



CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN

Spectrum HoloByte[®]

IBM VERSION

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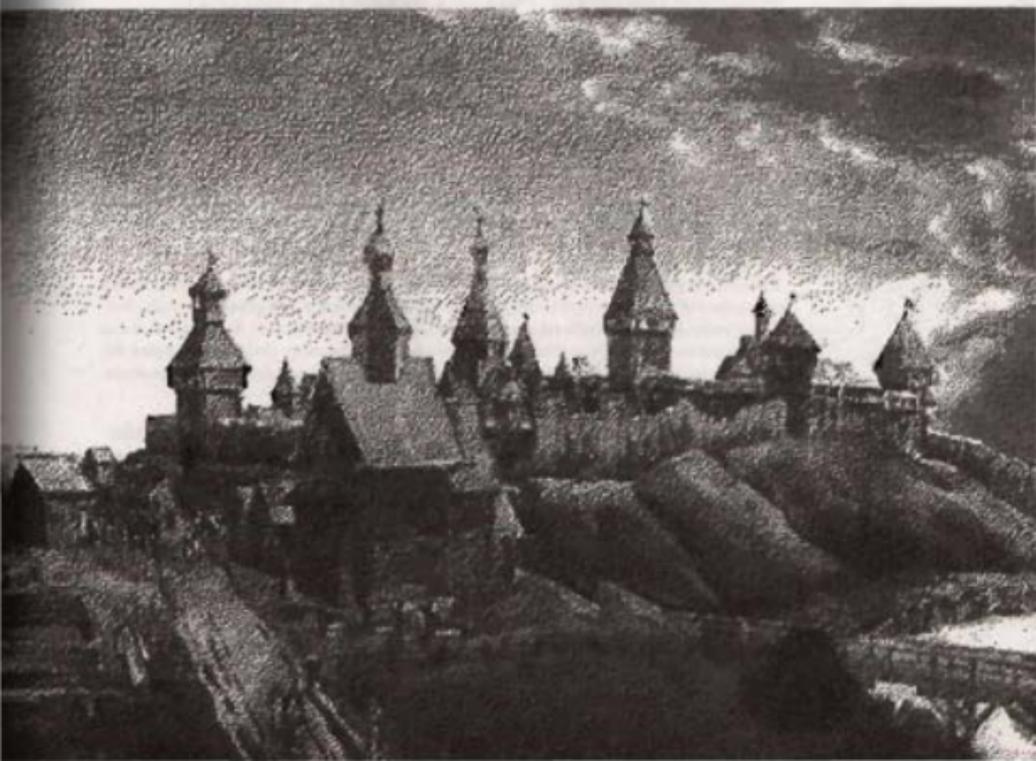
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CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN



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- Brand and model of your computer
- Brand and version number of your computer's BIOS
- Total RAM installed
- Video card brand and name
- Mouse brand and version number of mouse driver
- Sound card
- Contents of AUTOEXEC.BAT and CONFIG.SYS files
- Type `MEM/C` at the DOS prompt and copy down the listing onscreen

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CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART I:

INTRODUCTION



THE YEAR IS 1985. Konstantin Chernenko, the senile, doddering General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is dying after being in power for only a year. Different factions within the Soviet government—hard-liners, reformists and nationalists— are all jockeying for power in the world's largest country.

We know what happened in real life. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the sometimes pragmatic, sometimes idealistic leader of the moderate reformist faction, took control of the Communist Party, and hence of the Soviet Union. After seven years, with astonishingly little bloodshed, the Berlin Wall was torn down, Germany was reunited, the Eastern European bloc was shattered, the Communist Party was in disgrace, the Soviet Union itself was dissolved, and Gorbachev was out of a job. For students of history this was a revolution of unprecedented scope, possibly surpassing even the original Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Now you have a chance to change the course of history. This game puts you in charge of the Soviet Union starting in 1985, with your own political agenda to achieve. Can you successfully navigate your way through the treacherous waters of Soviet politics? Can you stay in power and still achieve your objectives? Can you accomplish what Gorbachev was unable to do?

You will start as the leader of the largest, most diverse empire in the history of the world. In 1985 the Soviet Union covered one-sixth of the world's land surface and comprised people of over 100 different ethnic and racial backgrounds. Although Russian was the main language, there were dozens of other languages spoken within its borders. Through rigid one-party politics, strict censorship and centralized government planning, it controlled virtually every aspect of its citizens' lives. And its influence extended beyond its borders; by a combination of military force, political subversion and economic blackmail, it controlled the fate, directly or indirectly, of more than a dozen technically independent nations.

But your power is not absolute. You will find you have opponents from other political factions eager to topple you from power. Crises will occur to which you must respond, and the results of your decisions may have unpredictable consequences. Unforeseeable problems may spoil your most carefully worked out plans.

Your challenge is to lead the Soviet Union through a period of incredible change to achieve your stated goal. The perils are great, the pitfalls are treacherous, but the world's greatest leaders have never shrunk from such challenges. Do you have what it takes to rank yourself in that select group?

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART II:

GETTING
STARTED



MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS

- IBM PC, XT, AT or compatible
- 640K RAM memory
- 1.2MB 5¼" or 1.44MB 3½" disk drive
- Hard disk with 16MB of free disk space
- EGA graphics card and appropriate monitor (VGA and Super VGA compatible)

OPTIONAL

- A mouse is not required, but is *highly* recommended
- Ad Lib, Sound Blaster or Roland sound card

WHAT IS PROVIDED

- Five 1.2MB 5¼" disks or four 1.44MB 3½" disks
- *Crisis in the Kremlin* instruction manual
- A copy of the book *Klass, How Russians Really Live* by David K. Willis
- An invisible monitoring device that broadcasts every game move you make to a secret basement listening post at the former KGB Headquarters in Moscow
- A Strategy Grid to update the grids on pp. 53-55

INSTALLING THE GAME

SETUP AND LOADING INFORMATION

We assume you're familiar with basic terms and operations of your computer, including DOS commands such as formatting and copying disks. If you're using a mouse, we assume you know how it works. If this is the first program you've run on your computer, please refer to the owner's manual and DOS manual to become familiar with its operation.

MAKING A BACKUP COPY OF *CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN*

You should immediately make a backup copy of the *Crisis in the Kremlin* disks and use the copies for loading the game onto your hard disk. Follow the normal conventions for copying disks, but make sure your original disks are write-protected before you make the backup, so you don't accidentally erase the game disks. (Put write-protect tabs over the notches of the 5¼" disks to prevent accidental erasures. Write-protect the 3½" disks by sliding the tab so the windows are open.) Use the backup copies to load the game onto your hard disk.

LOADING *CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN* ONTO A HARD DRIVE

Insert Disk 1 into your disk drive. From the DOS prompt, type `a:` (or whatever drive you're installing it from) and press `[Enter]`. Then type `Install` and press `[Enter]`. Follow the directions that appear on your screen. The disks will suggest you give the game directory the name "kremlin" under the C: directory. If you prefer some other name or path, type it in at the appropriate response.

LOADING THE PROGRAM

Turn on your computer and proceed to a DOS prompt. Change the directory to the one you specified when you installed the files to your hard disk. If you chose the default, enter `cd kremlin` or `cd \kremlin`.

At the DOS prompt, type `crisis` and press `[Enter]`. A title screen appears after the program is loaded, and it's time to face your own *Crisis in the Kremlin*.

USING THIS MANUAL

Crisis in the Kremlin has a command structure that is deceptively easy to learn, especially if you have a mouse. As in real life, however, you'll find that running a large, powerful country is anything but easy—which is why this manual is so thick.

This manual is divided into eight parts.

Part I, *Introduction*, gives you a brief description of the goals and challenges you face during the game.

Part II, *Getting Started*, tells you what's included in the game and how to set it up for playing.

Part III, *Setting Up the Game*, explains the features you will find when you load the game and describes how to use the game's different commands and screens.

Part IV, *Playing the Game*, explains what happens as the game advances during your tenure as Soviet President.

Part V, *Strategy*, gives you a few basic principles that may help you succeed in playing the game.

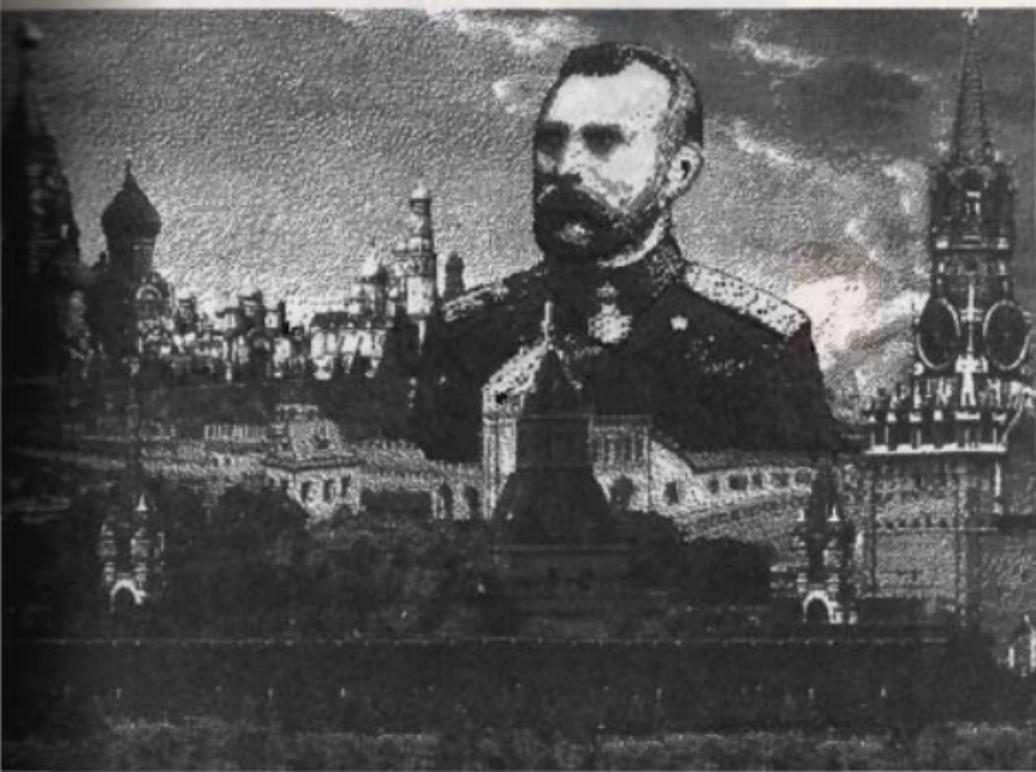
Part VI, *Historical Background*, gives you a concise summary of Russian and Soviet history so you may gain some insight into the land you hope to rule and an understanding of its special problems.

Part VII, *Bibliography*, is a list of reference works used in compiling this manual.

Part VIII, *Glossary*, is a list of Russian words and phrases you might find helpful in understanding the screens, even though a knowledge of Russian is not required for playing the game.

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART III:

SETTING UP
THE GAME



STARTING OUT

When you first boot up the game, you will see a title screen showing the historical development of the Kremlin itself. Press **[ESC]** if you want to skip the animation.

CHOOSING YOUR FACTION



You will next be shown three dossiers and asked to choose which faction you would like to support in the game. For purposes of simplicity, *Crisis in the Kremlin* offers three choices: Hard-line, Reformist and Nationalist. Each of the factions has its own goals and its own policy preferences, as explained below. To view the three different dossiers, click on the picture of the one you want to see or press the **[PgUp]** and **[PgDn]** keys on your keyboard. Choose the faction you wish to support by clicking on its acceptance box with your mouse or by pressing **[Enter]** when that dossier is in front of the others.

THE FACTIONS

Hard-liners

The hard-line faction aims to maintain the rigid authoritarian regime that characterized the Soviet Union under the 18-year reign of Leonid Brezhnev, whose picture is used as a figurehead for their faction during the game. In the time-honored communist tradition, the hard-liners believe in state

control of all production and distribution, with government-subsidized food, housing and other benefits to the citizens. The hard-liners have a profound distrust of the Western nations and believe in maintaining a strong military and KGB presence, as well as state control of all information. Their most prominent political figure at this time is Yegor Ligachev.

If you choose to support the hard-liners, you will have been elevated to leadership because you were Chernenko's favorite. You will have your faction's strong backing in the government as long as you maintain traditional Soviet values.

Reformists

The reformist faction wants to preserve the Soviet Union but believes that the old ideas of centralized authority are too inefficient to let the Union survive in the modern world. In order to streamline the state's operations, they believe in the twin policies of "glasnost" (openness or self-criticism) and "perestroika" (restructuring). They are more concerned with the welfare of their citizens at home than with military adventures abroad, and would prefer to cooperate with the West rather than continue letting the military bleed the budget dry. Their most prominent political figure at this time is Mikhail Gorbachev, whose picture is used as a figurehead for their faction during the game.

If you choose to support the reformists, you will have been placed in the presidency because Gorbachev himself was a little too prominent and had made too many enemies, but had cut enough deals to get you installed. Your support will be uncertain as everyone from all factions has an eye on you, waiting to see which direction you'll jump in.

Nationalists

The nationalist faction wants an end to centralized authority. They would like to see the establishment of a free enterprise economic system and political autonomy for the local regions, even if that might mean a breakup of the Soviet Union itself. Though not all the members of the faction are fervent believers in democracy, they are willing to use the popular dissatisfaction with the unmanageable bureaucracy and the centralized control to their own advantage. They believe the outrageous military budgets are an unaffordable extravagance. Their most prominent political figure at this time is Boris Yeltsin, whose picture is used as a figurehead for their faction during the game.

If you choose to support the nationalists, you will have achieved the presidency as a compromise candidate because the hard-liners and the reformists kept blocking one another out of the picture. Your political support is very shaky, and you may have a harder time convincing the rest of the government to follow your agenda.

EVALUATION OF FACTIONS

Because of the position they occupied in 1985, the hard-line faction is probably the easiest to play initially. The reformist faction would be a little harder, and the nationalist faction would be the hardest yet because of their extreme positions on many issues. This evaluation may change with time, depending on the decisions you make and how you handle various crises.

ESTABLISHING YOUR PERSONAL FILE



For historical purposes, you'll want to keep track of the major events during your leadership. A blank diary appears on the screen. To personalize it, type in your presidential first name (up to 9 letters) and press **Enter**. This is also the name that will be listed on the "High Score" screen at the end of the game. If you want no name on the book, just press **Esc** or **Enter**. News clippings regarding your inauguration and letters of congratulations will appear on the screen. Hit any key to move on.



On May 1st of every year you are called on to make a speech that delineates your position. Your initial policies are the "party line" of the faction you chose to align with. At the start of the game you have a chance to review these policies and change any that you disagree with. You will be confronted by a list of policies in 10 different areas of government. Each policy can be set to one of 10 different levels as follows:

POLICY	RANGES FROM	THROUGH
Style of Government	Despotic	Ultra-Liberal
Military Posture	Aggressive	Pacifistic
Diplomatic Policies	Hostile	Passive/Submissive
Trade Policies	Closed/Protective	Few Restrictions
Civil Rights	Restricted	Near Anarchy
Media Freedom	Very Restricted	Uncontrolled
Economic Policies	Central Bureaucracy	Uncontrolled Market
Work Week	Forced Labor	Extreme Leisure
Wage Controls	Complete Control	Uncontrolled
Private Ownership	State Owned	Highly Privatized

To review your policies without making changes:

After you've looked over the current levels, you can continue with the game by clicking on the "Approve" button with your mouse or by pressing **A** on your keyboard. You may also click on the "Cancel" button or press **C** or **Esc**.

To alter a policy:

1. Choose the policy, either by clicking on it with your mouse or by scrolling up and down the list using the **↓** and **↑** keys and then pressing **Enter**.
2. Choose the policy level you want, either by clicking on it with your mouse or by scrolling up and down the list using the **↓** and **↑** keys.
3. If you decide this is the policy level you want, either click on the "Approve" button with your mouse or press **A** or **Enter** on your keyboard. This takes you back to the full list of policies.
4. If you want to start over and don't remember what your initial setting was, click on the "Restore" button or press **R**. This returns the screen to the value it had when it first opened.
5. If you decide the original policy levels were all right after all, click on the "Cancel" button or press **C** or **Esc**. This will return you to the main screen with the original policies intact.

EFFECTS OF POLICY DECISIONS

You may change as many policies as you wish. Be aware, however, that these policies only represent what you say you want to do. People have certain perceptions of you based on your past performance and the faction you're aligned with. They may read your lips when you make a speech, but they trust more in what has happened in the past. If you make drastic changes from your "perceived" positions, your own ministers will only assume this is political rhetoric and will not make the full change you called for. You may also receive messages warning you against such serious deviations.

When you finally have all your policies set the way you want them, save them by clicking on the "Approve" button with your mouse or by pressing **A** on your keyboard. If you can't remember all the changes you made and want to start over, click on the "Restore" button or press **R**. This returns the list to the values it had when it first opened.

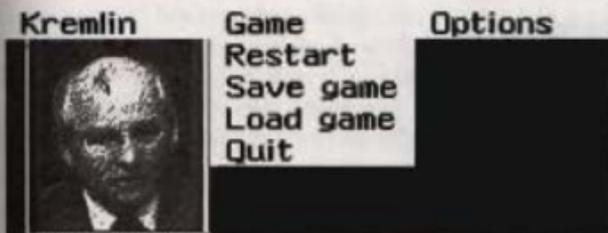
If you decide against making the changes you've just set, you can proceed either by clicking on the "Cancel" button with your mouse or by pressing **C** or **ESC** on your keyboard. This lets you continue the game without saving the changes you made.

THE MAIN SCREEN



Once you've set your inaugural policies, the game starts to run through the first several months of your administration. Since you took office in the middle of a fiscal year, you are stuck with the budget choices of your predecessor, Konstantin Chernenko, until next November, when you set the budget for the first time yourself. You will find yourself viewing the main screen. Indicators will be changing, and messages will appear and vanish. Details of these events will be explained later. For now it's important that you familiarize yourself with the basic areas of the main screen.

The main screen is divided into eight areas. There is the game menu, the figurehead, the world map, the action menu, the social indicators, the economic indicators, the political indicators and the option switches. Each of these areas will be discussed separately.



If you click with your mouse along the very top of the screen or press **Esc**, you will see the game menu with three different pull-down menus: Kremlin, Game and Options. If you have a mouse, click on the word to pull down its menu and then click on the command to execute it. If you're working with just a keyboard, type the initial letter to pull down the menu you want. Then type the initial letter of the command you want to execute.

Kremlin: "About" tells you fascinating information about the wonderful folks who bring you *Crisis in the Kremlin*.

Game: "Restart" aborts the current game and lets you start over in 1985 with your same initial policies.

"Save game" allows you to save the current game so you can start up later where you left off. (If you choose this option, you'll be asked to give the saved game a name.)

"Load game" allows you to load in one of the factions or one of the previously saved games.

"Quit" leaves the game and returns you to DOS.

Options: This lets you choose the type of sound card to use with the game. Your choices are "PCSpeaker" (that is, no sound card), "Roland," "AdLib" and "SoundBlast." You can also toggle animations on and off.

THE FIGUREHEAD



The image in the upper left-hand corner of the screen represents the politician who inspired your faction's starting policies. If you chose a previously saved game, the figurehead will be the symbol of the faction you are aligned with in that game. If you click on the picture or press **[F]**, you can review the dossier on your faction to remind yourself of your goals. (You can't use this screen to change factions, however.) Click anywhere or press **[ESC]** to return to the game.

THE WORLD MAP



The world map dominates the main screen. The Soviet Union appears in red and satellite nations controlled by the Soviet Union appear in magenta. All other land areas appear green, and the oceans and large bodies of water are blue. Letters, bulletins and other communications may also appear on the map from time to time.

In the top center of the map is a scroll bar with a copy of the map in miniature and a yellow box to show the area currently depicted. The default setting of the map shows Europe and Western Asia, but the map can be scrolled to show other regions. To scroll the map westward, click on the left arrow with the mouse or press **[←]** on the keyboard. To scroll the map eastward, click on the right arrow with the mouse or press **[→]** on the keyboard. You can also scroll the map in large increments with the mouse by dragging the yellow box to the left or to the right.

THE ACTION MENU



The action menu is a column of buttons underneath the figurehead image on the left-hand side of the screen. It allows you access to the different resources you have available. You can use the action menu buttons any time the game is paused.

To make a selection from the action menu, click on the appropriate button with your mouse. If you're using just your keyboard, type the initial letter of the word you want.

Each of the options in the action menu will be discussed in detail in Part IV. For now, here is a quick rundown:

- Policies:** This allows you to review and alter the fundamental policies of your administration.
- Budgets:** This allows you to review and alter the amounts you have budgeted in various categories for the coming year.
- Crisis:** This takes you to the crisis phone bank, where you can get advice and alternatives on how to deal with touchy situations.
- Log:** This gives you access to your personal file, containing highlights of your career to date, budget figures, national statistics and copies of correspondence you've received.
- VCR:** This gives you access to your personal VCR, where you can replay the news footage that occurred during each year of your administration.
- 5-Year:** This projects your policies five years into the future so you can see what various changes will do to your nation.
- Advance:** This starts the game advancing again after it has paused for some reason.



