

# **THE SOVIET UNION - A NEW DESPOTIC EMPIRE**

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## I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DESPOTIC SYSTEM OF THE USSR UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

1. Formally and outwardly the Soviet Union is a union of independent and sovereign republics which possess their separate constitutions. In reality, however, the USSR constitute a despotism of a new imperial type created by conquest and coercion.

2. Government in the USSR is centered exclusively in the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of the USSR which in reality is an uncontrolled, all-powerful dictatorial body in the country to which everything is subordinated indiscriminately — the government, army, police, finances and all the material resources of the Union.

This monopolistic and ruling role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is guaranteed by the constitution of the Soviet Union (Article 126). Actually, in the Soviet Union there is no dictatorship of the proletariat — about which so much has been written. Such is only window-dressing; in the USSR the sole dictatorship is that of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, formerly the Politburo and now the Presidium.

3. All democratic liberties and rights of man, pompously heralded in the USSR (for instance, in Article 125 of the Constitution) are in fact non-existent. Unrestricted liberty in the USSR exists solely for the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

4. The right of democratic election of deputies to organs of government is also non-existent. Candidates for all the organs of government can be only those persons who are proposed by the party leadership. But even with respect to these candidates the voters cannot exercise their prerogative, inasmuch as in every case these candidates are unopposed for their respective posts.

Failure to participate in “elections” or a manifestation of any protest is considered by the all-powerful secret police to be treasonous against the fatherland, an act inimical to the interests of the

government of the USSR — with all the attendant consequences not only for the dissenter himself but for his family and friends as well. This explains why all the election results in the USSR are hundred per cent successful.

5. The judicial system in the USSR is wholly subordinate to the party leadership. This is attested to by the elections of the people's judges and surrogates which took place on December 15, 1957. The decisive factor in choosing the judicial candidates was whether "in practical work they had demonstrated their devotion to the cause of the Communist Party" (cf. editorial in *Radyanska Ukraina*, No. 24, Nov. 27, 1957, p. 3).

6. The Soviet citizen is completely deprived of all rights and is placed in a position of servile existence under the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The population of the USSR cannot defend its political, economic or professional interests. It cannot form any independent organization if the representative of the Communist Party cannot play an important, controlling role, as was laid down in Article 126 of the USSR Constitution.

These general conditions, true for all the citizens of the Soviet Union, are far worse in the non-Russian Republics where national discrimination is rampant.

## II. NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

7. Despite the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia"; despite Article 13 of the Soviet Constitution, where there is reference to "equality of Soviet Socialist Republics"; despite Article 123 of the Constitution, which says that "the equality of citizens of the USSR, regardless of nationality and race, is inviolable" — in reality in the USSR we see the reverse course. The suppression of the non-Russian nationalities in political, economic and cultural-national relations is accomplished in surreptitious and disguised ways.

8. The political inequality of the peoples of the USSR is manifested, for instance, in the following:

a. Ukraine, as all other non-Russian Republics of the USSR, does not possess its own independent monetary unit or its own bank, and cannot conduct its own independent financial policy. It is not the government of Ukraine (which is actually appointed by Moscow) which collects the taxes from the people of Ukraine

or sets up the budget for Ukraine; nor can it make any budgetary appropriation from the taxes collected in Ukraine. This prerogative belongs to the central government in Moscow, which in fact by virtue of its make-up is the *Russian* government. The major budgetary allocations of all the Republics of the Soviet Union are controlled by the Central Committee in Moscow. It is this Committee which apportions the annual budget of Ukraine as well as controls the actual handling of the monies. The government of Ukraine consists of ordinary delegates and officials of the central government in Moscow. All their governmental functions are limited by Article 14 of the Soviet Constitution (cf. M. A. Gurvitch, *Sovietskoye finansovoye pravo — The Soviet Financial Law*, Moscow, p. 11-14)

b. Ukraine does not possess yet another important attribute of independence — its people do not own or administer their own lands and economy. Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution states:

The land, its resources, water, forests, plants and factories, mines and quarries, railroads, water and air transport, banks, the means of communication, all agricultural enterprises organized by the state, and all basic real estate in the cities and industrial centers — all is the property of the nation.

According to Article 14 of the Soviet Constitution, the use of all this belongs to the government of the USSR, which is confirmed by Article 15, which deals with the Union Republics, although Article 6 of the Ukrainian Constitution is a literal copy of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution.

