of the regime. This criticism is voiced for the most part in two ways - either the situation does not agree with Marxist-Leninist doctrine and is the sort of thing which no one fought for, or the criticism is offered purely from an anti-communist point of view. In either case, the criticism is directed toward the existence of privilege not self-earned, and the main target is the system, since it is difficult to blame someone personally when one knows how the system works. The anti-communist point of view says that Marxism-Leninism begins with the presumption that all are equal. We know this is not so, so what are the limits and who imposes the privileges? Both points of view end with fat bureaucrats lolling in villas, government automobiles operating without the restraint of traffic rules, enormous privileges for USSR Ministers and members of the Central Committee, and hosts of other examples presented daily and irritatingly to the student. And it is important to note that the basic complaint is one of continual irritation.

J. There are many students who believe that economic concessions can be wrested from the system, and others who feel that it is a question of all or nothing. Among the former are those who wish for example to see higher wages and the elimination of the collective farm system as a means of curing economic ills. But in the other group there is an understanding that the system cannot and will not make concessions, and there is no need emphasizing specific measures except in a tactical sense - to achieve a change in the system itself is the only way.

K. To the student the collective farm program is evidently inefficient. The neo-Bolsheviks feel that if the collective farms were voluntary and self-controlled, and allowed more initiative, they could be efficient. In general, these people feel the idea to be a good one. Among the anti-communists, it is felt that these farms are just another part of a system which allows for no individual effort or reward. They can only be replaced by private holdings, or completely voluntary co-operatives existing alongside of private lands and with members accepted by the cooperatives themselves. In the matter of the state farm versus the collective farm, the state farm comes out ahead in the realm of

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efficiency because of its wage and bonus system and the fact that it is better run. However, this does not justify the system, for only in a totalitarian state can the state farm be better run than the collective.

L. The Virgin Lands program is considered to be a great adventure, and it is felt that so far Khrushchev has had a lot of luck with it. But in the long run, it is felt that the program is bound to fail, for the basic reason that it is necessary to put more into it than can be taken out. One student, in a conversation with the Party Secretary in 1956 in Kurgan, was informed that in 1955 no one went to the fields since there was no crop to harvest, although in 1956 the crop was good. The investment would become worthwhile with ten consecutive years of good crops, but this did not appear possible. It was concluded that the program was aimed at solving the grain problem without regard to the expense involved.

M. Whom do the students consider to be the intelligentsia, and what do they consider to be their role in Soviet society? To understand this question, one must consider first what once made up the intelligentsia in Russia. In that category fell those with broad humanitarian educations who maintained an understanding and interest in general subjects and who stemmed from old intellectual families with considerable caste or profession pride. They looked down upon those "half intellectuals" who obtained a special knowledge in their own fields but were unwilling or unable to obtain outside interests - "American style" specialists. Humanitarian and intellectual went together in Russia, and only a quite narrow circle was called intellectual. But this has changed considerably, and now the intellectual group consists of those with a high education in special fields, often accompanied by an interest in if not an understanding of other fields. This opinion is held by the above average student, whereas in the mind of the average student an intellectual is one who has simply finished college. The role of the intellectual in the mind of the average student is neither well defined or understood. But in the mind of the above average student, the struggle against the state belongs to the intellectual, fighting without a vested interest. His role is one of leading and organizing. Insofar as the so-called "party intelligentsia" is concerned, the competence of the party dogmatists is certainly questioned, and the disbelief of teachers who attempt to insert dogma into their teachings or who attempt to politicize any aspect of their subjects is very high.

N. In considering the role the students themselves think they should play in Soviet society, one should bear in mind that self-esteem among the students is disproportionately high. Moral indignation against the system is great. But the system gives him a chance for disinterested thinking, and an opportunity to do something according to his circumstances and initiative. (Examples of these "somethings" are found in Annexes A and B to this paper.)

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O. Atheism as an official policy is apparently not a matter of particular concern to the student. As a matter of fact, no student was known who believes in God, and there was a consequent general lack of understanding of questions of religious interest. Nevertheless, the policy of church prosecution was much criticized by the student because of the inhumanity of the policy. But neither Khrushchev's statement that as far as the state is concerned church activity is a private thing, nor the Party's contention that church and party membership are incompatible, are of particular interest to the student. If one is interested in the church, it is necessary only to be decent and respect his beliefs.

IV. What does the student think about life in the USSR?

A. The students are dissatisfied with life in the USSR. They feel that the workers live better than they did before the revolution, but still not well enough. The life of the peasant is worse. They feel, however, that the general standard of living has improved but in a way which might be expressed by the fact that if one has been robbed and left quite naked, and is then handed a fig leaf to cover himself, he is no longer quite so naked, and has thus improved over his former state. In this area of standard of living, the few improvements made are tremendously exaggerated by propaganda, and where no personal knowledge on the part of the student exists, the propaganda has a certain effect. And although the students generally do not like the life in the Soviet Union, they feel it is better than it was under Stalin, not from a material point of view, but in the sense of a less tense atmosphere, with fear no longer so great. Under Stalin, one was afraid of one's own shadow - now only other people, not shadows, are feared. The standard of living will continue to improve, but not at a great pace, since the pressure to improve it is not great. There is a little possibility of more freedom being granted, but there is more freedom being taken, if only for short periods. And this taking of more freedom will increase in intensity, if not in frequency. (At the last Plenum of the Union of Soviet Writers in May 1957, the writers were soundly chastised and criticized - and they remained silent. None stood up and engaged in self-criticism, none confessed his sins against the party!) Since Hungary, however, according to the Soviet press, life has been a bit worse in the Soviet Union because of stricter application of regulations and the withdrawal of small privileges. But under the collective dictatorship terror will not return because the two cannot exist together.

B. To the student a better life is represented by socialism and freedom - a modern, democratic state with legality guaranteed, with no overprivileged class, and a decent standard of living. The students feel that they can help attain this at the present time by being basically decent, by not "snitching" on friends and performing the other nasty little tasks one is expected to perform. They can engage in a limited

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spreading of hostile ideas and propaganda. In terms of a proper set of circumstances, there is a large group of students who speak of being willing to fight, but this is only talk, and as such merely an indicator of mood rather than actuality.

V. What do Soviet students think about the workers and the peasants?

A. Since 90% of the students are members of the Komsomol, and since as Komsomol members they are required to do "agit" work among the workers, the student develops an official knowledge of the worker which sometimes serves as the basis for an unofficial relationship in the course of which each tries to find out more about the other. There is a mutual curiosity on the part of each, and after a while spent at these official meetings in talking propaganda, the workers ask questions which are not always easy to answer, but which the student hostile to the regime welcomes because of the opportunity they give to introduce unorthodoxy into the discussion. A specific example of this was the student who was questioned about the lack of doctors and the dirty hospitals. The "correct" answer to this is that the condition is only a temporary difficulty which will be overcome in a short while, and that everything would be all right if only it were not necessary to build a large defense installation to repel the Americans. The unorthodox answer is that the expense of developing a large army and heavy defense industry is quite large, and thus there are not enough consumer goods or doctors. However, this is what the government and party think is necessary. If the worker asks why it is necessary, the answer is, "I don't know - that's what they think." Thus the student is able to influence the worker in many cases, and through the fact that he is being observed, the worker in turn casts his influence upon the student.

B. In the summers, brigades of students go to the collective farms to work, and many of these are deeply shocked at the way of living of the peasant. This shock is further emphasized by the fact that the students live more or less as do the peasants during this period. There are almost no young men on the collective farms and this, plus the fact that the peasants are reluctant to work and thus create a need for these summer brigades, is in itself an impressive thing. The student talks to the peasant, and being less passive, drags him out conversationally and finds that life before the revolution was better than it is today. The student sees the peasant's backwardness and his unwillingness to accept or use modern farm machinery. Although these contacts are important in the effect they have upon the student, unfortunately they are only occasional and by no means universal.

C. Although a fairly large number of students attain some knowledge

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of how the workers and peasants live through this personal observation, the influence thereby exerted is of an impermanent nature. When their knowledge is struck by the steady propaganda stream, some of the students forget what they see. It is estimated however, that about 70% of the student population have some knowledge of the truth. And among these not only the students who are hostile to the regime, but all capable of sympathy take the side of the worker and peasant if only for the moment. The cult of the people influences the majority of the students, and the shock of seeing the condition of those people in whose name the system operates is great. The result is that most of the students wish to provide living conditions which will correspond to their view of what the status of "the people" should be. The hostile students feel that if there is a force which will ever overthrow the regime, it is these workers and peasants.

D. As to whether or not the students look down upon the workers and peasants, it would be impossible to answer this except on an individual basis. But certainly the people as a whole look up to the students because the student represents something which is considerably beyond their immediate experience. In one remote village, for example, two visiting students were hailed almost as dignitaries, and were furnished a village petition concerning certain wrongs to be righted. On the other hand, a worker or peasant who is successful in becoming a student is usually dissatisfied with his new lot.

E. Most of the students are under no illusions that the workers control industry, or that the peasants control the collectives. The evidence of their own eyes coupled with the related information which they obtain is much too strong. The average student feels that the state controls industry and the collectives, whereas the above average student feels that the "ruling bureaucracy" exerts this control.

F. The student sees that the worker and the peasant are dissatisfied, and in a broad sense feels that unrest exists in these groups. But he has little concrete knowledge of specific, overt incidents of unrest among the workers or peasants, simply because the efforts of the regime to suppress such evidence are for the most part quite successful. Whether or not the student hears of, or experiences personally such evidences of unrest as strikes is purely a matter of luck.

VI. What do Soviet students think about Soviet art, literature, and drama?

A. Under Stalin, and continuing into the first years after his death, an estimated 70% of the Soviet students were not particularly interested in either literature or the arts. Their literary choice was limited either to the classics or to propaganda, and the blank cards in

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the libraries for the propaganda books are ample evidence of the student's choice. Writers produced only what they were able to get published, and though it was possible even during this period to pick out unorthodox points, few strayed from the one true path of straight propaganda. The writer of today believes that he should be published if his product is something the public wants to read - the result of a gradual change producing more and more interesting novels with considerably less propaganda.

B. The student's opinion of the role of the author and artist in the Soviet Union reflects in some ways what might be described as a return to the traditions of the Russian author of the 1860's. Basically it is felt that the author should be essentially honest, describing accurately what he sees in naturalistic terms. The author in addition should play an active and direct social role - what he creates should be reflected in his public utterances. One other attitude is also popular among the students - that literature should be free, not only from sociology, but from dependence upon good or bad politics. This purely aesthetic approach to art and literature is not to be found on the average student level, but is prevalent among higher levels and in the professional and critic groups. In neither case, however, do any of these attitudes reflect the official view of the artist, whom the regime looks upon as a servant of the party and the people.

C. The student feels definitely that the author should be able to criticize life, the state, communism and anything else falling within range of his critical eye. In what other way is real literature to exist? The other road leads only to propaganda. But unfortunately the authors as a group do not exercise these functions. Some cannot because they have the will but are not permitted. Others, brought along during Stalin's time, have attained a one-track mind which makes them abject servants of the state simply through lack of knowledge of any other way of living. They have no will to change, and their only merit is that they can express themselves within this framework. This is particularly true of the so-called "national" writers, who present a facade of national literature through their use of the language and through local color. They are hand-picked men capable of nothing else.

D. Who are the student's favorite modern authors of Soviet fiction? In this category it is well also to consider the Soviet poets, since none of the novelists enjoy a permanent popularity to the extent of that of the leading poets. Foremost and most generally liked among the poets is Maykovski. He is followed by Akhmatova and Pasternak (who has been translated into English by Archibald MacLeish.) On a somewhat lower plane, Tvardovski is well liked. His "Vasili Tyorkin in Hell", which appeared after Stalin's death, although never published has enjoyed a wide circulation in manuscript form. Among the novelists, early Ehrenburg is popular for the illusions of high class he offered. "And Quiet Flows the Don", by Sholokhov is much read. The war novels and stories of

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Sindnov such as "Days and Nights", reach a wide student audience, and his poetry is particularly appealing to the girls because of its strong male flavor. Among the younger authors Kazakevich, and especially his "The Star", which was published in English in Moscow, is appealing to the student. These authors find favor in the eyes of the students either because they are completely untouched by propaganda or because they are good, naturalistic writers, whose characters are alive, full of flesh and blood, and to an extent overstride the limits of propaganda.

E. The plays produced in the Soviet Union during the 1930's were quite often bold and experimental. This tradition carried on throughout World War II, and the theaters were always crowded. But in 1947 the theater began to be swamped with propaganda plays, and although from time to time interesting plays did appear under Stalin, these usually did not last long because of the severe criticism launched against them. One rare exception to this was Akimov's Theater in Leningrad, but such theaters as the Moscow Art Theater, more famous in the West, became petrified. Today, melodrama is permitted, for example "The Love of Anna Beryezko". Only recently have such problem plays as Rozov's "Good Luck" appeared. Both Russian and foreign classic plays remain popular - Wilde's "Ideal Husband" has always enjoyed a full house. Recently and for a short period such Western plays as "Desire Under the Elms", "The Inspector Calls", and "Cyrano de Bergerac" have appeared. A Chinese play, "The Notes of the Western House" was seen in Moscow. Among the Russian playwrights, the permanent favorite among the students is Maykovski, although his plays were not staged for a long time after he committed suicide in the 1930's. Now two of his plays, "The Bath" and "The Bedbug", both very sharp and very anti-regime, are extremely popular. One other form of theater is very popular - comic opera, produced in such fashion as to remind one remotely of western musical reviews.

F. "Not By Bread Alone", first published in three issues of Novy Mir, made a tremendous impression and was quite popular. Subsequently, 90,000 copies were printed. At first there was no official criticism, but when the last installment appeared in Novy Mir in the month of the Polish and Hungarian events and caused great discussions and attacks against the regime, Pravda made certain reserved comments. This was in October, and shortly thereafter Pravda's criticism increased, and the novel was dubbed "anti-popular". It is believed that this book has sold on the black market for as high as 100 Rubles per copy.

G. The Olga Bergholz poems published in Novy Mir are widely read by the students, but they are not so popular as "Not By Bread Alone". One reason is that they are more difficult to read and absorb. Zorin's "Guests", one of the first attacks on the regime to follow Stalin's death, was published only in Theater magazine, a professional magazine for theater people. It has never been produced, is difficult to procure, and is not widely read. Kornechuk's "Wings", although it made a large

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initial impression, is now almost forgotten. It represented the first time the MGB was ever mentioned in any form of Soviet art.

H. Yevgeni Yevtushenko's "Railroad Station - Winter" is politically loaded, but good verse, and is much read because it reflects the mood of the younger generation and the Soviet students.

I. There is quite a large black market in literature, although nothing printed in a foreign language was seen. On Sundays, it operates on Arts Theater Street in Moscow, while its everyday stand is on Kuznetski Most. There is a large variety of literature to be purchased. Many of the old pre-revolutionary magazines are bound together and sold at fancy prices, and one can also purchase the classics. A subscription to Dostoyevski could be obtained, but at a premium price representing about 100% profit. International Literature, a magazine containing the works of many western authors published before 1940, is now literally worth its weight in gold on the black market.

J. The scope of the students knowledge of western literature is varied, and runs from a knowledge of only those Communist writers who have been translated since World War II to, in more limited groups, an understanding equal to that of the best students in the west. Prior to 1940, practically everything of interest was translated into Russian, and the magazine International Literature noted above was tremendously popular and offered wide variety. From 1945 until 1955, practically nothing but Communists were translated. In 1955, a magazine called Foreign Literature began to appear each month. Put out by the State Publishing House in Moscow, it is generally speaking a very good publication, and is very widely read by the average student. It has contained works by Steinbeck, Faulkner, Saroyan, Mauriac, and Graham Greene. (It is interesting to note that many of the pieces published in this magazine are subsequently criticized.) Those students who have the leisure time to sit in the libraries and read, but who do not have foreign language knowledge, have an excellent knowledge of pre-war literature, but limited post-war familiarity. In that limited group who know foreign languages and have the time, the knowledge of western literature is quite good, running as high in some cases as that of any professional in the west, and the appreciation is outstanding. But although access is limited, the interest on the part of all is great, and such things as Graham Greene's "Quiet American", published in Foreign Literature, are extremely popular.

K. The literary god of all those who read foreign literature is Ernest Hemingway. Steinbeck, Sherwood Anderson, Scott Fitzgerald, and Langston Hughes are the popular representatives of the pre-war era. Since the war Erskine Caldwell, Arthur Miller, Howard Fast and Albert Maltz (the last two travelling in fast company) have found popularity.

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Although noted in paragraph J. above, Faulkner bears repeating because he is quite popular if not yet well known.

L. In the final analysis, the average student's actual knowledge of western literature is based not so much on quality as on what is available to him. (Note the inclusion of Maltz and Fast in the list of popular authors.) If one were to rank other western literature after American, the progression would run from English, French and German through Italian.

M. The average student's knowledge of art is much more limited than his knowledge of literature, because exhibits are extremely limited. The status of art may be best described by the fact that impressionism is still a topic of current discussion as a modern art trend. In the west it has been a matter of history for years.

VII. Student Morality.

A. The press idea of morality in the Soviet Union is based upon the ideal worker, as close to the machine as possible, who works well, raises a family, does not have too many ideas, and is inspired not by developed moral standards, but by the standards set by the state. This creation of the ideal Soviet men clashes with what the press terms the immorality of the student. On the average student level, morality as it is known in the west is prevalent, including relations between the sexes, and on a higher plane, relations between people. There is, however, a group which is criticized for its desire for easy living, excessive drinking, black marketing, debauchery and the like, but this is far from a universal rule. If one wishes to criticize the average student on moral grounds, it would be more correct to say that he is guilty of amorality, rather than immorality. This amorality springs from his desire not to conform to the ideal Soviet man, not to be what the state desires and which he believes to be wrong even though he is not clear as to what is right. Among the few exceptions to this are the offspring of the wealthy, who may be more correctly accused of immorality in terms described by the press. The outlets for the greater funds available to them are limited and their search for variety frequently leads to immorality.

VIII. How and what does the Soviet student criticize?

A. Although the students are officially not permitted to voice their criticisms, they succeed in doing so. This criticism takes place at different levels - among circles of close friends, among other students (but not as intensely as among close friends), and on the highest level, at official functions and meetings. In this last category, the expression of criticism is of course more delicate than in any other case.

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For example, at a Komsomol meeting, after the main report has been read, if this report contained a controversial point of direct interest to the student, discussion of this point might well go beyond the point itself and lead eventually to the unorthodox question and the insertion of the student's own view, regardless of its nature. (During an April 1956 Komsomol meeting in Moscow, the main report was concerned with the system whereby the government assigns positions to students upon graduation. The question which opened this particular discussion was: why accept the appointment of the government board if something better is available to the graduating student? The response was that this service of the government was of great benefit to the student and should not be refused. The discussion then proceeded considerably further on the basis of the statement that if this service is a benefit, why can the student not accept or reject it as he sees fit?)

B. These criticisms are usually well received by the audience if they meet certain basic criteria. They must be well timed, well worded, and not over the heads of the audience. When this occurs, they are frequently applauded.

C. After Stalin's death, small circle talking and criticism increased in volume if not in intensity, but open criticism did not appear until 1955. This open criticism seemed to grow from the feeling that now, if one talked openly, he would not end up in jail - the elimination of terror seemed to be followed by an increase in criticism. In a way, Khrushchev's secret speech of 1956, which was read in the Komsomol meetings, was a landmark. This speech warned very precisely against free discussion - and by the very warning encouraged the students! It did not mark the beginning of open discussion and criticism, but certainly it was during that period that the student began to realize more clearly that he should criticize and discuss. If the regime is so afraid of this discussion, then perhaps it is well worthwhile for it to be further pursued. Out of this came two of the most telling questions the Soviet student can ask:

- Where are the guarantees that the horror experienced under Stalin will not come again?

- How long are we going to live for our grandchildren? The students remember what Lenin said in 1921 to a gathering of the Komsomol - that they would not experience the benefits of socialism, but that their children and grandchildren would. And though lip service can be paid, it is the nature of the beast that there can be no guarantees against the return of terror

D. Since Hungary, according to press reports, criticism has increased substantially, because of the confusion in the explanations given for these events. A lack of explanation was followed by conflicting explanations. At the same time in the Soviet press Chinese and Polish versions of what was happening appeared bearing little resemblance to the

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Soviet version. The criticism reached its height with the expulsion of certain students from the University of Moscow, and after that the brakes were on for a time. But criticism is again on the increase.