The chart in the lower left-hand corner of the main screen shows you how well your country is doing in each of the categories listed. Beside each category is a row of nine bars. The first three bars on the left show red when they're lit. This indicates a dangerous situation. The middle three bars show yellow when lit, meaning cautionary. The three bars farthest to the right, when lit, show green, which is good. By pressing **I**, using the **↓** and **↑** keys to scroll through the indicators and then pressing **Enter**, or by clicking on any of the rows with your mouse, you can get a clue of the level of the situation in real-life terms. If you choose to view the bottom "Emergency" indicator, you'll get a record of how much money is left in your contingency fund. Click again or press any key and the map will return.

If none of the bars is lit, the word "Crisis" appears. This is a situation demanding your attention. If you press **I**, use the **↓** and **↑** keys to scroll through the indicators and then press **Enter** or click on the row when "Crisis" appears, you will be taken to the crisis phone bank, where your ministers will offer you advice and alternatives for dealing with the situation. If the Crisis button is flashing on the action menu as well, however, it's advisable to take care of that crisis first.

The optimum condition is to have matters so well under control that all the graphs extend out to the green range. Given the complexity and the delicate balance of Soviet society, however, this is very difficult to achieve.

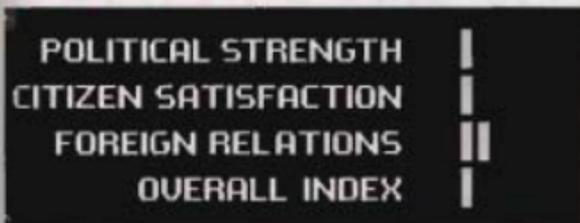
When a new game starts, these monitors are set to the values they had at the beginning of 1985, the year you assume the presidency. If you resume a previously saved game, these indicators will have the same values they had when you left that game.

THE ECONOMIC INDICATORS

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT	
ASSETS	
FOREIGN CREDIT	
RESERVES	
TOTAL POPULATION	
PRODUCTIVE POPULATION	
CURRENT DATE	
YEAR NO.	FACTION

The economic indicators are located in the middle of the main screen just below the world map. These six lines display up-to-date information on the country's Gross National Product, its total assets, its foreign credit, its monetary reserves (all in billions of rubles), as well as current population figures. "Total population" shows you how many millions of people you have to plan for. "Productive population" shows you how many millions of people are employed in agriculture and production. By monitoring this information from year to year you can judge how healthy your economy is and calculate how much you can spend in your budget.

Clicking on any of these indicators, or pressing **[I]**, using the **[←]**, **[→]**, **[↑]** and **[↓]** keys to scroll through the indicators and then pressing **[Enter]** will replace the map with a chart showing how the given category has progressed over time. Click again or press any key and the map will return.



The rows on the right-hand side of the screen beneath the map indicate how well people think you're doing as president. The indices work the same way the national monitors do: the further to the right the graph goes, and the more green and yellow appear in the ratings, the better people's perception of you is. "Political Strength" shows how strong your faction is compared to the others and indicates how effective you'll be at carrying out your policies. "Citizen Satisfaction" shows your rating with the populace as a whole. "Foreign Relations" shows how well you're dealing with the outside world, and the "Overall Index" combines all these components for a general picture of your popularity.

By clicking on any of the rows with your mouse, or by pressing **I**, using the **←**, **→**, **↑** and **↓** keys to scroll through the indicators and then pressing **Enter**, you can get a clue about the level of the situation in real-life terms. This is particularly important in the category of "Political Strength," because you'll see the relative strengths of the three different factions so you can judge how well you're doing against your opponents. Click again or press any key and the map will return.



THE OPTION SWITCHES



There are three switches in the lower right-hand corner of the main screen labeled "Sounds," "Names" and "Dispatches." "Sounds" allows you to toggle the sounds on and off. "Names" lets you toggle the map names on and off. "Dispatches" allows you to toggle on and off whether the dispatches show up automatically on your screen. Even if you turn dispatches off, they will still appear in your personal log. To use the toggle switches, click on them with your mouse or press **S**, **N** or **D**, respectively. Turning these features off makes the game move a little faster, though you lose some of the detail.

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART IV:

PLAYING
THE GAME



INTRODUCTORY PLAY

It's possible to play *Crisis in the Kremlin* without knowing anything about setting budgets or making policies, without having to make any decisions on your own. (Thousands of politicians in both the West and the East have done just that for centuries.) The faction you're aligned with has its own party line, and you inherited an initial budget from your predecessor, Chernenko. If you keep choosing the Advance button from the action menu without making any changes and make no decisions during crises, you can play on autopilot and see where that leads you. If you're new to this game — or to politics and economics in general — this can serve as an introductory lesson on how events affect policies and budgets, and vice versa.

But the real challenge of *Crisis in the Kremlin* is to have a hands-on experience, to deal with situations in an active manner and to see whether you can direct the ship of state on a safe course. You'll have to juggle many factors and carefully balance one need against another — but if you're up to it, maybe you can hang onto your position through all the various crises and win the game.

PAUSING THE GAME

Time marches on, and *Crisis in the Kremlin* will advance. Various indicators are continually updated unless some event occurs that halts the game's progress momentarily. Some of these events are under your control. Others are not.

CLICKING THE MOUSE

If you click the mouse on some menu item or on one of the switches or indicators, the game will pause while the machine deals with your action. It will display the information you request or take the action you order and return to the game when that's done.

MESSAGES

If you receive some sort of dispatch — a letter, telex, newspaper clipping, TV report, etc. — the game will pause while the message is on the screen. When you remove the message, the game will resume where it left off.

MAY DAY/REVOLUTION DAY

On May 1st of every year (May Day) the game will pause and tell you it's time to make a new policy speech for the year. Clicking on this message or pressing any key is the equivalent of choosing Policies from the action menu. See "Reviewing Your Policies," below, for a more detailed explanation. (You won't be asked to give a May Day speech in your first year since you have just recently given your inaugural speech.)

On November 7th of every year (the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution) the game will pause and tell you it's time for your annual budget evaluation. Clicking on the message or pressing any key is the equivalent of choosing Budgets from the action menu. See "Setting Your Budget," below, for a more detailed explanation.

CRISIS

From time to time you will receive a message that some special event demands your immediate attention. Clicking on this message or pressing any key is the equivalent of choosing Crisis from the action menu. See "Crisis," below, for a more detailed explanation.

REVIEWING YOUR POLICIES

Every year at May Day the game will pause and call upon you to make a policy speech similar to your inauguration speech. When you click on this message, the list of your current policies will be presented for your review and acceptance. See "Choosing Your Inaugural Policies" in Part III for an explanation of how to select and change policies. Changing a policy may have a direct effect on one or more of the indicators during the upcoming year. Your change may precipitate a crisis, or it may solve one.

You may change as many policies as you wish, always with the proviso that you could encounter resistance if you deviate too radically from past policies. When you finally have all your policies the way you want them, save them by clicking on the "Approve" button with your mouse or by typing **A** on your keyboard. If you can't remember all the changes you made and want to start over, click on the "Restore" button or press **R**. This returns the list to the values it had when it first opened.

If you decide *against* making the changes you've just set, you can return to the main screen either by clicking on the "Cancel" button with your mouse or by pressing **C** or **Esc** on your keyboard. This takes you back to the main screen and starts the game advancing again without saving the changes you made.

To review your policies at times other than May Day, click on the Policies button in the action menu or type **P**.

SETTING YOUR BUDGET

For the first year of the game you are stuck with the budget you inherited from your predecessor, Konstantin Chernenko—a staunch member of the hard-line faction. The policies you choose at the beginning of the game will have some effect on how your society is affected, but for the most part you'll have to wait until November before you can really make your own mark felt on the budgetary process.

You may choose **Budgets** from the action menu at any time, either by clicking on the appropriate button with your mouse or by pressing **B** on your keyboard. This will allow you to see how the budget is currently allocated. You can even make changes in the budget at this stage, but the changes won't take effect until the next November review, at which time you'll probably want to go through the whole process again anyway to deal with the constantly changing situation.

The beginning of each November is the time for the annual budget evaluation. The budget is one of the most significant ways you can influence the course of the game, so you should give it your serious attention.



Modifying the budget requires using a small calculator to enter the figures. To use the calculator, either click on the buttons with your mouse or type the numbers on your keyboard. (To use your numeric keypad, turn on the **Num Lock** key.) To enter a negative number (to decrease the amount spent this year), click on "+/-" with your mouse or press **[+/-]** on your keyboard. Clicking on "CE" with your mouse or pressing **[Backspace]** or **[←]** on your keyboard will erase the rightmost figure in the calculator's field. Clicking on "C" or pressing **[Esc]** clears the entire field. When you've got the figure the way you want it, click on "Enter" or press **[Enter]** on your keyboard; this enters the figure into the computer.

OPTIONS FOR CHECKING THE BUDGET

To review your budget for the upcoming game year, click on the Budgets button on the action menu, or type **[B]**. If you're responding to the November budget message, click on the message or press any key. A submenu appears listing four different ways you can view the budget: by Total rubles, by Percent, by Major area or by Details. Each of these methods is described in detail below. To select the method you want, either click on it with your mouse or type the appropriate capitalized letter.

by Total rubles

AMOUNT CHANGED TOTAL AMOUNT USED AVAILABLE FUNDS

The amount entered here will be distributed to all budget items in the same proportions as the present budget. For example, if a budget item such as Agriculture receives ten percent of the current budget, it will receive ten percent of the amount entered.

Cancel
Restore
Approve
Quit

If you choose this option, the total amount you have budgeted for next year's use is shown in the middle of the screen. If you want to add to this budget, enter a positive number using the calculator; if you want to trim the budget, enter a negative number. The change you enter will be distributed pro rata among all the budget items. The game will not let you enter a positive amount greater than the funds you have available to you this year, which are shown on the right.

If you decide you don't like the change you made, clicking on the "Cancel" button or pressing **C** or **Esc** will return you to the main screen without saving your changes. If you want to start over, click on "Restore" or press **R**; this will return the values to their original settings. If you want to save your changes, click on the "Approve" button or type **A**. This will accept your changes and resume the game's advance.



If you choose this option, the total amount you have budgeted for next year's use is shown in the middle of the screen. If you want to increase this budget by a certain percent, enter a positive number using the calculator; if you want to decrease the budget, enter a negative percentage. The change you enter will be distributed pro rata among all the budget items. The game will not let you enter an increased percentage that would spend more than the funds you have available to you this year, which are shown on the right.

If you decide you don't like the change you made, clicking on the "Cancel" button or pressing **C** or **ESC** will return you to the main screen without saving your changes. If you want to start over, click on "Restore" or press **R**; this will return the values to their original settings. If you want to save your changes, click on the "Approve" button or type **A**. This will accept your changes and resume the game's advance.

by Major area



This option gives you a great deal more control than the previous two. The screen now shows you a list of the ten major budget areas (Production Costs, Trade Imports, Trade Exports, Military Expenditures, Government Costs, Influence and Privileges, Foreign Relations, Foreign Credit Repayment, Research and Development, and Emergency Funds). (Each of these budget areas will be described more precisely in the "by Details" section below.) To the right of this list are three columns. The far right column shows how much was spent in this category last year. The middle column shows you the amount your minister of this department would like you to spend this year. The third column is for the amount you choose to spend in this category, which may differ from your minister's recommendations.

In the lower left-hand corner is a financial summary showing what resources you have available. The game imposes a specific deficit limit which is a function of your Gross National Product, and you cannot set any budget that goes beyond that limit. To make a change in any of these areas, click on the specific area with your mouse or scroll up and down the list using the \downarrow and \uparrow keys. Enter the new number on the calculator. You may make as many changes as you like, as long as the total budget does not go beyond the deficit limit. If your budget is right at the limit and you want to increase funding in one category, you'll first have to deduct that amount from another category.

If you decide not to make any changes, click on the "Cancel" button with your mouse or press C or Esc . This will take you back to the main screen without saving any changes you made. If you've gotten confused by some

of the changes you made and want to start over, click on the "Restore" button with your mouse or press **R** on your keyboard; this will return all the budget figures to where they were before you made any changes. To save your changes, click on the "Approve" button or type **A**. This will accept your changes and resume the game's advance.

by Details

	BUDGET RECOMMENDATION	PLANNED	ACTUAL	LAST YEAR
Production	Production		200	200
	Manufacturing	140	260	164
	Construction	70	200	79
	Transportation	200	270	230
	Raw Materials	200	280	200
Service		100	200	124
	Total Production	1030	3030	1821
Trade	Import	80	100	80
	Export	80	200	80
	Total Trade	120	244	120
MILITARY	Troops	80	100	80
	Weapons	200	450	200
	Total Military	270	550	280

	1930	1931
GRAND TOTAL PRODUCE	1030	3030
DEBTORS	100	100
PROFIT FOR EXPORT	0	0
CASH		
FUNDS AVAILABLE	200	200
DEFICIT COVER	200	200
CURRENT YEAR	200	200
BALANCE	200	200

This option gives you the most control over all details of the budget and lets you target where you want to spend your money. As in "by Major area," there is a financial summary sheet in the lower left-hand corner to show you the resources you have available. There are four different sheets of figures so you can see more precisely where your rubles are going. To view the different sheets, click on the "Back" or "Forward" buttons with your mouse or press the **PgUp** or **PgDn** keys on your keyboard.

The different categories of expenses should all be self-explanatory except for two major areas. The first is the category of Influence and Privileges. The fine Soviet sense of irony and delicacy does not allow you to enter into your budget what these items really are: bribes. They won't be all in cash, of course. In many instances they'll take the form of privileges such as better housing, the right to shop at special food stores, the right to buy a new car, better working conditions or, in the case of intellectuals and artists, publication in prestigious journals or better government support for their work. Your personal influence and coercion, which are both dependent on your political strength, also enter into these calculations. All these things add up if you want to keep your people satisfied.

The other area requiring explanation is the category of Emergency Funds. This acts as a contingency fund. Sometimes the solution you choose for dealing with a crisis will cost money, and the department that would normally handle it does not have enough ready cash in its budget. In that case, the money will be taken from this Emergency stash. It's wise to keep a sufficient amount of money in this fund, or you might not have enough cash to adequately handle crises when they arise.

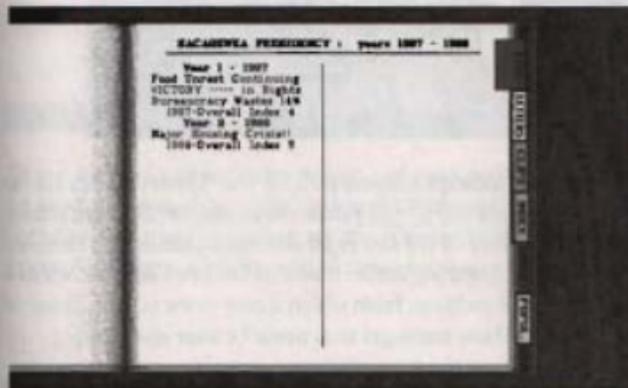
To make a change in any of these areas, click on the area you want with your mouse or scroll up and down the list with the and keys. Enter the new number using the calculator. You may make as many changes as you like, as long as the total budget does not go beyond the deficit limit.

If you decide not to make any changes, click on the "Cancel" button with your mouse or press or . This will take you back to the main screen without saving any changes you made. If you've gotten confused by some of the changes you made and want to start over, click on the "Restore" button with your mouse or press on your keyboard. This will return all the budget figures to where they were before you made any changes. To save your changes, click on the "Approve" button or press . This will accept your changes and resume the game's advance.

CHECKING YOUR PERSONAL FILE

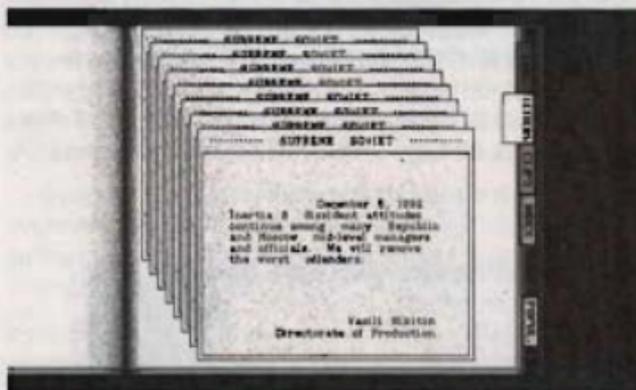
Your presidential file, which you personalized at the beginning of the game, keeps a historical record of the game's main details and lets you review how successful you've been in past years. The book is empty when you start the game, but each game year fills it with more details. To open your personal file, click the Log button on the action menu or press **L**.

LOG OF EVENTS



The book automatically opens to the Log of Events, where the major happenings of each year are chronicled. If you are somewhere else in the book and want to return to the log, click on the "Events" index tab with your mouse or press **E**.

LETTERS

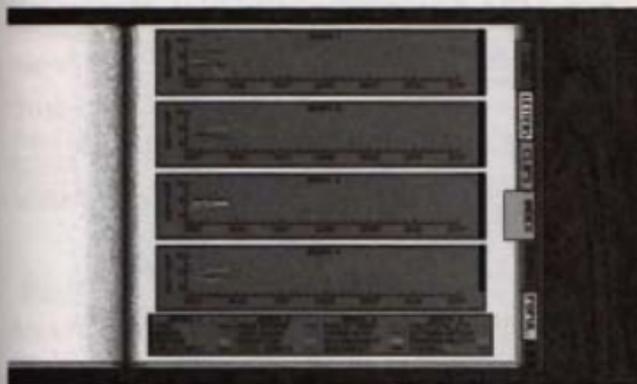


To review your past correspondence, click on the "Letters" index tab or press **[L]**. Use the **[PgUp]** and **[PgDn]** keys to scroll among the different letters. The book keeps a record of the last eight communications you received from various people. Anything earlier than that has been taken down to a special file in the KGB archives, from which it may never return. Some of the people who sent those messages may never be seen again, either.

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS



To review past newspaper clippings about your administration, click on the "Clips" index tab or press **[C]**. The book keeps a record of the latest clippings. Anything earlier has been given to your pet historian to compile a flattering history of your administration.



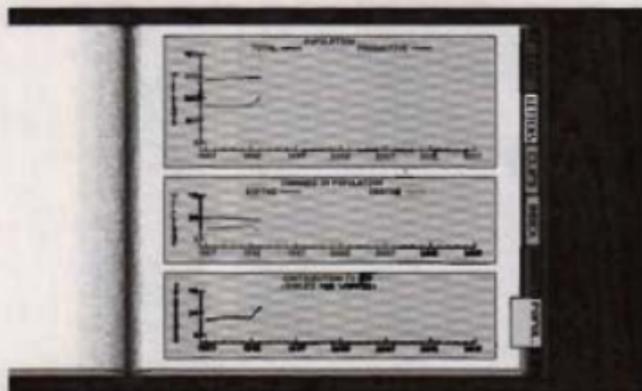
To review the social indicator ratings and your political indicator ratings for previous years, click on the “Indexes” tab or press **[I]**. This will show you both the strength of the nation and the popularity of your administration in graphical form, allowing you to view any progress you’ve made.

BUDGETS

YEAR	GDP	REVENUE	EXPENSE	DEFICIT	DEBT	BALANCE
1987	100	100	100	0	0	0
1988	105	105	105	0	0	0
1989	110	110	110	0	0	0
1990	115	115	115	0	0	0
1991	120	120	120	0	0	0
1992	125	125	125	0	0	0
1993	130	130	130	0	0	0
1994	135	135	135	0	0	0
1995						
1996						
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2011						
2012						
2013						
2014						
2015						

Click on the “Budget” index tab or press **[B]** to review the gross budgets you set for previous years and the current budget projection for the upcoming year.

POPULATION



If you click on the "Population" index tab or press **P**, you'll see a record of how your population has been changing over the years.

CLOSING THE BOOK

To leave your personal file and return to the main screen, click on the "Shut" tab with your mouse or press **S** or **Esc** on your keyboard.

CHECKING YOUR VCR



Your VCR keeps track of all the TV broadcasts that occurred during your administration. To turn on your recorder, click on the VCR button on the action menu or press **V**. You will see a screen with your personal VCR and viewer, plus a collection of the last 10 cassettes made, all properly labelled.

To view a tape, click on the particular cassette you want to view or type the letter in parentheses. If you want to cut short a tape while it's playing, press **Enter**. To return to the main screen, click on the red button at the bottom of the VCR or press **O** or **Esc**.