All this, however, serves as outward decoration, because in Article 13 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution it is underscored that the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR could be manifested only “in the spirit of Article 14 of the USSR Constitution.”

In addition, Articles 19 and 20 of the Soviet Constitution hold that the Soviet law is applicable everywhere: “In the case of conflict between Union Republic laws and the All-Union law, the latter takes precedence.”

c. Ukraine is deprived of still other attributes of independence. It does not possess its own national *army* composed of the citizens of the Republic of Ukraine. It also does not have its independent foreign policy. Nor does it have its own independent embassies or diplomatic missions.

d. Article 16 of the Soviet Constitution says that "every Union Republic has its own Constitution," with the proviso that it be closely patterned after the Soviet Constitution. Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution says that "each Union Republic has the right to freely secede from the USSR." If we note, however, that every law passed on the territory of any Union Republic of the USSR is not valid until it is approved by the Soviet Government (Articles 19 and 20 of the Soviet Constitution), it is clear that Article 17 is pure fiction.

Therefore, it is now evident that Lenin had good reason to state what he did on December 30, 1922, the day that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was being formed, writing in his diary:

It is natural that "freedom to secede from the Union, by which we justify ourselves, will be nothing but a scrap of paper incapable of protecting the non-Russian peoples from the encroachment of the typical Russian, the low, slave driving creature that in essence is the average Russian bureaucrat" (*Komunist Ukrainy*, No. 7 1956, Kiev).

9. The economic inequality of Ukraine, as compared with that of the Russian Republic, can best be illustrated by two important facts:

statistics on the capital investment in the national economy and statistics on the retail merchandise turnover:

a. For 37 year of the dictatorship of the Communist Party (1918-1955), from the common All-Union treasure the following capital investment in the national economy was made:

The Russian Republic received 968.4 billion rubles, while Ukraine received only 236.8 billion rubles, and all the other non-Russian Republics received 238.8 billion rubles, of the total sum of 1,444 billion rubles (Sources: *Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1956, pp. 158-159; *Narodnoye khozyaistvo RSFSR*, Moscow, 1957, pp. 225-226; *Narodne hospodarstvo Ukr. RSR*, Kiev, 1957, p. 355).

According to estimates, for 37 years on a per capita basis the Russian Republic received 8,555 rubles; Ukraine 5,832, while the thirteen other Republics received 5,147 rubles — with an average of 7,213 rubles for the whole Soviet population. Thus Ukraine received 31.8 per cent and the thirteen other Republics received 39.8 less than the Russian Republic in per capita terms.

In summarizing, in the period 1918-1955, on the basis of the average norm for the whole USSR (7,213 rubles), Ukraine did not

receive a sum of 56.1 billions, and the other Republics a sum of 95.8 billions, or a total of 151.9 billions, to which they were entitled.

These funds, in spite of Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, were used by the Russian Republic for the development of its own national economy, rather than for these non-Russian Republics.

b. The decrease of capital investment in the national economy of Ukraine over 37 year by 31.8 billion rubles, relative to the Russian Republic, correspondingly decreased the tempo of the industrial development of Ukraine. Where the industrial production of the Russian Republic in 1955 was 27 times greater than its production in 1913, production in Ukraine had increased only 16 times in the same period (*Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1956, p. 51). This in turn was reflected in the lower income of the Ukrainian population and a *consequent poorer standard of living*, as compared with the Russian Republic population. For example, for six years (1950-1955) retail food consumption (which is an index of the welfare of the population) reached 14,629 rubles per capita in the Russian Republic, and only 10,025 rubles in Ukraine and 9,975 rubles in the other non-Russian Republics, based on prices for those years (Sources: *Narodnoye khozyaistvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1956, p. 202). Thus in the course of the six-year period the Ukrainians lived on a scale which was 31.6 per cent economically lower than did the Russians; the other Republic were 31.8 worse off.