E. Non-official student discussion groups exist today even as they did under Stalin. In 1948, for example, there began in Moscow a small circle of 5 to 8 students who met at the home of one Leibermann, a member of the Moscow Fine Arts Museum. Most of the participants were fine art students, and the subjects discussed included literature and the fields closest to the students' interests. They attempted to avoid directly political problems, and succeeded during irregular meetings spanning a period of about two years until the development of mutual distrust caused the meetings to cease. Many similar groups meet today. A general discussion among two or three students will lead to occasional meetings, the invitation of other trusted friends, and finally the development of a small intimate group, meeting irregularly at various places. These groups do not in any sense constitute a political force, but act rather as a preparation for politics. (There are, in addition to these unofficial groups, many semi-official clubs being founded. Last fall, in Kaluga, a student organization known as "Torchlight" was begun, but as the result of so-called harmful or unhealthy tendencies, was soon placed under Komsomol control. As one Komsomol leader stated, it is not necessary to be afraid of the student clubs, it is only necessary to lead them.)

F. Student membership in these non-official groups may be said to be limited to a maximum of 10 per group. In terms of the entire student body, the majority are interested in the subjects they study, and realizing that what is stated in the lectures is often far from the truth, wish to make further inquiry and to discuss what is discovered. Others are led to the groups through an awareness of something beyond their immediate environment, an awareness which can be fed to some extent through participation in open discussion with other students. Thus, in considering the student body participation in these groups as a whole, a careful estimate of those participating would be from 20 to 30%.

G. Group leadership varies. In some cases, the leader is an older, experienced man with good professional background. The Soviet Academician Gudzi, whose "History of Old Russian Literature" is a classic in its field, often invited his favorite students to tea. The result of these gatherings was an unofficial discussion group. Quite honest and clever, sincere but somewhat childlike, Gudzi would have been outraged at the mere insinuation that he was leading a political group. On the other hand, students themselves act as leaders - in any gathering of students without experienced leadership, who is to say who leads? And with meetings held at irregular intervals, with irregular attendance, and at various private dwellings and apartments, leadership is bound to fluctuate continuously.

H. In discussions of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice, it was the practice of the student under Stalin to avoid crossing "t's" and

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dotting "i's". Now the reverse is true, and particularly of late, detailed examination and comparison of theory and practice has been a favorite subject of discussion in small groups and in casual conversation. It is difficult to say with any certainty whether students do or do not criticize Marxism-Leninism itself. There is no uniformity here - some do, some do not, and the extent varies in each category. One sector of student opposition considers that the Soviet society does not reflect the ideals of Marxism, and this opposition to the regime is often formed by quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Another sector feels that a colossal historical mistake has been made, and everything achieved in the USSR in the past forty years has been attained not because of but in spite of the regime.

I. The contemporary interpretation of Marxism-Leninism is just not taken seriously by the majority of the student body. As was stated before, ideology has been replaced by phraseology. But although most criticisms are presented from the Marxist if not the Leninist point of view, the student finds much to criticize in the practice of Marxism-Leninism:

1. Foremost is the highly privileged, closely knit ruling society which has been created.

2. There is no longer justification for continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its proletarian character is denied, it has outlived its usefulness if ever such existed, and is now only a dictatorship of those who profit by it.

3. The ideological, spiritual and intellectual degradation existing in the Soviet Union today carry a large burden of the student criticism.

4. The general economic policy under which no one is interested in producing more, or bettering service, is criticized as developing a "thief psychology", encouraging one to get one's fat cut and get out.

5. The neo-Bolshevist criticizes the entire party policy. Through all of the student criticisms runs one basic theme - the discrepancy between the promise and the fulfillment.

J. Where do the students learn their criticisms? First of all, from the most obvious source - a reading of Marx and Lenin. Classic Russian literature also makes a contribution. Some Soviet publications, themselves under fire at times, furnish fuel for the student. The foreign press and radio noted before contribute. The student's own observations of life around him and his independent study and thought also contribute. Two major exceptions should be pointed out - there is practically no church influence, and very little from the parents.

K. It is true that the average student is more openly critical of

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Soviet society because he has never been personally affected by the terror which existed under Stalin. Even if you know that you can be beaten, it is not so impressive as personally knowing some one who was or having been beaten yourself. The rehabilitation program has given pause to some students - man whose beard has been pulled out hair by hair is striking evidence. But the time when all this happened is gone, and theoretically at least, will not come again. If a friend is afraid to speak out through fear of the regime, then let him be. Where the need is felt and the desire strong enough, the words come.

L. Student criticism is repressed through several means, but outside of the security arms of the government, primarily through the medium of the Komsomol. One may be required to stand up before a meeting and give an account of what he is, thinks, and believes. He may be informally requested by Komsomol officials to keep quiet. Formal reprimand follows more serious offenses, and may be accompanied by expulsion from the university and exile from the city.

M. Repression exists because the regime fears the birth of a political organization out of the labor pains of the student discussion groups. It is necessary to prevent the infection of the non-conformist thoughts and expressions of one student or group from spreading throughout the entire student body. And last, but by no means least, the appearance of a monolithic structure must be maintained before all strangers.

IX. Student life - Academic

A. Upon successful completion of ten years of school, the student receives a diploma, or matura, on the basis of which he may continue his education at a university or institute. If, in addition to his diploma he has been awarded a gold medal (representing all excellent grades) he is not required to take examinations. If he has been awarded a silver medal (all excellent grades except for one good) he is required to be examined only in the major subject of the university or institute which he desires to enter. It is possible also that the student may have gone to a technical school for the last three years of his ten years schooling. In this case, he may upon graduation go to a university without examination if he is in the top 5% of his class, since he is supposed to have received both a general and technical education. If not in the top 5%, he must work for three years before applying for admission, and then may apply, but only in the field in which he has been working. One other factor affects his ability to take the examinations or enter the university - political undesirability. His father may have been in a concentration camp, he or his family may be Jewish, or he may simply be tagged politically undesirable. In this event, further education becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible for him.

B. Entrance examinations are competitive. In the humanitarian

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colleges, students are examined in five subjects, both written and orally, including Russian language, Russian literature, General and Russian history, Geography, and a foreign language, in most cases, English or German. On the basis of a marking system of 5 equal to excellent, four to good, 3 to satisfactory and 2 to bad (the number system is the official one, whereas the adjectival system is used by the students) a total of 25 is possible, and at the University of Moscow practically is required because of the number of applicants. To pass the examinations, generally a total of 15 points is required. If honesty reigned in the examinations and examining board, the system would be a fair one, but unfortunately dishonesty is not uncommon. Pressure on the examining board by prominent families as well as actual bribery exists. (In the winter of 1955 at a Komsomol meeting, Natasha Margheladze, a University of Moscow student who had worked during the preceding summer for the examining board, reported that the Dean of the Philological Faculty, Shanki, in charge of the examining board, had said in her presence that the board had been "warming their hands".)

C. In most universities, students are guaranteed a stipend every term during which they received either a 5 or 4 in the term examinations. In the event that the student receives all 5's, his stipend is increased by 25% as long as he maintains such grades. The stipends vary according to the type of university or institute attended, and in some cases according to the student:

1. In institutes of lesser importance such as the pedagogical institutes, the opening stipend is 220 Rubles. To this basic stipend is added 25% if grades received are all 5 in any term. On this sum, taxes are paid as well as the mandatory state loans. The total deductions come to about 15%.

2. In the universities and technical colleges, the basic stipend is 280 Rubles, and the conditions for increase as well as the deductions are the same. Over a period of 10 terms, the beginning figure can increase considerably. An exceptional philological student was receiving 455 Rubles after deductions in his last term in 1956.

3. In the military institutes, where most of the students are from the army, the base pay of the army is drawn, and in addition a flat sum of 300 Rubles, regardless of grades received.

4. Such courses at the University of Moscow Department of Physics as atomic physics and mathematical logic grant a base stipend of 500 Rubles and the 25% increases for top grades. This is also in effect at the Atomic Science Institute.

5. Sons of persons who have performed special services to the state receive a stipend of 500 Rubles regardless of their marks for as long a period as they are students.

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Thus the student who performs adequately during his terms at the universities manages to exist, if not in luxury, and the incentive to maintain higher grades is held forth by the increasing stipend possible.

D. From the standpoint of the state, some of the most important hours spent in the universities are devoted to the study of Marxism-Leninism. These classes and lectures are incorporated into the complex of political sciences, which extends throughout the five years spent in the university. For the first two terms (one year), two hours per week are spent in lectures and two hours in seminar on the political economy of capitalism. During the third term, the same periods are spent on the political economy of capitalism and socialism, and in the fourth term these periods are devoted entirely to the political economy of socialism. (These first four terms were formerly spent in the study of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, actually a history of the CP.) During the fifth and sixth terms, two hours of lecture and two hours of seminar weekly are devoted to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and in addition to this, throughout the seventh and eighth, two to four hours per week of the fundamental of dialectical and historical materialism are added. At the universities only, the ninth term includes four hours per week of the history of philosophy.

E. The amount of time spent in preparing for these classes and the seriousness with which they are taken is purely an individual matter. There are a limited number of students who simply take what they are given and swallow it. For them preparation is merely a matter of memorizing formulae, and remaining "close to the text of Comrade Stalin", as one history professor put it. The vast majority of the students see that something is wrong with this philosophy and that it bears no relation to life, and thus try to dodge it during the seminars, preparing only for the examinations. The third group, although a minority, are intent upon finding out the truth, sometimes at the risk of getting into a lot of trouble. These prepare very well, and in fact attempt to know more than the professors. Then they proceed to ask awkward questions, and the fun begins. Of course, the cutting of these classes is not officially permitted, but they are cut frequently.

F. Marxism-Leninism has a far reaching effect upon the other courses. The law and social sciences are almost completely abolished as sciences, and become only the tools of propaganda, with their fundamentals changing as the party line changes. It is not possible to change the flow of a river, but in geography it is possible to make economic changes, and these reach the point of ridiculousness. The picture of the American farmer behind his one horse plow is laughable to the Soviet student. Certain facts in history are necessary, but the closer one gets to contemporary history, the more inconscientious becomes the teaching. Modern history since the October Revolution is pure nonsense. The influence upon biology has been so strong that the only way it is possible

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to find out what is going on is for individual groups to get together informally. As an example of the depths to which it has sunk, Professor Barski, who some time ago announced that the biology faculty at the University of Moscow was engaged in a collective effort to find the basic law of nature, is still holding his chair. The physicists are fortunate in that they are limited only in the philosophical interpretation of their studies. The only purge which has taken place in chemistry was connected with the theory of resonance, a theory coming from France which was described as "Bourgeois cosmopolitanism". There are certain limitations in the field of mathematical logics which lead to wild theory, but for the most part mathematics has not been touched - the mathematicians are hardly likely to be understood by the Marxist-Leninists. The influence on pedagogy is quite destructive - such things as the theory of labor education are completely inapplicable. It was possible in pedagogical courses to attend no lectures, and in 30 hours to prepare for and pass the examinations. In the field of literature, the application of Marxism-Leninism has resulted in much falsification and the omission of pertinent facts and persons. There is considerable post-humous editing, and the ascribing of statements never dreamed of by the original authors.

G. The political aspects of these courses have varying effects upon the students, some of which have been noted above. In mathematics, for example, the political aspects are ignored, whereas in the humanitarian fields, a number are led astray. The students tend to discover where the falsification begins either from their own observation, experience or study, or from the hearing of the truth from other students who know. In recent years there has been a tendency to voice disbelief, even on the part of those who were not sure of what they were disbelieving. The professors in the politicized fields are disbelieved to a great extent, including even those who have something reasonable to say! The end result is that if the student wishes to learn, it is necessary to check out almost every fact for himself. To the extent that this is not possible, and to the extent that the politicized courses are presented in a believable light, they have an effect upon the student.

H. In many of the politicized fields there are no text books, because the party line changes so quickly that it is not possible for a publisher to keep up. Instead, printed lectures are utilized. There is no standard text, for example, on either Soviet or western literature from the 18th century on. There is no standard text in philosophy, nor in Marxism-Leninism. In certain areas remote from ideology (special fields of history and literature) there are still good studies published. Pre-revolutionary books, and older books up to the 1920's and 30's both Soviet and western, are available in unexpurgated form. However, for the student with foreign language capabilities wide fields are open, and his entire study is made much easier through the availability of texts and standard works.

I. At the University of Moscow, there were practically no text

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books in the field of Philosophy. A standard text on old Russian literature by Gudzi was used, as was the Cambridge History of English Literature. The Introduction to the Study of Linguistics was used for a short period. For the most part, the notes of lecturers were used as texts. Stalin's Short Course is still used, especially the sections treating doctrine, but the entire text is not utilized, and so far no book has replaced it. The 1954 edition of Political Economy is no longer used - it contained a chapter on the economy of Yugoslavia, and the role of Tito's bandit clique! The new edition eliminates this, but otherwise there are few changes. Students are required to read the 20th Congress Party Report, and officially claim to know it almost by heart. As a matter of fact, they do know it rather well, but unofficially claim not to, and utilize their knowledge for harassment purposes.

J. The extent of criticism which the students engage in during class depends upon both the individuality of the teacher and the class. Whenever people known as "public eyes" are present, there is almost no criticism. However, if the audience and the teacher are both favorable there is often quite free and lively discussion and criticism - provided there is no direct attack, or unveiled criticism of the party or government. One must be discreet, and speak about a subject without calling it by name. For example, the principle of party control cannot be attacked, but one may get away with criticisms of the way the principle is applied, and thus indirectly attack. It is a question of the individual ability of the criticizer, what he knows, and how far he senses he can go in the light of the known attitude of both the professor and the audience. Official criticism is permitted within the limits prescribed by the most recent party announcements of what is good or bad. For example, within the limits of the latest official report, it would be possible to criticize openly the cult of personality. But the students do not like the controls exerted by the government over their freedom of discussion and criticism, and they play Lenin's statements on student suppression against today's policy of the party.

X. Student Attitudes and Opinions.

A. There is a general attitude on the part of the students toward the teachings of Marx and Lenin which is almost universal within the student body. This is an outward acceptance of the doctrine for the express purpose of playing the revolutionary and utopian aspects thereof against the present regime and the current policies of the government. To the vast majority, Marxism-Leninism is just another subject to pass and forget. For some, who really believe in it, it is a belief of what they themselves read into the doctrine. For others who accept certain of the dogmas, it is a question of proceeding to criticize from within on the basis of these accepted principles. The future party careerists simply accept it.

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B. At the center of those tenets of Marxism-Leninism which are disbelieved is the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat - this is probably more strongly criticized than any other aspect. Either the whole concept is rejected, or its possibility in Russia is rejected, or it is rejected as a once necessary requirement for the suppression of the bourgeoisie now unnecessary. This last view is one which must be accepted by those who wish to accept Lenin. On the other hand, those purely theoretical aspects of the doctrine, such as the labor theory of value, are accepted by even a very large majority of those who are opposed to the present regime. Such theoretical sides of the doctrine have no relation to reality and are extremely difficult to criticize in themselves (the objectivity of matter is a good example) and are therefore generally acceptable to the mass of the student body. The sociological aspects of the doctrine are accepted according to the way the individual understands socialism, and here, as has been pointed out earlier, there are several opinions. However, in this area, the most commonly accepted theory is that capitalism has to change, or be changed into socialism. The innovations of Stalin - the theory of industrialization, colonization, and the sharpening of the class struggle - are unconditionally rejected.

C. The old revolutionary figures are very popular, and are associated with the present days and with the aspirations of the students of today. If their ideas can be associated with the present, the old revolutionaries will often find favor in the student's eyes. Herzen is popular for his ideas of humanity, and some of his books have the attraction of forbidden fruit, particularly where he bitterly attacks Marx. Bielinski has been almost deified as one of the predecessors of Marx, and though he is generally rather dull and uninteresting, his "Letter to Gogol" is an inspired pamphlet against oppression which is quite popular. Aksakov is known only as a writer. Khomiakov with his ideas of Mother Russia showing the light to the rotten, godless, West, is absolutely unpopular. Plekhanov, whose ideas have a direct bearing on today, is popular although he is not too well known. This is equally true of Bakunin. The works of Bukharin are extremely difficult to obtain, but still, and possibly for this reason, he is very popular.

D. "Co-existence" is not thought of by the average student so much in terms of a political idea as in the direct advantages which would accrue to the student if such a policy were adopted. It would mean to the student a free flow of Western ideas, of art, films, writers and many of those things which are so hard to come by now.

E. On the "inevitability of war", it is the student belief that only a grave misfortune or particularly unfavorable developments could bring war. It is not possible for the Soviet Union to win a long war, according to the students, simply because they do not have the heavy industry required - the only victory possible would be through a blitzkrieg. But they realize that the Soviet government might start a war if the Soviets possessed a decisive strategic weapon which the West did not have,

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of, if being very much pressed on the home front, they were forced into a long slow retreat. The student does not believe that the Americans want war despite the intensive propaganda launched in this field, and no student believes that it was the Americans and South Koreans who started the Korean war. It is a favorite argument in response to the statement that the Soviet Union will not risk aggression to say that they already have done so in Korea.

F. With respect to the nature of the future Communist society, there are many illusions of a very utopian nature still in existence in the student body, but these are used primarily as a weapon to be turned against the present regime. Engel's leap from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom is often quoted by the students. They think not only of political freedom, but of freedom from the power of money and the power of privilege. It is the vision of the thousand year kingdom, and is important in the effectiveness with which it is utilized by the student in his attacks against the present regime. And all of the resolutions of the 20th Party Congress did nothing to change this attitude of the students.

G. Although the attitude of the students to their professors has been earlier discussed, the political attitude of the average professor and his relations with the students should be pointed out. In all of the non-political subjects, the professors, if they have any political attitude, keep it to themselves in their capacities as professors. In the politicized subjects, almost all those teachers who had attempted to remain objective were purged after the war. What is left are those who have an ability to learn something and then repeat it without thinking - these the students term "wooden head". There is another group which keeps its knowledge and opinions to itself, and does what it is supposed to do. Of this older group, only the best are left in those fields such as archeology where training comes quite slowly and where replacements are difficult if not impossible to find. Of most importance in the professorial class is the new generation coming up. Some of these are extremely well educated, very conscientious, and highly respected. It is surprising that people brought up under such a system should turn out so well, and much of the answer may lie in the fact that what they have done they have done for themselves - independent thought and study, search and research for the truth. Whether they will continue in this vein is not clear, and the pressures surrounding them may force them to revert to the ways of the older professors.

H. Whether or not a professor is a member of the party is not of particular importance, but how he acts or reacts with respect to the party line is. It is hardly possible to speak the truth within the limits of the party line, and the more foolish professors who attempt to match

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their lectures to the weavings of the line are the laughing stock of the student body. Direct opposition to the party line is not expressed, but on the professional issues most pertinent to the individual professor, he finds a way in his lectures to give his point of view as a specialist while at the same time paying attention to the line. This is not only true of the young aggressive group coming up who are very brave to do it, but many of the old timers who are sure of their positions and who know they would be hard to replace engage in the same activities. But none ever come to the point of direct attack, or even completely understandable hints, and all restrict themselves to professional issues. The more independent the professor is, the more popular he is with the students - something fresh and new has come into their existence, and this appeals to the student everywhere.

I. Where the professor slips, is caught, and removed, it is interesting to point out that his fate is often anything but hard. Consider that he has been a member of a highly paid profession in the Soviet Union - a full professor makes 6,000 Rubles per month, and in addition to that frequently has an outside income from writing, editing and the like. He manages to live well and to save money. Many of those who were purged after the war withdraw, were rehabilitated, and poured out their writings. Others simply took another job.

J. Outside of the class, the student - professor relationship follows the customs of the rest of the academic world. The professor associates with the best students or with those he is especially interested in, for whatever reason. This association takes the form of casual conversation, invitations to tea or dinner, and informal discussion groups. These contacts are significant because the professor tends to be more frank and outspoken than he is in his normal class procedures. Professor of English Literature Anikst of the University of Moscow, some of whose work has been published abroad, was removed, and one of the charges against him was that he said different things in his lectures than he said in his conversations with his students.

K. Do Soviet students trust their fellow students? Perhaps it would be best to answer by saying that there is no feeling of mutual distrust in the student body, and, in fact, a great deal of mutual trust. There are exceptions - one learns quickly who the "public eyes" are, who has close relations with the party bosses, and who is the hard-driving careerist. These people are left alone.