FIVE YEAR PLAN

If you would like to run a game simulation based on the policies and budget you've just set, click the 5-year button on the action menu or press **5**. The computer will run a simulated projection of where your policies will lead you over the next five years, showing how the social, economic and political indicators will react during that time. It will not show you any dispatches.

A warning is in order. The simulation calculates how the social, economic and political indicators will fluctuate during the five-year period based solely on your policies and budget. It does not take into account secessionist movements in the satellites and the republics, nor does it allow for events beyond your control such as weather (good or bad), natural disasters or acts of international terrorism. Crises may still occur no matter how carefully thought out your Five Year Plan is.

ADVANCING THE GAME

If you've paused the game for some reason and you now want to continue, click the Advance button on the action menu or press **A**. The computer will run through the game until some factor causes it to pause again.

DISPATCHES/NEWS BULLETINS

During the course of the game year, messages will be sent to you as president regarding various matters of concern. You may or may not decide to use these as guides for what steps need to be taken. These messages will be indicated by a yellow box appearing in the center of the map. If you have the dispatches option turned on, the message will show up on your screen automatically. The game will pause while you read the message. When you've finished, click on the dispatch with the mouse or press any key. The message will vanish and the game will continue to advance.

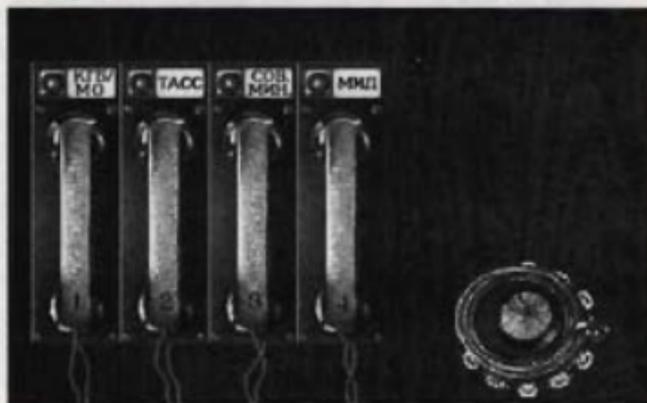
If you have the dispatches option turned off, you will either have to click on the yellow box or press any key to make the message appear. If you don't want to stop and read the message now, just ignore the message box and it will go away after a few seconds.

Whether you choose to read the messages now or not, they will be transferred to your personal files for later review.

News bulletins will also reach you, either from newspapers or from television. They will also appear as a yellow box in the center of the screen, and they follow the same commands as the dispatches.

Whether or not you choose to view them while the game is running, the clippings will be transferred to your personal files for later review. The television reports will be saved on videotape to be played on your VCR.

CRISIS



From time to time the game will be interrupted by a message informing you of an urgent phone call from one of your top ministers. Clicking on the message or pressing any key will take you to the crisis phone bank screen.

You will see a series of four telephones, each of which is a direct line to one of your ministerial departments. In the bottom right-hand corner of the screen is the cup of tea you've been drinking.

Your hand will pick up the appropriate telephone and your minister at the other end will describe the current situation. You will then be presented

with a series of alternatives for dealing with the matter. If you want to accept one of these alternatives, click on the box or type the letter that appears beside that choice. Once you make a decision, the computer will calculate its effect and return you to the main screen.

If you don't like any of the choices, you can deliberately choose to reject them all and make no decision (which is, in itself, a decision). Click on the teacup in the lower right-hand corner or press **T** to make this decision and return to the main screen.

BLINKING REGIONS

When you pause the game for some reason, you may find some regions on the map are blinking. These are parts of the Soviet empire — either satellite nations or Soviet republics — in which unrest has started to brew. Slow blinking represents a crisis in formation; rapid blinking means an imminent crisis. If you want to preserve your sphere of influence, you will have to take some action to improve your relations with them, either by force or by diplomacy. You could budget more money for the bloc nations or the republics, or you could assume a more aggressive military policy or beef up your military budget. If the crisis button on the action menu begins to blink, you can select it and go to the crisis phone bank for possible solutions. If the crisis becomes very severe, you'll receive a message that one of your ministers wants to talk to you.

Note: You might not be able to see all these blinking areas from the central map. Be sure to scroll westward to check on Cuba's status and eastward to check on Mongolia and the Moslem republics.

INDICATOR CRISES

Some of the social or political indicators may occasionally display the word "Crisis." To act on the crisis, click on the indicator or else press **I**, use the arrow keys to scroll through the indicators and then press **Enter**. This will take you to the crisis phone bank, where the ministry that handles this particular problem will offer you a set of suggestions. As described under "Crisis" earlier, you may choose one of their suggestions or sip your tea and let the situation develop on its own.

LOSING THE GAME

Only by delicately balancing all the needs of a complex nation and keeping your faction politically viable can you hope to survive in the cutthroat game of world politics. If you allow any crisis to grow too great, either from inside or outside the country, you are likely to be thrown out of office. And you really wanted this job in the first place?

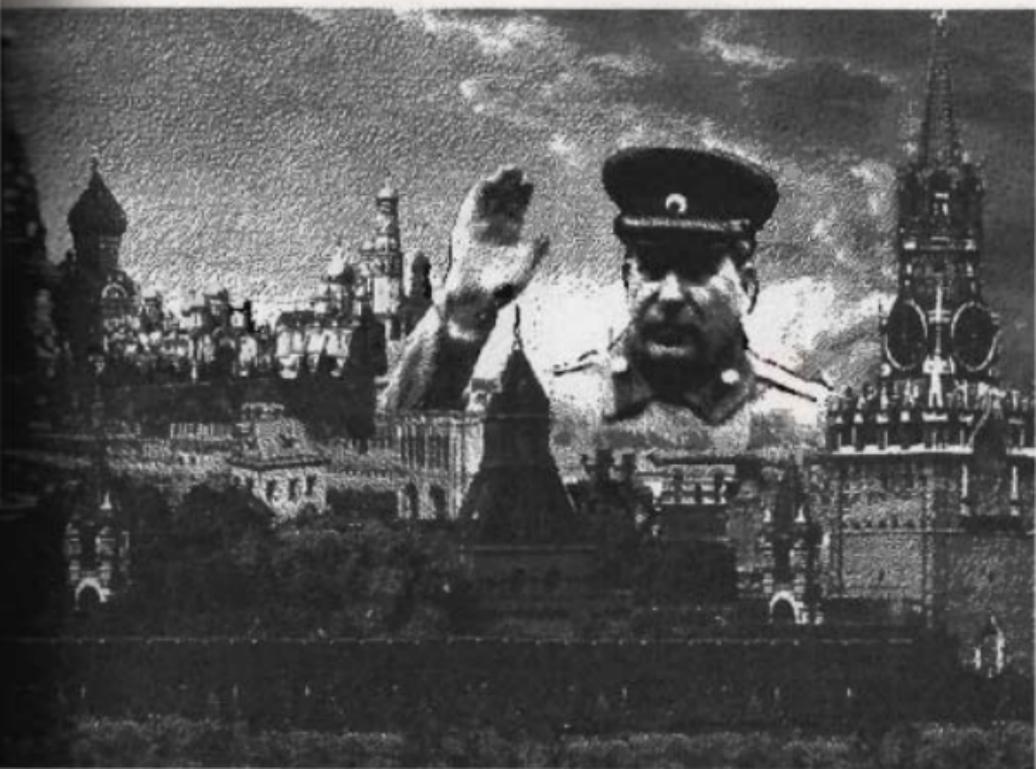
WINNING THE GAME

When you decided at the beginning of the game which faction you were going to support, you chose to adopt their goals. At the end of 1991 (if you last that long) the computer will assess your performance to see how well you accomplished your aims. You may choose to resign at this point, or you may continue to play the game to see how far your policies and budgets will carry you. The computer will make another assessment in the year 2000, your 15th year in office. You may continue playing up to a total of 30 years if you choose. You can quit the game any time you like by clicking on the game menu or hitting **[Esc]**, clicking on Quit or pressing **[Q]**, and deciding whether to save the game under some specific name.

But if you have survived the vicissitudes of the Soviet presidency amid all the turbulent changes and crises that occur through 1991, your name will certainly go down in history. Have a nice cold bowl of borscht. You've earned it!

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART V:

STRATEGY



HISTORICAL FAMILIARITY

The Russian people have had a long, rich and surprisingly consistent history. Throughout the ages, no matter how many reforms were promised them, no matter how the names of the reformers or the shape of the government changed, life for them remained largely as it had been before. Part VI is provided to give you a historical background of the country you hope to govern. To know how to deal with future problems, it's often wise to know their roots.

The historical section has first a general overview of Russian and Soviet history and then detailed discussions of specific areas that apply to this game. If you face a crisis in a particular area, you might refer to this manual to learn the historical precedents for that problem. You must be aware, however, that many of these problems have recurred frequently in Russian history. They have *never* had any permanent solutions.

WHAT YOU FACE

These are some of the difficulties you'll face as you start the game:

- A land with over 100 different ethnic groups, many with different languages — and with age-old rivalries and hatreds.
- A huge and relatively untapped resource pool, with oil that would be the envy of OPEC, minerals (often in hard-to-settle locations) and forests.
- A giant military complex that bleeds the economy almost dry and which resists efforts to trim it back.
- An enormously entrenched bureaucracy that similarly resists all reform efforts.
- Record levels of waste and inefficiency, including antiquated plants, equipment and management practices and unproductive planning methods.
- A management system with little training in entrepreneurship and methodology.
- An aging network for production and distribution of food and manufactured goods.
- A population that has been indoctrinated for centuries under tsars, commissars and Party officials to expect and even prefer central authority, price controls, cheap housing, and guaranteed jobs.
- An educational system that prefers to focus on doctrinaire correctness rather than innovative thought.

RATING FACTORS

The social, economic and political indicators show your rating in each measurement category. The ratings are based on:

1. **Funding:** How you set your budgets for production, trade, military, influence, etc.
2. **Policies:** How you set various policies for type of government, military posture, work week, private ownership, etc.
3. **Random events:** Good or bad weather, drought, etc. occur at various times, and you cannot control these events.
4. **Your decisions:** Actions you take affect funding, policies *and* the indicators.
5. **Internal and external reactions and politics:** These are caused by the above four factors.

THE STRATEGY GRID

As random events occur or as you change budgets and policies, the indicators will change. The accompanying Strategy Grids show how and why this may happen.

AS YOU INCREASE THE AMOUNTS OF THE BUDGET ITEMS BELOW, THE INDICES ON THE RIGHT WILL INCREASE (+), DECREASE (-) OR HAVE AN UNCERTAIN EFFECT (?).		F	H	H	E	I	G	E	C	S	L	E	E	P	C	F	O	
		O	E	O	M	N	O	D	I	E	A	N	M	O	I	O	R	A
		D	A	L	P	C	O	U	V	R	R	R	R	L	T	R	E	L
			T	I														
			H	N														
				G														
PRODUCTION:	Agriculture	+	+		+	+					+	-		+	+	+	+	
	Manufacturing				+	+	+				+	-		+	+	+	+	
	Construction			+	+	+					+	-		+	+	+	+	
	Transportation/Distribution	+	+		+	+	+				+	-		+	+	+	+	
	Raw Materials			+	+	+	+				+	-		+	+	+	+	
	Service		+		+	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	
TRADE:	Import	+	+				+			+	+			+	+	+	+	
	Export				+	+					+					+	+	
MILITARY:	Troops													+			+	
	Weapons/Supplies													+			+	
GOV'T & PUB. SRVCS:	Administration/Bureaucracy				-	-					+							
	Civil Police/Courts								-		+							
	Security Police								-		+			+	-	-	?	
	Health		+								+			+	+	+	+	
	Education							+			+			+	+	+	+	
	Environment	+										+		+	+	+	+	
	Public Works/Roads/Bridges	+		+			+			+				+	+	+	+	
	Unemployment/Pov./Pensions		+		-													
	Leisure/Entertainment					-	+			+				+	+	+	+	

AS YOU INCREASE THE AMOUNTS OF THE POLICIES BELOW, THE INDICES ON THE RIGHT WILL INCREASE (+), DECREASE (-) OR HAVE AN UNCERTAIN EFFECT (?).		F	H	H	E	I	G	E	C	S	L	E	E	P	C	F	O
		O	E	O	M	N	O	D	I	E	A	N	M	O	I	O	R
		D	A	U	P	C	O	A	R	R	/	R	R	L	S	R	R
			L	I	L	O	O	T	T	V	O	N	G	S	A	E	L
			T	N	T	M	D	S	S	C	R	M	N	T	T	S	A
			H	G		S				D	T	C	R	S	T	T	
GOVERNMENT POLICY:	Type of Government	+				+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
	Military Posture				+				+		+					+	+
	Diplomatic Policies	+					+									+	+
	Trade Posture	+				+	+									+	+
	Civil Rights		+			+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
	Media Freedom		+			+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
ECONOMIC POLICY:	Type of Economy	+		+	+	+	+										
	Work Week		+		+			+	+								
	Wage Controls	+		+	+	+			+								
	Private Ownership	+		+	+	+	+										

OTHER FACTORS

Your budgets and policies may affect other factors than just the indicators. These are:

- **Production Value-Added:** Rubles invested in production are multiplied by this factor to arrive at the Gross National Product. In other words, for each ruble you invest in production, you will get a "ruble plus" out depending on the value of this factor.
- **Waste:** Production output is reduced by this "waste factor" caused by poor management, planning, transportation, work practices, etc.
- **Export Value Added:** For each ruble's worth of production exported, you might get back a "ruble plus" from export profits.
- **Birthrate/Deathrate:** These are affected by health, R&D progress, food, etc. They determine the growth or decline of the U.S.S.R.'s population.

The following strategy grid shows some of the factors that may affect each of the above.

	Production Value-Added	Waste	Export Value Added	Birthrate/Deathrate
1. Investment in R&D				
2. Investment in Education				
3. Investment in Health Care				
4. Investment in Food Production				
5. Investment in Transportation				
6. Investment in Management Training				
7. Investment in Work Practices				
8. Investment in Export Promotion				
9. Investment in Foreign Trade				
10. Investment in Foreign Investment				
11. Investment in Foreign Technology				
12. Investment in Foreign Capital				
13. Investment in Foreign Debt				
14. Investment in Foreign Aid				
15. Investment in Foreign Trade				
16. Investment in Foreign Investment				
17. Investment in Foreign Technology				
18. Investment in Foreign Capital				
19. Investment in Foreign Debt				
20. Investment in Foreign Aid				

AS YOU INCREASE THE BUDGET ITEMS AND POLICY SETTINGS BELOW, THE INDICES ON THE RIGHT WILL INCREASE (+), DECREASE (-) OR HAVE AN UNCERTAIN EFFECT (?).		PRODUCTION VALUE ADDED	WASTE FACTOR	EXPORT VALUE ADDED	BIRTH RATE	DEATH RATE
R & D:	Civil	+	-	+	+	-
	Military		+		+	-
	Other	+			+	-
GOVERNMENT/SERVICES:	Security Police	+	-	+		
INFLUENCE:	Scientists/Technicians	+	-	+		
	Security Police	+	-	+		
GOVERNMENT POLICY:	Trade Posture	+		+		
ECONOMIC POLICY:	Work Week	+	+	+		
INDICES:	Food	+			?	?
	Education	+	-	+	-	
	Health				?	?
	Foreign Relations	+				
Adequate/Inadequate TRANSPORTATION		?	?	?		
Adequate/Inadequate RAW MATERIALS		?		?		

SOME SURPRISES

If you proceed carelessly, you could find some surprises in store, including:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| The Military | If you reduce funding or change policies too much or too fast, you might end up with protests, riots, military coups or a Siberian vacation. |
| Other Factions | If you change your policies radically or frequently, it will alter people's perceptions of you and your own political strength. The other factions are waiting for you to slip, and you could wind up facing a vote of confidence before you know it. |
| Citizens | Too long a time with too low a rating and they could protest, riot, stage a strike or slowdown, or revolt and throw you out of office. |
| The Unexpected | Weather, drought, world events, accidents and scientific breakthroughs can all change the situation for better or worse—and you have no control over them. |

1. **Gradual is better than sudden.** Gradual changes in funding or policies will not generally set off the other factions or even the nervous members of your own. Sudden or large moves can bring resistance and lead to your downfall.
2. **Every move has an effect.** Use the Strategy Grids. Changes can have very far-reaching and unexpected results — just as they can in the real world.

With that advice in mind, here are some things you might want to try out:

- Reduce the bloated military budget to gain rubles for other uses.
- Increase Production Value-Added and decrease Waste by investing in Research and Development (R&D), in Influence/Privileges for scientists and technicians, in better foreign relations (they may help you improve your methods), and in more Security Police. (Industrial espionage abroad has been a primary source of Soviet technology for years.)
- Increase exports.
- Increase production budgets. The more you produce, the more GNP you will have next year.
- Increase the work week for a time to increase production. This will not work for too long, or if raised to too high a level.

Above all, good luck!

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CRISIS
IN THE
KREMLIN

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART VI:

*HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND*



OVERVIEW

PRE-SOVIET HISTORY

Long before there was a Soviet Union, there was a Russian Empire ruled by the "Tsar of All the Russias." This vast empire spanned two continents; but although two-thirds of the country's land mass is in Asia, it has traditionally been considered a "European" nation.

It has also, throughout most of its history, been considered one of the most backward of the European countries. While other Western nations moved out of the Middle Ages toward increasing urbanization, industrialization and parliamentary governments, Russia remained rooted in its feudal system with the tsar at the top, then the landed nobility, and finally the peasant serfs who "belonged" to the land they farmed (and to whoever owned that land) and who had scarcely more rights than slaves.

Although Ivan III first started calling himself "tsar" (from the Latin title "caesar"), it was his grandson, Ivan the Terrible (reigning 1533–1584), who was first crowned with the title. Ivan the Terrible commissioned the



The Soviet Union as of 1985

construction of the wooden-walled fortress that eventually became the Kremlin. Ivan centralized much of the authority in his own hands by the simple expedient of torturing and killing people—particularly of the nobility—who opposed him. He made the nobles responsible for service to the state instead of to their own selfish aims, and he organized a personal group of “tax collectors”—really brigands and extortionists—as a separate administration called the Oprichnina, responsible entirely to him. Although he could be utterly ruthless, ingeniously torturing and killing those who gave him any trouble—or who he *imagined* were giving him trouble—he was generally popular with the common people who saw him as their protector against the arbitrary cruelty of the nobility.

The first small cracks in the traditional social structure came in the early 18th century. As a young man, Tsar Peter I (Peter the Great) traveled (incognito at times) through the nations of Western Europe. He became an admirer of their progress and realized that his country could not continue in such a backward fashion. Over the course of his reign (1682–1725), he instituted a wide number of reforms including modernizing the army, creating a navy, building a modern capital called St. Petersburg, encouraging mercantilism and foreign trade, and giving women more rights. For all his changes, though, Russia remained a nation of peasants.

For more than a century after Peter, change came about in fits and starts under a succession of rulers who had varying degrees of interest in social reform. The feudal system, archaic even in Peter’s time, grew more and more unwieldy, less and less able to support the dreams and goals of a modern nation. In December of 1825, the so-called Decembrist uprising occurred. The leaders based their revolution on principles in the American constitution, the French constitution of 1791 and the Spanish constitution of 1812. Among the changes they demanded were the abolishment of the monarchy and the military dictatorship, freeing of the serfs, communal ownership of land, the ability of any citizen to work in any profession or trade, and self-rule for subjugated nations within their ethnic borders. The Decembrist revolt was quickly crushed, but it lived on in the hearts and minds of all Russian intellectuals and revolutionaries, including the Bolsheviks.

After their loss to the numerically inferior Western armies in the Crimean War, the leaders of the Russian government finally realized that their antiquated feudal system was holding back their development as a modern nation. In 1861, under Tsar Alexander II, the serfs were finally emanci-



IVAN IV
Popularly known as *Ivan the Terrible* because of his legendary cruelty, he reigned from 1546 to 1584 and was the first ruler to be crowned with the title *Tsar*. He first commissioned the building of the Kremlin and St. Basil’s Cathedral, and he maintained a band of thugs, who called themselves tax collectors, known as the *Oprichnina*. In 1558 he gave a large land grant to Grigory Stroganov to begin Russia’s expansion into Siberia.

pated. This predated the Thirteenth Amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States by four years and covered many more people, in addition to addressing the problems of their future economic survival.

Other reforms continued to come, but administering them in a country as large and complex as Russia was difficult at best. The failure of the government to make any real movement toward a parliamentary system also angered the intelligentsia and the revolutionaries. Finally, in 1905—enmeshed in the Russo-Japanese War abroad and plagued by violence, strikes and military mutinies at home—Tsar Nicholas II agreed to allow a representative assembly, called a Duma, to be convened. Four Dumas were convened from 1905 through World War I and, while the complex electoral process kept them from being fully representational, they gave legitimacy to many different political factions.

