

simple life on state farms and collective farms for the better pay and amenities of the largest cities.

By far the largest percentage of migration (40 percent) has been from villages to cities: for example, between 1959 and 1979 the agricultural work force in the nonchernozem region of the Russian Republic declined by 40 percent as a result of movement to cities. Since the Bolshevik Revolution, the urban population grew by almost 85 million people as a result of in-migration from rural areas alone. Between 1970 and 1979, more than 3 million people left the countryside annually, and just 1.5 million moved in the opposite direction. A substantial proportion of migration (34 percent) took place from city to city.

The pervasive influence of the severe climate exerted pressure on migration patterns. In some parts of Siberia, the climate and working conditions were so harsh that shifts were set up, based on the recommendations of medical authorities, to return workers to more hospitable climes after a tour of two or three years. As an incentive to attract workers to sparsely settled areas such as western Siberia, the government established a system of bonuses and added credit toward retirement. Between 1970 and 1985, migration patterns began to adapt to the needs of the national economy, and the long-standing maldistribution of natural and human resources began to improve. The incentives helped to reverse, at least temporarily, the negative migration stream out of Siberia in the first part of the 1970s. Still, the age-sex structure of the newly exploited areas was one typical for frontiers. Disproportionate numbers of young males made the area far from conducive for establishing a stable population base and labor force.

In the 1980s, the government continued to find it difficult to stimulate migration out of the southern parts of the country and into the northern and eastern sections of the Soviet Union. Contrary to the desired migratory pattern, the areas with the greatest levels of mobility were generally those with the lowest birth rates, in particular the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian republics. In Soviet Central Asia, where birth rates were considerably higher, the levels of migration and population mobility were low. These demographic patterns were not seen by planners as contributing to the long-term solution of labor supply problems stemming from labor deficiencies in the central European region and labor surpluses in Soviet Central Asia.

Because the government continued to maintain tight control over migration into or out of the country, between 1970 and 1985 the population remained largely a "closed" one, in which increases or decreases as a result of immigration or emigration were insignificant.

According to figures released in 1989, some 140,000 persons emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1987 and 1988. Authorities expected the rate to stabilize at about 60,000 to 70,000 per year. Overall, observers estimated that as many as 500,000 émigrés, mostly Jews, Armenians, Germans, and Poles, were allowed to leave between 1960 and 1985.

Distribution and Density

Because so much of its territory is poorly suited for human habitation, the Soviet Union on the whole is a sparsely populated country. In 1987 it registered an average density of twelve inhabitants per square kilometer. The density varied greatly by region, however (see fig. 9). In the mid-1980s, the density of the European portion of the Soviet Union was thirty-four inhabitants per square kilometer, about the same as in the American South. The republics with the greatest population density were the Moldavian, Armenian, and Ukrainian republics (see table 12, Appendix A).

Moskovskaya Oblast, largely because of its historical, cultural, and political significance and the presence in it of the Moscow urban metropolitan area, was one of the country's most thickly settled oblasts. Despite attempts to limit the capital's growth, Moscow continued to attract numerous migrants each year. The entire region between the Volga and Oka rivers had a high concentration of settlements. The most sparsely populated regions of the country have persistently been in the Far North, which is considerably more sparsely settled than Alaska.

The "center of gravity" of the population is gradually moving in a southeasterly direction and in the mid-1980s was located west of the Urals just below the city of Kuybyshev. The main belt of settlement forms a wedge whose base is a line going from Leningrad to the Moldavian Republic. In the European part of the Soviet Union, its northern boundary runs through the cities of Cherepovets, Vologda, and Perm'; the southern arm passes through Kherson, Rostov-na-Donu, Volgograd, and Chelyabinsk. Significant concentrations of population outside this wedge were found in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. The roughly 10 percent of the population in Siberia was concentrated in a rather narrow belt surrounding the two major transportation arteries of the Trans-Siberian Railway (see Glossary) and the Baykal-Amur Main Line (BAM—see Glossary) and in the energy-producing region of western Siberia. Future population growth and settlement in Siberia and the Soviet Far East for the most part was expected to take place in the environs of the BAM.

The rural population was also concentrated in the southern and central sections of the European part. Densities of more than 100

persons per square kilometer were found in the Dnestr River Valley and in several parts of the Ukrainian Republic, the Soviet Union's traditional breadbasket. Rural population density tapered off in the taiga zone and sharply diminished in the tundra of the European north. The arid steppes and semideserts in the southeast European part were lightly settled.