L. Anti-Semitism has grown in the universities, but only officially. The Jews represent a clearly discernible group of political non-reliables, Stalin was and Krushov is anti-Semitic, and it is easy officially to follow the old gag of the Jews against the world and the world against the Jews. Within the Soviet Union there is a clearly defined tradition of anti-Semitism - on the one hand the peasant concept of the Jew as the devil incarnate, a sort of witch who is hated and feared as an individual but not as a group, and on the other hand the

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group anti-Semitism of the upper classes which is utilized for political aims and effect. But in the student body itself, there is literally no anti-Semitism, the students are in fact strongly opposed to this. From 1951 until 1956, a Jewish student at the University of Moscow encountered not one case of anti-Semitism. (See Annex C.)

XI. Student Life - Non-Academic

A. 99% of the student body belongs to the Komsomol. As to whether or not this joining is compulsory, the students tell the old revolutionary story of the Commandant in the army-occupied village in the Ukraine, who ordered everyone capable of carrying arms to report to the local garrison headquarters - all who did not report would be shot! Joining is thus a "voluntary-compulsory" affair - no one forces you to join, but if you do not you lose so much that it would be far better to have joined. Since most become members at the age of 14 or 15, and since this is an enthusiastic age in any land, there is initial enthusiasm, but this is lost rather quickly. There are practically no recruiting pressures, since if one knows that he is hardly likely to get into the university unless he is a Komsomol member, and that he will be continually asked why and given no peace if he does not belong, he finds it simpler to join.

B. Two or three big Komsomol meetings are held during each term, and smaller group meetings are held about once each month. There are usually about 30% absent from the meetings, but such absence is a risky business. For frequent misses one is reprimanded officially before the board of the Komsomol, and for many students it is not amusing to stand there beating ones' breast and crying mea culpa. Continual offenses may result in expulsion from the Komsomol, a most unpleasant experience, since this is automatically accompanied by dismissal from the university. It is therefore by far the lesser evil to attend at least a minimum of meetings.

C. In practice, the Komsomol leaders come from the student body. There are two types: the outstanding student without the courage to resist the "election" who is needed for a facade and who does not do very much after he takes office, and the student who is preparing himself for a career in the party and is quite outspoken about this. In this latter group are the ambitious people as well as those who realize that their personal limitations are such that the only decent career they can have is in the party. The position may also be profitable, for the Komsomol secretary for a faculty at the university is paid 800 Rubles a month in addition to his stipend.

D. In reality, the Komsomol is lead by the Party Organization and the Party Secretary in the faculty where the Komsomol is organized. Officially the Party Organization has only an advisory capacity with respect to the Komsomol, but as a matter of fact, they direct all of its activities. They select the candidates for office in the Komsomol, who are theoretically then elected by secret ballot. But here that old devil "democratic centralism" rears its head - there are only as many

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candidates nominated as there are vacancies, and there must be a majority against any individual in order that he not be elected. This occurs in the case of a student who is particularly disliked, although it is quite rare, and then the party organization merely selects a new candidate and holds a new election.

E. The Komsomol plays many roles in the university activities. They supervise attendance at lectures, especially in the political subjects. Practically all activities not strictly private in nature are under Komsomol control - sports, public discussions, meetings, and work. They take an active interest in the political reliability of the student. In the realm of post-graduate study they exert a tremendous influence, for the Komsomol leaders must approve all selections for such work. They are thus able to, and do stack the post graduate schools with students on whom they can depend for party work around the university. This results in poor scholastic accomplishment, and over 70% of the post-graduate students do not even present their theses.

F. The Komsomols exert a considerable amount of influence within the universities, for almost all non-academic activities and a part of the academic activities are under their direction or supervision. At one time they exerted moral influence as well, but this has largely disappeared in view of the fact that the Komsomols are no longer a chosen group - nearly everyone is a member. The work is so dull and formal that it is performed only out of necessity, and enthusiasm is completely lacking except in the budding party careerists. Nevertheless, the functions of control noted above give the Komsomol much physical if not moral control.

G. An example of the Komsomol's waning moral influence was noted in an issue of the Komsomolski Pravda. Here the story is told of two Komsomol students traveling in a train compartment with several other people. The students asked the conductor for the loan of a chess set, and the conductor informed them that they will have to make a 30 Ruble deposit before he can oblige. The students reply that they are Komsomols, and therefore would not steal. To this the conductor snorts that he knows their kind, and that whether or not one is a member of the Komsomol does not matter - the important thing is to be decent fellows.

H. Since there is not much difference in the Soviet Union between politics and compulsion, the political influence of the Komsomols is considerable. They can force the student, with rare exception, to do just what is wanted, from taking up leisure time with discussion groups to going to the collective farms to work. However, at meetings, no one would dream of discussing politics or suggesting political resolutions except those which are in support of the Central Committee, although of late there is a tendency among the more aggressive students to use the forms of Komsomol democracy as a tool for the criticism of the regime - particularly where the contrast between form and reality is especially evident.

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I. The most prevalent attitude among the students toward the Komsomols is to be a member in name only, and to "keep one's nose clean!" The Komsomol is taken for granted, it exists, one must belong. There is no Komsomol camaraderie. Some of the activities are appealing, but not because they are Komsomol activities - the student does not associate politics with an evening of dancing. The hostile students, however, have special aims in the performance of their Komsomol duties. One student was assigned the task of reading lectures to groups of young army recruits, stressing patriotism. He quoted a passage from Tolstoi in which Czar Nicholas I meets a young high school boy. Nicholas does not like to see such young, healthy types not in uniform and begins to question the chap. "Are you a gymnasium student?" "Yes, Your Majesty." "Do you like to wear a uniform?" "Yes, Your Majesty." "Do you think it looks fine?" "Yes, Your Majesty." "Would you like to be with the military?" "No, Your Majesty!" To which the Czar replied, "Go away, you idiot." The defense to any criticism of this story is that it has been told as illustration of Tolstoi protesting against the military rule of the Czar - it is an unmasking of Czarism. The influence hoped for is something else.

J. The student attitude toward the Komsomol varies according to the personal qualities of the leader, of which there are many. (In the University of Moscow, there are 55 Komsomol secretaries - one per faculty for the eleven faculties, and one per year for the five years. In addition to these, each dormitory or hostel has a Komsomol organization). The careerists are easy to recognize and to stay away from - their show of authority and obvious industry points them out at once. But in many cases, the leader helps his career by participating fully, but at the same time tries to understand the other students as human being and avoids taking a firm stand. When this occurs, it is possible for the student who wishes to do so to avoid many activities.

K. There are many attempts made to make the Komsomols more interesting through the sponsoring of dancing parties, games, sports activities, parades and other festivities. But it is difficult to combine political indoctrination with social activities, and for this reason the Komsomols are quite successful in attracting people to their social affairs. At an evening party, for example, the official part begins with speeches, during the course of which the most applause is received by the speaker with least to say. This lasts for an hour or so, and then begins the dance or concert, bearing little or no relation to the official part of the evening. The slogans and pictures on the wall have about the same effect as that well known ad "Drink Coca-cola". One is aware of its existence, but it has little effect on whether or not you drink the stuff - either you have been drinking it for years or you simply do not care for it.

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XII. Student Press

A. The student newspapers are of particular importance in a consideration of the life of the Soviet student. They are, generally speaking, divided into three categories:

1. The Komsomol organization for a given year (one through five) produces a newspaper for students which is plastered on the walls in various locations. This is usually typed on thick sheets of normal white paper which are in turn pasted on a large sheet of paper about the size of a standard desk. The editor and staff correspondents of these papers are voluntary workers and receive no pay - the Komsomol considers this social work. The editor orders the materials, articles, editorials, and determines what is published and what not. He submits the paper before publication to the Party Organization for censorship. Frequently "politically unripe" material is thrown out and controversial matter goes to the next higher party level for decision. Often, before the argument as to what should stay and what should be eliminated is finished, the paper has been published.

2. Each faculty at the University also has its wall newspaper, and its format, production and control are identical with that of the smaller paper. It is merely larger and is sponsored by the Trade Union Organization.

3. In the big universities a regular newspaper in news format appears about twice a month under the sponsorship of the Party Organization. In this case, the editor is not a student, but a full time employee who is paid accordingly. Here too, control of content is much more strict than in the case of the other papers, and the editor is fully as responsible as any other editor in the Soviet Union. Except for feature writers, the correspondents are students working voluntarily. The editorials are usually written by the editor and follow the party line exactly.

B. The editors of the wall newspapers are elected at Komsomol meetings along with the regular committees. Usually the editor is someone offered by the Komsomol, although on occasion an individual not offered is elected. In the case of the printed newspaper, the editor is appointed by the party organization. Correspondents are chosen by the editor.

C. The content of these newspapers in 1953 was impossibly dull, repeating the current slogans on raising the political level of the students, studying better and so on. On occasion the papers were used for denunciation purposes, and when the Komsomol Committee singled out an individual for denunciation, the process was begun in the papers. But since 1953, the newspapers, especially the wall papers, are getting more lively all the time. They contain very free discussions of art problems, new books and films. They talk about student affairs, including what lectures should be attended and which ones should not. On many walls,

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one can find examples of student poetry. The wall newspaper of the Philological Faculty at the University of Moscow 9 (called Komsomolia) sometimes published quite unorthodox things, and as a result was attached by the printed newspaper, Moscow University.

D. The wall newspapers at the universities and institutes are no doubt the freest branch of the Soviet press. Access to the papers is easy, and they hang on the walls from four to six weeks before being replaced by a new edition. In Komsomolia, at the University of Moscow, in the spring of 1956 an article was printed concerning the poetry circle at the University and their activities and poems. This article revealed that certain of the poems published in an earlier issue had been attacked by the party press for pessimism and various other "crimes". The article went on to answer this criticism in a very aggressive manner, and hung this answer right alongside the party criticism. The wall newspapers tend to sneak in the truth in discussions of art and literature and the policies of the government pertaining to these. They are very frank in their discussions of the cultural programs of the regime. Poems or stories which would see the light in no other publication find their way into them. A student who has visited a village will publish honest notes on the life there. But it is impossible to make direct attacks on the government, and this is not even attempted.

E. Their influence upon the students is great, for they represent a means for the broad distribution of news. Until the article on the poetry circle noted above appeared, very few students had heard of this group, and interest increased thereafter. The satirical section of the papers has a corrective influence in many cases, because much of the satire is directed against just plain bad students. In other instances the satire wacks away at over-regimentation. As a medium of propaganda and denunciation, the positive influence of the papers overbalances the negative. No one reads to the end anything which is apparently propaganda whereas there is free discussion of the rest of the paper. The printed newspapers on the other hand, have an influence not much different than the average Soviet paper. They occasionally contain academic articles of influence, but their political and ideological articles fail to influence to any degree like those of the wall newspapers.

F. Although in the last few years a few strictly student papers have appeared, the preference is for oral discussion, and the product has been less of a newspaper than a satirical piece produced for the amusement of a few friends. Although interest in these is great, their influence is extremely limited because of their limited distribution. An interesting example of this type of publication was "Die Hefte des Buchanismus", published in a limited edition at the University of Moscow during 1954 and 1955. This was a little book published in three copies, of which the pages were typewritten and then illustrated by hand painting. It was satirical but not directly politically biased, relying for its effect on a subtle ridicule of the new Soviet aristocracy as exemplified by Buchan, the sone of a political commissar who had been brought up

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in occupied Germany and was then attending the University of Moscow. Buchan was one step above an idiot, but had plenty of money and an apartment, and some of the poorer intellectuals at the University associated with him for the last two reasons while at the same time developing a satirical philosophy based upon Buchan's life and experience. Articles in the book were devoted to "Croce and Buchanismus", the "Effects of Buchanismus Upon the Political Development of Sartre", and even a story of Buchan's search in Leipzig for a virgin, using as bait three tins of beef and a jar of honey. (He finally found one!) These volumes were extremely popular, and were known by a number of students who had not read them. But their distribution was very limited - according to the publishers, very few were intellectually ready for the impact of Buchanismus.

G. Such student efforts as "The Figleaf", "The Azure Bud", and so on, including "The Bell", were known from the Soviet press, but had not been read.

III. Other Student Groups

A. There is a tendency among the students to organize small debating groups or study groups devoted to specialized fields in which the students are interested, or in other cases directed toward fields which are outside the immediate interest of the student for the purpose of broadening cultural knowledge. These range from the history of art to aeronautics. Such groups are highly informal, and when the Komsomol organization finds out about them, they usually disappear.

B. Scientific debating societies on special problems according to the faculty involved are organized within the universities. These are made up of only the best students, and the discussions are conducted on a high plane beyond the official curriculum.

C. There were "literary circles" at the University of Moscow which were officially sponsored by the university. The discussions of these groups sometimes went far beyond the limits officially set for them, and politically loaded debates, particularly in the humanitarian faculties, were frequent. Whenever this occurred, the group came in for heavy criticism by the Komsomol.

D. Chess clubs were usually under the sponsorship of the Komsomol, as were the sport activities. Theater groups (there is a good one at the University of Moscow) were partly under faculty sponsorship and partly under that of the Komsomol. The Komsomol also organized debates on specific literary or political subjects from time to time. For example, in the winter of 1955, one topic for debate was Granin's novel "The Searchers". This was participated in by the Philological Faculty of the University of Moscow and the Aeronautics Institute under sponsorship of the Komsomol. A large audience was present, and a furious debate on the use of half truths resulted which was not appreciated by the Komsomol.

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E. When these groups noted above are sponsored officially, meetings are usually held in the appropriate faculties, whereas non-official meetings are held in private homes or apartments. Where technical matters are involved, frequently they are lead by professors, or by an individual gifted in the particular field. The result of some of the more interesting sessions may be an increase in participation in the next session, but in any event, the discussions started in the debates frequently carry to a broader audience and find further discussion in small groups of students.

XIV. Student Obligations

A. The schedule of the average student is a heavy one. During the first two or three years, the average time spent in class runs to about 36 hours per week for a six day week, or three two hour lectures per day. Later on lectures are decreased until in the fourth year the student has about 20 to 26 hours each week. In the fifth year this time is even less, and in the last term of the fifth year there are no lectures. There are variations in the weight of the load in various terms and faculties, and of course, according to the capabilities of the student. But if the student works conscientiously all the time, he has very little leisure time, and is under fairly constant pressure. For example, at the University of Moscow a course called World Literature ran eight terms. The average required reading per term was about 20,000 pages, and the student was examined at the end of each term. At the end of every two terms, a paper was required. Because of this load, there is a tendency now to cut ~~as~~ many seminar and lecture hours as possible in favor of voluntary work and some lectures are almost always skipped.

B. The student has therefore only as much leisure time as he is willing to take, and since the Komsomol wants the student to spend all of his leisure time in their activities or those of the party, it is also a question of how much of this can be avoided. Some of it is not avoidable - agitator work in election campaigns and lecture work in the factories or to the Army come up from time to time. "Sunday work" is a favorite Komsomol pastime, when the students are rounded up for such work as laboring on building projects, or in the fall for potato digging at the nearby farms. This work is nearly impossible for the average student to avoid, and impossible for the elected Komsomol and Party personnel.

C. Vacation time usually comes in July and August, (there are no summer terms) and those students whose families do not live in the town where they study try to go home. Many vacation in rest homes. But 50 to 60% of the students are drafted for summer work by the Komsomols, or to go to the collective farms for two weeks or more. Many go to the Virgin Lands for the full two months (from which they all return), or in Moscow, to labor on buildings under construction.

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D. Avoiding this forced work becomes an art. If one has money or privilege, and can get through the summer without the summer stipend (which one will receive anyway in the fall) the trick is to get out of town before the heavy hand of the Komsomol falls upon your shoulder. Work assignments for the summer are not announced during examinations, because of their possible effect on the examinations themselves. There is a brief period after the exams and before the stipend is received when the student who does not wish to work leaves town quickly. When he returns to town in the fall, and the Komsomol asks where he disappeared to so fast, the student says in amazement that he did not know he was wanted. He then collects his summer stipend and goes about his work.

E. On principle, most of the students are opposed to this idea of forced work - the idea of being made to do something has no appeal. It is only natural that they should prefer a gay time at the beach to a summer of back breaking work on the farm. But there are some students who participate willingly in these summer programs because of the opportunity it gives them to learn a little bit about life elsewhere in the Soviet Union. If the programs were conducted without the use of so much compulsion, there would probably be a great deal more participation.

F. For the student to be employed during the summer as an Intourist guide requires considerable pull, unless he possesses capability in a rare language such as Swedish, Persian or Chinese. Not many succeed, although many are filled with a desire to do so for the opportunity it gives to meet and talk to people from outside the Soviet bloc. Sometimes, as occurred in August 1955 during the World Student Council in Moscow, relatively large numbers of students are employed as interpreters. (In the case cited, they were employed by the Anti-Fascist Council of Soviet Youth.) But Intourist employment is that most desired, not only because of the foreign contacts, but also because of the high pay and the travel and expense accounts involved.

G. When the student graduates, a situation confronts him which he resents highly. He must serve three years in a post to which he is appointed by a selection board, and this appointment usually bears no relation to his desires, or in many cases to his abilities. He may avoid this if he is chosen for post-graduate work, or if his parents are so ill that it is impractical for him to leave the city. If one has pull or can find some one to ask for you, it is possible to appoint yourself - find a job wherever, and then get the boss to send a demand to the Distribution Board for your services. This will usually be effective. This last action is also used sometimes as a pretext. The party workers naturally chose their own jobs. It is estimated that at the University of Moscow about 50% of the students graduating are able to dodge this selection process by one means or another.

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XV. Student Jargon.

A. There is a slang usage of ordinary Russian words which is utilized in broad circles of students and others. For example, the Russian word for great in pre-war slang was Nikolaiski, now replaced by Staatski, which is also the word for pertaining to the USA. There are frequent political overtones in this usage of ordinary words for slang, whereas in the case of the stilyagi the slang used is completely indiscernible to outsiders, has no political overtones, and may be completely different from Russian.

B. Attached hereto as Annex D is a brief list of Student Jargon.

XVI. Student Living Conditions.

A. Soviet students live with their parents or relatives while attending school, or rent rooms in town, or, and this last category includes the majority of the students, live in the hostels or dormitories provided. The students live in the hotel of their choice, frequently with roommates of their choice, and although they can make changes later on, they must go through such red tape that it is hardly worth the trouble.

B. An average size hostel in the old buildings at the University of Moscow will hold about 470 students, living in rooms which range in their capacity from one to ten students. Single rooms are given to fourth and fifth year Soviet students and to married couples. There is considerable overcrowding in these hostels, to the extent that when applying for entrance to the University one must state whether or not he will require a room in a hostel. If he does, this diminishes his chances of being accepted.

C. There is an official curfew set in the hostels of midnight, but practically speaking, no one is nasty if the student does not make it unless there is other reason for suspicion. To remain out all night for one night results only in the student's becoming the subject of jokes, but to repeat this too often may well cause trouble with the Komsomol. There is no sign out procedure, but in each hostel there is a document check point at which the "student ticket" (see below) is checked every time the student passes. This rule was enforced strictly at the University of Moscow even during the day. Guests are permitted in the rooms, but these must be signed in, and the person being visited checked to see if he wishes to receive the visitor. Regardless of the sex of the guest, if he or she fails to leave before curfew or an hour or two thereafter, it is best to remain all night. These rules also apply on the week-ends.

D. In each building, there is a Komsomol organization, a party organization, and a student committee. This last committee is primarily concerned with the technical side of life in the hostels - with keeping

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the place clean and generally in order. The Komsomol organization is concerned with the political and moral supervision of the students, and in the hostels can be a vicious affair. There is much petty gossip in the hostels, and this results in many students from the hostels coming before the Komsomol meetings, to account for their statements or actions. Student committees and Komsomol organizations are chosen at general meetings, and although the committee is supposed to be an independant organization working with the Komsomol, it is merely another arm of the Komsomol.

E. Faculty members normally do not live in the hostels, but this is not a firm rule, especially in view of the housing shortage. Post-graduate students live in the hostels if they wish. In addition to these, there are two or three "commandants" per hostel. These people, often retired soldiers, check documents, look after the students, and generally are in charge of the preservation of law and order.

F. Attendance in the dining rooms is not compulsory, but if one does attend those in the hostels, it is necessary to go through the usual identification procedures upon entering.