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

World War I placed great stresses on the Russian Empire, which culminated in its overthrow in 1917. Compared to his predecessors, Nicholas II was a liberal ruler, but he was also a weak one and under him the common man lost his last shreds of respect for the monarchy.

Russia entered the war in 1914 on the side of France, against Germany (and the tsar's cousin, Kaiser Wilhelm). It attacked East Prussia, forcing the German army to shift troops from its western to its eastern front. This attack saved France from being overrun, but it was disastrous for Russia. Its army, like those of most of Europe, was ill prepared to face a world war and suffered early disastrous defeats. Food and supplies that could have helped the Russian citizens were diverted to the front to keep the army going. The people, feeling the tsarist government was more concerned with foreign adventures than the welfare of its own citizens, were incensed.

Bread riots and troop mutinies reached a peak in February 1917, and in March Nicholas II signed his abdication. A "Provisional Government" was formed under the leadership of a progressive reformer named Kerensky. Radical and immediate changes were needed to keep the country from disintegrating, but Kerensky was reluctant to tear his country apart while the war against Germany continued. The general dissatisfaction continued, and Kerensky could not muster enough support from either the people or the military to act decisively.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (operating under the *nom de guerre* of Nikolai Lenin), a lifelong revolutionary and the charismatic catalyst of the Social

Democratic Labor Party's Bolshevik ("majority") faction, had been exiled from Russia for a number of years, living in various western European cities and writing voluminously. Now, with chaos growing in Russia, the German government saw a chance to destabilize their enemy even further. They slipped Lenin back into Russia and, according to many historians, secretly funded his subversive activities. The Bolsheviks, who were eventually to become the Communist Party, sprang into new life.

Promising everything to everyone, the Bolsheviks went on the offensive. They promised the end of government repression to appeal to the intellectuals. They promised a quick peace with Germany, which appealed to enlisted men tired of fighting a seemingly hopeless war with constantly dwindling resources. They promised to make industrial workers the masters of their own factories, with better wages and working conditions. They promised the peasants they could own their own land instead of tilling the soil for rich landowners. They promised independence to the ethnic cultures within the empire. Finally, with the assistance of soldiers from the rebellious garrison in Petrograd (which had been St. Petersburg until 1914; being at war with Germany made the government want to change the name of its capital to something less Germanic-sounding), Lenin, Leon Trotsky and the Bolshevik party took over the central government. This occurred on October 25, 1917 by the calendar in use in Russia at that time. According to the Western calendar—which Russia adopted in 1918—the date was November 7, 1915.



THE WINTER PALACE *The Winter Palace in St. Petersburg was built in the mid-eighteenth century by the Empress Elizabeth. Long a favored hangout of Russian royalty, it was where the Cabinets of the Provisional Government took refuge during the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917. Storming the Winter Palace and capturing these ministers signalled the final success of the Bolshevik takeover.*

Like Kerensky, the Bolsheviks knew they could not carry out their social reform program and wage war at the same time. They made a peace-at-any-price treaty with Germany in March 1918 (the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk). This allowed them to concentrate on internal matters. Having already seized land from wealthy landowners and nationalized factories and banks, they next abolished all civil ranks and classes and established an eight-hour workday. On the social front they decreed equality for legitimate and illegitimate children, recognized only civil (rather than religious) marriage ceremonies, made divorce readily available upon petition of either party, and instituted separation of church and state. They approved a constitution giving autonomy to the different ethnic regions, granting them the right to secede from the Union.

For all the Bolsheviks' efforts, they remained a minority government. The first and only democratic national election before the Gorbachev Era was held in November of 1917. Other progressive and reform parties won a majority of seats, but the Bolsheviks weren't going to let anyone else control their agenda. They used their loyal Petrograd garrison to intimidate the Constituent Assembly, which dispersed just 24 hours after it was convened. The Bolsheviks never risked having free elections again.

A wide array of forces—called the “Whites,” as opposed to the Bolshevik “Reds”—tried to oust the Bolsheviks from power, and nearly succeeded a couple of times during the civil war that lasted from 1918 to about 1921. Part of their problem was that some were royalists seeking the return of the monarchy, while others were democrats wanting to overturn the authoritarian Bolshevik regime. The only thing they could all agree on was they wanted the Bolsheviks out. Many groups would not work with others, and they could never coordinate their efforts to produce lasting victories. The British, French, Americans and Japanese all came to the aid of the Whites with men and materiel, but the foreigners never really grasped the realities of Russian society and were unable to coordinate their efforts significantly.

Added to these woes, the country was beset in 1920 with a terrible famine, so bad in places that people were said to be resorting to cannibalism of the dead. Between the fighting and the famine, hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives during this tragic period.

The Bolsheviks took steps to protect themselves and their precious revolution. In 1919 they established the Comintern, an international organization for exporting the Communist revolution around the world. They suppressed dissent and established the Cheka (“Extraordinary Commission”) as a secret police force with the power to execute any subversives

without trial. They commandeered food supplies for the Red Guard to fight the Whites. They got help from many of the ethnic nationals by pointing out that the Whites wanted to reinstate the old Empire that had subjugated their people.

Bit by bit the Bolsheviks defeated all the elements aligned against them. By 1921, their struggle for control was over and they faced an even more difficult problem. Up until now, they had spent their time fighting the oppressive system; henceforth they would have to *become* the system in order to put their utopian ideals into practice.

SOVIET HISTORY SINCE THE REVOLUTION

To the great dismay of both the Bolshevik leaders and the common people, the revolution did not by itself turn the country around. Workers who'd been promised they would take over discovered that they'd merely changed bosses; now it was the state rather than the factory owner who gave the orders. Industrial production fell. Peasants who'd been promised land ownership discovered it was the state who owned the land in their name, and the state was demanding that they meet high quotas. Agricultural production fell. Harsh measures to punish slackers only increased the unrest. When a naval mutiny occurred at Kronstadt, the government realized urgent measures were needed to deal with the discontent.

In 1921 Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), which was a step backward from his avowed communist goal. Instead of having to meet unrealistic fixed quotas, peasants had to give a percentage of their crop to the state and could sell anything above that on the free market. Some of the smaller factories could be operated by private owners; some private ownership of goods was allowed, as was the right to inherit some property. These new policies, which were gradually phased out after only a few years of full operation, reduced discontent to tolerable levels and allowed the Bolshevik regime to survive.

Lenin, who had led the Bolsheviks into political power and guided them through the rocky civil war, was not given much opportunity to lead the country. In May 1922, he suffered the first of a series of cerebral strokes, and from mid-1923 until his death in January 1924, he was purely vegetative. In 1924 St. Petersburg/Petrograd was renamed Leningrad—the name it kept until 1991, when popular opinion and a general disgust with the communist system caused people to call it St. Petersburg once more.

The struggle to succeed Lenin saw some vicious infighting among the faithful. Leon Trotsky had always been assumed to be Lenin's heir, particularly by Leon Trotsky himself. He was a brilliant theoretician and had frequently been at Lenin's side at critical moments. But a strong rival had emerged in the person of a politically astute bureaucrat named Josef Stalin who held the position of Communist Party Secretary General. Trotsky was a better initiator of ideas, but Stalin was shrewder at the art of political manipulation. By 1925 Trotsky had been stripped of his powers; by 1927 he was expelled from the party; and by 1929 he was expelled from the Soviet Union altogether for his continued opposition to Stalin. He ended up living in Mexico, where he was murdered in 1940 presumably by Stalin's agents.

Although the Bolsheviks came to power by promising independence to the ethnic regions, they made sure to install friendly governments that voted to stay within the Union. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania managed to remain independent, but the Ukrainians could not unite enough to oppose Soviet rule. Between the two world wars the Soviet Union consisted of 11 republics: Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Tajikistan. In addition to these Union republics, there were other political subdivisions: Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Districts, each with differing degrees of internal control.

By the late 1920s Stalin had the leadership to himself, and he proceeded to use it with brutal efficiency for the next two and a half decades. With the aid of the state planning commission (Gosplan), a series of five-year plans were launched to improve the nation's industrial and agricultural output. These plans were of mixed success in terms of reaching their stated goals, but there is no question the nation's output improved. The last part of Karl Marx's famous slogan "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" was changed in a new constitution to "to each according to his work." Speaking to foreigners was dangerous, for citizens were forbidden to learn what was happening in other countries or to tell foreigners what was happening in their own. The secret police, particularly under the control of L.P. Beria from 1938–1953, were energetic in their jobs. The Communist Party itself was repeatedly purged of anyone who harbored ideas other than Stalin's. The numbers of people Stalin had murdered, sent to labor camps, or relocated to inhospitable regions is simply beyond counting, and the cost in human suffering was staggering.

Shunned by most other countries, the U.S.S.R. kept pretty much to itself during the '20s and early '30s, other than trying to export its revolution abroad. With the rise of Hitler, a staunch anticommunist, in Germany during the '30s, Stalin and his advisers realized they had to do something. In 1939 the world was stunned to see these two ideological enemies sign a nonaggression pact. Shortly thereafter, Germany attacked and captured Poland, leaving the Soviets free to claim some Polish lands. The Soviet Union also attacked Finland—historically a part of the Russian Empire—and gained some strategic territory, though the Finns kept their sovereignty. The U.S.S.R. then annexed Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as Soviet republics to gain better access to the Baltic Sea. After Germany violated the treaty and invaded Soviet territory in 1941, the Soviet Union allied with the Western powers. During the course of the war they managed to annex Moldavia, formerly a part of Romania, as another republic.

As Germany collapsed at the end of World War II, Soviet forces swept in from the east, installing puppet governments in what came to be known as the Soviet Bloc nations of Eastern Europe. In Asia, though they didn't start fighting Japan until after the atomic bombs were dropped, they occupied the Japanese-conquered lands in Manchuria. Eventually these were handed over with material and aid to the Chinese Communists under Mao Tse-tung, giving him the margin of victory over the Chinese Nationalists.

When Stalin finally died in 1953, jockeying for the top position proved much less virulent than the struggle between Stalin and Trotsky. After several years, Nikita Khrushchev emerged victorious and delivered his classic speech of 1956 denouncing Stalin's excesses and rejecting the "cult of the individual." Compared to Stalin, Khrushchev was a liberal reformer. He expanded Soviet influence around the globe, feuded with the other great Communist power, China, and launched his nation and the world into the Space Age. Despite his threat to "bury" (that is, outlive) the capitalist nations and his provocation of the Cuban Missile Crisis with the United States, he gave the world the ideal of peaceful coexistence between East and West.

In 1964 Khrushchev became the first Soviet leader to be ousted from power without dying. He was succeeded by a collective headed by Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin, though Kosygin eventually fell by the wayside. This peaceful transition demonstrated a newfound level of maturity in the Soviet government. Brezhnev was a more conservative



JOHN REED

*A radical American journalist, John Reed traveled to Russia just in time to witness the Bolshevik Revolution firsthand. He became the foremost chronicler of its events in his famous book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. He is the only American to be buried within the walls of the Kremlin, having died before he could become too disillusioned by what the Revolution became.*



**MIKHAIL
GORBACHEV**

At 54, Mikhail Gorbachev was the youngest man since Stalin to assume the Soviet leadership—and possibly one of the bravest. Realizing the Soviet system was falling apart, he defied tradition and Communist dogma, initiating an era of sweeping changes that doomed his own regime. He made glasnost (“openness”) a recognizable word in English as well as in Russian, and he brought about a thaw in East-West relations. He was the last president of the Soviet Union.

man than Khrushchev, less colorful, less inclined to stray from oldtime Party values, and he tended to rule by consensus of the Politburo rather than by the force of his personality. Despite this official conservatism, the world was changing so rapidly that not even the monolithic Soviet bureaucracy could hold it back.

Brezhnev died in 1982 and was peacefully succeeded by Yuri Andropov, head of the KGB since 1967, who brought along a younger Central Committee Secretary for agriculture named Mikhail Gorbachev. Andropov died in 1984 and his successor, Konstantin Chernenko, lasted only a year beyond that. In March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was handed the reins of Soviet government. At 54 he was the youngest man since Stalin to take over—and was the first leader of the Soviet Union who had *not* lived through the Revolution. The era of the Old Guard Bolsheviks was at an end.

Gorbachev introduced two new concepts to Soviet governmental policy: *glasnost* (access to and free exchange of information) and *perestroika* (restructuring). After seventy years of Communist rule and a state-controlled economy, Gorbachev was willing to admit the system had failed and needed reorganization. Similarly, he was willing to open the society up to new ideas and Western culture. The satellite nations were straining at their leashes, and Gorbachev was reluctantly willing to let them go. Although a liberal himself, there were enough conservatives still holding political power that Gorbachev had to walk a tightrope to keep his dreams alive.

The results of his reforms were breathtaking. Like springs that have been compressed too far, the entire Soviet structure went flying in all directions. Within a couple of years the Warsaw Pact between the Eastern Bloc nations and the U.S.S.R. lay in ruins. Germany voted for unification and the Berlin Wall was torn down. The Union republics, particularly the Baltic states, were clamoring for their independence. Workers were going on strike and winning major concessions from the Soviet government. Free, contested elections were being held throughout the nation in 1990. Boris Yeltsin, a popular maverick from Siberia, won the presidency of the Russian Republic against the entrenched forces of the Communist establishment.

Events were moving too fast for the conservatives still in the government. In August 1991 they took Gorbachev hostage and attempted a coup to stop the disintegration of Soviet society. Boris Yeltsin, previously one of Gorbachev's most formidable rivals, rallied the masses to Gorbachev's defense. The coup failed dismally and the Gorbachev government was restored—but in such a weakened condition that it was no longer capable

of holding the Union together. The Baltic republics were finally granted their independence, and the other republics also asserted their freedom from Soviet domination. By the end of the year, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was declared officially dead, with Gorbachev as its last and possibly greatest leader. In its place was the Commonwealth of Independent States with its capital in Minsk in Belarus (formerly Byelorussia). The Commonwealth included most of the former Soviet Republics which were now being considered sovereign countries in their own right. Boris Yeltsin's Russian Federation was first among these equals, inheriting most of the old Union's nuclear weapons and its permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

The nations of the Commonwealth pledged themselves to democracy and a free market economy, eliminating the centralized economic planning that marked the old Soviet Union. The exact shape and power of this Commonwealth has yet to be determined. Its success would likely hinge on how well the individual nations, who could hardly wait to separate from one another, could finally manage to work together.

AGRICULTURE

Throughout its history, Russia has been a land dominated by agricultural concerns. When the harvests have been good, the country has known good times. When the harvest has been poor or when the country was wracked by one of its periodic famines, calamity and social upheaval often followed. Grains such as wheat, rye, oats and barley constitute the principal crops throughout the country, with forage crops for livestock also very popular. Some areas also grow potatoes, sugar beets, flax and cotton.

Ukraine deserves special mention. Although it contained only 2.7% of the land surface in the former Soviet Union, it produced more than 20% of Soviet agricultural and industrial output, and 25% of its grain. With the breakup of the Union in 1991, this new nation was a powerful force to be reckoned with and a significant player in the new Commonwealth.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Soviet Union comprised roughly one-sixth of the world's land mass. The Russian Soviet Republic accounted for three-quarters of this at over 6.5 million square miles, which made Russia the second largest political entity in the world, after the Soviet Union itself. With the dissolution of the Union, Russia is now the largest single political entity.

The majority of the land in the old Union was plains and forest extending in a broad belt east to west across the entire length of the Soviet Union. The vast northern steppes featured cold winters lasting most of the year, which made farming a marginal proposition at best. These lands were traditionally the haven for the desperate and the oppressed: escaped serfs, forced migrants, people with few options. The middle range of the agricultural belt had a more temperate climate, with hot summers and cold winters. Hot, dry deserts occupied large portions of Soviet Central Asia. In some of the most southerly regions, such as Uzbekistan, the climate could actually be subtropical and a summertime high of 122°F had been recorded. With no significant mountain ranges running north-to-south to stop them, swift winds often raced across the vast open plains.

OWNERSHIP OF LAND

For hundreds of years Russia had been primarily an agricultural country, utterly dependent on the labor of its peasants to keep it going. Yet for at least the last five centuries only a tiny percentage of agricultural workers could legally own the land they worked on.

Most of the land was officially owned either by the crown, by the church, by the nobility, or by rich landowners. The peasants who worked on the land had the right to the fruits of their labors, but they also owed a duty to the land's owner. In some cases they paid this as a fixed sum of money (*obrok*), while in other cases they were required to offer their services (*barshchina*) to the landowner for part of the time, meaning they couldn't devote as much time to their own crops. Often they had to ignore their own harvests to harvest their landowner's crops first.

To deal with some of the harsh economic realities, local peasants would organize into a communal arrangement called a *mir*. The *mir* paid taxes out of the community's wealth; it arranged for other peasants to take care of someone's land while he was performing his duty to the landowner; it arranged the sale of all the village's surplus in a free market; it provided what meager education was available to the peasants; and it cared for the aged, the sick and the orphaned. The community officials were elected by the peasants, but they were legally responsible to the landowner and had to do his bidding. In many ways the *mir* set the precedent for the collective farm that was to come later.

During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, while Western Europe was becoming more urban and its systems of feudal bondage were breaking down, Russia was tightening the noose around its serfs. By custom or by law, the landowner could regulate his serfs' lives, arrange their marriages, punish or banish them, and reclaim them if they ran away. While some laws were passed to better the serfs' condition, they were hard to enforce because a serf couldn't bring suit against his master. No matter what improvements were introduced, the peasant always viewed them with suspicion, as though they were part of some plot to make the landowner richer at the peasant's expense. The peasant had no incentive to improve and, as a result, the great strides in the West were not matched in Russia. Agricultural output remained low.

The eventual emancipation of the serfs in 1861 solved some problems, but left many others untouched. True, the landowners no longer had as much social control over the private lives of their peasants and had to let them own their land—but the peasant still had to pay the landowner over time to compensate him for the loss of his land, and the *mir* was kept as the communal organization responsible for all the payments. The fatalistic Russian peasants were convinced their lives could not get better, and agricultural output remained low.

World War I brought great crisis, as food was needed to feed the troops and the demands put great strain on the agricultural system. About half the farmable land was now under private ownership—but when the Bolsheviks urged the peasants to rise up and seize the land for themselves, they were most happy to do so, believing they'd at last be in charge of their own destiny. They were rudely disappointed, however, when they quickly learned they wouldn't hold the land directly; the state said it was holding the land for them in their names, and was setting strict quotas for them to meet. The state had become both the landowner and the *mir* on a nationwide scale.

Production plummeted which, along with the bloody civil war, was among the chief causes of the famine in 1920. Finally realizing he could not expect the peasants to meet the harsh fixed quotas of "war communism," Lenin inaugurated the New Economic Policy in 1921, whereby the peasants would give a percentage of what they grew to the state and could sell the rest on the free market. This stabilized production once more and allowed the communist regime to survive.

As Stalin came into power, a new system was tried: the collective farm, or *kolkhoz*. Peasants who joined a *kolkhoz* had access to modern equipment and techniques; they could get better rights, better education and better medical attention than they could through the *mir*. The first obligation of the collective was to provide a quota to the state; anything raised above that went to pay the "tractor station" for the use of the heavy equipment; and any surplus above that could theoretically be sold in the open market to benefit the *kolkhoz* and its constituent members.

The peasants fiercely resisted this attempted change in their centuries-old rustic lifestyle, and Stalin found himself in an undeclared war against his own people. The peasants killed officials, burned their own crops and killed their livestock. Stalin retaliated by sending in the OGPU (his secret police) and the Red Army, using machine guns and bombs against reluctant peasants while forcibly transporting others far away from their homes. In a later conversation he had with Winston Churchill, Stalin himself estimated that 10 million peasants died during this conversion.

By the end of the second Five-Year Plan in 1938, roughly 90% of the farmland was under the production of *kolkhozes*. The collective system did allow modern techniques to be introduced and allowed the state more control over the direction of national agricultural policies. Agricultural yields improved, but at a great cost in human suffering.



NIKOLAI LENIN: Although his real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, he took the nom de guerre Nikolai Lenin to lead the Bolshevik Revolution to success in 1917. Although he genuinely believed socialism would help the masses, he was ruthless in suppressing the common people if they opposed his regime. Although a series of cerebral strokes left him purely vegetative since at least the middle of 1923, Lenin is officially considered to have died in January 1924.

Under Khrushchev and his successors, farmers were allowed to sell for profit some of their yield from private plots, which improved production still further. In 1985, 60% of all the potatoes in the Soviet Union, 32% of

**NIKITA****KHRUSHCHEV**

Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, waited three years to make sure Stalin was safely dead before denouncing him. Although he launched the world's first space dog, Laika, into orbit, he also built the Berlin Wall, feuded with his Chinese "allies" and began the Cuban missile crisis. Just as Moses was not permitted to set foot in the Promised Land, Khrushchev was not allowed into Disneyland during his U.S. tour.

other vegetables and meat, 30% of the eggs and 29% of the milk came from such private plots. And these private plots take up only 1.6% of the total agricultural lands in the Soviet Union.