10. The cultural and national inequalities of the non-Russian Republics in the USSR, in comparison with the Russian Republic, and the colonial Russification policy of the Communist Party with respect to these non-Russian Republics, is a generally known fact. Here are a few examples which are based on statistics provided by official Russian sources. They should be analyzed relative to the proper weight of the population of the Republics, not forgetting that the monies for expenditures came from a common treasury:

## DISTRIBUTION IN PERCENTAGES

	The Russian Republic	Ukraine	Other Republics	USSR
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. <i>Population as of April 1956:</i>	56.20	20.30	23.50	100
2. Circulation of magazines of the natural sciences (physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology), mathematics, industry, transport and communication for 1955 (by quires of 16 sheets) -----	99.41	0.37	0.22	100
3. Circulation of <i>all</i> magazines for 1955 (by quires of 16 sheets) -----	90.80	3.70	5.50	100
4. Number of books published in 1955 -----	79.60	8.50	11.90	100
5. Circulation of all newspapers in 1955 -----	74.70	10.50	14.80	100
6. Number of kindergartens in 1955 -----	69.80	12.50	17.70	100
7. Number of children serviced by kindergartens in 1955 ----	70.80	12.70	16.50	100
8. Number of scientific workers in 1955 -----	68.90	13.50	17.60	100
9. Number of children's theaters at the beginning of 1956	69.30	14.80	15.90	100
10. Number of all theaters at the beginning of 1956 -----	55.90	15.60	28.50	100
11. Number of children serviced by summer pioneer camps in 1955 -----	70.20	17.00	12.80	100
12. Number of children serviced by children's homes of the Ministry of Education in 1955 -----	61.00	17.90	21.10	100

	The Russian Republic (1)	Ukraine (2)	Other Republics (3)	USSR (4)
13. Number of students of higher schools who took correspondence courses in 1955-56 -----	62.80	17.30	19.90	100
14. Number of all specialists with higher education engaged in the national economy as of July 1, 1955 -----	61.60	18.40	20.00	100

Source: *Pechat SSSR v 1956 h.*, Moscow, 1956; *Kulturnoye stroitelstvo SSSR*, Moscow, 1956.).

All these examples, viewed against the backdrop of all the Republics, population-weighted, manifestly prove the discriminatory policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party against the non-Russian nations. Despite Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution, the Russian Republic (RSFSR, that is, the Russian people) occupies a privileged position in every sphere.

But even these examples and statistics do not offer a complete picture of the discrimination. For instance, in the Russian Republic there is not a single Ukrainian newspaper or journal, nor are there any Ukrainian books published, although some 8 to 10 million Ukrainians reside outside the USSR, mainly in the Russian Republic. In Ukraine itself, on the other hand, many Russian-language periodicals and books are being published, although the number of Russians in Ukraine, percentage-wise, is not great. Almost all scientific and technical books in Ukraine are printed in Russian.

Or take another example. In 1955 the students at schools of higher learning (universities) in Ukraine constituted only 17.3 per cent of the total All-Union number, while the population of Ukraine constitutes 20.3 per cent of the entire population of the Soviet Union. Thus, in Ukraine for every 10,000 of population in 1955 were 23.1 per cent less students than in the Russian Republic.

When we take Ukraine alone into consideration, where in the schools of higher learning not only Ukrainians study, but Russians and representatives of other nationalities as well, we will see that the Ukrainians are placed under the most disadvantageous conditions. For instance, on the basis of the 1955 statistics, each 10,000 of ethnic Russians in Ukraine mustered *twice as many* students as a corre-

sponding ethnic Ukrainian group. In addition, a great majority of the higher schools in Ukraine are Russified, where the official language is Russian.

### III. DISPERSAL AND GENOCIDE OF NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES — CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

11. On the basis of the 1956 statistics, the number of members and candidates of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which totaled 7,215,505 persons, was broken down percentage-wise as follows: the Russian Republic — 74.5 per cent; the non-Russian Republics — 25.5 per cent. Of the 1,356 delegates who attended the XXth Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1956, the Russian Republic sent 912 delegates, or 67.3 per cent, while the non-Russian Republics provided 444 delegates, or 32.7 per cent. But of the delegates who came from the non-Russian Republics at last *one-third were ethnic Russians*. Thus the Russians constitute fully three quarters of the Communist Party, and dictate the Russian chauvinist course of the Party's policies.

12. Planned deportation of sizeable numbers of the people of the non-Russian nations outside the borders of their Republics, with importation of ethnic Russians into the non-Russian Republics — this technique is one of the most successful methods of genocidal destruction yet devised by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. To illustrate, let us produce only a few facts from the case of Ukraine:

To the city of Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine (which prior to World War II contained hardly any Russians), Moscow sent a total of 135,000 Russians after the end of the last war. Today, of Lviv's 387,000 inhabitants, 35 per cent are Russians (*The New York Times*, September 20, 1957).