G. Storage space in the student's rooms is at a premium, and though it of course depends upon the size of the room, usually the occupants rely upon one cupboard and after that go on a catch as catch can basis, under the beds, in the corners, wherever there is a bit of room. There is normally a book shelf shared by all in the room, but no desks. It is thus extremely uncomfortable, if not impossible, to study in the hostel rooms, even when only two or three are sharing the room. Hostels for the women are usually much cleaner and better ordered, although their size and arrangement and lack of adequate space results in the same difficulties which confront the men. One dormitory may be used for women one year and for men the next. However, in the new dormitories at the University of Moscow, there are corridors for boys and girls in the same building. The men and women can visit each other in their rooms, but they usually don't bother because of the competition with three or four roommates. A few have single rooms, and an attempt was made to prevent this visiting when these were first opened. This attempt met with no success.

H. Cleaning and servicing of the dormitories is supposed to be done by the students, with the assistance of the commandants noted above. In addition, there are charwomen who come in at intervals, usually in the mornings.

I. When the student is so fortunate as to have his own room, he will usually meet his non-university friends there unless he has a particular reason for not wishing to do so. There are also sitting rooms in the dormitories, especially in the new buildings, with TV sets and

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other entertainment devices, but these rooms are usually so noisy and full of people that they are hardly suitable for quiet conversation, although strangely enough, chess players are found there frequently. The older dormitories do not possess even these small advantages, and the crowding is prohibitive. When the student is living with his parents and wishes to take a friend home, he is again faced with the overcrowding problem, unless his parents are wealthy enough to have a private home. Probably the best solution to the entertainment problem is to have a room of one's own in town. But it is the unusual student who can find or afford such luxury.

J. Where the student studies depends upon the profession for which he is preparing himself and the conditions under which he lives. When technical work is involved, there is much studying done in the laboratories, which are frequently available two or three evenings a week. The public libraries are used, as are the University libraries. In Moscow, for example, there is a library at the University of Moscow which is organized on a faculty basis - each faculty having its own library. In addition, there is the Lenin Library, the Foreign Literature Library, and the Historic Library as well as other specialized ones.

K. In the libraries at Moscow, there is a strong hierarchy of reading rooms. At the lowest level is a general reading room, open to all, where the average student does his work. Next in order is the Scientific Reading Room, open to instructors, assistant professors, post-graduates, and a few students who manage to get cards through pull or because their proficiency is such that the professors will grant this privilege. Next is the Professors Reading Room, which is strictly for professors, although others do manage access. At the very top is a Special Library Fund, which requires special access frequently, though not automatically given to those who have access to the scientific room. In this room one can get practically everything published anywhere in the world except Russian emigre literature. To enter, it is necessary to have a special letter signed by the Dean saying that there is a need for access. In this room, the rules are quite strict. If one copies something from a book, these notes are supposed to be left for inspection and picked up later on. Exceptions to this exist but are rare, and usually involve old well-known readers in special fields. When one is first admitted to these rooms, it is necessary to sign a certificate saying that the spreading of the information received from publications obtained there except for scientific purposes is a punishable offense under Article 5810. Student access to this room is very limited.

L. Library hours at the University of Moscow were from 0830 until 2200 daily except Sunday when the library closed at 1800. The public libraries were open from 0900 until 2300 daily. A library card for the public libraries is obtained by presentation of one's Passport and police registration. In restricted rooms, it is necessary to obtain

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special documentation. The student obtains his library card for use at the University library by presenting his Passport and his student identification card. Students cannot draw books from the public libraries - only professors and organizations are thus privileged. Books in limited supply and reference books cannot be withdrawn from the University libraries. Books in the Special Fund cannot be removed from the room.

M. Material which is being used in the libraries, including the books, can be left in care of the librarian for a period of up to ten days. It is put on a special shelf, and identified by the library card number of the student. At the end of the ten day period, the books go back on the shelf unless they have been extended. Extension may be granted unless there is an unusual demand for the book wanted.

N. The Lenin Library is an interesting example of the procedures which are required in some libraries, although in this case the controls are somewhat stricter than normal. At the entrance to the library is a policeman, to whom one must show a library card in order to enter the building. Immediately after the entrance, there is a table at which sits a woman known as the Library Controller. She is shown the library card, and in return she hands the student a Control Card, on which full name, library card number, and category as reader are entered. With this slip and the library card, one proceeds to the appropriate reading room. At the book counter in the reading room, library card and control slip are presented and the desired books are requested. The number of books taken is entered on the control slip. One can then read in relative peace. When the books are returned at the counter, the control slip and library card are again presented, and the control slip is stamped accordingly. The student then returns to the Library Controller, who stamps an exit permit on the control slip provided the entries from the reading room are correct. As one leaves the library, this control slip is turned over to the policeman at the door, and one goes on about one's business.

O. Literature in the Russian language published abroad is not available even in the special fund library. In the big cities, in the big libraries, since 1955 periodicals in English and French and other languages are obtainable. There are also books on a wide range of subjects - philosophy and economy and fiction included, but for the literature of the 1920's written by the so-called enemies of the people in Russian, special permission is required. This is also true of foreign language publications which are directly anti-Soviet or anti-Communist.

P. Both Soviet and foreign students receive certain privileges. Among the Soviets, these include those whose families have good connections or are very good in the academic field, or are very high in the CP or

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Komsomol hierarchy at the University. "Spanish children", those offspring of the veterans of the Spanish revolution, receive special privileges. All foreign students receive special privileges. These privileges take the form of more financial support in some cases - the "Spanish children" receiving a flat 500 Rubles per month instead of the normal stipend. Children of those who fell in World War II get a pension varying according to the rank and service of the parent, until the completion of their education. They have the alternative of drawing either the pension or stipend, whichever is greater, but they may not draw both. Secretaries of the Komsomol organizations get 800 Rubles per month in addition to their stipend. The fact that a wealthy student, or one living at home, is also paid a stipend constitutes an additional financial privilege. However, for none of the students are there special prices, nor are there special shops for their use. All receive free books from the libraries which must be returned at the end of the second term. The student assumes financial responsibility for these books, and must pay for loss or damage. There is no such thing as free quarters, since all who live in the hostels must pay about 40 Rubles per month. Whatever spending money exists must come from the stipend unless the student has private means or an additional grant of money.

Q. No special restrictions are exerted over the coming and going of the students. Except for a few restricted areas, one simply goes, and as a general rule this also applies to foreign students, with the proviso that if the citizens of their country of origin are permitted travel in any area, so are the students from that country. (The students from the satellites do not seem to have this privilege, but the details of their restrictions are not known.)

R. There is no exemption from Komsomol membership for the Soviet student. Whether or not the Soviet student can skip the required work groups and week-end details depends upon his own dodging ability. The courses in Marxism-Leninism are mandatory - there is no exemption from these for anyone, and it is possible to cut only very few of the lectures or seminars. All of the students perform roughly the same amount of academic work, but from a non-academic standpoint, this can vary a great deal, particularly if one is engaged in the time consuming party or Komsomol activities.

S. All students must take examinations. However, if one comes from an influential family, or stands well in the party or Komsomol hierarchy, pressure can be brought to improve grades or to obtain a passing instead of a failing mark. This is particularly true of bearers of famous names or Komsomol officials. The student may obtain permission to skip lectures or parts of a course if his relation with the professor is good, and may even arrange to take his examinations earlier. But none of this applies to the lectures or examinations on Marxism-Leninism, or to the political courses.

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T. In general, good relations on the part of the student with the instructor result in the same advantages as in the free world, except that emphasis on establishing good relations is greater in the Soviet Union if one wishes to have access to other than the normal instruction or reference. It is, for example, through this medium that access to foreign or Russian literature is obtained. But the instructors have nothing to do with participation in party or Komsol activities, and can do nothing for the students, regardless of their academic standing, to alleviate this requirement.

XVII. Student Documentation

A. Each Soviet student is equipped with the following documents:

1. Passport, obtained at the local police station. This document is checked upon application of the student for admission to the university, and is again checked before the student receives his diploma upon graduation. In addition it is checked at hotels when registering, for normal travel purposes, and for the occasional police checks occurring usually in the evenings. It is used when changing residence, at which time one must check out of the old residence with the police, and check into the new residence.

2. "Student Ticket", issued at the Dean's Office of the University, identifies one as being a student at a particular institute. This document is also used for identification when traveling. It is supposed to be checked each time one enters and leaves a university building, but practically this is not done. It is checked when entering the dormitories, and when receiving books at the university library.

3. Komsomol Card, issued by the Regional Committee of the Komsomol Organization. In addition to identifying one as a Komsomol member, this card must be presented when entering Komsomol meetings.

4. Trade Union Card of the Trade Union of University Students and Teachers, issued by the Trade Union Committee at the appropriate university. This card is almost never checked.

5. Matriculation Book, issued by the Dean's Office, and checked at every examination. This card serves in part as a report of the students progress, but in addition constitutes a record of all examinations completed, grades received, and semester hours completed. When the student has completed his university work, this card is exchanged for his diploma. For the student, it is a particularly valuable card.

6. Mutual Help Fund Card, issued by the Trade Union Committee. This Fund is one into which each student pays a small amount of money

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each month, and from which he can borrow from 150 to 700 Rubles to be repaid by deduction from his stipend on a monthly basis without interest. Money can be borrowed for almost any purpose, from buying a new coat to paying bills. In the event the student has not used the fund, he is repaid his total contribution when he leaves the university. The card for this fund is checked only when the student borrows money.

7. Library Cards, one for each library used, are issued by the library, and must be shown each time the library is used.

8. Reserve Officers Card. This card is carried only by those students who, after four years reserve training at the university, pass the state examination in military training and become reserve officers. This card is issued by the Regional Military Kommissariat.

B. The foreign student in the Soviet Union carries only the Soviet Passport for foreigners, the student ticket, and the library cards.

XVIII. Freedom of Movement

A. There are no rules preventing the Soviet student from meeting anyone from any class of society. In fact, whether wittingly or not, the government sponsors rather broad contacts on the part of the student in sending him to collective farms and through the Komsomol's giving him an opportunity to observe the workers during the required political work in the factories. (These opportunities are discussed elsewhere in this paper.) For the foreign student, although access to the various groups of Soviet society is not normally prohibited, there is simply less opportunity, since to begin with his accent makes genuine contact and conversation difficult, and he is not assigned to the work jobs which come the way of the average Soviet student.

B. Prior to the Yugoslav split, there was a great deal of visiting between Soviet and foreign students at the homes of the Soviet students, but the split with Tito caused those people who had Yugoslavian friends a considerable amount of trouble. After that more care was taken. In general, it was not prohibited, but was not recommended to invite foreigners home. Today it is easier in the sense that the general feeling of relaxation also contributes to this aspect of life, but despite that, it is still an extraordinary event for a Soviet to invite a foreign student to his home.

C. It is not known whether or not certain areas of the university of Moscow are closed to Soviet or foreign students, nor whether areas of Moscow, except for military posts, are closed.

D. Whereas Soviet students meet with their Soviet friends according to their individual tastes and the possibilities which present themselves,

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the meetings between Soviet and foreign students do not normally take place on the campus. If either possesses private rooms in town, the meeting will take place in those rooms, otherwise usually in a public place such as a restaurant. It is necessary that these meetings be open and informal, since invitations of this nature are still not common.

E. Going with, or meeting with someone other than the university group presents for the Soviet student a special problem, since here he risks what is sometimes called "putting oneself in opposition to the collective", or going with one individual rather than the group. The Komsomol organization is on the look-out for this sort of thing, and it is therefore advisable not to meet these friends on the campus, regardless of the type of friendship. (As a matter of fact, this is a wise procedure even in the case of other university friends, since one must always take care to give the Komsomol nothing to talk about) This problem is equally applicable to the satellite students, but does not confront the foreign student to the same degree.

F. It is not difficult to contact a Soviet student if one knows only his name, provided one knows the city in which he lives. Except for Moscow, every town has an Address Board, which retains the name of all persons living in the town, having obtained these from the police registration. One should know the name, patronymic, and family name of the person being sought.

G. The schedule at the university permits only one free day per week - Sunday, and even this day is not completely free. Summer vacation runs from the last days of June through July and August, and in the winter there is a two week vacation period which extends from approximately the last week of January through the first week of February. When travelling during the summer vacation, it is desirable, although not mandatory, for the Soviet student to have in his possession a "Vacation Certificate", which states that the student is on leave, and which acts more as a certificate of social status in obtaining accommodations and the like than as a strictly permissive document. This is obtained from the faculty before leaving, although one can travel without it, since there is no restriction on student travel unless it be financial. During the winter vacation there is considerable travel performed for the purpose of skiing trips, often in groups because this is cheaper, although such group travel is not mandatory. The week-ends are a different matter. As stated before work during these periods is mandatory for the Soviet student, and he must often work four to six hours on Sundays, usually on some building project in the city. This can be avoided, but avoidance is a risky business because it may well lead to trouble with the Komsomol. It is also possible, and with much less risk of trouble, to avoid the summer sessions on the collective farms, and this is more prevalent than the skipping of weekend work.

H. The Soviet student body is under continuous surveillance -

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by informers in the student body, by the militia, and by the Komsomol, whose surveillance might be called official. This is not a surveillance in the technical sense of the word, but in the sense of being under continual general observation. There is a general awareness among the student body of this fact, an awareness which takes concrete form in the knowledge that "big brother" in the Komsomol is continually watching over all individual and collective student activities. There is also a less specific awareness of the existence of informers in the student body, but this finds concrete form only when it is noted that the group surrounding a particular individual may be melting away without fuss or fanfare. No one was ever pinned down as an informer, only general assumptions were made. The rare exception to this might be exemplified by a student at the University of Moscow named Baigushev, who frequently printed articles in the student papers which amounted to denunciations. He was known as a man to avoid if one wished to stay out of trouble. (From one standpoint he was successful, since he is now believed to be working as a correspondent on the staff of Sovietski Kultur). As for the steps open to the students to counter this, little of a positive nature could be done - one could only attempt to avoid contact with those suspected of informing. This situation should have resulted in the Soviet student's placing his trust in no one, but as a matter of fact, such a thing was impossible for many, and one could therefore only be careful in all associations until the point was reached where one felt that some trust could be given.

I. The private rooms of the Soviet students are searched on occasion. Although no specific instance of this was experienced, it was known to occur in the hostels because there was frequently some tell-tale sign such as things not being exactly as they had been left. These searches were more frequent under Stalin, when they were done on a "just in case" basis.

J. Foreign and Soviet students mix with each other in a relatively free fashion. There is nothing clandestine about the meetings, although for a foreign student to go to the home of Soviet student is unusual. They will meet normally in public places, having lunch or dinner together or going to the theater or taking walks in the evening. There are no known special gathering places for these meetings.

K. Meeting and mixing with tourists on the part of the Soviet as well as the foreign student is officially frowned upon, but it does take place with a fair amount of frequency. It is necessary to protect oneself however by talking about these meetings only in one's own group, restricting conversation to close and trusted friends. (Satellite students are under this same restriction, and stand the chance of being returned to their own countries under a cloud if they become embroiled with a tourist.) In 1952 and 1953 one was likely to be interrogated after association if such association was discovered. Now however this only occurs in exceptional cases, and does not deter the students who, cut off from the rest of the world and living under abnormal conditions, desire to find out what normal conditions are in the rest of the world.

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They have an interest in life abroad, and particularly in the material side. Sometimes they have a more basic interest in buying something which the tourist has. The student prefers the usual tourist spots for meeting, and though this will not occur right away, he may eventually take the tourist home with him.

XIX. Secret Student Groups

A. Secret student groups consist for the most part of small, informally organized spontaneous gatherings of friends who have quite limited purposes. They are not conspirative political organizations in any sense of the word. Although in rare instances they do produce leaflets which attack the regime, in many more instances they are merely groups of people out for a good time, whether this takes the form of literary discussion or chess playing. An occasional group will come together on the basis of black market activities, but this is not so much a group as an informal circle without specific leadership whose objective may be the pooling of resources of money or talent. One thing the groups have in common is that they are usually quite short-lived, and for the most harmless to exist more than two or three years at the most is unusual.

B. Most of the groups have no names, particularly the more serious ones, since an organized group with a name would constitute a conspiracy - that is, establishing a formal organization outside the Party or the Komsomol. It is estimated that there are relatively large numbers of these small informal groups, mostly around the universities. Their meetings are as irregular as their organization, although they meet in the evenings in the libraries, or in the street, or in a restaurant or the apartment of a member. There are rarely formally appointed or elected leaders as such, although in the occasional black market groups, leadership will fall to one of the more powerful or talented members. Sometimes a professor or instructor will constitute a leader to the extent that he is the center of a discussion group. The members are not so much selected as they are accumulated through introduction by one already a member of the group. If their personality appeals to the group and they are trusted, they become group members.

C. For security reasons, and also because in most cases they do not need them, these groups do not keep records. Books and pamphlets which are read and discussed by groups are circulated from hand to hand, and the man who currently has the material is responsible for it and for its safekeeping. Once he passes it on to the next man, he forgets the man from whom he got it, forgets that he had it, and does not recall to whom he gave it. This is of course particularly true of illegal documents.

D. Communications in the group are quite informal, with notifications of meetings coming usually by word of mouth or sometimes through a note

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or letter. The telephone is not used despite the fact that the meetings are frequently spontaneous.

E. The ideas, plans, and discussions of these groups are in many instances circulated through the typing of letters in several copies, through word of mouth discussions, and in isolated instances through the production of mimeographed leaflets. Mimeographing is particularly dangerous, since the possession of a private mimeograph is in itself a crime - one need not be caught producing anything, it is enough to have such a machine without a license to be in hot water. Typing several copies is effective provided one is not producing material which is attempting to undermine the regime. Not always so effective, but certainly safer is the oral dissemination of the group ideas, in seminars, or among small groups of friends, or even in other student groups. However, unless one is downright illegal and producing mimeographed material for a large audience, the circle which can be reached is quite limited, for one is still skirting the fringes of legality. An example of this last problem was Vladim Mezhuiev, a University of Moscow philology student who produced a paper in typed form on the subject of historical materialism. He considered his subject as a part of the study of history, and not as a separate entity. This doctrinal violation led him into trouble, and the error was compounded in that he did not leave himself a loophole through which to retreat when his paper was discovered.

F. There is sometimes contact between the various student groups, and there is occasionally an interchange of friends between one group and another. But the groups realize their illegality, and attempt to keep the circle as closed as possible. Where they do get together, it is to carry out some concerted campaign, as against a particularly unpopular professor, and then coordination is maintained only through personal contact between certain members of the groups.

G. The groups attempt to take measures against penetration, but in a negative sense. Their precautionary measures include permitting new members only after recommendation and on the basis of personal knowledge of the old members. In some instances they even conceal personal friendships. However, since the groups do not take conspiratorial measures, once the authorities learn of the existence of a group it is almost impossible to prevent penetration.

H. A number of measures have been taken by the authorities to curtail the activities of these groups. Prior to 1954, it was the practice to eliminate the group, giving the participants appropriate punishment ranging from reprimand to dismissal from the university. Now, when a group is discovered, an attempt is made to organize it as a part of the faculty, or bring it into and absorb it in the Komsomol. Those group members who can be persecuted are given much the same punishment as before, ranging for more serious offenses up to arrest and criminal prosecution. It happens frequently however, that reprimand

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for one is enough to frighten all of a group. Exposing the group or one of its members to public criticism is effective not because the criticism itself is valid, but because there is an effective force behind the criticism. The group may thereupon dissolve as a result of fear, or because they realize that to continue would be futile.

XX. Student Blackmarket Operations

A. There were very few students at the University of Moscow who were known to participate in blackmarket activities, primarily because the academic standards were so high and the calibre of the student much greater than in the other institutions. At the other institutes where standards were not so high and the work load lighter, blackmarketing was more frequent, and occurred much more frequently among boys than girls.

B. When the student blackmarkets, his reasons are usually financial. However, most who engage in blackmarketing are not destitutely poor, but are merely interested in obtaining extra money. Since work does not pay in proportion to the effort put out, among certain of the young people there is a contempt for work which extends in some case even to intellectual effort, and the relative ease with which additional funds can be obtained in the blackmarket, plus the excitement stemming from the risks involved, encourages this group to such efforts. There is in addition a certain pride of being different which contributes to the thrill of blackmarketing.