While the collective system made it easier to introduce modern agricultural methods to a previously nontechnological people, it also robbed them of all incentive to grow as much food as the nation really needed. Agriculture traditionally lagged behind the dreams of the government administrators, and from the late '70s onward the Soviet Union had to buy large amounts of grain on the world market, particularly from the United States and Canada. Nearly 2,500 Soviet citizens used to move from the country into the city every day, decreasing the agricultural base still further.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION

Distribution was a major problem in a nation as large as the Soviet Union, with vast distances between the regions where the food was grown and the metropolitan centers where it was needed. The railroads were the major mode of transportation, being both fast and available year-round. Transportation by road was usually done only over short distances where there were no rail routes, since the roads were very poor and often unpaved in rural areas, and keeping them open during the winter was often a problem. There was also a system of travel by rivers and artificial inland waterways to supplement the other forms of distribution. The heavy hand of bureaucracy ensured tremendous waste and spoilage. Food was seldom delivered to where it was really needed.

Although there was no widespread starvation in the Soviet Union, both the amount and quality of food available differed markedly depending on where you were and how highly you ranked within society. Smaller cities and towns got by with less; large cities got larger allotments. Moscow, as the capital, tended to get the best of everything—and even there it was usually limited and of poor quality. There were state-permitted free markets, but they were usually expensive. People without political connections shopped at the state-owned stores, with long lines and generally poor quality of whatever was available. Many people took advantage of group buying programs through the businesses where they worked; they could buy items not always available in stores and didn't have to wait in line, but often had to buy things they didn't want or that were of poor quality as part of the package deal. The highest quality items went to stores where only the privileged could shop—government and Party officials, Kremlin workers, etc.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the abrupt switch to a free market economy promised privation and economic hardship to the general public. Large amounts of humanitarian aid from the Western nations would be needed to keep the winter of 1991–1992 from becoming a tragedy of mammoth proportions.



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ECONOMY

The Soviet Union had a managed—often mismanaged—economy. Having eliminated such capitalist notions as entrepreneurship, profit motive, and the law of supply and demand, they had to resort to direct state intervention to prevent chaos in the economy. Starting in 1928, the state planning commission (Gosplan) devised a series of Five-Year Plans to set goals for different parts of society and to keep the national economy on track, while local Gosplans directed the planning for different regions.

But over the years, the sheer difficulties of micromanaging an economy as huge as that in the Soviet Union created unbearable stresses on the social order. This vast experiment was not working, and the inefficiencies increased to the point where the system broke down. By the time of the abortive coup against Gorbachev, the Soviet Union was having to ask for aid from the industrialized nations—not just for money, although they needed lots of that, but for the technical expertise to restructure a system that had been in place for seven decades and had, to that time, ruthlessly smothered any attempts at change from within. Just as they had done in 1917, the Soviet leaders were having to build a brand new economic system entirely from scratch.

One of Gorbachev's fatal weaknesses was that he could not completely divorce himself from the ideal of socialism. When the Union dissolved and other leaders, such as Yeltsin, took over, they promised a rapid—and correspondingly painful—switch to private enterprise and a free market economy. Only time would ascertain whether the switch was successful.

FINANCE

The most powerful banking institution in the Soviet Union was the government-run State Bank of the U.S.S.R., or Gosbank, which issued notes, controlled currency circulation and exercised fiscal control over state enterprises. Soviet currency was not convertible to other currencies, though, which inhibited foreign investment. There were also specialized banks, such as the Bank for Foreign Trade and the State Savings Bank, which offered its services to the general public, collectives, and other organizations.

Following the Union's dissolution, the former republics asserted their sovereignty and the right to issue their own currency, establish border posts and customs, and refused to ship vital supplies, such as food, out of their own territories. The sudden chaos this could cause poses a large stumbling block to the success of the proposed Commonwealth.



CATHERINE II
Born a German, she married the inept young Tsar Peter III and then later had him disposed of, making herself Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great). She reigned from 1762–1796. Her court was known as one of the brightest in Europe, and even the French satirist Voltaire stayed there for a while. Catherine took a number of lovers and had several illegitimate children during her 34-year reign.

LABOR

Despite Karl Marx's theory that the communist revolution would spring from the industrial working classes, what is thought of as "labor" in the West—merchants, tradesmen, industrial and service workers—was a comparatively recent development in the Soviet Union. There were few factories through most of the 19th century, and those were mostly owned by either the state or the nobility. Not until the 20th century did the nation have a large urban labor pool.

Employment

The first factory workers were generally serfs who were bonded to the factories or who worked in factories to pay the *obrok* duty payments to their landlord masters. Most of the tradesmen were profit-seeking foreigners who came to Russia expecting to meet little native competition. There was actually a decline in factory workers after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 because people now had the hope of owning their own land and didn't want to work in the factories. Still, in the 50 years between emancipation and World War I, Russia saw great advances in production, becoming fourth among the world's textile producers. Dissatisfaction with working conditions caused many strikes, and those strikes were a major component of the civil unrest that led to the successful revolution. After the revolution, however, those same strikes were labelled "counterrevolutionary." Workers were no longer allowed to protest low wages and poor working conditions that were set for them by the Bolsheviks who had revolted in their name.

There was theoretically no unemployment in the Soviet Union under the communist regime. With minor exceptions, everyone worked for the government, and the government found a job for everyone. It might have been a useless, poorly paid job, but it would be there. People without jobs formed a much lower percentage of the Soviet population than they did in America. With large numbers of citizens migrating from the farms to the cities (just as in Western countries), the government had been heavily burdened to find employment for them all.

With the Soviet Union dissolving into independent nations with more highly privatized economies, there were bound to be large shakeups in the employment picture. Many of the old bureaucrats and Party officials would find themselves out of jobs. Many who did have jobs would find themselves forced to work productively or be fired. There was certainly going to be another workers' revolution in the land, with much unhappiness until people got used to the new order of things.

Personal Income

The average daily income for a Soviet citizen before the breakup of the Union was \$11.41, compared to \$26.83 for his American counterpart, but a straight dollar-for-dollar comparison is nearly impossible. The average American, for instance, spends 45% of that daily amount on housing, furniture and transportation, while the average Soviet citizen spent only 10% of his income in those categories because some of them were subsidized by the state. By contrast, the Soviet citizen spent 33% of his income for food and 2% for alcoholic beverages, while the American citizen spends 19% for food and 1% on alcoholic beverages. There is little doubt that personal income in the Soviet Union rose since the days of the tsars, but never enough to ease the unrest that always existed just below the surface. With the switch to a free market economy, no one can guess what will happen to people's income, though the politicians were promising everything would stabilize within a year.

Work Week

In the days of the tsars, while landowners and factory owners demanded work from the laborers, it was the Church that indirectly defined the work periods. Work was of course forbidden on Sundays, and there were large numbers of saints' days and other religious holidays that gave people relief from their drudgery.

When the communist regime took power, the role of the Church was officially downplayed and Church holidays were no longer recognized. Instead, the government instituted an eight-hour workday and even experimented with different work weeks, running factories continuously, eliminating Sunday as an automatic holiday, and putting people on shifts of five or six days followed by a one-day break. These innovations proved too confusing and were eventually abandoned. Machines that ran continuously wore out quickly, and staggered work shifts made it impossible for people to enjoy common holidays. People were officially given two weeks of vacation, which just about compensated for the loss of the religious holidays. By 1940, the eight-hour workday and the six-day work week were made official, and during World War II crisis conditions made even longer working periods necessary. In more recent times the work period was brought into line with the West, and the 40-hour work week became standard for Soviet citizens.

Wage Levels

The communist ideal dictated a classless society, with no worker's contribution valued more than any other's. The Soviet regime quickly found, however, that people without incentives produce little work of lower quality than those who are specially rewarded. The ideals had to bend in the face of practical reality. Wages in the Soviet Union were set by the state, in negotiation with the trade unions that represent all workers within a given field, but workers in different fields were entitled to earn different rates of pay. Even under the earliest Five-Year Plans, workers who performed beyond expectations were granted bonuses, medals and social prestige. In modern times, menial laborers were normally paid the lowest wages, followed by skilled workers, trained professionals and scientists, entertainers, and finally government and Party officials. Figures from the mid-1980s showed the average working wage at 150 rubles a month, an academician's salary more than six times that at 1,000 rubles, and a field marshal of the Soviet air force earning twice more, 2,000 rubles a month.

PRODUCTION

Manufacturing

One of the major achievements of the communist government was to transform a principally agrarian society into the world's second most powerful industrial nation. With a heavy emphasis on industry, the Soviet Union was second only to Japan in the rate of industrial growth it achieved in the 20th century. While lagging significantly behind Western countries in both the development and manufacture of high technology, the U.S.S.R. was among the top three countries in the world in the manufacture of basic and heavy industrial products, though the quality of workmanship was often suspect. Consumer products were always a low priority in the communist regime, although this began to change even before the Union was officially dissolved. With the transformation to a free market economy, there may be a significant shift to the manufacture of consumer-oriented products.



RASPUTIN

Although his real name was Grigory Yefimovich Novykh, he became known as Rasputin which means "debauched one." Called the "Mad Monk" (although he never was ordained as a monk, even though he stayed in a monastery for a while), this self-proclaimed mystic of sturdy Siberian peasant stock had a hypnotic hold over the royal family and used faith healing to cure Nicholas II's son Alexei, the tsarevich (Crown Prince), of his hemophilic attacks. Ultra-conservative nobles invited him to a banquet in December 1916, where they poisoned him, shot him several times, and threw him through a hole in the ice in the Neva River before he finally drowned.

Construction

As befits a country that spent the better part of the twentieth century redefining itself, construction played an important part in the Soviet economy. When the communist regime swept into power, there were few factories and the overwhelming majority of the population lived in rural villages. The government undertook to build more and bigger factories, railroads and other transportation systems, hydroelectric projects and nuclear power plants, military and civilian shipyards and airports, office buildings to house the growing bureaucracy, and always, always, new apartment blocks, cheaply and hastily built, to house the ever-growing urban population. The government always set high goals for new construction, even in periods of stagnant economic growth. As projections of future growth became more and more optimistic, plans for new construction became more extensive.

Raw Materials

It follows logically that being the largest nation in the world, the Soviet Union would be one of the richest in terms of natural resources. Even before starting to tap its vast mineral reserves, Russia was a major supplier of furs and timber, and even today about 40% of the nation's total land area is covered by forests.

Although many of its reserves were in regions that are hard to exploit because of their geography or climate, the Soviet Union was rich in natural wealth. With large deposits of coal, oil and natural gas, it was virtually energy independent. It was the leading producer of manganese and one of the world's two major suppliers of chromium; it had an estimated 40% of the world's iron ore reserves, and large supplies of copper and almost every other mineral needed by a modern industrial nation.

Services

The trend in the industrial countries during the 20th century has been toward the development of a service-oriented economy. The Soviet Union followed its Western counterparts in this although, as in most other regards, it lagged far behind them and had little concept of how to serve consumers by giving them the products and services they want.

By far the largest "service" area of the Soviet economy was the government and Communist Party bureaucracy. When the entire national economy and all aspects of people's lives are regulated by the state, it takes a vast number of bureaucrats to make decisions, keep records, and otherwise

administer the myriad of details. Even under the tsars, the Russian bureaucracy was noted for its complexity; under the Soviet system it expanded exponentially.

Two other areas where the service area of the economy expanded tremendously were education and health care. These two fields were greatly emphasized by the Soviet government and, while the communist system shaped them in a different mold than has been the case in the West, the Soviet state vastly improved them compared to the days before the revolution.

RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

Civilian Research

Although there were some periods of repression, particularly early in the Soviet regime, the U.S.S.R. always valued its scientific community. Astronomy, physics, chemistry, psychology, mathematics and biology all benefitted from the contributions of Soviet scientists. Scientists were among the highest paid and best rewarded civilians in Soviet society. Scientists such as Andrei Sakharov who were too outspoken in their political views were hardly immune from official punishments, but the government well understood the amount of international prestige it gained by having such fine scientific minds.

With its official disdain for "bourgeois capitalist decadence," the Soviet leadership never invested heavily in developing consumer goods. There was little if any market research on the types of products consumers wanted and how to make them more pleasing, as there is in capitalist countries. Research in civilian areas tended to concentrate on how to make industry and agriculture more productive. High technology developments that could significantly improve industrial production and consumer goods were often shunted over to military use or denied to the general public because the government was afraid they might be misused for counter-revolutionary purposes.

Military

By far the largest segment of the Soviet research and development budget went for military use. Until World War II, the Soviet Union was more interested in internal development and in exporting the communist revolution through small revolutionary groups within each country. World War II provided an impetus to become a true world power, and the



NICHOLAS II

The last monarch of the Romanov dynasty, he abdicated the throne in March of 1917. He and his wife Alexandra and their royal children were kept under guard and shot by Soviet soldiers 16 months later during the civil war when it looked as though the family might be rescued by anti-Soviet forces.



G.A. POTEKIN
Named Prince of
Tauris by his lover,
Catherine the Great,
Potemkin staged a
tour for his empress to
inspect her nation.
He set up two-
dimensional stage
props of villages along
the banks of the river
where her barge passed
by to give the land an
appearance of
prosperity; such false
shows have since
become known as
"Potemkin villages."

Soviet Union began investing vast sums of money into military development. In 1949, just four years after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Japan, the U.S.S.R. detonated its own atomic device. The Soviet Union spared no expense to develop a modern navy, army and air force, technologically advanced submarines, missiles, tanks, jets and artillery, and sophisticated intelligence devices to make itself into one of the two great military powers on the face of the earth.

Space

Despite inferior technology, the Soviet Union compiled a significant list of "firsts" in the field of space exploration. It was the first nation to launch an artificial object and the first to launch animals and then human beings into space. It was the first nation to launch a woman into space. In more recent times, it was the first nation to launch a long-term space station.

In the West, where space exploration has largely been a civilian effort, research into space has more than paid for itself in "spinoffs" such as new manufacturing techniques that lead to better consumer products. By contrast, the Soviet Union reaped mostly propaganda benefits. Any spinoffs went largely into the military sector and were unknown to the general public in the East or West. The Soviet people were justly proud of their accomplishments, though they reaped few tangible rewards from them. In this regard at least the nation's leaders were indeed the visionaries they professed to be.

TRADE BALANCE

Imports/Exports

Considering its size and importance on the world scene, the Soviet Union did very little trading with other nations. Its goal seemed to be to develop as much self-sufficiency as possible—not unrealistic given its fantastic wealth of natural resources. Of the trading it did engage in, a large percentage was with other Communist Bloc nations.

The Soviet Union imported mostly machinery and transportation equipment. Consumer goods manufactured in other Communist countries were one of the next large groups of imports. When its harvests were poor, the U.S.S.R. was also forced to import large amounts of food, particularly grains, to feed its people, and much of these food imports came from the West. The U.S.S.R. also imported metal products and textile yarns.

The Soviet Union exported complete plants, plus vehicles, transport equipment and heavy industrial equipment to its communist trading partners. To the West it exported timber, fuels and raw materials.

The Soviet treatment of its Communist allies was almost an exact reversal of the old British mercantile system, whereby Britain obtained raw materials from its colonies and in return sold manufactured goods made from those materials. Unlike colonial Britain, the Soviet Union had plenty of raw materials, so it employed its satellites as processing plants to turn those raw materials into usable goods. The Soviet Union could also get away with paying its allies in rubles, whereas Western nations would have demanded hard, convertible currency.

Foreign Credit

Although it didn't indulge heavily in foreign trade, the nation was often willing to use foreign expertise and capital to improve itself. In the late 19th century, Imperial Russia invited foreign firms to build mills, mines and factories. Less than a decade after the Bolsheviks rid the country of capitalist influence, a young American entrepreneur named Armand Hammer negotiated cooperative deals in oil and other commodities with the Soviet government, thereby launching himself on the road to become a multimillionaire. It was Hammer who persuaded the staunchly anticommunist Henry Ford to supply parts and technical advice to the Soviet Union during the first Five-Year Plan.

In the 1970s and '80s, poor harvests required the Soviets to import grain from the West, usually at a deficit. They made up some of the deficit by selling gold, of which they are a leading supplier, but this was one of the early signs of internal weakness and outside dependency. By 1990 Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders were forced to admit their economy was in ruins and to come begging to the advanced industrial nations for assistance. Much of that assistance would be in the form of hard currency, but the Western powers were reluctant to aid their former adversary without serious internal reforms in the Soviet economic system. The Soviets found that, as has always been the case, borrowed money comes with strings attached. The collapse of the Union and the rise of the individual states meant that, more than ever, Western help and Western credit would be needed to avert economic catastrophe.

FOREIGN POLICY

Soviet foreign policy always had a two-fold purpose. The first, as with any state, was to protect itself from foreign intrusions and to further its own interests. The second item on the Soviet agenda was to export its revolution to the rest of the world. The communists religiously believed that a true communist system could not be set up in one nation alone; only when the entire world professed to communism could the human destiny fully be realized. To this end, they were eager to convert as much of the world to their way of thinking as possible and any means, no matter how ruthless, were acceptable.

TOWARDS THE REPUBLICS

Russia has always been so large as to encompass whole nations within itself. Imperial Russia was always fighting with its neighbors, expanding and contracting in turn depending on the strength of the tsar and his military command. Different parts of Poland were annexed and freed over hundreds of years and Finland had become part of the tsarist empire. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia lived under tsarist rule and Armenia was taken from the Turkish empire. The history of Russia is one of continual acquisition and loss.

During the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, one of the chief rallying cries was that the ethnic nationalities would at last be free to pursue their own destinies. Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia used this opportunity to pull free and establish their independence. Others, such as Ukraine, could not act fast enough; the Red Guards took them over and installed friendly regimes that allied themselves with Russia to form the Soviet Union. During the chaos of World War II the three Baltic countries were re-absorbed into the Soviet Empire, as well as the former Romanian region of Moldavia.

The federal structure of the Soviet Union explicitly recognized the republics as sovereign states and even granted them the right to secede from the Union. The upper legislative chamber was the Soviet of Nationalities, in which all Union Republics had equal representation. The autonomous republics, regions and districts were represented by lesser contingents.

But in practice, any assertion of nationalism was crushed by the centralized regime. Russian was made the official national language, and anyone hoping to rise in society had to speak it. The capital of the Union was Moscow, and the Moscow authorities dictated policy to local administra-

tors. During World War II seven minority nationalities—the Chechens, the Ingushes, the Karachays, the Balkars, the Meshketians, the Kalmyks and the Crimean Tatars—were forced to relocate to remote areas of Asiatic Russia for real or imagined collaborations with the invading German enemy, resulting in incalculable hardship for millions of innocent citizens.

But people are stubborn and nationalist tendencies could not be smothered. The Gorbachev policies of *glasnost* and Gorbachev's reluctance to use force against the independence movements in the satellite nations gave hope to the ethnic minorities that their rights would at last be respected. They demanded their constitutional right to secede, and halfhearted military attempts to crush the movement only fueled the fires further.

After the abortive coup against Gorbachev, the Union disintegrated with dazzling speed. All three Baltic republics—Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania—were reluctantly granted their independence by a weakened Moscow. The rest of the republics, tasting freedom, were eager to go their own ways. Economic necessities made them realize the need for some sort of continuing bonds between them, which was why they formed the Commonwealth of Independent States—but at the same time they made those bonds as loose as possible, to make up for decades of chafing under central Soviet domination.

TOWARDS THE SOVIET BLOC

The five years following World War II gave the Soviet Union an unprecedented opportunity to expand its sphere of influence. By a process of both intimidation and intrigue, Moscow managed to install communist governments in eight Eastern European nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia. In Asia they helped establish communist regimes in China, Mongolia and North Korea. But there the expansion faltered. Not until the late 50s and early 60s would they see communist governments established in Cuba and North Vietnam, and even later in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan and very briefly in Nicaragua.

The Soviet Union treated these satellite countries in much the same way every imperial state has treated its colonies. It installed governments that were subservient to Soviet interests, used its colonies as captive markets for its own products, and exploited their labor for its own gains. The U.S.S.R. rallied its European satellites together in a mutual defense treaty called the Warsaw Pact. While the ostensible justification for this organization was

to counter Western pacts such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in practice it gave the Soviet Union a rationale for stationing troops and tanks on its allies' soil. Though the Warsaw Pact nations contributed their own troops and materials as well, there was little doubt that those forces took their commands straight from Moscow.



THE YALTA CONFERENCE: From left to right, Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Josef Stalin, the major allies against Hitler near the end of World War II. Many historians believe that Roosevelt, sick and dying, thought more with his heart than with his head and let Stalin make advantageous deals that eventually gave the Soviet Union the upper hand in Eastern Europe.