On the other hand, in the last few years the Soviet government has sent 75,000 Ukrainian youth to work in Kazakhstan (cf. *Radyanska Ukraina*, No. 287, December 11, 1957).

The mass deportations to forced labor and punitive concentration camps, which began in Ukraine as long ago as 1928, has cost Ukraine several million of its people. In Soviet concentration camps, whose inmates number close to 15 million, the Ukrainian comprise

the overwhelming majority. This fact was confirmed time and again by the reports of various Western returnees, such as the Pole A. Krakowiecki, and the German, Dr. Joseph Scholmer, who stated that the Ukrainians constituted almost half of the whole concentration camp population, outnumbering the Russians by far, although the Russians are twice as numerous as the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

13. But the Russian genocidal policy inflicted upon the non-Russian nations was not limited to deportations alone. Moscow has been systematically engaged in destroying the non-Russian nationalities. Let us recall two unforgettable instances:

1) the man-made famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in order to break the resistance of the Ukrainians to collectivization;

2) the mass executions of so-called "enemies of the people" and "bourgeois nationalists," a typical example of which was the wholesale slaughter of Ukrainians in the city of Vynnytsia in 1937 (their bodies — in all, 9,432 corpses — were uncovered in 1943 during the German occupation of Ukraine).

As a result of the various genocidal and terroristic acts committed against the Ukrainian people by the Central Committee, several millions of Ukrainians simply disappeared from the face of the earth.

The census of 1926 counted 77,791,124 Russians in the USSR. According to another census — that of 1939 — their number swelled to 99,019,929 persons, or *a net increase of 27.3 per cent*. The same census of 1926 registered a total of 31,194,976 Ukrainians, while the 1939 census disclosed but 28,070,404 persons, or *a net decrease of 10 per cent*. And in Ukraine itself, where the growth of population between 1924-27 averaged 2.36 per cent, the 1939 census revealed a loss of some 7,500,000 people — or the increase that should have taken place based on the average annual increase during 1924-27.

14. The policy of Moscow aiming at the total annihilation and destruction of the non-Russian peoples, especially the Ukrainians, who are considered the chief enemies of the Russian imperialistic drive, continues in other forms as well. During and after World War II entire Republics were destroyed and their populations deported or executed on order of Stalin and his henchmen: the Chechen-Ingush Republic, the Kalmuck Republic, the Republic of the Crimean Tartars and the Republic of the Volga Germans, and the autonomous *oblasts* of Karachayevs and Balkars. The bulk of the populations of these republics and *oblasts* were herded into cattle

cars and deported to various areas in Siberia. All, who dared to resist were executed on the spot without trial or even a cursory investigation. Khrushchev himself was forced to admit the ruthlessness of the liquidation of the Republics, for which he put the blame on Stalin, his erstwhile master and model.

15. Ukraine escaped the fate of these smaller republics simply because, as Khrushchev admitted, there were too many Ukrainians and no place to dispose of them. But that at least several million people vanished from Ukraine at that time is again substantiated by the following facts:

a. The Russian Republic (within its boundaries of 1955) possessed the following population figures: in 1939 — 101,700,000 persons; in 1956 the number reached 112,600,000 or *a net increase of 4.6 per cent*. At the same time the figures for Ukraine were as follows: in 1939 (within the 1955 boundaries) there were 42,400,000 people, but in 1956 there were only 40,600,000 persons, or *a net decrease of 4.3 per cent*. Ukraine thus lost about two million people, as compared with the Russian Republic;

b. Among the 5,500,000 displaced persons from the Soviet Union who were "repatriated" after World War II, the Ukrainians constituted at least 60 per cent (they numbered 3,300,000) (cf. *Otvety na volnuyechche voprosy sovietskykh grazhdan, nakhodyashchysya za granicey na polozenyyi peremeshchennykh lyts*, Moscow, 1949, p. 3). But only some one and a half million of that number (the same source) returned to Ukraine: at least two million Ukrainians were deported or otherwise dispersed or executed by the MVD and by Soviet Russian repatriation commissions;

c. All the other Ukrainians who remained in Ukraine after the end of the last war were subjected to mass terror and persecution by the Russians, which was reported by a number of foreign writers and correspondents who were in Ukraine at that time, among them Godfrey Blunden and John Fisher.