C. Although only a few students were known to engage in blackmarketing, they represented in Moscow several institutions. Several were known in the Institute of Foreign Languages, and others in the Institute of Economics, the Institute of International Trade, the Pedagogical Institute, and one from the Ichthological Institute. A graduate student in the Mathematical Institute of the University of Moscow was reputed to have become very rich through the sale of nylons. When purchasing a pair from him, it was learned th t he had a "cover" job as a night guard at a department store, and although his precise source was unknown, it was presumed that it was through this job that he obtained the stockings.

D. Petty black marketeers are frequently members of the stilyagi, but those who are in the higher group, so to speak, are usually not. They find it preferable not to be in the public eye in any way. In both cases, whether or not they work as groups or individuals depends upon the product blackmarketed. Occasional clothes obtained from foreigners visiting the Soviet Union for resale on the blackmarket are usually bought and sold by individuals, and no known organized group in this

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commodity was known. However, the production and distribution of records was a highly organized business requiring the service of fairly large groups for production and distribution.

XXI. Communications, Mail and Packages

A. Both Soviet and foreign students send their mail, domestic and foreign, through University post offices, public post offices, or public boxes. In Moscow, one used the Moscow Central Post Office on Kierov Street for speed, but except for that there was no preference as to which box might be used. At the University of Moscow, there was a post office in the old dormitory on Strominka Street, and one in the new dormitory on Lenin Hills. Although not known, it is believed that these were not subjected to any special restrictions. There were also small boxes at various spots around the university grounds.

B. If one wished to register a letter, it was necessary to go to the Post Office to do so. Although to send such a letter it was not necessary to show an identity card or passport, it was necessary to show one of these documents when receiving either a registered letter or a letter addressed to one care of general delivery. In fact, when one received a registered letter, the post office took note of the passport number.

C. Return addresses were required to be used only in the case of a registered letter or wire, although it was generally the custom to use a return address in the case of all mail. Since no identification needed be shown, it was quite possible to use a fictitious return address. (Registered letters or wires could be sent either with or without return receipt requested, a postcard being used as the receipt, regardless of whether the message was sent domestically or foreign.)

D. Although there has never been an official statement to this effect, everyone assumed that all mail going abroad was censored.

E. Student mail was never censored before being sent, but might be held up or read under certain conditions. If a student received an official offer through, for example, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, to join a Pen Pal Club, and this offer was sent through the University, the student was supposed to show all of his responses to the Komsomol Committee prior to mailing for approval, comment or suggestion. (This, however, did not preclude the mail being opened again farther up the line.) Such procedure might also apply to a group letter going abroad, and was an official procedure known to the students from experience. It was possible to avoid Komsomol editing and if one did so the official censor would not send the letter back, but such an action constituted a risk which few students cared to take, since it was possible thereby to get into trouble either with the Komsomol Committee or more potent

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organs of the government. It was possible to avoid the Komsomol censorship by writing one or two letters following the normal procedure, and then sending one's correspondent a home or General Delivery address. This was generally successful, but only in avoiding the Komsomol - not the official censor. One accomplished something thereby, since the Komsomol told one what he should write, whereas the official censor was only interested in what one should not write.

F. There was no university mail room at the University of Moscow through which mail was received. Each faculty and each hostel had its own pigeon hole mail box system, and if letters to a student were addressed care of the faculty, the Dean's office put the letter in the appropriate pigeon hole. In the case of the hostel, the hostel commandant put the letter in the student's box. It is not believed that the mail was opened at either of these points. Mail was never delivered to the student's room in the hostel, although wires were delivered. Mail sent to the student's home or town rooms was delivered by letter carrier to the post box found on each door, or directly to the individual when no letter box was present. (There are no general boxes found for an apartment building, as is the case in the West. The postman always rings in the Soviet Union.)

G. Mail delivery took place two or three times a day seven days a week. Usually delivery occurred early in the morning, in the afternoon, and sometimes in the evening. Wires were delivered until midnight unless marked "Urgent" (cost was doubled) when delivery took place at any time.

H. Several kinds of wire service existed. The base rate for wires was 30 kopeks per word and one Ruble per telegram. A wire from Vladivostok to Moscow normally took from 8 to 24 hours to be delivered. By paying double rates, the wire could be marked "Urgent", and would then be delivered in 2 hours. A "lightning" service, costing four times the base rate, would procure delivery in one-half hour. Service to smaller towns took longer, according to the facilities existing, and the time of day one sent the wire.

I. There is no special registration for students desiring to send mail abroad, except in the sense noted in paragraph E. above. In the event however, that something goes wrong, it is wise for the student to be able to give the authorities a reason for having been in communication with someone abroad.

J. As stated before, it was believed that all outgoing and incoming mail from the capitalist world was censored, while that mail

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to and from the "People's Democracies" was only spot-checked. It was felt to be impossible to take measures against ordinary censorship, and though the students were not afraid to send or receive such letters, they were uneasy when doing so. Correspondence with the West was not looked upon so negatively in 1956 as in 1953, especially if one were prepared with a reason for writing.

K. The procedures for sending and receiving packages from abroad are believed to have been different, and include certain customs details and duties. However, these are not known. Within the Soviet Union, the delivery procedures were generally the same as those applicable to letters, although it is believed that deliveries were made separately. In cases involving a bulky package, one would receive notice to go to the Post Office to pick it up. This was also applicable to very heavy packages, and to the packages of fruit frequently sent to the students from the country.

L. There were two categories of packages, one known as "Parcel" and the other termed "Package". The Parcel is a wooden box of various sizes sold at the Post Office, used for the mailing of such things as clothes, shoes, and even such small items as watches. When sending a Parcel, one shows it open to the Post Office, and after approval, the lid is nailed on at the postal counter and the parcel is given over for mailing. Parcels are used for the sending of food from cities where this is legal. (In Moscow, and other large cities it is against the law to send food, but one needs only to go 10 or so kilometers out of town to a suburban post office to mail such a parcel) The parcel is often not delivered by the postman but must be picked up. First notification is followed by a second notice five days later. If the package is not then picked up, storage charges begin. Both parcels and packages require a return address, which may be fictitious.

M. Packages included such items as books or medicines, and these were normally delivered to the addressee despite the fact that they were sometimes heavier than the parcels. They are, however, more expensive. Packages may be wrapped at home, and although the post office has the right to open these, the sender need not take them unopened to the post office.

N. In order to pick up a parcel, it is necessary to fill in a form and show one's passport or identity document. This form includes name, surname, patronymic, date of birth, Passport number and address of the person picking up the parcel. There is no questioning to be undergone when one picks up a parcel, but one is usually asked from where he expects the parcel. (Sender's name is not included in the notice that the parcel is to be picked up.) However, even if one does not know the origin of the parcel it is not withheld. Contents are not examined before receipt.

O. Internal charges on all types of mail are usually paid by the

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sender. Letters can be sent collect, but packages and parcels may not be. Wires may not be sent collect, but the sender may prepay the reply.

P. No list of contents of a package or a parcel are required, and they may be insured for any amount without describing contents.

XXII. Communications - Telephone

A. Telephone numbers may be obtained from telephone books, which list the name, address and phone number of individuals only. These phone books are to be found in homes, in public telephone booths, and in general in the same locations where one finds telephone books in the West. The last telephone book recalled was published in 1955. The last book published containing various firms and government departments was published in either 1952 or 1953. If one has a phone and no telephone book, the book must be requested in writing and is obtained from the Post Office.

B. In Moscow, one may also obtain a telephone number by dialing information on zero nine. Information will give the number on the basis of name only (except for Ivan Ivanovs), name and address, or address only. No information is required from the individuals, phone numbers of government offices and factories, and theater and cinema news. In Moscow and Leningrad one may also obtain through information bookings for the theater and train and plane information. (Other special Moscow numbers include 01 for fire reporting, 02 for ambulance requests, and 05, a special information service requiring registry and payment) It does not cost anything to call information on the phone in Moscow, however, if the question is one involving a long time to fulfill, one cannot get service but must go to an Information Bureau.

C. There are Inquiry or Information Bureaus all over Moscow, from which can be obtained information regarding the names and addresses of persons living in the city, and such assistance as train, plane and other travel information. A Central Address Board, which is accessible to the public, is located at 3 Pushechnaya Street, and may be consulted only for complicated information not available at the local boards. An example of its use is the situation in which one knows the middle name of an individual and his approximate address, and wishes to locate this person. The cost of utilizing these services varies from 20 to 50 Kopeks. (There is also a Central Information Bureau, which is not accessible to the public, but used by official installations and persons.) Replies to inquiries at these bureaus are given on standard printed forms, and the time required to obtain an answer depends upon the question asked. There is, however, a large amount of information available, and it is available to all who can be understood.

D. In telephoning each other, the students will normally use what-

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ever phone is convenient - private, in the corridors in an apartment, or the public phone booths. One aftomat (public phone booth) is as good as another from the standpoint of security, and these aftomats are used when the student feels that it is necessary to be as secure as possible in his conversations. If one is discussing something which should be kept from the authorities, however, the rule is not to use any telephone. If one wishes to make a contact with a foreigner, use the aftomat .

E. There are many aftomats around the University of Moscow grounds, but no booth centers, such as exist elsewhere in town. Phone booths are numbered, but only to identify the booth. It is not possible to call from one aftomat to another, nor is it possible to receive phone calls in an aftomat. A call from a phone booth costs 15 Kopeks. In the big cities, there are only dial systems from these booths, and it is not possible to call the operator.

F. Long distance calls may be placed in several ways. One may call from a private home phone on credit. There are central places for the making of long distance calls at which one pays as he calls. One may also go to the Post Office and purchase a receipt for a long distance call valid for sixty days. To use, one gives the receipt number when making the call. A call may also be placed to an individual who has no phone. In this case, one goes to the Post Office, gives the name and address, and makes an appointment to make the call 24 hours later. The Post Office sends the individual being called a telegram telling him to go to a specified long distance center at the time stated, and the call is put through at that time. There is an extra charge for this service.

G. The cost of long distance phone calls is high. Three minutes between Moscow and Leningrad costs 6.20 Rubles after midnight, and from Magadan to Moscow costs 50 Rubles for three minutes. A call from Moscow to Leningrad goes through quite rapidly, but where the lines are not so well organized hours may be required to complete a call, and in some instances calls may be made only at specified hours. The best time to make private long distance calls is between midnight and 0700, when traffic is 50% less and the connection is therefore easier.

XXIII. Parcel Checking

A. It is not possible to state a general rule for the checking of parcels at libraries, restaurants, theaters and museums. (For library procedures, see para. XVI-M) There are frequently cloak rooms, and in some of these parcels are accepted and in others they are not. Where it is possible to check parcels, these go on the same tally with the coat and hat, and it is required that one take back all of the things which were originally checked - removal of part of the material checked is not possible. In Moscow, charging for this service was not noticed.

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but this is not a rule and variations exist according to one's location. If one's ticket is lost, it is necessary to wait for everyone else to claim his things from the cloakroom before reclaiming one's own things. In restaurants, one may check most anything, at a price which varies according to the restaurant. In subways, there is no provision for the checking of parcels or any other items, since lockers of the type familiar in the West do not exist.

B. At stations and airports, baggage room facilities are used for the checking of parcels and the like. One receives a receipt for the items checked on which is entered the number of one's passport or identity card. In order to reclaim the parcel, one must have the receipt and must show a corresponding identity card or passport. In the event the receipt is lost, there is a procedure to be gone through which is not known. If the original checker is unable to pick up the parcel himself, a second person may if armed with a notarized statement empowering him to do so by the original checker.

C. Actually, most any identity card may be used for this checking. The CP card, although acceptable, is not supposed to be used because such use is incompatible with party ethics.

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ANNEX A

SOVIET YOUTH'S ATTITUDE TO THE COMMUNIST REGIME

(An article appearing in the Bulletin
of The Institute for the Study of the
USSR, April 1957)

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SOVIET SOCIETY

Soviet Youth's Attitude to the Communist Regime

Konstantin Simonov once wrote a play entitled A Lad From Our Town, whose young hero dreamt of raising the red banner of Communism over the whole world. This type of formula, propounded at the command of the Soviet propaganda experts, was, until quite recently, the basis on which some people in the West, particularly the leftist intelligentsia, formed their judgments on the moods prevailing among Soviet youth. They argued that Soviet youth, from the kindergarten to the university, is molded in a distinct fashion, and is taught quite definitely that everything favorable to the Communist regime is moral while anything hostile to it is immoral. To the question of whether many youths rebel strongly against the moral principles of the society in which they have to live, by projecting onto Soviet youth the psychology of their counterparts in a democratic society, they arrive at the answer, No!

However, in totalitarian countries the general susceptibility to education and upbringing is not the same as it is in a democratic country. Personal freedom, the opportunity to realize one's own hopes, and the choice of a way of living are so limited that in even the most insensitive person there begins to develop a painful, almost physical feeling of constraint. Many secretly turn off the path of Communism, which they are obliged to follow, into the unknown. Nonconformity, rebellion, and encroachment on the social tenets become, in a totalitarian state, the lot of many persons, who, had they been in a democratic society, would most probably have remained decent, law-abiding citizens. However, the framework of totalitarian conformity is too narrow and the sacrifices demanded are too great. A great strain is built up, and a rupture must occur somewhere.

The demands made by the Soviet leaders on the youth of the country are clearly expressed in the slogan "Sacrifice the Private for the Communal." By "communal" the authorities mean all that is covered by the regime's current demands. The slogan is repeated scores of times at innumerable meetings everywhere in the Soviet Union and the Party administration does its utmost to compel people to live up to it. In practice the phrase means among other things the renunciation of personal choice of profession. The conscientious Soviet citizen must choose his profession not according to his inclinations but in accordance with the needs of the state. It means renunciation of the choice of the place of work. The "young builder of Communism" must be prepared enthusiastically to leave his wife and family, his friends and the amenities to which he is accustomed and go to the virgin lands or to the wastes of Siberia. Every specialist completing his course of studies is compelled, if he wants to avoid unpleasant consequences, to work for three years at an appointed place. The slogan also means the sacrifice of leisure time. The ideal young Communist must be prepared to

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spend his free time on so-called community work, which frequently consists of such tasks as explaining to underfed workers living in barracks why it is such a great fortune to be a citizen of the first proletarian state in the world. Even as far as relations between the sexes are concerned Soviet youth is not free of interference from the Komsomol and the Party, which have the authority to direct the personal affairs of their members.

Who are these Komsomol members, the "activists," who fuse, organize and lead the masses? At least they appear to be conformists. However, the appearance of conformity is only superficial; they preach conformity, but do not practice it. The ideal Komsomol prepared to sacrifice himself and others for the triumph of Communism is a thing of the past. The modern Komsomol leader is first and foremost a calculating careerist. He is prepared to go to the virgin lands, but not for more than a few months, and only in order to make political capital from his visit. There he can direct the masses for a while, and then return under some pretext or other, such as the need to attend a study course. Such people depend upon the regime, and they support it, but it remains for them only a provider. While acclaiming the virtues of ideals they themselves are completely without them and are indifferent to everything that does not affect their careers. This becomes particularly clear from contact with their private lives. Whereas among people who are not completely in agreement with the regime discussions on politics and other burning questions are normal, such discussions, even in the most orthodox spirit, would greatly alarm the activists. Wages, jobs, clothing, sports, fishing, anecdotes designed not to compromise the teller, and women are the usual topics of their conversation. If an ideological theme were to come up in the course of conversation it would probably be squelched by a suggestion that it would be better not to talk shop. On the whole, the activists are people with a great desire to reach the top via the shortest possible route, unburdened by superfluous moral prejudices, and, although perhaps not disbelieving what they say, at least not fully connecting it with their actions. Frank cynics, people who in the company of their intimate friends say that they were collaborating only for their piece of the public pie, are rare. So, too, are persons genuinely prepared to sacrifice themselves for what in their opinion is the common good. Such idealists are to be found only among youths from 15 to 17 years old, who do not know life and have been taken in by official propaganda.

In theory the call to make these sacrifices applies to everyone, but in practice people with influence or in privileged positions can always make sure that their children are not called upon. The vast majority of the younger generation, however, can only struggle to escape the excessive demands made by the Soviet system, and, if unsuccessful, submit. Such a state of affairs causes wide-spread dissatisfaction. The authorities' constant efforts to keep youth under their supervision means that passive dislike of the regime has spread among those people whom Aldous Huxley called private-lifers. This dissatisfaction unites youths of completely

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different cultural and social levels. It is the chief but by no means the only reason for the hostility shown by youth to the regime. There is also dissatisfaction with the material state of affairs, a strong feeling of moral indignation at the government's monstrous crimes, and a general desire for political and spiritual freedom.

The feeling of not being able to control one's own fate or dispose of one's own leisure time begets passivity and lack of faith in the future on the one hand, and a desire to escape, to save one's private life from the oblivion and to protect at any price one's family from needless suffering on the other. All the measures taken by the Soviet leaders founder on the shoal of passivity. A stubborn but mute refusal to lead the whole of one's life in accordance with directives and to sacrifice it in the interests of the rule of the masses disrupts the Party's plans. Party and Komsomol activists do their utmost to overcome this type of inert opposition and constant appeals to enthusiasm, Soviet patriotism, and socialist consciousness are made. These appeals usually go unheeded. People leave the virgin lands, refuse to go to Siberia as "volunteers," dodge community work, feign illness, and under various pretexts get out of the interminable meetings. The ultimate result is that people with criminal records have to be sent to the virgin lands, resulting in extremely poor labor discipline, drunkenness, and brawling. Attempts made at the Siberian projects to replace released prisoners with young volunteers, about whom the Soviet press had so much to say in the spring of last year, have clearly not been a success. Every year thousands of young specialists who have completed their studies at universities or technical instructions refuse to leave the cities and their families to spend the prescribed three years in the remote provinces. Although in many cases the authorities manage to overcome this resistance by threats or pressure, such methods are hardly likely to win new sympathizers.

In the summer of 1956 the Party tried to assemble in Moscow young volunteers to help with the harvest on the virgin lands. At first, exhortations were used, but it soon became obvious that this was leading nowhere. So the payment of grants to students refusing to go was postponed until the fall. This of course did not effect the children of well-to-do parents, but many of those who depended upon these grants had to yield. Naturally, such methods of "persuasion" cause dissatisfaction with the regime. This feeling constantly mounts, turning eventually into dislike and disbelief. Moreover, it is naturally felt that personal interests are in opposition to those of the regime, thereby aggravating the hostility felt towards the authorities and steps taken by them. This can be called a mood, an emotional attitude towards the regime rather than an opinion concerning it. In practice, this mood finds expression in the general striving to keep as aloof as possible from official public opinion, to avoid thinking about social problems, as far as possible to escape the burdens imposed by the system, and to build up as far as possible one's own private life. Thus, people set themselves up against the state and

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its demands that every one participate unconditionally in the building of socialism. They commit to memory the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and master the "historic decisions of the Party and the government," which they are obliged to study at the compulsory seminars and political activities classes, but promptly forget as soon as they can. Many do not even bother to read the newspapers, arguing that if there were a war they would soon find out, while most other topics are of no interest. Such attitudes, however, have no effect on the Soviet authorities.

The need to keep a constant watch over the little world some people have been able to create for themselves and guard against attempts to encroach upon it fosters dissatisfaction with and even enmity towards officialdom. In countless hundreds of people these feelings have no connection with definite political views. Some, dissatisfied and deceived by Soviet propaganda, which has isolated Soviet citizens not only from the outside world but also from one another, at least partially believe what they are told, particularly when it concerns life abroad.

The confused and undefined enmity has penetrated even the most simple, uncultured and least demanding section of the youth, and is of enormous significance. First, it indicates that the Soviet totalitarian regime has not succeeded in creating unconditionally obedient robots, entirely devoid of feeling and ideas. Second, all Party and government measures requiring initiative and sacrifice are destroyed by the indifference with which they are met. Third, dissatisfaction, albeit only half conscious and purely emotional, makes youth unreceptive to attempts at "ideological reeducation." On the contrary, it makes it extremely receptive to the ideas and system of values labeled "bourgeois ideology" in Party jargon. Thus, on January 8, 1957 Trud wrote: "Of late we have become even more frequently witnesses of the enthusiasm of a part of the student youth for vulgar bourgeois literature, formalistic painting, and wild jazz music." Such complaints are common nowadays. They indicate that the politically indifferent majority of youths are potentially anti-Communist. Finally, this mute, long-standing enmity toward the regime feeds the conscious anti-Soviet moods of those who dare to express views which are "unhealthy from the political point of view," as Trud put it. These young people realize that what they say will fall on receptive ears.