The Eastern Bloc was never as monolithic as the Soviet government would have liked. Early in the empire's infancy, Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia refused to be treated as Moscow's puppet and led his nation on an independent course that included dealings with the capitalistic West. An uprising in Hungary in 1956 had to be put down brutally by Soviet armored troops. By 1960 Mao Tse-tung of China was openly feuding with his supposed ally, giving other communist nations the option of playing one off against the other. In the early 1960s the Soviet Union built a wall to separate East from West Berlin—in part symbolic, in part to keep citizens from defecting to the West. When Alexander Dubcek tried to lead Czechoslovakia in 1968 on a path of liberal reform, this movement was also put down with Soviet force.

The empire began to disintegrate in the early 1980s. An uprising against the communist regime in Afghanistan led to the Soviet Union's sending troops in to back the shaky leadership. This has since been recognized as the Soviet version of the Vietnam War that so debilitated the United States. Soviet troops were bogged down in a foreign country, fighting a war whose purposes they could not understand against a guerrilla enemy that could never be fully defeated. While the closed nature of Soviet society precluded violent antiwar demonstrations like the ones in the U.S., the war began a deep soul-searching into the value of maintaining Soviet hegemony on foreign soil.

While this war raged in Asia, discontent in the Polish shipyards led to a labor movement headed by the charismatic figure of Lech Walesa. Solidarity, as the movement was called, received widespread public support. The Polish government tried to use approved Soviet methods of suppression, but got little more than verbal backup from Moscow which, wary of the longstanding Polish hatred of Russia, refused to send Soviet troops. Eventually the Polish Communist Party was discredited and forced to compete in free elections, a process that eventually led to Walesa's being chosen as president in 1991.

Other East European countries started testing their limits as well. Hungary instituted reforms and opened its western borders for travel in 1989. Since East Germans had the right to travel to other communist countries, they could travel to Hungary and from there, through this back door, to West Germany. After a short chaotic period, the East German government realized it could never stem the flood of emigrants on its own and decided to open its borders with West Germany. The infamous Berlin Wall came down almost literally overnight. A referendum was held and East Germans voted to unite with West Germany; Warsaw Pact troops were forced to withdraw from what had previously been one of their most solid bases.

Other communist governments fell in Romania and Bulgaria. Gorbachev, perhaps out of a true vision of world freedom, refused to use troops to stop these defections from communist ranks, stating that no Warsaw Pact nation had the right to interfere in the internal matters of another Pact nation. In 1990, Gorbachev agreed to remove all Soviet military forces from central Europe within five years, and the Warsaw Pact was virtually dead. With the subsequent death of the Soviet Union, those military forces technically didn't belong to it any more, and so the likelihood was that those troops would be off Eastern European soil even faster than anticipated.

TOWARDS THE REST OF THE WORLD

For most of its history, Russia has been a sleeping giant. It would get into territorial disputes with its nearest neighbors but despite its size it was never considered a major threat to the world order—largely due to its antiquated social system and inefficient bureaucratic government.

The 1917 revolution changed many things, both in the way Russia viewed the rest of the world and in the way the rest of the world viewed Russia. The outside world saw a group of wild-eyed radicals turning their society upside down and killing people ruthlessly in the name of some utopian ideal. Furthermore, the official Bolshevik philosophy called for international revolution, which made other countries nervous. For nearly a decade after the new nation's foundation, few of its neighbors extended it diplomatic recognition.

The Soviet government had meanwhile become suspicious to the point of paranoia, branding all noncommunist nations as class enemies. This mistrust was based not simply on Marxist philosophy, but on hostile actions as well. Western nations had actually sent troops into the Soviet Union to aid the White Army during the civil war and did everything they could to prevent Soviet success.

The young Soviet nation was denied a seat at the Versailles peace conference at the end of World War I, and consequently did not immediately join the League of Nations. It did start working its way into international affairs in the 1920s and early '30s. When Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany with vehemently anticommunist speeches, the Soviet Union saw the need to negotiate an alliance with the Western nations—although it secretly dealt with Hitler too, and in 1939 signed a nonaggression pact with Germany that allowed the two nations to carve up Poland. This treaty lasted less than two years, and in 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union, leaving the U.S.S.R. to form alliances with the Western nations it so hated and envied.

World War II brought untold suffering to Soviet citizens—not only at the hands of the German invaders, but at the hands of their own government acting on Stalin's whims. Millions of citizens were imprisoned in harsh slave labor camps, millions more from ethnic minorities were relocated to Siberia, and returning prisoners of war were treated as though they were deserters, tainted by contact with Germany. But if the war was a tragedy for the Soviet people, the government profited from it immensely. It became a charter member of the new United Nations with guaranteed veto power

on the Security Council. It had gained respect as one of the world's major military powers. And it was achieving its long-delayed goal of spreading communism to other countries, bringing China and the Eastern European nations within its sphere of influence. When the Soviet Union detonated its own atomic bomb in 1949, placing it on a par with the United States, a balance of terror began that has plagued the world ever since, one which has only slightly relaxed under the new era of Mikhail Gorbachev.

But the era of Soviet expansion was short-lived. Winston Churchill warned that an "iron curtain" had descended across Europe as the Soviet Union gobbled up the Eastern Bloc nations. The United States, emerging from the global devastation of the war with its economy intact, countered with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which gave strategic countries aid to help them rebuild after the war and resist communist takeovers.

The possession of nuclear weapons on both sides changed the rules of world politics dramatically. As global conflict expanded beyond the battlefield, the high stakes involved demanded increased caution. A "Cold War" with no established rules began. Between the two sides, espionage and sabotage became the preferred mode of combat, with propaganda as the chief weapon. In the global arena, the "First World" developed countries and the "Second World" communist countries battled to shape the opinions of the smaller "Third World" nations. They bribed them with aid, seduced them with ideologies, and occasionally bullied them with military intervention. Occasional trouble spots would flare up, bringing both sides to the brink of disaster, but the fear of nuclear holocaust kept the contenders from taking the final steps to outright war.

The sudden disintegration of the Soviet empire in the early 1990s changed the face of diplomacy yet again. The vast nuclear arsenal that had once belonged to the Soviet Union was spread throughout several of the former republics, some of whom wanted the missiles and bombs dismantled as quickly as possible. The nations of Eastern Europe were now speaking with their own voices instead of being ventriloquist's dummies for their Soviet masters. What had once been the Soviet Union became 15 separate and distinct nations, some of which formed a loose Commonwealth but all of which had their individual agendas to pursue. The world moved from being divided into two armed camps to being a forum of many voices, none of which was quite able to drown out the others.

MILITARY

Ever since Peter the Great decided to build a Russian navy, a driving force in Russian policy has been the search for a year-round warm water port. Although Russia has an enormous length of coastline, nearly all of it is in the Arctic region, frozen more than half the year.

In the northwest, only Murmansk and a couple of other ports on the Kola Peninsula are open most of the year; ships from there can travel out to the Barents Sea and thence to the Atlantic Ocean. One reason the Soviet Union was so eager to hold onto the Baltic Republics was for their access to the Baltic Sea. With them gone, St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad, before that Petrograd, and before that St. Petersburg) remains Russia's only major port on the Baltic—and ships in the Baltic are still limited, for they must sail past Poland, Germany, and the narrow straits between Denmark, Sweden and Norway before they can reach the open ocean. The former republics of the U.S.S.R. have plenty of ports around the Black Sea, but those ships have to go through both the Bosphorus Straits and the Dardanelles of Turkey before they can reach the Mediterranean. On the Pacific shore, Vladivostok is the port that has the most year-round access. It was very easy for an enemy to keep tabs on the Soviet fleet, and bottle it up if necessary. Little wonder then that the Soviet navy invested large sums of money on nuclear submarines that could travel under the ice caps into open waters.

In terms of its army, Russia was not traditionally regarded as a military power despite its size. Britain, France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary were considered the main players on the European stage as this century started. Russia had occasional border skirmishes with its neighbors, adding or losing territory from time to time, but it was neither an ambitious nor a dynamic land, and had nothing to prove to the outside world.

This situation changed following the Bolshevik revolution. The revolution itself succeeded largely because of a military mutiny in the imperial ranks. The fanatically loyal Red Guard helped install communist officials in power throughout the country, and the Red Army's victories let the government survive the protracted civil war against the reactionary forces. The Soviet government was well aware that its very existence depended on a strong military presence to preserve order internally in such a vast nation and to protect the country from outside threats by a hostile world.

Stalin's purges of everyone who disagreed with him thinned out the ranks of competent military officers in the 1930s to such a dangerous degree that



PETER I

Tsar Peter I, popularly known as Peter the Great, reigned from 1689 to 1725. He tried to make Russia into a modern European nation and was the first Russian ruler to develop a navy. Using forced serf labor (and killing an estimated 30,000 of them in the process from disease, undernourishment and drowning), he had the city of St. Petersburg built as his capital.

by 1941 the German high command could significantly outplan their Soviet counterparts. It was the heroism of the Soviet citizens, the opening of a western front, the bitter Russian winters, and the logistical nightmare of supplying troops (which has plagued every invader of Russia), more than any brilliant Soviet strategy, that defeated the German armies.

Since World War II, the Soviet army shouldered the additional burden of enforcing the Soviet will on other Iron Curtain countries. Budgets for the armed services were always high, always at the expense of civilian projects. Now that there is no more Soviet Union and no more need to make a pretense at military strength, there is a chance that the individual nations may put their military priorities more in line with reality.

TROOPS

The Soviet Union had a universal draft of all male citizens once they reached the age of 18. Inductees in the Army or Air Force had to serve two years or, in the Navy, three years. The draft could be deferred for students, those with special skills, or those whose parents had special influence. The sums lavished on defense did not find their way down to the common soldiers. The average Soviet enlisted man received low pay (about four rubles a month), indifferent food, and little personal leave (ten days over two years), and was subject to rigid discipline. The war in Afghanistan was as demoralizing to Soviet troops as the Vietnam War was to American soldiers, for much the same reasons.

A separate problem came to the fore when the Baltic Republics started insisting on their independence. They did not want their sons subject to the Soviet draft or stationed at posts elsewhere within the Union. The central government did send troops to the Baltics but, afraid of desertions, made sure that none of them were locals. There were stories that Baltic natives serving elsewhere in the Soviet Army were the objects of retaliation by other soldiers, subject to hazing, beatings and even gang rapes. With the granting of independence to the republics, it is assumed that these draftees will be allowed to return to their native lands.

Not all duties in the Soviet Army were so onerous, however. Sons of influential people who could not avoid military service altogether could find themselves in special branches making propaganda films or touring in choirs. Gifted athletes could also find themselves under the Army's protection so they could compete in the Olympics and other sporting events.

WEAPONS

World War II found the Soviet Union undersupplied for war. Since then, the central government has been committed to never being caught short again. Through monumental efforts it has maintained one of the largest and most varied arsenals in the world.

Its primary acquisition of course was the atomic bomb in 1949, enabling it to stand toe-to-toe with the United States without fear of nuclear intimidation. With later upgrades to hydrogen bombs, intercontinental missiles, submarine-based missiles and multiple independent warheads, the Soviet Union was fully capable of maintaining the balance of nuclear terror that kept the world in political stalemate for so many years.

Because of its history and geographical setting, the Soviet Union always prepared for a ground war. Its tank force was second to none in the world in terms of both numbers and technological advancement. Its air force was also well prepared with a variety of advanced fighter jets. Although Soviet technology lagged behind the West in computer equipment, these jets and their pilots were well respected by pilots around the world.

The Soviet Union maintained a host of spy satellites orbiting the globe, keeping track of military developments and movements wherever they occurred. The Soviets also developed "killer satellites" capable of establishing orbits near Western spy satellites and blowing themselves up, thereby destroying the target satellite with their debris.

The U.S.S.R. was also reputed to have plants that produced weapons for chemical and biological warfare. Such reports were normally denied by the government.



Soviet D-30 122-millimeter mobile artillery unit.

As the Union dissolved, concerns grew over who exactly had control over its vast nuclear and conventional arsenals. Ukraine and Belarus stated categorically they wanted to be nuclear free, and the United States offered them assistance in dismantling the nuclear warheads left upon their soil. Kazakhstan was slightly more reluctant to get rid of its missiles, but gave the impression it was using them as bargaining chips to achieve other goals. In the end, it looked as though only Russia would keep its nuclear warheads—and that mostly to maintain the “balance of terror” that had kept the world at peace for so many decades.



LENIN'S TOMB: Despite his stated desire for a simple burial in St. Petersburg, Lenin was entombed in a special monument in Moscow at the orders of Stalin (who needed to make Lenin a messiah so he himself could be viewed as an apostle). Soviet visitors to Moscow would wait in long lines to see Lenin's Tomb, though no one knows how many got into the line thinking it was a queue for bread.

PERSONAL LIBERTY

The concept of personal liberty is almost entirely alien to the peoples of the former Soviet Union. Although they are clamoring for freedom, they have few historical precedents to teach them how to use freedom once they attain it.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Americans have a foundation for their civil rights dating back through British history at least as far as the Magna Carta and English common law. The Soviet people have no such heritage. Serfdom existed in Russia through the middle of the nineteenth century. The landowners controlled the serfs' lives, arranged their marriages, and told them where they could and could not live. The serfs could elect the leaders of their *mir*, but those officials were responsible to the landowners, not to their constituents. The serfs were free to grumble as much as they wanted, but any attempts to act on their complaints were harshly punished. They could assemble as long as they did nothing threatening. They certainly could not possess weapons. Freedom of religion meant worshipping in the state-approved Orthodox Church; members of other faiths, such as Jews, were barely tolerated and subject to periodic pogroms. Women were still very much second-class citizens.

The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 gave them a greater measure of control over their personal lives, but little voice in the larger management of their society. Not until the Dumas were established in 1905 did they have any significant say in the workings of government, and even the Dumas were merely advisory bodies. The Provisional Government of 1917 made an attempt to introduce democratic participation, but there was too much chaos and too many factors acting against it for it to succeed.

Although the communist regime was not noted for its devotion to personal liberty, there were isolated advances here and there. Women were made the legal equals of men, and were allowed to enter any profession without discrimination. They were to be given equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leave and on the job child care. Illegitimate children were made the legal equals of those born legitimately. Divorce was simplified, and abortion on demand was legalized. (Controls on both of these were tightened under Stalin, but relaxed again after his death.)

But a high price was exacted for these advances. Because the Bolsheviks had used workers' strikes as a revolutionary tool, they knew how powerful strikes could be in undercutting a government. Workers were therefore forbidden to strike under the communist regime, the rationale being that since the workers theoretically owned the factories and the mines, they would only be striking against themselves. People could belong to trade unions, but the unions did not represent the workers' interests. Rather, they functioned largely to explain government policy to the workers and ensure that it was carried out and that quotas were met.

All citizens were granted the right to vote, but since the Communist Party was the only legal political party and its leaders chose the candidates ahead of time, the ballots lacked variety. Even write-in votes were ill-advised, since ballots were not kept secret and government officials could determine who stepped out of line. Nonetheless, people were encouraged to vote as a show of democracy and government popularity.

Since the communists felt religion was "the opiate of the masses," the practice of all religions was strongly discouraged. Only civil marriages were legally recognized. The rights to assemble and speak freely were severely curtailed. Enforcement of these restrictions varied from time to time (being particularly harsh under Stalin), but anyone who voiced too much discontent was likely to find himself either executed or sent to a prison camp or mental institution.

Such repression made change difficult, and stagnation and corruption crept into the bureaucracy, becoming so endemic that the whole system threatened to collapse. By the mid-1980s it became apparent to most leaders that some restructuring would have to be done. Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his policy of *glasnost* not so much because he was an advocate of free speech, but because only by allowing people to speak out was it possible to really pinpoint where the problems were. He found it an accelerating process—once people could speak out, they started demanding that things be done. There was a miners' strike with broad popular support, and the government gave in to most of their demands. Contested elections were held and other political parties were legitimized. Boris Yeltsin, actively opposed by the Communist Party and the established powers, won the presidency of the Russian Republic in 1990. Religious freedom was again tolerated (at least for the Russian Orthodox Church—anti-Semitism was still a major problem). When hard-line conservatives, seeing the old system dissolving before their eyes, attempted a coup against Gorbachev to restore order, the people engaged in mass demonstrations,



ST. BASIL'S CATHEDRAL: *St. Basil's Cathedral was originally commissioned by Ivan the Terrible, who was so stricken with its beauty that he had the designer's eyes put out so he could never create anything that beautiful again.*

literally taking to the streets and barricades in support of Gorbachev and his rival and now defender, Boris Yeltsin. So determined were the people that even a military presence complete with tanks failed to dissuade them, and the coup failed.

The Soviet people appeared to have gained more civil rights than ever before in their history—but whether they could keep them or use them wisely was still open to debate. Civil war in Georgia showed that the process still had many problems to be resolved before it could be called fully functional.

FREEDOM OF PRESS/MEDIA

The citizens of the Soviet Union were devoted readers; more printed material was produced there than in any other nation. There were daily and weekly newspapers, both in Russian and in all other national languages. Twice as many books were published in the Soviet Union as in the United States, ranging from children's books and educational material through reprints of classic novels and modern fiction. The Soviet Union had four times as many theaters and seven times as many movie houses as the United States, though the choice of films was limited, heavily censored and often boring. In the broadcast media, choices were far more restricted. The typical Soviet household could receive only two TV channels, each of which averaged about 13 hours of broadcasting per day.

Under earlier regimes, censorship was harshly imposed. The government registered all typewriters and kept samples of their keys the way the American FBI keeps fingerprints. Access to photocopy machines and printing presses was strictly controlled. For a while it was even a criminal activity to speak with foreigners about life in other countries or tell them about life in the Soviet Union. The influence of modern communications was so great however that these barriers gradually eroded.

Realizing that it was impossible to prevent people from getting information, the government's censors decided to slant the information they did get. Stories about Western society concentrated on negative events such as unemployment, homelessness and race riots, while internal news focused on the positive aspects of Soviet society. The nightly news show, *Vremya* (Time), covered staid news stories in a predictable, stodgy fashion.

With the coming of *glasnost*, Soviet news coverage broadened its base. Reporters publicly admitted they covered only negative Western stories and promised to be more evenhanded in the future. Other reporters began



LEONID BREZHNEV

Leonid Brezhnev succeeded Khrushchev in 1964 and ruled until his death in 1982. His years of power were marked by economic and cultural stagnation in the Soviet Union as the political system grew progressively less responsive to social necessity. He took to his grave the secret of how to cultivate the world's bushiest eyebrows.



ALEXANDER II
Tsar Alexander II
emancipated the
Russian serfs in 1861.
Still, his reforms didn't
go far enough to please
everyone, and he was
assassinated by an
anarchist's bomb in
1881.

a series of hardhitting domestic stories, pointing out serious flaws in Soviet society. The Leningrad TV show *Pyatoye Koleso* (Fifth Wheel) featured tough, informative documentaries. The immensely popular nationally televised *Vzglyad* (Viewpoint) became a cross between *60 Minutes* and *Entertainment Tonight*. Both shows ran afoul of their censors, as entrenched bureaucrats fought to protect their own personal fiefdoms. The failure of the hardline coup, though, made it politically easier for Gorbachev to remove the conservatives who had such a grip on the media. Yeltsin had been a champion and sponsor of the free press when he was an underdog; with him taking over as the first president of an independent Russia, there was hope that the nation would learn the news in a truly free and open atmosphere.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP

Soviet citizens always enjoyed the right of owning personal property—clothing, tools, appliances, cars, books and such. But personal ownership of a means to produce something was historically denied them.

In tsarist times, agricultural lands were owned by the tiny minority that comprised the upper classes; factories were owned by the same class of nobility and rich landowners. The emancipation of the serfs in 1861 gave them the right to own their land, but they had to make large payments to recompense the former landowners. It is estimated that about 50% of the land was actually in private hands by the time the Bolshevik revolution came along and usurped it again.

Under communist theory, the workers as a group own all means of production, but in practice the factories and the land were owned and run by the state, the workers having little say in the policies that controlled them. State ownership allowed the Soviet Union to modernize the terribly archaic agricultural methods of the pre-revolutionary peasants and to build an agricultural nation into an industrial giant. But the failure to provide strong incentives to individuals led to apathy, corruption, and haphazard improvements in the economy.

Realizing that some incentives had to be used to raise more food, permission was finally given in the 1950s for farmworkers to have little plots of land of their own. They were allowed to work this land on their own time and sell the results in the open marketplace. This development, the only legal form of private enterprise in the Soviet Union, yielded miraculous results. Although these private plots took up only 1.6% of the total

agricultural lands in the Soviet Union, they produced 60% of all the potatoes, 32% of other vegetables and meat, 30% of the eggs and 29% of the milk in 1985.

As became more and more apparent under Gorbachev, the old system could not survive the stresses placed upon it. Lackluster harvests on the state farms, haphazard production in the factories and a criminally inefficient distribution system combined to make the Soviet economy less and less workable. In August 1991, Gorbachev appeared before a conference of the leading industrial capitalist nations asking for aid (mostly financial) in turning his economy around. The nations were cool to his plan without specific guarantees to restructure the Soviet system and allow private enterprise to operate without undue government interference. Gorbachev could not make such guarantees because there were still conservatives in the government who were opposed to such massive reforms. Just a few days later, those conservatives obliged everyone by making a spectacularly unsuccessful coup attempt; their failure led to their replacement by far more open-minded people and the dismantling of the Soviet Union. The new leaders of the independent states that were once Soviet republics promised to bring about free market reforms and private ownership, although the transition promised to be a harsh one.

POLITICS

In a country where the state influenced almost every aspect of its people's lives, political considerations became a very important part of daily life. At the same time, since the citizens had so little control over it, the governmental hierarchy had an element of fantasy to it, divorced from the lives of the people it attempted to rule.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

The governmental structure as it existed for decades before the anti-Gorbachev coup was composed of two theoretically separate pieces: the legally elected representatives and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In practice, however, these two entities were so interwoven that it's hard for an outsider to determine where one began and the other left off.

According to the Soviet constitution, the highest governmental body was the Supreme Soviet, a bicameral organization that theoretically functioned like the U.S. Congress. One house, the Soviet of the Union—equivalent to the House of Representatives—had members elected from districts based on population without regard to national or ethnic origins. The other house, the Soviet of Nationalities, was equivalent to the Senate and gave equal representation to each of the Union republics and lesser representation to the autonomous republics, autonomous regions and autonomous districts. In this way did the government acknowledge the importance of the different ethnic groups within its borders.

The Supreme Soviet would normally meet for a period of about a week twice a year to pass whatever new laws were necessary. Under the guidance of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan), the Supreme Soviet passed the national budget, which included under it the budgets for the individual republics. This was one of the many techniques Moscow used to enforce central control over the republics, and it was a source of considerable friction within the Union.

Between sessions, an executive committee called the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet held nominal power. It was the Presidium that dealt with foreign ambassadors, appointed and removed Soviet diplomats, appointed ministers, convened and dissolved the Supreme Soviet, and even had the power, in theory, to mobilize the armed services and declare war. It consisted of 37 members, of which the chairman was the most important. It also had 15 vice chairmen, one from each of the Union republics.

The Council of Ministers, whose members were appointed by the Supreme Soviet, was technically subordinate both to the Supreme Soviet and to its Presidium. In day-to-day practice, however, it was the Council that ran the country, making decrees and administering laws and policies. In addition to the various ministries, the Council included some special committees like the Committee of State Security (KGB).

Each republic had its own Supreme Soviet, though each of these was unicameral because it didn't need a soviet of nationalities. The governmental structure on the republic and local levels mirrored that on the national level.

In practice, however, the real power rested not with the government, but with the CPSU. Being the only legally recognized political party in the Soviet Union, it chose all the nominees for the single-candidate elections. The CPSU was supposedly controlled by the Soviet Party Congress, which would meet every five years to review the previous Five-Year Plan and approve the next one. In between these sessions, the party was ruled by its Central Committee, which met twice a year. Between those sessions, the Central Committee's Secretariat controlled the daily functioning. The true power however resided in the Party's Political Bureau (Politburo), which made the major decisions. There was usually a considerable overlap; most of the influential members of the Politburo also sat in the Secretariat. The person whom the outside world usually thought of as the dictator of the Soviet Union usually held the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Below the national level, the CPSU had other levels of organization of decreasing rank and importance, but all still superior to the ordinary citizen in terms of how much privilege they could command in Soviet society.

Policy decisions were generally developed by the Politburo, which submitted them to the Secretariat and the Central Committee for their inevitable approval. The Supreme Soviet, meeting *after* the Central Committee, would unanimously approve the recommendations of the Central Committee, making them into official laws of the Soviet Union. (This is why it only needed to sit for a week at a time; its business had already been decided for it.) Deputies of the Supreme Soviet and ministers in the Council of Ministers were usually staunch party members and followed the will of the party.

The abortive coup in August of 1991 shattered this whole system. Even before the coup attempt, the legitimacy of other political parties had been recognized and prominent political figures were deserting the CPSU. After

the coup failed, the party was so discredited that the Communist Party itself was dissolved and its vast holdings (office buildings, records and so forth) were seized by the government. Those who'd held important positions within the Party found their social status seriously reduced.

Meanwhile the Union itself was disintegrating. The Kremlin government reaped what it had sown during its seven decades of centralized control: the former republics wanted nothing whatsoever to do with anything that resembled a centralized government. They wanted total control of their local regions. That single issue, more than *perestroika* or *glasnost*, brought about the demise of the Union. Economic interdependence made it necessary for them to try uniting in a loose Commonwealth whose shape was largely undetermined, but aside from pledges in favor of democracy, human rights and free enterprise, little was known about what was going to happen to them.



RED SQUARE: Red Square, in the heart of Moscow, is the site of Lenin's Tomb. A broad, open plaza right outside the Kremlin, it seemed a perfect place for mobs, barricades, demonstrations and tanks during the coup attempt in August 1991.

BUREAUCRACY

Given that the Soviet state sought to control almost all aspects of its citizens' lives, it was inevitable that an enormous bureaucracy would develop to handle the mountain of paperwork and administrative details. The Soviet bureaucracy became renowned for its numbing depersonalization and its mindless inefficiency.

The system, as ever, started from the top and was controlled by the Communist Party. Its official name was *nomenklatura* (nomenclature), and it consisted of a hierarchical series of lists. The first list was the positions to which people could be appointed. The second was the people whom the Party felt deserved these positions. The third was of up-and-comers the Party had its eye on to eventually move up to the second list. Top positions, including seats on the Central Committee Secretariat and high level administrators in agriculture, industry, science and the news media, could only be appointed by the Politburo, maintaining Moscow's hold on power. The Central Committee could in turn appoint lower levels of administrators. Regional and local branches of the Party appointed people at their level, all the way down to the most basic positions. In this way, the Communist Party maintained a direct hold on all the positions wielding any degree of power.

Holding a *nomenklatura* position put you a step above ordinary workers. It meant additional pay, additional privilege, additional rank and additional access to food and consumer goods that the average laborer couldn't get. It also put you in a better position to receive bribes for doing your job, a system that occurs everywhere—even in the supposedly enlightened West—but is endemic in the Soviet Union if anything is to be accomplished. Little wonder ambitious people would scheme and maneuver to win the favor of anyone who could put them on those secret lists and appoint them to such a post.

Unfortunately, the *nomenklatura* system did not select people solely on the basis of their ability to do the job. Devoted Party members counted for a lot more than talented administrators. The practice of appointing people based on their political beliefs ensured a bureaucracy that was dedicated to the communist system, but not one that was competent to do the job required of it. One way to rise in one's job was to do it well, but pleasing the Party bosses was certainly another. Displeasing the bosses was a sure way *not* to advance, so *nomenklatura* bureaucrats had no incentive to try any bold or daring moves their superiors might not approve of. It was easier either to say no outright or else to pass the buck upward, with the end result being a nearly universal paralysis in the government system.

With the dissolution of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet government, the *nomenklatura* system was suddenly up in the air. Many bureaucrats would be retained in their posts simply because no one else was trained to do the job. But the expressed desire for freedom and private enterprise in the new nations meant that officeholders might actually be expected to produce results and be held accountable to someone other than their political bosses. That in itself could revolutionize life in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

FACTIONS

When the Bolsheviks were busy rebelling against the tsarist regime, they were revolutionaries. As soon as they were in power, however, they found themselves becoming more and more conservative, clinging to what they had established and fending off attempts by "counterrevolutionary" forces to change it.



LEON TROTSKY: Although he was born Leon Bronstein in 1879, he took the name Leon Trotsky to cover his revolutionary activities. A brilliant theorist, he was not as good at practical politics and was outmaneuvered by Stalin in the fight to succeed Lenin as leader. He was ultimately exiled from the Soviet Union and later murdered in Mexico in 1940 at Stalin's order.

Factionalism was always a part of Soviet history. Even before the 1917 revolution, the different socialist parties had split into a number of groups, of which the Bolsheviks were a distinct minority. When the Bolsheviks took power they immediately eliminated the competing parties and almost as quickly began turning against one another. Lenin managed to hold things together during his lifetime, but at his death some fierce infighting occurred—the most notorious being the battle between Stalin and Trotsky. Stalin eventually won, and he ruthlessly destroyed anyone who dared voice a differing opinion.

After Stalin's death, the factionalism became subtler and the intrigues more sophisticated. It was harder to pin direct labels on people, and the philosophical battleground constantly shifted. Still, it was possible to identify different streams of current Soviet political thought—and as always, there were the conservatives and the liberals.

On the right were the hard-line communists, people who fervently believed in the ideals of the old revolution and that the state must manage the economy in the name of the workers. These people saw *glasnost* and *perestroika* as a dual threat to their way of life because it gave encouragement to the naysayers and pessimists who wanted to betray the revolution, tear down Soviet society and break the empire apart. In partial alliance with them were the bulk of the bureaucrats, who saw their carefully balanced system disintegrating. With no Communist Party or state-managed economy to legitimize their jobs, they could well find themselves facing a severe loss of status and privilege. Many of the common people were against the restructuring of Soviet society out of simple fear. Change always hurts someone, and historically it's always been the Russian peasants and workers who were hurt the worst. A system that you know, even an oppressive one, can often look more secure than the faceless unknown.

In the opposite camp were the liberals who saw the old system as riddled with corruption and inefficiency, who saw their every attempt to improve the situation stifled by censorship and thwarted by bureaucratic delays. This group included the nationalists who wanted their ethnic groups free of Moscow's heavy-handed control, consumers who found empty shelves in the stores, journalists dedicated to finding and reporting the truth, students and other young people who, as a group, were at the forefront of every revolution, and some political figures who saw the public discontent as a path toward increased personal power.

Before the abortive coup, Mikhail Gorbachev tried to steer a middle course between the two camps. He knew bold, innovative steps had to be taken, but he had to deal with hard-liners who were entrenched in positions of power. As a result, he ended up pleasing no one. The hard-liners, finally seeing their nation's slide into chaos as close to irreversible, attempted the coup that failed so dismally. This gave Gorbachev the leverage he needed to oust his more obstructionist opponents—but it was too late for him to regain the initiative. Yeltsin and other radical leaders took advantage of the popular backlash against the old order to fracture the central government. With fifteen individual governments instead of one, it's likely that factionalism can only be expected to increase in the area.

LAW & ORDER

Law and order within the Soviet Union always functioned on two separate levels. There were the routine security measures that every nation takes to protect its citizens against crime—and there was the more sinister police state activity to maintain order by stifling any dissent from official state policy. Inevitably the two became intertwined but, with the relaxation of the police state mentality following the August 1991 coup attempt, the separation may be possible.

The more conventional police force in the Soviet Union, called the militia, was administered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), which also ran the prisons and labor camps, fire prevention and road safety services, public records and so forth. There was also an auxiliary system called the *druzhina*, consisting of part-time police officers who wore red armbands and had the authority to apprehend violators of the public order and turn them over to the militia. The Soviet equivalent of the Western-style prosecutor was called a procurator, and there was a hierarchical system of courts from the local level up to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. Procurators were all appointed; judges for the lowest courts were elected, the rest were appointed. In all cases, though, the court officers were screened by the Communist Party for political correctness.

SECRET POLICE

Even in the days of the tsars the Russian government had a cadre of secret police to maintain political law and order. When Lenin came to power late in 1917, he faced an array of forces against him and realized that only tight security would keep the Bolsheviks' hold on the country. In 1918 he created the Cheka, a quasi-military, quasi-police force with extraordinary powers

to root out all counterrevolutionary elements and execute them, if necessary, on the spot without a trial. The Cheka imprisoned or murdered people by the tens of thousands, but their reign of terror ensured the survival of the socialist state.

By the early 1920s, with the Civil War over and the survival of the Soviet state assured, the Cheka was reined in and renamed the State Political Administration (OGPU). At first the OGPU, though no pussycats, were less ferocious than the old Cheka—but by 1930, as Stalin solidified his hold on power and began his own reign of terror, the OGPU began to catch up with the Cheka's record of repression and butchery.



JOSEF STALIN: This is a picture of Josef Stalin in his casket in 1953, where many people had been hoping to see him for decades. Born in Georgia with the name Dzhugashvili, he rose to power in the Communist Party during the revolution and eventually edged out Trotsky for leadership after Lenin's death. His name has become synonymous with iron-fisted despotism as he conducted systematic purges of the government and exterminated or relocated people by the millions. He and Hitler managed to get along pretty well — for a while.

By the mid-30s it began to look as though Stalin might finally slow down his repression, and in 1934 the secret police changed its name once again. This time it was placed under the the care of the innocuously-named People's Commissariat for the Interior (NKVD)—but this was no kinder, gentler secret police. By the time Stalin was finished, the NKVD had surpassed the atrocities of the Cheka and the OGPU put together.

**KARL MARX**

Karl Marx was the founder of communism, along with Engels, whom everyone forgets (when did you last hear about Engelism?). His two most famous slogans are, "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains." and "From each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs." Karl's material is not considered as funny as Groucho's, Harpo's or Chico's — or even Gummo's and Zeppo's.

As part of the post-World War II restructuring, the People's Commissariats were renamed as ministries, and the NKVD was renamed the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD), which still oversees the civil police. After Stalin's death, though, the Communist Party leaders realized they didn't want the secret police getting quite that far out of hand again, so in 1954 they restructured it some more and called it the Committee of State Security (KGB). The KGB could charge people with the possession or circulation of documents that "slander" the state (which often meant telling the truth). The KGB cultivated thousands of informers and kept voluminous files on Soviet citizens to detect anyone who might harbor deviant tendencies. It also was in charge of all the nation's espionage and counterespionage activities.

After the 1991 coup attempt, the KGB was officially disgraced and disbanded. Each of the 15 new nations replacing the old Soviet Union would undoubtedly have its own state intelligence service but, with all of them proclaiming their devotion to freedom and personal liberty, there was hope that the police state mentality fostered by such repressive surveillance organizations would become a thing of the past.

PROPAGANDA

With the possible exception of Nazi Germany, no other nation devoted so much money and effort into political propaganda to support its government as the Soviet Union. All radio and TV broadcasting facilities, all movie distribution and all printing plants were controlled by either the state or the Communist Party. The main Union-wide newspapers were the Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda* ("Truth"), and the Soviet government's newspaper, *Izvestia* ("News"). The Soviet news agency, Tass, distributed news articles to local and specialty newspapers run by regional governments, regional communist parties, and organizations such as trade union groups. All books and articles published were checked for political correctness and edited if their content was not acceptable. It was illegal (or at least foolhardy) for people to seek outside sources of information.

For many years journalists knew exactly what their duty was. They would loudly promote all facts in favor of the government. Anything that might present the government badly was either ignored or altered. Any stories about the Western world were slanted to emphasize the negative.

The Gorbachev policy of *glasnost* opened the boundaries, and they have continued to expand. Some journalists literally weren't sure what to write when their editors told them just to report the facts without giving a slant to them. One journalist based in the United States publicly admitted he'd been writing only negative stories about the West and promised to do more balanced reporting in the future. Alternative newspapers grew, but if they got too far out of line the government could refuse to allocate them paper or printing time at the official printing plants. TV and radio producers could create daring new shows, but they had to fight, sometimes for every word, against a hierarchy of bureaucratic censors.

All the new nations that emerged from the breakup of the Soviet Union pledged themselves to the ideal of personal liberty and freedom of expression. Whether they would deliver on those promises or sink back into the abyss of despotism and repression was not known at the time of this writing.

QUALITY OF LIFE

It is unquestionably true that the average Soviet citizen at the end of the Soviet regime lived a life of far better quality than the average Russian in tsarist times. Yet resentment was growing because expectations rose faster than the ability of the Soviet economy to satisfy them. The test of the new independent governments will be their ability to satisfy the ever expanding needs and wants of their people.

CONSUMER GOODS

Citizens of the former Soviet Union have more disposable income available to them now than at any time in their history—and are increasingly frustrated by the lack of anything worthwhile to spend it on. The Soviet economic planners never gave any priority to consumers; the needs of the state always came first, and it was always more important to produce items that increased Soviet industrial or agricultural output.

Cars are a splendid example of Soviet economic planning. Although they had a modicum of automobile production even before the 1917 revolution and got advice from Henry Ford in the 1920s, the Soviet factories spent decades turning out mostly trucks to help industry. It wasn't until 1972 that a turnaround occurred and Soviet factories produced more passenger cars than trucks—and even then about a third of them were shipped abroad (mostly to satellite countries). The cars were notorious for their poor construction, yet Soviet citizens had to put their names on lists to wait for years to get one. The price of a used car in the Soviet Union was higher than that of a new one because it could be bought immediately instead of having to wait for years to get it.

Even such basic commodities as food were hard to obtain. The government always tried to keep bread supplies plentiful (since the availability of bread has always been linked with economic well-being in the Russian mind), but with the catastrophic conditions after the 1991 coup even the bread supplies were in doubt. If one had status or good connections, it was possible to get almost anything—but those who had to resort to the state-run stores found bare shelves and poor quality. It was possible to do better in the state-permitted free markets, the only legal form of free enterprise in the nation, but the prices were much higher.

As a result of official consumer neglect, the dual systems of black market and barter thrived in the Soviet Union. Items that were recognizably from

the West were in the greatest demand, meaning that foreigners and Soviet citizens who could travel abroad were in a good position to bring in items of great value.

With the newly independent Commonwealth states pledging their support of a free market, there is a good chance that the law of supply and demand will start to hold sway. Soviet consumers would then be able to use their money to buy things to make their lives better. If that chance is denied them, then citizen unrest will only grow larger.

EDUCATION

The education of its citizens was always a high priority of the Soviet government. The goal was for everyone to have ten years of basic education. Those with sufficient intelligence could go on to universities or to specialized institutes somewhat equivalent to Western vocational training institutes. Since the best jobs were the ones that allowed overseas travel, expertise in foreign languages was greatly rewarded. The Soviet Union also had tremendous respect for the physical sciences and for mathematics; students in those fields had a chance to fashion good careers for themselves.

Politics played a major role in a Soviet youngster's education. The Soviet curriculum was very centralized throughout the country and was heavily slanted toward communist philosophy. History was viewed from an evolutionary standpoint whereby the 1917 revolution was the culmination of historical factors. Facts not favorable to the current regime were glossed over, totally ignored, or twisted to fit the current Party line. By the time a child came out of secondary school, he had been thoroughly indoctrinated into the beneficence of the Communist Party and the Soviet workers' state.

In practice, urban young people had better access to education than their rural counterparts—and just as in the West, children of the well-to-do and the privileged had better chances of getting into universities and institutes of higher learning than their poorer comrades. When influence wasn't available, bribes were also known to secure a place in college for a student eager to get ahead.



BORIS YELTSIN
Boris Yeltsin, a charismatic maverick from Siberia who bucked the Soviet system and became president of the Russian republic, is one of the first popularly elected national leaders in Russian history. His daring stand in support of Gorbachev during the attempted coup in August 1991 made him a power to be reckoned with.

ENVIRONMENT

Until the 1980s, the Soviet government never showed much concern for the state of the environment. Their main goal was to develop the country and raise its industrial and agricultural production up to that of the Western nations. The land and its resources were so vast they could squander them at will. In a free society, people can protest against a major polluter or form an economic boycott of its products. But in the closed Soviet society, people had trouble even learning the facts, and they were not allowed to protest—and in the planned Soviet economy it would not have mattered whether they boycotted or not. The government didn't have to make a profit.

One of the major incidents that turned people's thinking around was the disaster at Chernobyl on April 26, 1986. The nuclear power plant in Ukraine exploded, flooding the whole region with radiation, bringing much sickness and death now and promising far more in the future. Clouds of radioactive material drifted across Western Europe and could be detected even in America. The accident was apparently brought about, in part, by faulty design and substandard parts and workmanship. Over the next couple of years, six other nuclear power stations were closed to avoid further accidents.

Over the years, Soviet indifference led them to become one of the world's largest polluters. They virtually destroyed their enormous inland seas such as the Caspian and the Aral by dumping industrial wastes into them and killing the fish and by allowing the rivers that feed these lakes to silt up, drying up the lake so that the water in some cases is more than ten miles away from the former shoreline, where boats sit eerily tied up to landlocked piers.

The dreadful environmental situation will provide a major challenge to the new nations that emerged from the Soviet breakup. They inherited lands that were callously abused by Soviet state economic planners and, if they are to be as democratic as they promise, they will have to deal with the people's anger at being forced to exist in such polluted surroundings.