Passivity, lack of faith in the future, and attempts to ward off Party pressure at any price frequently give rise to blatant egoism, amorality, indifference to the sufferings of others (sometimes turning into criminally anti-social moods which penetrate the consciousness even of honest people), and a feeling of being lost. In spite of the constant praising of collectivism, Soviet life with its atmosphere of denunciation and terror frequently gives rise to introspection, unsociableness, and even animal individualism.

These feelings and moods also help determine the psychological reaction of Soviet youth to the regime. Although youth is united in its

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passivity and its dislike of the demand for personal sacrifice for the sake of the whole, there are great differences in the further reaction to Party and administrative pressure. After refusing to follow the path laid down for them, many become lost, not knowing what to do. In this respect a poem written by a student and attacked by Komsomolskaya pravda is interesting. One verse runs: "I do not know where to go, or which path to choose whither. My voice is soft and meant for my friends. Oh! please lead a blind girl." The reference to which path to choose implies that the point in question is not merely the choice of the way to take but also the loss of definite moral values which should serve as milestones on this path. The authorities are loud in their advocacy of "Communist morality," which in essence is nothing more than unquestioning obedience to the Party's commands. The majority of youth rejects them, but as a result often finds itself in a moral vacuum from which the only outlet is an idyllization of destruction (as opposed to building Communism which appears senseless to them) and criminal orgies (a reaction to the rigidity of the socialist state).

Many people are affected by such moods, which find their most extreme expression among the stilyagi * and the hooligans. They reject outright demands that they subordinate themselves completely to society, that they study in order to help build Communism, and that they hate capitalist America. Their answers are straightforward: no subordination and everything is lawful; let the fools study; and long live America. A curious feature of their defense of America is that they have a completely false impression of the United States, quite in keeping with the Soviet propaganda claim that it is a country ruled by gangsters and venal politicians, while the workers live in obedience and poverty. The stilyagi have made a fetish of such external features of West-European and American life such as jazz and fashion, and, indeed, good friends will become mortal enemies over a mere item of foreign dress. On the other hand the Soviet authorities and the Soviet way of life are hated and treated with a bravado which usually finds expression in trivialities. For example, a stilyag will paint the red door of his apartment yellow on the pretext that he does not like red, or put his feet on the table of a restaurant, explaining to the protesting waiters that he is trying to make himself "at home," implying America. All this is just a form of rejection of the Soviet way of life, but nothing more. Refusing to work, these young people live either off their well-to-do parents, or by selling jazz records, which are usually copied at home. It is not surprising that many of them end up in prison, not for political offences but for criminal acts. Unlike the stilyagi, the hooligans are not as a rule "professional." They are workers who make their protests against the monotony of life and lack of hope for a better future by debauchery and brawling. Imbued with an anarchist-

* Based on the Russian word for "style," and approximately equivalent to the American zoot suiter or the British teddy-boy.

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ical mood and often demoralized by idleness the stilyagi and the hooligans are the end product of the collapse of moral standards brought about by social repression and the constant interference by the state in private life. They are a noisy and striking group, but they are not large and, most of all, they are not typical of Soviet youth, of its moods or its aspirations. Soviet propaganda, true to its principle of discrediting morally its political opponents, identifies those elements of Soviet youth who are conscious enemies of the regime with the stilyagi. This is only a propaganda trick for the only thing the two have in common is their protest against the lack of freedom. But it is one thing to protest against absence of freedom in the name of political freedom, and another to act the hooligan.

The system of completely limiting the individual in the USSR is such that moods of depression occur even among the privileged youth, who receive everything as a birthright without having to struggle for a place in life. They understand full well that the Soviet regime alone protects their interests, and therefore they accept it. Nevertheless, their credo is not devotion to the Party and the government but a cynical bon vivantism often accompanied by pessimism and a predilection for Western culture. Except for the children of the upper hierarchy, these people are not allowed to develop and are quickly overcome by a feeling of emptiness, superfluity, and despair, in extreme cases leading to suicide.

The difficult financial position of the majority of the youths, particularly students, is also a source of great dissatisfaction. Whoever does not have well-to-do parents must live on a state grant of between 250 and 400 rubles per month. After paying for a bed in the hostel and for transportation, there is very little left. Students have to eat in the hostel dining rooms, which are really bad. Cutlery is usually sticky with the grease from the water in which it is washed, crockery is covered with a thin layer of slime, tables are packed tightly together, tablecloths are dirty, and the food is unappetizing. The students grumble and laugh it off; there is little else they can do. In the spring of 1956 the students at a Moscow University hostel went so far as to boycott the dining room, which they picketed. This show of initiative worried the authorities considerably. At first they met the students demands, but then began to seek out the ringleaders in order to make an example of them. On this occasion, however, the students remained solid and the culprits were not found. Such events are perhaps of no great significance in themselves but they do indicate the seriousness of the dissatisfaction that is felt, and that the students can join ranks in protest. As is only to be expected, the motivating feelings of Soviet youth find their most obvious expression among those who are worst off.

A recent statement by Voroshilov inadvertently revealed the mood of Soviet youth. On March 1, 1957 he spoke at the plenary session of

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the Central Committee of the Komsomol and his speech was broadcast. Worried by the fact that some of the younger generation were harboring ideas completely at variance with Party canons, he said: "They are maneuvering they are seeking something, they are dreaming about something, but at any rate not about what they should (be dreaming)..... Therefore, we can very easily crush these small beetles." On the following day, however, newspaper accounts of the speech did not include those words. But these phrases which had slipped off Voroshilov's tongue are a clear indication of the difference between the aspirations of Soviet youths and those of the regime.

The general moods of Soviet youth are something nebulous, amorphous, but they engender opinions which can become wedespread when they to some extent at least find an echo. As to the question of whether some Soviet youths are able to form their own critical evaluation of life, it can be said that in spite of the unbelievably difficult conditions and the lack of any opportunity for a free exchange of ideas or of an ideological heritage, such an evaluation is in the process of being formed.

David Burg

(This article is based on the author's personal experiences as a Soviet student)

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ANNEX B

SOVIET YOUTH'S OPPOSITION TO THE COMMUNIST REGIME

(An article appearing in the Bulletin
of The Institute for the Study of
the USSR, May 1957)

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SOVIET SOCIETY

Soviet Youth's Opposition to the Communist Regime

On March 23, 1957 Radio Moscow in a broadcast for its younger listeners gave a picture of the ideal Komsomol member as the Soviet leaders imagine him. Part of the broadcast ran: "The Komsomol is calling for people to go to the Donbas mines. I'm going!" exclaimed the hero. "I don't mind," replied his father. "If they are calling, you'll have to go." The sketch ended with the hero's remark: "I know one thing. The motherland's needs are law."

Only a few years ago such heroes, whose only joy was that of submission, were virtually the only type to be found in the Soviet press; and, indeed, there was a general impression in the outside world that the Soviets had succeeded in creating the "new man." However, the events of 1956 have shown not only the failure of Communism in Poland and Hungary; in 40 years the Soviet "engineers of the soul" have not been able to transform men into submissive robots. On February 28, 1957 Komsomolskaya pravda published a long decree by the Central Committee of the Komsomol organization which differed from the usual Soviet pattern inasmuch as it did not cite just individual shortcomings but was essentially a recognition of the complete failure of Soviet ideological education.

The decree cannot be called a surprise, for as early as 1954 there were signs that the Soviets were dissatisfied with the youth situation. In the spring of 1954 a feuilleton entitled "Mold" appeared, in which the existence of a teen-age problem in the USSR was admitted for the first time. This was the inauguration of a campaign against the so-called stilyazhnichestvo.* The pleasure taken by the stilyagi in modern dancing was bound to clash with the authorities, since jazz, viewed as a product of bourgeois decay is categorically forbidden in the USSR. Imitation of Western jazz is also usually linked with a desire to copy Western dress. Although this is as far as most teen-agers go, for many others it is linked with an unwillingness to work or study. There are two ways out in such cases; either to live off one's parents if they are wealthy or to engage in what the Soviets call "speculation." One of the forms of speculation is the sale of homemade recordings of American jazz and songs by the popular Petr Leshchenko. They are copied from tape recorders or from expensive records onto cleaned X-ray films. Such films, containing one recording, cost ten rubles on the black market.

Since 1956 the problem of stilyazhnichestvo has been pushed into the background by confused talk about "demagogues," "fault-finers," and "loud-mouths." On November 8, 1956 Khrushchev spoke of "unhealthy moods among youth." On February 26, 1957 Komsomolskaya pravda wrote about young people who "because of individual faults do not see the joys of Soviet life." Such statements have appeared very often in the metropolitan and

* Based on the Russian word for "style," and roughly approximate to the American zoot suiter and British teddy-boy.

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provincial press during the last year. For instance, the Soviet leaders discovered among Leningrad students "ultra-revolutionary demagogues," "nihilists, carrying out a re-appraisal of values," "apolitical persons devoid of ideals," and "disturbers of the social order."¹ The Moscow university wall-newspaper Tribuna was accused of permitting slanderous attacks borrowed from the bourgeois press on the Soviet press,² and during the Hungarian events the university itself was closed for one day because of disorders. According to the Soviet press, demagogues and idle chatterers are jumping up and making speeches at the Moscow Power Institute.³

Other examples could be cited; dissatisfaction among graduate technicians at the Uralmashzavod in Sverdlovsk;⁴ demagogic speeches by students during elections at Komsomol meetings in the Ural State University and Polytechnical Institute, also in Sverdlovsk;⁵ awkward questions asked by students in Kursk;⁶ "petty bourgeois individualists" in Voronezh;⁷ and demagogues and all sorts of fault-finers in Azerbaidzhan.⁸

It is difficult to establish what this demagoguery and fault-finding consists of. The newspapers simply report that "unstable students have fallen under the influence of bourgeois propaganda and expressed deliberately false and politically unhealthy views,"⁹ and that "in the Krupskaya Library Institute (in Leningrad) a manuscript magazine Eres appeared, composed of delirious verse, a clumsy imitation of the worst forms of decadent literature."¹⁰ There was no attempt to explain what these deliberately false views were, or what the magazine actually contained.

Whereas the criticism of the stilyagi had been concrete, with innumerable facts and figures quoted, the criticism of "demagogues" has been restricted to general phrases because demagogues talk politics and the Soviet press is obviously afraid to go too deeply into discussions of political opposition - the reader's sympathy might be on the wrong side. However, on January 3, 1957 Komsomolskaya pravda was still repeating: "Agents sent into the USSR are spreading leaflets, passing off the dirty thoughts in them as the voice of Soviet citizens. . . . We

¹ Komsomolskaya pravda, December 14, 1956; Leningradskaya pravda, December 13 and 14, 1956; Trud, January 8, 1957.

² Trud, January 8, 1957

³ Komsomolskaya pravda, January 10, 1957

⁴ Sovetskaya Rossiya, December 19, 1956

⁵ Ibid., December 22, 1956

⁶ Kurskaya pravda, Kursk, January 22, 1957

⁷ Meditzinsky rabotnik, January 15, 1957

⁸ Partiinaya zhizn, No. 22 (1956), p.7

⁹ Trud, January 8, 1957

¹⁰ Komsomolskaya pravda, December 28, 1956

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cannot allow anyone under cover of a struggle, for instance, against bureaucratic elements, to defame our system, to speak about the degeneration of socialism." Here, the two essential features of the unofficial ideology of Soviet youth are named: its revolutionary activism, and its innate conception that the socialist system in the USSR has undergone a bureaucratic degeneration.

This unofficial ideology is not discussed in the Soviet press, although individual features are found in articles and books, for example, in Dudintsev's Not by Bread Alone and in Shcheglov's critical articles which were attacked by Pravda. It is heard only in conversations between close friends, or in closed circles. Recently, when the threat of repressive measures for a careless remark was apparently diminished, seditious speeches were even heard at Komsomol meetings. This is what the Soviet press means when it writes about demagogues and fault-finders.

The denunciation of Stalin is not responsible for the rise of an ideology hostile to the regime, although it certainly had considerable influence. The lessening of the terror enabled it to show itself; the denunciation merely convinced the hesitant. It arose as a reflection of the discontent of youth with the authorities' constant interference in their lives, as a reflection of moral indignation at the regime's crimes, which were known in the USSR before Khrushchev's speech, as a result of a sober evaluation of reality and of moral and social searchings, and as a result of the discrepancy between Marxist theory and Communist practice.

Active hostility towards the regime in the current conditions of Soviet life begins when a person feels sufficient spiritual strength to cast off the crushing burden of official ideology and deny the official false claim of popular support for the regime. These people have one thing in common: the realization that the clash of the interests of the population with those of the authorities cannot be solved by a few little corrections including changes in the leadership. However, disagreements begin with the very question as to why the interests of the people and authorities are opposed to each other, while, as far as social problems are concerned, it is difficult to find two people who have the same views on what ought to replace the existing state of affairs.

The difference between active and passive opposition to the regime at present is that the passive opponent is seeking a way out of the unbearable conditions of Soviet life for himself alone. Those actively hostile to the regime are also seeking a way out for the country as a whole, even if only in theory or utopian dreams. Theoretical activity at the given moment is in all probability the maximum possible anti-government activity, and even attempts to organize opposition to the regime are usually restricted to the spreading of "free thoughts."

The first attempt of this kind was in 1952. A group of students from various Moscow institutes decided to organize a society to spread

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anti-Stalinist propaganda. The group, which consisted of about thirty persons, lasted almost six months. The height of its activities was the spreading of an anti-Soviet leaflet mimeographed at night on one of the institute presses. After this the whole group was arrested. The interrogations lasted two months. One girl named dozens of people who were unconnected with the affair. After they had been arrested and even the MGB had failed to establish their contact with the circle, the interrogator attempted to find an explanation. He received the following answer: "I thought that if people believed there were a lot of us, they would listen to us and would think that we were expressing public opinion." Another girl had obviously joined just for the thrill of being a "spy." Although there was much that appeared childish about the whole affair, the sentences were vicious: three were sentenced to be shot and the rest were sent to a concentration camp for terms of from 10 to 25 years. In 1956 those still alive were amnestied. Eight returned but it is not known what happened to the others.

Another example of an active opponent of the regime was a student from a medical institute who made a hectograph, printed leaflets, distributed them to addresses chosen at random from a telephone book, and stuck them on walls. He was not caught for a year. In 1954 he received a 24-year prison sentence, but was released in 1956 as a result of the efforts of an influential uncle.

While attempts at printed anti-government propaganda were once rare, the situation has changed during the last year. The names of five underground student magazines in Leningrad, Moscow, and Vinnitsa have found their way into the Soviet press, showing that students still take risks to make themselves heard. However, the main form of active opposition to the regime among students now is represented by the meetings of small groups of friends who work out a definite point of view, rejecting Soviet authority in its present form, and attempt to oppose official Soviet ideology with another set of values in all or at least some spheres of social and spiritual life. Two trends may be quoted.

There is a trend that can conditionally be called neo-Bolshevism. It is based to a certain degree on the attraction of the social ideal of Marxism, ignorance of alternative solutions, and the obvious discrepancy between the ideals, defended, at least in theory, by the old Bolsheviks of the 1910's and 1920's, and the Soviet social system. For many, the ideological transformation begins with the discovery of this discrepancy, with a cry of "What have we fought for?" The young Hungarian journalist Deze Kozak who studied for several years in Moscow, described his path of enlightenment in an article in Franc Tireur:

We discovered a complete discrepancy between the theory which our teachers drummed into our heads, and the practice which we observed everywhere every day. Lies and hypocrisy, shady dealings and crimes carried out in the name of socialism, and the luxurious

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life of the privileged evoked revulsion in us. Our disgust was also evoked by the fact that the standard of living of the workers was constantly falling, while we were being forced to prove the reverse in our newspapers. Our indignation was called forth by the fact that all who dared, even timidly, to raise their voices against the injustice, were automatically numbered among the ranks of the enemies of the regime and were accused of betraying their country. But we were even more indignant at the fact that some leaders would remain in their positions although responsible for the arrest, torture, and often execution of thousands of people, whose innocence the authorities were finally forced to admit.

Deze Kozak's path and the factors which influenced him are typical of presentday Soviet youth.

Of course, this sector of youth opposition considers that Soviet society does not reflect the ideals of Marxism. It seeks the real Marxism and turns to the pre-Soviet period or to the 1920's for it. Just as the political and social opposition of the English Puritans to absolutism in the seventeenth century was formed by quotations from the Bible, similar opposition by Soviet youth to the regime is often formed by quotations from the classics of Marxism-Leninism. One's own thoughts are often ascribed to Lenin, and unpleasant passages in Lenin's writings which correspond to Soviet life are simply ignored. Thus, for example, 1937 is interpreted as the year in which the Stalinist clique carried out reprisals against the real leaders of the Revolution. The October Revolution, whose real history is unknown to Soviet youth, is accepted in an idealized form and the objective is a return to its original aims. References are made to the degeneration of the regime to bureaucracy, and to the rise of a new ruling class, whose interests it serves. People with this point of view, in imitation of the old revolutionary parties, support decisive measures and seek means of carrying out an active struggle. Characteristic traits of this ideology are discussions, on outwardly Marxist lines, of the spiritual and moral impasse in which the West finds itself. The absence of any real notion of what contemporary life in the West is, and a view of Western life based on Marx are prerequisites of the neo-Bolshevik point of view.

The alternative, anti-Bolshevik point of view is also based on two points: the enormous economic prosperity of the West and the obvious failure of the socialist experiment in the USSR. The usual reply to the latter is that Russia owes its industrial development to so-called socialist industrialization. A Soviet economist who had access to the archives of the Central Statistical Administration calculated that Russia had lost about 28% of its possible industrial development through socialism, and that if industry and agriculture had continued to develop at the same speed after 1918 as in 1913 and with the same coefficient of delays and economic breakdowns as in America, then overall production would have been 40% more than it actually was.

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Taking the point of view that everything achieved in the USSR in the last 40 years was reached not because of, but despite the Soviet regime and that much more would have been achieved at much less cost without it, a colossal historical mistake has been made. This mistake inevitably resulted in state monopolistic capitalism on an absurd scale, the natural political outcome of which is the present regime, which aims at ensuring the supremacy of those who obtain direct political and economic advantages from the system of state capitalism.

Both the neo- and anti-Bolsheviks see the main problem of Soviet society in the contradiction between the bureaucratic stratum and the people. But while the neo-Bolsheviks view bureaucracy only as a serious illness afflicting socialism which must be cut away to allow the organism to develop, the anti-Bolsheviks consider it the natural result of the whole Soviet system and demand that economic life be completely reorganized. The anti-Bolsheviks agree on the need for a free market as the only means of ensuring that industry will develop in the interests of the consumer and of providing a basis for political democracy in the country. Naturally, they look with sympathy to the West, some finding in Sweden and England, others in America, an approximate model for the future Russia.

Both the neo- and anti-Bolsheviks want the existing bureaucratic police regime removed by a revolution and a political democracy established. But whereas the anti-Bolsheviks oppose any form of dictatorship, the neo-Bolsheviks do not in principle, but consider democracy possible because the exploiting classes have been destroyed in the USSR. In their opinion, the dictatorship of the proletariat has played its part, but has degenerated into a hindrance in the path of social progress. Further, the neo-Bolsheviks wish to maintain a centralized system of state economic control, retaining the kolkhozes after they have been reorganized on a voluntary basis, and reject the need for a free market. All agree on the need to establish a lawful democratic state, in which the basic democratic freedoms are ensured. The present stubborn demand for "spiritual freedom" is a demand for the right to wage a war of ideas for such a state.

There are two points of view among students on the actual prospects of a revolution. Some consider that Soviet society has been so atomized and rendered so lifeless by the Stalinist terror, that in the conditions of a police state it will have to pass through a long and painful process of gaining strength and creating some forms of unity to oppose the authorities. Only then can a revolution take place. Others agree with this evaluation of the present state of society, but point out that at the same time the potential, although unorganized and amorphous dissatisfaction of the people is so strong that any chance event may crystallize it and produce a spontaneous unification of social forces and revolution.