HEALTH

The Soviet Union provided basic health care for all its citizens. There were nearly twice as many doctors in the Soviet Union as in the United States, though of course they had a greater territory to cover. With more access to medical care, Soviet citizens lived far healthier lives than they did in the days

before the revolution. Still, nearly three-quarters of all patients had to make additional payments to their doctors in order to receive better treatment than state allotments provided for.

As with other consumer goods, medical supplies were always at a premium. One 650-bed hospital in Leningrad had to make do with an allotment of a single needle per day; this needle would have to be re-sterilized for all their patients. As a result, Soviet hospitals were rife with staphylococcus and other infectious diseases, and a possible future breeding ground for AIDS. Even more than in the U.S., a hospital in the Soviet Union was a place to avoid at all costs.

It is not known how the newly independent states planned to deal with matters of public health care, but the situation seemed unlikely to improve in the near future after the dissolution of the Union.

HOUSING

Probably the single most glaring flaw in Soviet society was its chronic housing shortage. No matter how hard the government tried, it could never seem to alleviate this problem. In Stalinist times, whole families had to crowd into a single room, sharing cooking and toilet facilities with other families in the same flat. The situation became such a national embarrassment that concentrated programs were devoted to improving housing. The government seemed to be constantly building large blocks of new apartment complexes, yet the terrible shortage of decent accommodations persisted. The large numbers of people flooding into the cities from rural areas only made the problem worse.

The average worker without a lot of money or political connections might have to settle for one or two private rooms for himself and his family in an old, rundown building that had been subdivided into apartments. He would share a communal kitchen and bathroom with the other tenants on the same floor. More well-off people might have had facilities all to themselves. The highest officials, of course, had private homes and sometimes even *dachas* (villas) in fashionable resort areas.

LEISURE/ENTERTAINMENT

As the Soviet Union became more prosperous, its citizens found themselves with more leisure time. Reading was always a major preoccupation of Soviet citizens, partly because it's such a cheap form of entertainment; a single novel can keep a reader engrossed for hours or even days depending

on his reading speed and available time. With 152,000 movie theaters, more than five times the number in the United States, and four times the number of live theaters, the Soviets could very much be said to be a large theatergoing society. Nightclubs and music concerts—particularly Western music like jazz and rock and roll—grew in popularity during the last years of the Soviet Union.

Soviet cinema was generally an extension of the propaganda arm of the government. Most films had to be morally uplifting or educational and praise the virtues of the Soviet state. Any films imported from the West were heavily censored, both because the Soviet government was officially very puritanical and because they didn't want the moviegoing public to be infected with counterrevolutionary ideas. This changed somewhat as more and more Soviet citizens started owning VCRs and having Western cassettes brought into the country.

The state-owned television and radio stations also changed, largely as a result of Gorbachev's *glasnost*. Where the programming used to lean mostly toward educational programs and news features like *Vremya* that slanted the news heavily along party lines, brave new producers used *glasnost* as a cover for making bold documentaries and features that challenged the establishment and were the talk of Soviet society.



THE HERMITAGE: Founded by Catherine the Great, the Hermitage — in St. Petersburg adjacent to the Winter Palace — is considered one of the world's great art museums.

Soviet citizens didn't go to restaurants very often. There weren't very many restaurants, for one thing, and the ones that existed were far too expensive for casual dining. American chains such as McDonald's and Pizza Hut recently gained a toehold and did fantastic business because, although they were far more expensive than their Western counterparts, they were still cheap by the standards of Soviet restaurants.

The Soviet Union had many of the same recreations as the West. People went to parks, museums and zoos. They went boating on rivers and lakes. They played games and attended theaters and sporting events. They had a national passion for chess. If Soviet society was not the picture of freedom and happiness, neither was it the cheerless gray prison many Western propagandists painted.

PUBLIC SERVICES

Since the state controlled nearly all aspects of life, it also had to provide services to the people. The state provided public transportation—buses, trolleys and, in the bigger cities, subways. The state also, in theory, subsidized the taxi drivers, though they usually managed to earn well above their allotted fares with extra service to well-paying customers. Government-paid medical care was available to all, though most patients bribed their doctors for better than minimal care. The government provided living accommodations and utilities, radio and television broadcasting, and all the services of daily living the Soviet citizen came to appreciate. With the Soviet state now gone and its former republics pledged to develop a capitalist economy, some means will have to be found to provide these services on a free market basis.

THE FORMER REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R.

THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC



<i>Size:</i>	6,592,800 square miles
<i>Capital:</i>	Moscow
<i>Major Cities:</i>	St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad), Volgograd, Vladivostok, Murmansk, Irkutsk, Smolensk
<i>Demographics:</i>	Comprises 60 different nationalities; broken into 16 autonomous republics, 5 autonomous regions, 10 autonomous districts, 6 territories and 49 regions; more than two-thirds of the population is urban
<i>Production:</i>	Rich in natural resources, including the world's largest oil reserves; grain is grown on 60% of the arable soil, fodder crops on another 30%; much heavy industry
<i>Comments:</i>	Russia was the unquestioned giant of the Soviet Union, nearly twice the size of either the United States or China. Siberia, which many Westerners think of as simply a small cold settlement where political prisoners are exiled, covers 5,330,896 square miles—more than a quarter of the Asian continent. Russia inherited the permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council that formerly belonged to the Soviet Union.

THE WESTERN REPUBLICS



Belarus (formerly Byelorussia)

- Size:* 80,200 square miles
- Capital:* Minsk
- Major Cities:* Brest, Grodno, Soligorsk, Novopolotsk, Svetlogorsk, Gomel, Mogilyov
- Demographics:* Mostly homogeneous population; about 50% of the population is urban
- Production:* Two-thirds of the republic's income is provided by such industries as engineering, chemicals, wood-working and light manufacturing; principal agricultural activity is raising livestock
- Comments:* 74% of the housing and nearly all of the industry and agriculture had to be rebuilt after German destruction in World War II. Belarus is a charter member of the United Nations and has always had its own seat in the General Assembly. It was one of the three founding members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (along with Russia and Ukraine), and its capital, Minsk, was scheduled to become the center for the new Commonwealth.

Moldova (formerly Moldavia)

- Size:* 13,000 square miles
- Capital:* Kishinyov
- Major Cities:* Beltsy, Tiraspol, Bendery
- Demographics:* Two-thirds of the population is Moldovan, with a higher average population density than any other Soviet republic; about one-third of the population lives in towns; the Moldovan language is very close to Romanian
- Production:* The food processing industry is the most important part of the economic sector; principal agricultural products are grapes, fruits and vegetables
- Comments:* This is the second-smallest of the Soviet Republics. Historically it was part of Romania, though possession of it seesawed back and forth for the last two centuries. The Soviet Union annexed it in the chaos of World War II. After the failed 1991 coup, Moldavia changed its name to Moldova, declared its independence and at first announced it would seek reunion with Romania. Later it decided to join the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

Ukraine

<i>Size:</i>	233,100 square miles
<i>Capital:</i>	Kiev
<i>Major Cities:</i>	Kharkov, Odessa, Donetsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhe, Krivoy Rog, Lvov
<i>Demographics:</i>	The second most populous republic (after Russia); the population is largely homogeneous, but a quarter of the people represent more than 100 different nationalities; the Ukrainian language is closely related to Russian
<i>Production:</i>	One of the world's great agricultural regions; also much industry, abundant natural resources
<i>Comments:</i>	The Ukraine was called the breadbasket of the U.S.S.R., as important to its economy as California is to the United States'. Although it contained only 2.7% of the land surface in the Soviet Union, it produced more than 20% of Soviet agricultural and industrial output and 25% of its grain. Ukraine has had its own seat in the General Assembly since the founding of the United Nations. Along with Russia and Belarus, Ukraine was a founder of the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

THE BALTIC STATES



Estonia

- Size:* 17,400 square miles
- Capital:* Tallinn
- Major Cities:* Tartu, Kohtla-Järve, Narva, Pärnu
- Demographics:* Mostly native Estonians, though much recent immigration from Russia; language is Estonian
- Production:* Largely industrial, primarily shale and development of other natural resources; raising livestock is the primary agricultural activity
- Comments:* For a long time part of the Russian Empire, Estonia won its independence after the 1917 revolution, only to be coerced into joining the Soviet Union just before World War II. The people chafed under Soviet domination. A strident nationalist movement was in place before the 1991 coup attempt; after the coup failed, Estonia won full independence from the Soviet Union and has shown no interest in joining the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Latvia

- Size:* 24,600 square miles
- Capital:* Riga
- Major Cities:* Ventspils, Plavinas, Kegums
- Demographics:* Latvians and Russians; about 70% Lutheran, 25% Catholic; language is Latvian
- Production:* Dairy farming and meat production are the chief agricultural activities; the chief manufacturing fields are machine building and metal engineering
- Comments:* For a long time part of the Russian Empire, Latvia won its independence after the 1917 revolution, only to be coerced into joining the Soviet Union just before World War II. The people chafed under Soviet domination. A strident nationalist movement was in place before the 1991 coup attempt; after the coup failed, Latvia won full independence from the Soviet Union and has shown no interest in joining the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Lithuania

<i>Size:</i>	25,200 square miles
<i>Capital:</i>	Vilnius
<i>Major Cities:</i>	Alytus, Kapsukas, Utena, Plunge, Mazeikiai
<i>Demographics:</i>	Largely native Lithuanians; language is Lithuanian; half the population is urban
<i>Production:</i>	Half the agricultural output is fodder crops; machinery production and shipbuilding are important industries
<i>Comments:</i>	For a long time part of the Russian Empire, Lithuania won its independence after the 1917 revolution, only to be coerced into joining the Soviet Union just before World War II. The people chafed under Soviet domination. Lithuania took the lead in the Baltic independence movement before the 1991 coup attempt; after the coup failed, Lithuania won full independence from the Soviet Union and has shown no interest in joining the Commonwealth of Independent States.

THE CAUCASUS



Armenia

- Size:** 11,500 square miles
- Capital:** Yerevan
- Major Cities:** Leninakan, Kamo, Goris, Kirovakan
- Demographics:** Largely Armenian population; language is Armenian; religion is Armenian Orthodox or Catholic; two-thirds of the population is urban
- Production:** Industry, predominantly mechanical engineering, machine tools and electrical power machinery, electronics, mining and chemistry, accounts for over 70% of Armenia's economy; grapevines and orchards are prominent in agriculture
- Comments:** Armenia was the smallest of the Soviet republics. Long subjugated as part of the Turkish Empire (there is still a Turkish Armenia as well), this portion of Armenia broke away from Turkey after World War I and allied with the Soviet Union to prevent reabsorption into Turkey. Maltreatment of the large Armenian population in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of neighboring Azerbaijan has led to armed fighting between the two republics.

Azerbaijan

- Size:** 33,400 square miles
- Capital:** Baku
- Major Cities:** Sumgait, Kirovabad
- Demographics:** Azerbaijanis are largely of Turkish descent; Russians are the largest minority in Azerbaijan, but in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region the population is 80% Armenian; half the population is urban
- Production:** Azerbaijan is an important oil producer; electrical power, manufacturing and chemicals are important components of heavy industry; produced 10% of the Soviet Union's agricultural output, with cotton and tobacco being the chief crops
- Comments:** Azerbaijan has ties to both Turkey and Iran; there is an Iranian province also named Azerbaijan across the border from the former Soviet republic. Religious differences and ethnic intolerance between the Islamic Azerbaijanis and the large Christian Armenian population in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region has led to serious fighting between Azerbaijan and Armenia, as well as several hundred deaths. Ironically, this is also a region known for its longevity, with many residents living beyond 100 years of age.

Georgia

- Size:** 26,900 square miles
- Capital:** Tbilisi
- Major Cities:** Sukhumi, Batumi, Kutaisi, Tskhinvali
- Demographics:** The population is derived from a race of mountain warriors; two-thirds of the population is Georgian; the rest are Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis and other nationalities; increasing urbanization, but still a large rural population
- Production:** Georgia specializes in producing raw materials, and in industries that process those raw materials; agricultural products include citrus fruits and tea (95% of the tea in the Soviet Union was grown in Georgia)
- Comments:** Georgia is a mountainous land. Its name is not derived from anyone named George, but from the Persian name for their people, Gorg. (Their own name for themselves is Kartveli.) After the 1991 coup attempt, Georgia became one of the most tumultuous republics when a large portion of the population called the elected president a dictator and openly revolted against his regime. Georgia was the only one of the former republics that was not immediately allowed to join the Commonwealth of Independent States. The Commonwealth's leaders wanted Georgia to settle its internal strife first and correct supposed human rights violations.

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA



Kazakhstan

- Size:* 1,049,200 square miles
- Capital:* Alma-Ata
- Major Cities:* Semipalatinsk, Petropavlovsk, Uralsk, Karaganda, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Rudny
- Demographics:* Russians outnumber the native Kazakhs, who make up only about one-third of the population; Ukrainians and other nationalities are also represented; the Kazakh people are Moslems who speak a Turkic language and are Mongol in physical type; half the population is urban, with a high birth rate
- Production:* Industry is the leading portion of the Kazakh economy, including manufactured building supplies like cast iron, steel and cement; the construction industry is also vital; half the population still engages in agriculture, with grain growing and sheep-raising predominating
- Comments:* The Kazakhs (who have no ethnic relation whatsoever to the Cossacks) work mostly in the agricultural sector, making up only 10% of the industrial workers; ethnic Russians and other Slavs fill most of the rest of the jobs. Baikonyr, the Soviet space-launching facility, is located in Kazakhstan, as are many Soviet missiles. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the number of missiles based on its soil made Kazakhstan the world's third greatest nuclear power, behind only the U.S. and Russia. The world was assured, though, that the Russian president was the only person to have a finger on "the button."

Kirghizia

- Size:** 76,600 square miles
- Capital:** Frunze
- Major Cities:** Rybachye, Osh
- Demographics:** The Kirghiz are the predominant nationality, descended from a nomadic group; strong Moslem beliefs; only about one-third of the population is urban
- Production:** Agriculture is the most important sector of the economy, dominated by livestock, cotton, sugar beets, tobacco and opium poppies; industry leans toward mining and the processing of coal and minerals, as well as processing food
- Comments:** Kirghizia was one of the backwaters of the Soviet Union. No one from Kirghizia ever gained prominence as a national figure, and it was considered a bedrock of conservatism. When the leaders of the failed coup fled from Moscow, they took a plane to Kirghizia hoping for sympathy and asylum. They got neither.

Tajikistan

- Size:* 55,250 square miles
- Capital:* Dushanbe
- Major Cities:* Khorog, Leninabad, Kulyab, Kurgan-Tyube, Ura-Tyube
- Demographics:* Although ethnic Tajiks are in the majority, Uzbeks make up a large segment of the population; native language is Tajik, related to Farsi in neighboring Afghanistan; population birth rate was three times that of Soviet Union in general; strong Moslem beliefs; less than half the population is urban
- Production:* Tajikistan is a major producer of cotton, and the major industries involve processing the cotton in textile mills; the agriculture industry is heavily dependent on modern irrigation techniques
- Comments:* Tajikistan is facing such a population explosion that, in the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region, half the population is under 20 years old. Although the birth rate is high, a lot of the increase came from immigration from other republics. In the capital city, Dushanbe, ethnic Russians constitute nearly half the population.

Turkmenistan

- Size:* 188,500 square miles
- Capital:* Ashkhabad
- Major Cities:* Mary, Krasnovodsk, Tashauz, Nebit-Dag, Chardzhou
- Demographics:* Turkmenistan is a multiracial republic—predominantly Turkmens, but including Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs and others; strong Moslem beliefs; half the population is urban
- Production:* Cotton growing and oil and gas extraction dominate the economy
- Comments:* Turkmenistan was the southernmost republic in the Soviet Union, and 90% of its territory is covered with deserts. The Kara-Kum (Black Sand) is one of the world's largest sand deserts.

Uzbekistan

- Size:* 172,700 square miles
- Capital:* Tashkent
- Major Cities:* Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand
- Demographics:* Uzbeks comprise just over two-thirds of the population of Uzbekistan, with many Russians, Tatars and Kazakhs; the Uzbeks are Moslems; about three-fourths of the native Uzbeks remain rural, with other nationalities concentrated in urban areas
- Production:* Uzbekistan was the chief supplier of the Soviet Union's cotton, and is the third-largest cotton producer in the world; its industry produces heavy equipment and machinery, particularly for irrigation, cotton cultivation and harvesting
- Comments:* The Uzbek nationality grew so great that it became the largest non-Russian group throughout the Soviet Union.

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART VII:

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CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN
PART VIII:

GLOSSARY



THE PRINTED CYRILLIC ALPHABET

Upper Case	Lower Case	Explanation
А	а	Stressed: <i>a</i> as in father Unstressed: <i>a</i> as in ago
Б	б	<i>b</i> as in bad
В	в	<i>v</i> as in very
Г	г	<i>g</i> as in gun; pronounced as a <i>v</i> in the word endings -ОГО (-ovo) and -ЕГО (-evo)
Д	д	<i>d</i> as in door
Е	е	Stressed: <i>e</i> as in set, <i>ye</i> as in yet, <i>yu</i> as in Yale Unstressed: <i>i</i> as in sit
Ё	ё	<i>yu</i> as in yacht, <i>yo</i> as in beyond, <i>o</i> as in cost
Ж	ж	<i>z</i> as in measure (often transliterated "zh")
З	з	<i>z</i> as in zoo
И	и	<i>ee</i> as in seen
Й	й	No exact sound of its own; it functions like a "y" when it follows a vowel—for instance, <i>ой</i> = <i>i</i> as in time, <i>ой</i> = <i>oi</i> as in noise
К	к	<i>k</i> as in key
Л	л	<i>l</i> as in call
М	м	<i>m</i> as in man
Н	н	<i>n</i> as in noise
О	о	Stressed: <i>o</i> as in cost Unstressed: <i>o</i> as in father
П	п	<i>p</i> as in part
Р	р	trilled <i>r</i>
С	с	<i>s</i> as in sad
Т	т	<i>t</i> as in tent
У	у	<i>oo</i> as in boom
Ф	ф	<i>f</i> as in far
Х	х	<i>ch</i> as in the Scottish "loch" or the German "ich" (sometimes transliterated "kh")
Ц	ц	<i>ts</i> as in tsar
Ч	ч	<i>ch</i> as in cheek
Ш	ш	<i>sh</i> as in fresh
Щ	щ	<i>shch</i> as in fresh cheese
Ъ	ъ	No sound of its own; a grammatical symbol sometimes used to indicate the consonant in front of it is hard
Ы	ы	A vowel with no English equivalent; sort of halfway between "oy" and "aye", as though there were a "uy" sound
Ь	ь	No sound of its own; a grammatical symbol sometimes used to indicate the consonant in front of it is soft
Э	э	<i>e</i> as in set or <i>a</i> as in Yale
Ю	ю	<i>yu</i> as in yule
Я	я	<i>ya</i> as in yard

SOME RUSSIAN PHRASES OF INTEREST

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PART VIII:
GLOSSARY

Союз Советских Социалистических Республик (СССР)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)

Комитет Государственной Безопасности (КГБ)
Committee for State Security (KGB)

Министерство Обороны (МО)
Ministry of Defense

Телеграфное Агентство Советского Союза (ТАСС)
Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS)

Совет Министров (Сов Мин)
Council of Ministers

Министерство Иностранных Дел (МИД)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Государственный План (Госплан)
State Planning Commission (Gosplan)

Финансовая Смета
Financial Draft Plan

Почта СССР
USSR Mail

Личное Дело
Personal file, dossier

Совершенно Секретно
Top Secret

Высший Класс
Acme

Телевизионный

Television

Выключен

Off

Кризис

Crisis

Игра

Play

Кривда

A lie (slightly archaic)

Дорогой

Dear

Обнимаю

I'm hugging (you)

Регистратор

Registrar

Сделано в "Сфере"

Made in "Sphere"

С Новым Годом!

Happy New Year!

Соединить

Join

ABOUT THE DESIGNER

LARRY BARBU has been involved with computers and their use since joining IBM's Development Laboratory in the early '60s (after a brief and very non-computer career as a mate on freighters, and in operational intelligence, US Navy, Japan).

He has worked with federal, state and city governments, *Fortune 500* corporations, and government advisory committees while with IBM, as Director of Consulting with a Big-Eight CPA firm, and as President of his own consulting company. His system designs include operations, forecasting, finance, econometrics, security and gaming, on mainframes, minis and micros.

This experience combines with a fascination with the current "State of the Soviet" and the enormous impact it has on the world.

"It's like the world is living next door to a family on welfare, who owns a garage full of hand grenades, dynamite and Uzis. And you can't move to another neighborhood. Now what do you do? Invite them to dinner? Lend them some money? Cosign a loan? Help them get jobs? Quite a dilemma."

Mr. Barbu designed *Crisis in the Kremlin*™ to let you try some of the ways to solve this dilemma. Or, at least, begin to understand it. "You are steering the Soviet Union into the 21st century. Try not to run aground!"