Not all youths who hate the regime take their attitude towards it to

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its logical conclusion. Many protest against the official line pursued in the sphere which affects them personally and then project this protest onto the regime as a whole. In artistic and professional circles the acute dislike of the regime often leads to a rejection of all forms of social life, the cult of the ivory tower, extreme aestheticism, a snobbish attitude towards those not initiated into the secrets of modern art, and an interest in the taboo Western culture. In spite of officialdom frowning on Western culture, some Soviet youths follow it painstakingly. The fact that they can never use the knowledge they gain so doing and that whatever they write cannot go beyond their narrow circle of friends is hardly conducive to increasing their devotion to a regime which, in any case, is unacceptable for compelling art to serve utilitarian and propaganda functions. Unlike the Stalin times, nowadays informal gatherings are held at private homes to play music, read, and in some cases see old foreign movies, and, although political topics are studiously avoided, unorthodox views on art are expressed fairly freely. Even if the discussions are sometimes not overly scientific, the very fact that a free exchange of ideas is taking place is a great benefit, even though the circles involved are limited.

David Burg

(This article is based on the author's personal experiences as a Soviet student.)

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ANNEX C

THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN THE USSR

(An article appearing in French in
the June-July 1957 issue of Evidence,
published by the European Bureau of
The American Jewish Committee)

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THE SITUATION OF JEWS IN THE USSR

By a young Soviet

"There is no Jewish problem in the USSR"
(Grand Soviet Encyclopedia, Vol. XV)

I am not a specialist in Jewish questions. I speak neither Yiddish nor Hebrew. I know very little about Jewish religion and I am almost unacquainted with Jewish culture. How could it be otherwise when, in the USSR, it is actually forbidden to teach it? But I have a strongly developed "Jewish conscience". I owe this conscience to the fact that I have spent my whole existence - I am twenty-four years old - in the USSR and from the day I began to go to school to the one when, in the summer of '56 I left the country, I was brutally and constantly reminded of the fact that I was Jewish. How many conversations have I heard in the family circle always bearing on the same subject - the harshness of the Jewish destiny in the USSR. - Especially when barely camouflaged antisemitic campaigns were released in the press, or sinister rumors were forecasting some new measure or anti-Jewish discrimination. It was after a measure of this kind, having seen the access of a scientific moscovite institute barred to me, that I finally left my native country. In the pages that follow I am going to do my best to make known, such as I knew them from my own experience, the various aspects of the condition of Jews in the USSR.

I was only eight years old when war was declared. As far as the Jewish question is concerned my first conscious memories were of the tragic case of an uncle who was living in the Ukrainian village of Vinnitza and who, at the time of the advance of the Germans, refused to be evacuated. He was killed by the Nazis. He did not believe in the German atrocities. "They are only propaganda lies", he used to say. "I have lived in Germany before the revolution and I know the Germans. It is not possible that they are killing Jews." Such an attitude is easily explained when one knows the way in which the population of the USSR was hermetically isolated from the West, knowing only what was printed in the Soviet newspapers, which they all refused to believe. I point out this example because, in my opinion it illustrates a particularly cruel aspect of the drama.

Such a state of mind reflects the attitude of an important part of the Russian people who, in the beginning, refused to fight for the Soviet regime. But when the German atrocities became universally known this attitude changed completely. The Soviet people fought against the Germans as a single man and the partisan movement acquired vast proportions. In the occupied regions the Jews were assisted in every possible way; they were hidden or enrolled in partisan bands. My uncle's widow was saved in this way. According to her stories the sympathy for the Jews was general.

It was not the same in the areas to the rear, especially in the regions

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where they were sending the evacuated people. There anti-semitism was a blemish; and for very simple reasons. The evacuated people, among which was a large proportion of Jews, made the existence of the local people more difficult; prices went up; apartments were requisitioned for them. The natives muttered and quite naturally held the Jews responsible for the situation. For my part, I struck anti-semitism as soon as I began to go to school in the village of Karaganda (in Central Asia) where we had been sent as evacuees. I was eight at the time. An urchin, a little older than I, without any apparent reason pushed me into a ditch full of icy water, shrieking at me "Yid". I could hardly get out of the ditch; a teacher had to help me. I couldn't understand why the boy had a grudge against me.

When I told this story at home my father told me that I had met a "houligan" and told me of the time when the government was anti-semitic and when the Jews were obliged to live in the "residential zones" of Poland and the Ukrain. My father added that times had changed and the government was actively opposing anti-semitism.

To tell the truth, during the war, the government had adopted a benevolent policy toward Jews. The most threatened part of the population was evacuated first, at the time of the German advance. And the German war crimes were obviously greatly exploited to serve the anti-Hitler propaganda. We know that anti-fascist international committees of Jews were created at this time with the participation of intellectual Russian, American and English Jews. However, it is interesting to note that when it was dealing with Nazi atrocities the government of the USSR spoke of the "Soviet citizens" who were the victims, almost never mentioning the particularly cruel fate of the Jews. On other occasions however, the government knew how to make the distinction. Thus, quite calculatingly, it created "battalions of the dead" composed exclusively of Jews who knew no mercy would be given to them and who would fight to the last man. No anti-semitism here; simply a realistic and cynical design customary of the leaders of the USSR.

The launching of the anti-semitic campaigns in the USSR dates, we know, from the post-war years and coincides with the aggravation of the international situation and the "JDANOVITCHINA", meaning the campaign for intellectual monolithism. I was only fourteen at the time but I well remember the stupor which possessed us as students, when Anna Atchmatova and Zochtenko were henceforth forbidden. The older people were reading with anxiety the daily papers which were filled with ferocious attacks against capitalist countries and they were wondering what the reasons could be for this ferocity. The official propaganda was making an appeal to the most primitive chauvinism superficially covered with marxist phraseology. At this time all the results of world culture - from the invention of the airplane to the discovery of the principles of dialectic - were attributed to the Russians. All movements of resistance

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to Czarism by peoples of another race in the old Russia were condemned as reactionary and the architects of Russian domination, terrible as they were, were elevated to the rank of national heroes. Ivan the Terrible is the most famous example of this, while Chamil, the chief of the revolt of the Caucasian mountain people against Czarism of the nineteenth century was declared "agent of British imperialism" in an article published in "Communist" revue under the signature of the all powerful Bagirov (since shot). People did not have the right to speak of the influence of Western culture on Russia nor to doubt the fact that the steam engine was created by the Russians. Those who dared to criticize, even as timidly as possible, distortions of history, shocking as well as childish, were persecuted as "anti-patriots". But the authorities did not want to admit publicly that there was in Russia among the Soviet intelligentsia a strong proportion of these anti-patriots. If they existed it was convenient to say they were not really Russian. Also the point of the attack was directed toward the intellectual Russian Jews. It is they who, in the years following would have imprisoned the "Russian conscience" with "cosmopolitanism without country", it is they "vagabonds of humanity", who would have tried to both lower the dignity of the Russian people and minimize the grandeur of Russian culture.

I must say that this campaign continued in a manner machiavelian enough for the regime to defend itself from being anti-semitic and to pretend that anti-semitism existed only in capitalist countries. Jews were never globally vilified as such. The operations were much more subtle. Thus, while criticizing the "deviations" of a writer or an artist of Jewish origin, they did not openly condemn him for his origin, but in the many cases where the author used a pseudonym - his family name would be indicated in parentheses. The first victims of this operation were some literary critics, exposed in this way for having dared criticize productions of contemporary Russian authors. Consequently writers, artists, and musicians took sides. I think the first three critics "unmasked" in this fashion were KHOLODOV (MEYEROVITCH), YAKOVLEV (KHOLTZMANN) and MELNIKOV (MELMAN). The allusion was clear. Sometimes it was even more direct. I remember the attack of the famous GUERASSIMOV, former president of the Academie of Arts, against the art critic Abraham EFROS who had permitted himself to speak in an insulting manner about the techniques of the Russian naturalist painters; "How could an Abraham EFROS understand Russian art?" exclaimed GUERASSIMOV. The legal chronicle of the newspaper was also used for the purposes of this camouflaged anti-semitic propaganda. We know that the USSR, to judge by its newspapers, is the country where neither train nor airplane catastrophes exist - neither do accidents in the mines or natural calamities; and that crimes of common right exist only to the point where the government judges it opportune to break forth with educational campaigns against bandits or prevaricators. For, in 1947-48, the criminals of whom the Russian press had such a poor opinion, invariably had Jewish names.

Thus began an evolution which transformed "the Jewish problem" in

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the USSR into a tragedy; thousands of existences smashed; persecutions and humiliations without end and the painful sensation of being treated as an unwanted guest in the land which is your country.

But at this point of my tale I must turn back to show how the Jewish problem was before the persecutions.

We know how, in Czarist Russia, the anti-Jewish measures of the government were equal to the primitive anti-semitism of the masses. The "riots of Jews" were the work of ignorant crowds to whom the police gave freedom of action; and these same police propagated the fable of the "Wise Men of Zion" which stated Jews of the entire world were united in conspiracy to overthrow established powers. Persecuted and humiliated the Jews made up a large part of the revolutionaries (which allowed the fable to be more easily believed); but they never have been in a majority in the communist party or in other left wing parties. Nevertheless after the Revolution of October numerous Jews found themselves in posts of command. And every manifestation of anti-semitism was severely chastized. Also, the dissatisfied ones were identified easily as Jewish and communist and anti-semitism was fought in terms of general discontent.

Starting in 1925 there began, in the very heart of the party, internal ferocious battles which were to end, ten years later, in the "Lawsuit of Moscow" and the destruction of the "Old Guard". It was found that the large majority of old Jewish revolutionaries beginning with Trotzky, Kamenev, and Zinoviev placed themselves among those opposed while the cold realists who chose Stalin's camp contained only a weak proportion of Jews. Many of them and Stalin the very first, acquired more or less consciously anti-semitic feelings in the course of the fight. And that at the time when popular anti-semitism, without disappearing completely was diminishing sensibly.

Thus the Jewish problem in USSR changed its aspect.

In the given example it is certain that besides the foundation of discontent and scepticism diffused by the population of the USSR the Jews had several supplementary reasons for acting in reserve as far as the regime was concerned. Being given a culture generally better and with their knowledge of international life they, less than others, gave credit to official lies. There were few among them who were naive fanatics, imbued with the faith of the coal-man and who make up the indispensable frame of a totalitarian regime. Finally, their personal and family relations in foreign countries made them more suspect to the police - we know that beginning in 1937 all correspondence with foreigners became dangerous in the USSR.

Here is then the way "the Jewish problem" stood in the USSR before the persecutions. It was a question of a kind of unstable balance which

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well reflects, it seems to me, the fact that the proportion of Jews in the famous concentration camps of the USSR was, in relation to the population figures, three times higher than that of other nationalities. In Bolshivist phraseology they constituted an element "unstable" or "unreliable".

In the light of the preceding we understand better that the frantic campaign of chauvinism unleashed in 1947 was to inevitably turn its direction against the Jews. Consequently things became worse, step by step. And more and more the conviction implanted itself among the Russian Jews in so far as one dared speak of such things - that Stalin was the first anti-semitist in the country.

The following step was connected, in 1948, with the creation of the State of Israel. When, on the 16 October 1948, Golda Meyerson, named ambassador to Moscow, paid a visit to the synagogue, thousands of Jews wanted to greet her. The edifice, ordinarily half empty at the time of services, was rapidly filled to the breaking point and there were many who had to stand in the street. Let us think of what this means; a manifestation entirely spontaneous in a Russian street in the year 1948, a manifestation of sympathy for a small foreign country, not at all communist. What is worse, - a certain number of requests were submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Jews who wanted permission to emigrate to Israel, - a sign of subversion still more serious on the part of people who preferred to live in a foreign country rather than stay "under the sun of the Stalinist constitution". The government reaction was not long in coming. The naive applicants for emigration, who had depended on the sympathy that the USSR had given to Israel since its creation, soon left, but in an entirely different direction - they were exiled or interned in camps.

It is probable that the manifestation on the occasion of Mrs. Meyerson's arrival had made the government decide to harden its anti-Jewish position.

One of my friends had attended, in the summer of 1948, a conference given by a propagandist of the Party. He spoke in glowing and favorable terms about the creation of the state of Israel. It is true that when a listener asked him how the Jews could submit applications of emigration he was reproached for not being a loyal Soviet citizen. On the other hand, after the arrival of Golda Meyerson, Ehrenbourg published an article in Pravda stating that Israel was only a bourgeois state like the others, that its government had been sold to the Americans and that the fate of the exploited classes in Israel could not tempt any Soviet citizen.

A little later the Jewish journal "Der Emess" and the Jewish theater of Moscow were suddenly closed. Numerous arrests took place among the people who were not at all Zionists, people whose orthodox communism was above all suspicion. The condemnation to death on the 26th of August of

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1951 of 26 Jewish writers, whom the West had just begun to know, is only a link of the endless chain of persecutions and assassinations. It is enough to recall that in 1949-50 the complete edition of "Der Emess" and the majority of actors in the Jewish theater disappeared without a trace; the teaching of Yiddish and the publication of books in this language were forbidden. Thus, every expression of Jewish cultural and social life was suppressed. As for the campaign against the "Cosmopolitanites" - it continued; they were forbidden to publish, to act or to show themselves at all. When, in 1952, the revue "Novy Mir" dared to publish an article by the critic Gurvitch whom Pravda had classified two years before as cosmopolitan - an article whose orthodoxy left nothing to be desired - the reaction was swift; an editorial from Pravda severely condemned the revue, accusing them of giving shelter to the agents of western imperialism.

Behind this facade of propaganda and consistent with the repressive measures the police were charged with, a system of less spectacular measures were designed to eliminate the Jews from the life of the country. It is important to point out that the Jews were considered as a nationality or as a race but not as a religious body. The fact that one was raised in Jewish culture or was part of a congregation in the synagogue was not taken into consideration. Discriminatory measures concerned those whose identity papers bore the words "Jewish nationality". This inscription was based uniquely on the origin of the parents. If the mother or father was Jewish by birth the children were considered Jewish. In case of mixed marriages the children were registered either as Jews or as Russians, according to the wishes of the parents. It was forbidden to change the nationalities indicated on the identity papers.

In the Russia of the Czars the adopted standard for discriminatory measures was religion. There remained one way of escaping from these measures - conversion. But even this last resource does not exist in the USSR. From the beginning of 1948 all those who had an ethnic link with Judaism were handicapped in one way or another in their right to work or their right to education.

Even as far as the exercise of their religion is concerned the Jews are placed in a situation worse than other people in the USSR. We know that different religions are just barely tolerated by the Soviet government. But the degree of this tolerance is not the same for all. The orthodox religion benefits from a privileged position; it is sometimes used as a utensil for international Soviet expansion (in the Near East, for example) and publications and official revues of the Russian church do exist. Islam and the Protestant religion are treated in a less favorable manner, and at the very bottom of the ladder sits Catholicism and Judaism. As I have said earlier a synagogue does exist in Moscow, one exists in all cities containing a strong proportion of Jews, but they are not attended much and only by old people. Under these conditions

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only a minority suffers from religious persecutions. But the Jews in the USSR risk knowing, one day or another, difficulties arising from their ethnic appearance. Naturally they are that much more exposed if they occupy a position more exposed to view. I have told how those who were famous in the domain of culture, literature and arts were eliminated. Next, beginning in 1949 the purge began to rage against functionaries and technicians, categories to which the major part of Jews belonged.

These measures were never made public, but when learning either that a Jewish factory director was dismissed from his command by disciplinary measures, or that a teacher who had taught for twenty years in a Moscow school had been transferred to Central Asia, the Russian Jews, accustomed by long experience (as are all Soviet citizens) to feel which way the wind was blowing, understood what it was all about. It is characteristic of the Soviet methods that at the time of this purge pretexts of all kinds were put forth. Thus, the director of a nursery school in Moscow attended by children of high level officials lost his position under the pretext of having mismanaged the school affairs; he was accused of buying toys which were too expensive, although no control of the books was ever put into effect. He was lucky not to be brought to trial and to stay in Moscow, finding a guard's position in a school. In another case a respected engineer became a foreman in the same river port in Moscow where he had directed the service of locks. The director of a service of radiology at the University of Moscow was less lucky; after a police search into his affairs he was discharged from his position and had to go to Central Asia where he found work in a hospital. In this last case the searchers reproached him especially for a correspondence which he had maintained, until 1933, with an aunt who lived in Germany.

Along with the purge of officials the one against teachers and scholars was continued. A good number of these lost their jobs under all kinds of pretexts. A professor at the University of Moscow, very popular with his students was fired because he was late to one of his classes. A biologist lost his post at the Institute of Scientific Research where he had been for eighteen years for "lack of production" although he had published more articles than normally required in the course of all these years.

Having lost their jobs these men found themselves in a very bad state. Not only were their references poor, so poor that it was difficult to find new work, but secret instructions were prescribed to limit in every possible way the number of Jews in all the posts of any importance. As for hiding one's origin - useless to ever dream of it since in the USSR one is required to present his passport at the time of being hired and those of Jews indicated their nationality. The more important the former job was the more ticklish the problem, and a number of scholars and directors were forced for some time to work as common laborers.

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Also, strange as it may seem, the first purge of 1949-51 could be called relatively liberal. Only the high level officials and holders of important jobs were fired - one after the other. Generally speaking, doctors, engineers and technicians were not bothered. Furthermore, as I have said before, no allusion was ever made to the fact that the interested party lost his job because of his Jewish origin, which as a whole made the affair less bothersome for others. Finally, except on rare occasions, the purged persons were not arrested. Beginning in 1952 the situation became even more serious. But before reaching this period I will mention one last restriction - the most serious in my opinion: that of the right to education.

Before the revolution there existed a "numerous clausus" for Jews in the Russian schools and universities. In our time, theoretically speaking, the Jews had free access to all educational institutions. But in reality their possibilities were narrowly limited. It seems that there existed rules which the Jews had to obey, forbidding them from the most important institutions and universities, while the second class institutions could admit them if it was a question of really choice subjects. Even those who completed their secondary education with honors and who should have been able to enroll in the universities without entrance exams were able to do it only thanks to relatives or to a coincidence of favorable circumstances. It is enough to say that one of the faculties of the University of Moscow which, before the war, had close to forty per cent Jewish students admitted only three Jews out of the two hundred students in 1951. Of these three one was admitted thanks to the protection of an influential professor, the second because his father held an important post, and the third because she was the daughter of a doctor who had cared for a member of the Central Committee.

Admission to technical or teaching institutions is easier than to universities, but it is still more difficult for Jews than for non-Jews.

I know of cases where students got themselves admitted to very exclusive institutions by hiding their origins. They didn't succeed in keeping it a secret very long. Between 1949 and 1953 three students were expelled from the Military Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow for "having hidden their Jewish origin".

While the entrance of Jews to universities and institutions is difficult, but not totally impossible, courses of scientific teaching are completely barred to them. The road leading to them passes by the "Institute of Candidates", where the future teachers are picked and where Jews are never admitted. In one case very familiar to me, a professor said to a Jewish student "I would like to make you my assistant but to do that you have to pass by the Institute of Candidates and the admission board will never want you since you are Jewish. It's not even worth my time to try."

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Just imagine for a minute the effect this would have on an ambitious young man and what bitterness it would cause him.

However during all these years the physical existence of Jews was not threatened. It was otherwise in 1953.

In 1952 the tension under which the Russian Jews lived gradually increased. Beginning in October of 1952 rumors began to circulate about massive arrests, especially in the Western Ukraine (region of Lvov). On the thirteenth of January 1953 the catastrophe broke. On this day Pravda published the news of the "plot of the White Coats," which had just been discovered thanks to the vigilance of the police and of which "international zionism, agent of American imperialism" had been the instigator. One should remember that almost all the accused doctors were Jewish.

Panic began to reign among the Russian Jews. What was coming was only too evident. Precedents had been established; total deportation, in 1946, of the population of the Tarter republic of Crimea and that of the Caucasian "Ingouches". Furthermore, other indications were not late in coming; in the month of February 1953 it became impossible for a Jew to obtain from the militia a certificate of civilian status and the only possible explanation of this irregularity was that their dossiers had been incorporated in the service of the notorious M.G.B. (Ministry of Public Security), whose responsibility it was to choose Jews for deportation. Another characteristic detail - but one I didn't learn until later: in the beginning of 1953, barracks were hastily constructed in a great number in "Birobidjan", the "Jewish region" which is in Eastern Siberia and which is inhabited by some twenty million Jews. (I got that from a doctor who lived in the region and who, in 1956, was passing through Moscow.)

The rumors which began to circulate in the beginning of 1953 were of different varieties. According to the most widely spread rumors the major part of Jews were going to be deported, while a group of Jews in favor, such as Kaganovitch or Ehrenbourg, would sign a statement approving the "wise measures of the party and the government". Tension became unbearable. Many sold their possessions and their furniture, hoping to be able to take hard cash with them at the time of imminent exile. Others slept with their suitcases ready - the M.G.B. men granted only a quarter of an hour to pack.

Meanwhile "anti-zionist" propaganda was intensified and was combined with the old "anticosmopolitan" propaganda. The only publication which manifested a little less ardor in this affair, the "Literary Gazette", joined in unison after the arrest of the chief of the satirical section, M. Berchadsky. In general, purges, dismissals and arrests multiplied. Here are some examples which touched me very closely:

In the Ukrain the police arrested my aunt who, sixty-two years old,

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had lost her husband and her daughter during the war, and who had become part of a partisan band. She was accused of anti-Soviet propaganda and condemned to ten years in a camp. What actually happened was that in the course of a conversation with a young girl who lived with her she expressed doubts about the guilt of the accused doctors. We know that the latter were rehabilitated in April of 53'; but my aunt was not set free until the beginning of 1956.

A family friend who worked in a publishing house in Moscow was asked by his section chief to resign. And this without the shadow of a pretext. "Our house is Russian and it is not suitable for a Jew to work with us", he declared bluntly. When our friend indignantly refused to leave, the director chased him out of the office. And, the next day, his dismissal was announced. The reason given? "Flagrant disobedience".

I myself barely escaped serious trouble. The editors of the Journal of the Institute where I was studying, wanting to imitate the example of the official newspapers, decided to publish an article in which I was going to be accused of being a malingerer and a typically Jewish "apple polisher" unworthy of being part of the institution. The publication of this article would have brought about my immediate exclusion. The article was already written when Stalin died and events took a new turn.

It is certain that the frantic "anti-zionist" campaign at the beginning of 1953 instigated deep echoes among the masses. In the street and in public places numerous riots took place. In Stalingrad, for example, the office of a doctor, Dr. Otetingou, name-sake of one of accused, was broken into and completely ransacked. In Moscow one of my cousins whose features are typically Jewish was injured while standing in line for a bus and was prevented from getting on. There were deeds even more serious. In the railway station of Toula the crowd pushed from a train a young student of Russian medicine who had tried to defend a Jew who had been attacked. The unfortunate fellow was crushed to death. According to rumors which circulated in Moscow there were, in the Ukraine, important massacres of Jews. I should like to point out that the examples I cite here were told to me by eye-witnesses or carried by word of mouth. Under the circumstances there obviously is no other method of communication of news in Soviet Russia. If there had existed in the papers a column of "Doings about town" it is certain that the list of incidents of this kind would be very long. So, as I have said, the Jews lived in constant anxiety and expected to be arrested en masse, which certainly would have come if the tyrant had not died the fifth of March. I will surprise no one, I think, by adding that it is suspected that his death was not natural. One will remember how, on the basis of the intrigues and struggles of cliques which marked the first phase of the post-Stalin era, the "poisoning doctors" were rehabilitated in May 1953. We learned on this occasion that the number of accused had been sixteen, seven of whom were Jewish. In January, nine names only had been thrown as fodder for the crowd, seven of whom were Jewish. The liquidation of the affair of the doctors marked the end of overt attacks against the Jews.

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At the same time, while putting them at liberty, the government made every effort to juggle the real problem. It was certainly a question of "socialist legality" in consequence of which two of the accused were killed during the inquest. But at no time was it a question of what it meant, that is to say the explosion of anti-semitism which had marked the lost years of Stalinist autocracy. Since then, neither "the Jews" nor "anti-semitism" have been mentioned by the Soviet press. This unhappily did not mean the abandon of anti-semitic policy. Even if the principal victims of the persecutions were rehabilitated and the families recalled from exile, the situation of Jews in general, if better than 1953, was not better for example, than in 1951.

First of all, the rehabilitations were done in a cunning manner; they were semi-clandestine. The family of the victim was informed that an error (imputed to Beria and to his former subordinates) had occurred and that the family was authorized to return to their native village. If it was a question of a writer, public opinion was informed by a short paragraph in the third page of the "Literary Gazette", saying that the Association of Writers has organized a committee to receive the literary heritage of Mr. so and so. Extracts of his works were sometimes published by a revue. The publication is preceded by a biographical sketch saying that so and so is dead or "had tragically perished" in 1951, and that after his death his name fell into "undeserved oblivion". That he was executed was never mentioned. The anti-semitic policy which made him a victim is not explicitly condemned - it is passed by very silently just as though it never existed. It is in this way that the Jewish writers executed in 1951 were rehabilitated such as Itzik Feffer, Leib Kvitko, Houchnirov, etc.

As for the other victims their rehabilitation took place quite privately. Only their families were informed. Not a word about these tragic "errors" was published in the press. I will add the less familiar the victim the slower the rehabilitation. I am positive that at the time when I left the USSR there remained some people still languishing in exile, awaiting their freedom.

Just the same the measures taken at the time of the "purge" of 1951-52 were kept in effect. The officials and technicians discharged or sent away were not returned to their former jobs, except on rare occasions. If there were no more disbandings of this kind, if the Jews were no longer dismissed simply because they were Jews, discrimination at the time of hiring continued. The same is true concerning the right to education.

Here is a personal example: In the spring of 1956 I was to begin work in a scientific institute in Moscow. The director of the laboratory where I wanted to be told me frankly that I was to be patient and wait for the section chief to leave on vacation. In principle it is impossible in the USSR to be hired for a job without the agreement of this official. But this one was going to be replaced during his absence by the chief director of the Institute, which left some hope. (I didn't have the chance to go through with this as I left the USSR in the beginning of '56)

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Just the same one of my friends who wanted to become an atomic engineer received a discreet answer from the Institute of Atomic Research stating that because of his Jewish origin there was scarcely a chance for his application to be accepted. I ought to say that such discrimination rouses the indignation of the cultivated Russians. But the bitterness remains and it is aggravated by the hostility shown in the policy and Soviet propaganda with regard to the state of Israel. This is why pro-Israelian sentiments reaching a true Jewish nationalism grows in intensity among Russian Jews. It is certain that the younger generation feels itself much more Jewish than the preceeding one - the one between the two wars. When Israelian basketball or football teams come to Moscow they are acclaimed with enthusiasm by the young Jews; many go to the airport to greet them. On the occasion of the creation of the State of Israel, Jewish officers from an Air Force detachment stationed in Germany had a big reunion, sang Jewish hymns, and, intoxicated, cried out "Chema Israel". Two of them were arrested, but one succeeded in escaping and fled to the West.

In these conditions this Jewish nationalism often was accompanied by a live hostility with regard to the regime. But one must not generalize. Certain Russian Jews continued to consider anti-semitism from below more dangerous than from above. They reason as follows: "The regime creates difficulties for us but it lets us live. If this regime is crushed we run the risk of perishing in the course of the period of anarchy which would follow. It is thus better to support this regime."

The attraction which Israel exercises does not contain mystic or religious elements. For the Russian Jews Israel is not the country of the Biblical promise but a lay country. As far as I could judge religion, which for two millinaries was the principal band uniting Jews, is slowly dying in Russia. This is because of the impossibility of giving a religious education to the young. It is yielding place to a sentiment of unity and of national solidarity. For the Jews no longer consider themselves "vagabonds of humanity" since a Jewish country now exists. Also the Jews in the USSR have a deep interest in the successes and defeats of the Israelian state, full of pride for their compatriots who have transformed deserts into orchards and repulsed the attacks of Arab armies. When they can they listen to Radio Jerusalem and communicate to others the rare news that they succeed in obtaining about Israel.

From all which has preceeded the following conclusions ought to be drawn:

The Soviet government applies a discriminatory policy with regard to citizens ethnically Jewish and designated as such on their identity papers. This discrimination influences especially their rights to work and to education.

The post-war period can be divided into three phases:

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1. 1948 to October 1952. In the course of this period measures of discrimination were adopted, Jewish culture destroyed, purges took place and the population was psychologically prepared to accept these measures.
2. October 1952 - April 1953. Height of government anti-semitism; mass arrests, preparations for a general deportation.
3. April 1953 - August 1956. The campaign of fanatic anti-semitism stopped but measures taken during the preceding period were not revoked.

Since August of '56, on the basis of political tension between the USSR and Asrael, official anti-semitism seems to have been reactivated. According to numerous reports deportations of Jews of the Baltic countries and of the Western Ukraine have taken place. Jews are forced to sign papers against Israelian aggression and several Jewish students from Moscow who refused to do it were arrested.

All these anti-semitic measures have reinforced nationalist Jewish sentiments and the hostility toward the regime, complicating even more the Jewish question. In my opinion it is impossible to solve this problem in a totalitarian dictatorship. Only a democratic government which takes into consideration the interests of different groups of the population and which exerts itself to satisfy them rather than to adopt solutions of force can create the conditions required for a satisfactory solution.

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ANNEX D

SLANG TERMS

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SLANG TERMS

<u>SLANG</u>	<u>NORMAL</u>	<u>TRANSLATION</u>
чувак	парень	fellow, boy
чувиха	девушка	girl
керной	пьяный	drunken
башлять	продавать	to sell (sometimes to buy)
лепин	пиджак	jacket
брюца	брюки	trousers
костюмец	костюм	suit of clothes
лобать	играть	to play a musical instrument
лабух	музыкант	musician
крёвый	хороший	swell, grand
керять	пить	to drink alcohol
фирменный	иностранный	foreign
фирменник	иностранец	foreigner
штатский	американский	American
облапсать, лапсать	подвести	to fail somebody
лапса	неприятное или опасное положение	an unpleasant or dangerous situation
фарцовщик	спекулянт	black marketeer
качумать	молчать	to be silent
качум	молчание или верность	silence or loyalty
пират	агент в штатском или тайный осведо- митель	plainclothesman or secret informer
облапсаться	потерпеть неудачу провалиться	to fail
гад	милиционер	militia-man

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ANNEX E

FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

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FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

I. General

A. At the University of Moscow, depending upon the faculty involved, 10 to 20% of the students were foreigners. In the Philological Faculty, for example, foreign students constituted about 10% of the student body. In the technical faculties and institutes, the percentage runs generally higher, but not higher than 20%. These students are included in the same academic groups as the Russian students (except for their first year's study of the Russian language), attend the same lectures, and generally live with and associate with the Russian students on an equal basis.

B. Foreign students come from the popular democracies, and also from such other countries as France, Italy, India and Iceland, although no students from the English speaking countries were known to be attending the University of Moscow. Students from the satellites are selected in their own countries by the Communist Party and the country's equivalent of the Komsomol. For the most part they are good students, whose academic background is taken into account in addition to their political conformity. The selection methods for students outside the bloc is not known.

C. Foreign students are paid the same scholarship or stipend as are the Russian students, in addition to which they receive a grant from their embassies which runs around 500 Rubles per month or higher. It is possible for them to receive parental help if this is available, and a few of them make money by black marketing in clothes - coming in with full suitcases each year and going home with what is on their backs. It is not necessary that they perform the forced work required of the Soviet student except for the Saturday and Sunday sessions, although some are permitted to work on the collective farms as a privilege.

D. It is not necessary for the foreign students to live inside the hostels if they have sufficient funds and wish to rent a room in town or live with their parents when these are in Moscow. When they do live in the hostels, they do not share rooms with Russian students, but with each other.

E. The foreign students participate to a large extent in student activities, although they are barred from attendance at Komsomol meetings. Under Stalin, association between Russian and foreign students was frowned upon, but now they associate on a fairly free basis. The most popular students with the Russians are those from outside the bloc, and these hardly have a moment's rest - there is a short supply of these students and a big demand. They are of tremendous interest as representatives of another world, and are looked up to by the Russian students for this reason.

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F. The same fields of study as are open to the Russian students are open to the foreign students, but most of them find their way to the technological colleges and the natural science faculties. Some are to be found in the atomic institute, but these are the exceptional students.

G. The attitude of the students towards each other within the various nationality groups is unknown. The relations of students of one nationality with another was frowned upon under Stalin, and the groups lived together under strict supervision to prevent such association. However, this is no longer true, and the association between various groups is relatively free. The foreign students have no fear of associating with Russian students, but in some cases, particularly Western students and Poles and Czechs, they tend to look down upon the Russian because of his poor living conditions, his clothes, and his monotonous way of life.

H. Party Secretary Polzhkov of the University of Moscow, said only a short time ago that even those students who came to the Soviet Union as friends left with very unfriendly feelings toward the country. He blamed this on the Soviet students. It is quite possible that this reaction stems at least in part from the comparison which is forced upon the foreign student who does the comparing - it is forced upon him by the Russian student. The foreign student is better dressed, the girls possess the fancy little knick-knacks which are almost unobtainable in the Soviet Union. Even more important is that they are forced to compare with the evidence of their own eyes what they had been told in their own countries about Russia - the goal to strive toward - and they are frequently disappointed. An example of this was the young French Communist who came to the University of Moscow to study. He came of a rich family which he left at age 18 to begin to work for the Party. A graduate of the Sorbonne, he came to Moscow to do post-graduate work, and remained there for about two years. A friend took him back to Paris in the spring of 1956. Once a clever and able chap, sensitive and observant, he had become through acute political disappointment, a half insane youth suffering from nervous shock.

I. It was significant in the case of the French student, as it occurs with others who are also clever and able, that he was singled out by the Soviet students for special treatment. When he desired, for example, to see examples of Russian architecture, these were freely shown to him. But he was taken by bus, and en route saw the peasants, the poor conditions surrounding him. The contrast of these to the finer things which he saw when he reached his goal was great. It was a question of showing the facade, and making sure that reality colored it.

J. Although it is not known except from the press what numbers of foreign students may have been recalled to their countries since

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the events in Hungary, a Hungarian student from the University of Moscow was interviewed in Munich during the course of Operation Safehaven. This student had been in Moscow when the Hungarian revolts broke out, and as soon as the Hungarian students there heard of it, they at once broke up into two camps - one devoted to the Party and evidently the minority, and another opposition group who immediately determined to sieze the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow to cut communications with the homeland. Unfortunately, when they arrived at the Embassy to put this idea to effect, they found it already heavily guarded by the Soviets, and so did nothing. They promptly were in great demand among the Soviet students, who wished to determine their reaction to the events, and although they were quite virulent in the things which they said, there was no attempt to arrest them by the Soviet police. The group finally decided to leave the USSR, but were unable to get visas because of the confusion at the Hungarian Embassy. So after 4 November, they left without visas, and managed to make it to Budapest. One look and they were on their way to Austria.

II. Admission of Foreign Students

A. The foreign students do not undergo the competitive examinations required of the Soviet students. They are sent in according to the number of vacancies allotted to their respective countries. The French students apply in their own country, and are chosen on the basis of their academic background. Those students coming from the satellite states should be Communists or members of Communist organizations in order to be chosen, whereas those from the West may not be. (Out of 12 French students in the Philological Faculty at the University of Moscow, only two or three were actual communists.)

B. Foreign students usually come to the Soviet Union for a full course in undergraduate work, with those coming as post-graduates staying until they prepare their dissertations. Until their course of study is completed, the post grads come on an annual basis, renewing their permits every year, and some staying as long as three or four years. Nearly all of the students take home leave during the summer vacations, and if they wish to remain in the Soviet Union for the summer, they must obtain special permits.

III. Financial Support of Foreign Students

A. The foreign students receive their scholarship or stipend on the same basis and in the same amounts as the Soviet students. However in addition to this, they receive a grant from their embassies up to about 500 Rubles per month, which they pick up each month at the embassy. The foreign student can also receive money from abroad, and is permitted to work while studying, although this last is a practical impossibility.

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IV. Are Foreign Students Pro-Communist?

A. The changing mood of the foreign student with respect to Communism has been pointed out above, but it is true that some students particularly those from the satellites, pretend a pro-communism in order to be able to study in the Soviet Union. The satellite students are generally quite careful, but here an interesting indicator comes to the fore. If he is too careful, one can almost be sure that he is in fact anti-communist, whereas if he tends to be outspoken, or careless, it is a toss-up as to whether he is on the fence trying to make up his mind or an out and out provocateur testing his fellow students. In either event, there is no official continuing observation.

V. Faculties and Institutes Open to Foreign Students

A. So far as is known, all of the institutes and faculties in the Soviet Union are open to foreign students. In certain of the closed institutes, such as the Atomic Institute, controls are quite strict, and it is believed that foreign students can enter these only on a highly selective basis and after careful screening for political and security reliability as well as their academic capability.

B. Certain criteria are applicable to the entry of a foreign student in the various faculties or institutes. A post-graduate student applies in his special field at the corresponding faculty. Those students who have already studied in their own countries go to the corresponding institutions in the Soviet Union. Certain of the foreign students who go directly to the Soviet Union to study have a choice of the faculty, but this is infrequent and results from Moscow connections or political power at home. Exactly what the requirements are in each case is unknown, since when the student arrives in the Soviet Union, he has already been admitted to the faculty or institution to which he has been assigned.

C. The most difficult faculties for the foreign students seem to be those of highly specialized technology and those dealing with pure sciences. But the student is handled on the same basis as the Soviet student except for the fact that since most do not speak Russian they spend a good bit of their first year in a special faculty set up for the purpose of teaching the language. During the early years, there are concessions made where this language lack exists, but later on they are passed or failed with the group. When they fail, they are sent home, and if their grades are very poor but not failing, they may fail to return the following year from summer vacation.

D. After graduation, nearly all foreign students return to their home countries. Certain engineers were known to have remained for two or three years practical training because of the lack of facilities in

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their native land. In one case, a brilliant Czech theoretical physicist was made to stay in the Soviet Union. These examples are however rare exceptions.

VI. Foreign Student Living Conditions

A. As a general rule, the foreign students live under the same conditions as the Soviet students. Most live in the hostels, but they are permitted to rent rooms in town or live with their families. (At the University of Moscow, students from the free world live in the new hostel buildings in single rooms, sharing anti-room and bath with another free world student.) As a rule, foreign students live with their compatriots. Rules regarding curfew, signing in and out, and the other routine aspects of student life are equally applicable to the foreign students.

B. It is not necessary for the foreign student to carry as many documents as must the Soviet student. The foreigner carries the Soviet Passport for Foreigners, the student ticket, and whatever library cards he may have obtained. He is, of course, subject to the same checks for these documents as is the Soviet student.

C. Generally speaking, the foreign student may travel in whatever area the citizens of his country are permitted to go. (The satellite students do not seem to enjoy this privilege, but the details of their restrictions are not known.) During the winter vacation, foreign students may go home, but this practice is not encouraged, and they usually go only in the summer vacation. In the event of a personal or family crisis, it is believed that they may obtain permission to return home. During vacation periods, they are not encouraged to travel in the Soviet Union, but some few have gone to the Virgin Lands for summer work.

D. Access to the various levels of Soviet society is not prohibited to the foreign student, but it must be said that he has less opportunity than the Soviet student. The foreign student's accent makes genuine contact and conversation difficult. Further, he is not given the same opportunities to meet people as is the Soviet student - he does not normally do political work in the factories, for example. Prior to the split with Yugoslavia, there was much visiting between Soviet and foreign students at the homes of the Soviet students. But the split caused trouble for the Soviets involved in this, and as a consequence this practice fell off. Generally, these visits are not prohibited, but neither are they recommended. Today such relations are easier in the sense that the general feeling of relaxation in the Soviet Union has its effect in this area too. Nevertheless, it is the exception rather than the rule to see a Soviet student invite a foreign student to his home. In public places, mixing is a common thing, but one does not find foreign students in a private Soviet student discussion group.

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E. For the foreign student to mix with tourists is frowned upon, except when he is performing by request at an official function. The satellite student stands an excellent chance of being returned home for violating this rule.

F. Although hardly anything is known of the controls exerted by their countrymen among the foreign students, it is believed that the satellite students may be called to task for their errors by their own Komsomol or CP organizations, and if these are lacking, by a group of interested countrymen.

G. It might be said that there is a general tendency among the Soviet students to trust students from the free world, but that this feeling is not so strong with respect to the students from the satellites. This appeared to be the case on first acquaintance, but in the long run the matter of trust and confidence was usually settled on the same basis as in the rest of the world - personal reaction, with the free world student still coming out ahead. Why? He was not subjected to the strict political control exercised over the satellite student. It was not too difficult to find out whether or not he was a communist, whereas it was hard to say when the satellite student was telling the truth. And possibly most important, the free world student was not subject to coercion by the MGB.

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