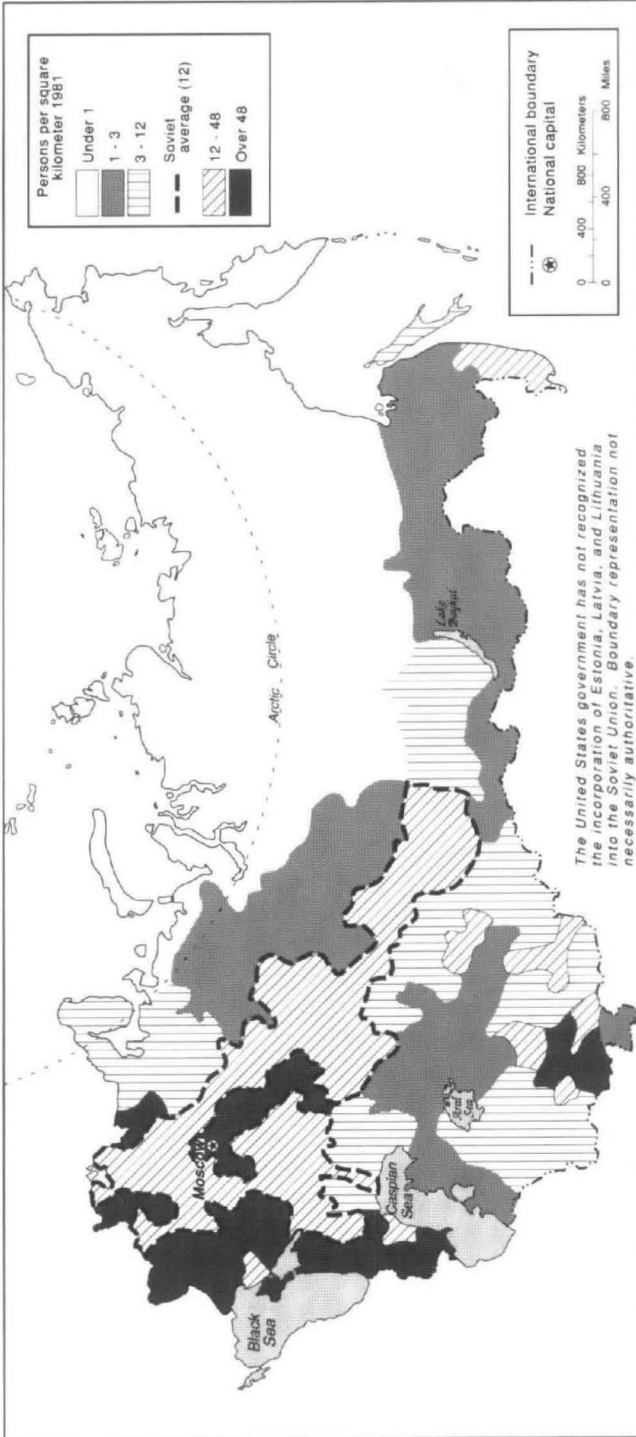
Starting in the 1970s, an active campaign was mounted to reduce and consolidate the number of rural populated places in the Soviet Union. The number of rural places in the nonchernozem region of the Russian Republic alone declined from 180,000 to 118,000 between 1959 to 1979. Nationally, a reasonable estimate of the numbers of phased-out ("future-less settlements" in Russian) populated places, most with fewer than 200 inhabitants, was more than 100,000.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh five-year plans (1971-85) provided for stimulating further economic development and settlement in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Under Gorbachev, reports indicated a possible change in emphasis to stress modernization and intensification of production by using existing capacity in the European portion.

Marriage, Divorce, and the Family

As early as the mid-1970s, open acknowledgment and frank discussions of demographic problems in the Soviet Union began to take place. The family, as "the key social unit," was at the center of these discussions. For many years, population growth was taken for granted. In the 1970s, however, authorities became concerned about declining birth rates in the European part of the Soviet Union, especially among Russians. In addition to urbanization and industrialization, other factors affecting family size were rising divorce rates, an acute shortage of housing, and poor health care. Another factor was that Slavic women had the world's highest abortion rates.

The Twenty-Fifth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1976 was the first to recognize that the Soviet Union had a demographic problem, and it proposed measures to deal with "the aggravation of the demographic situation." Two key areas pertaining to the family were mentioned as contributing to an intensification of population problems: the lowering of birth rates to levels below those necessary for replacement and for guaranteeing an adequate supply of labor; and continuing high rates of divorce. The Twenty-Sixth Party Congress (1981) and the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress (1986) established a pronatalist policy that probably accounted for a slight upswing in fertility as the decade progressed.



Source: Based on information from J.P. Cole, *Geography of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge, 1984, 244.

Figure 9. Population Density, 1981

In the 1970s and 1980s, some population problems were associated with a developmental trend that the socialist system had traditionally encouraged, i.e., urbanization and industrialization. The demographic price for this process is normally paid in declining birth rates and shrinking family sizes. An efficient modern economy ordinarily can adjust to a smaller work force. The Soviet economy, however, has remained relatively labor intensive in the key agricultural and industrial sectors, and as a result there were labor shortages in many of the larger cities.

The 1979 census registered more than 66 million families; by the mid-1980s there were about 70 million families. In 1979 the overwhelming majority (86.2 percent) of urban families consisted of two to four members. In the urban areas of the European part, in particular, the trend was to limit the number of children to two and in many cases to only one. In 1979 about 60 percent of the families with children under eighteen years of age had only one child; 33 percent had two children. The negative consequences of this trend, especially in the European part of the country, led the government to begin an active campaign to encourage families to have a third child.

Population Problems and Policies

Unless unfavorable trends can be reversed, the Soviet Union eventually will have to deal with the threat of depopulation in much of the European portion of the Russian Republic and in the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian republics, the very political, military, and economic base of the country. Persistently low birth rates and a sharp downward trend in family size among most Soviet Europeans has been the root cause. The pattern became more obvious, and the alarms became louder, in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The declining Russian representation in the multinational Soviet population has caused great concern. Such a trend has serious international and national political, economic, social, and military implications. For example, with fewer native speakers of Russian, it becomes progressively more difficult to maintain Russian as the national language. As the Russian language declines in importance, the challenge of both raising the national level of education and training a skilled labor force becomes more complicated and costly. The armed forces, as well, face the prospect of adding to their ranks a smaller percentage of Soviet Europeans and a greater share of Soviet Asians, who may not serve with the dedication of the Slavs and whose service imposes additional demands on the military in terms of special training to improve communications skills.





*Village in the Tadjik Republic near Dushanbe at the foot of the Hissar Mountains about 160 kilometers north of the Afghan frontier
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

In the 1970s and 1980s, the government introduced some key initiatives that were intended to ameliorate demographic difficulties: occupations restricted to males for health and safety reasons were expanded; maternity leave was extended to one year after the birth (eight weeks fully paid), and the leave was counted as service time; lump-sum cash payments for each birth were provided, with higher premiums for the third and fourth child; child support payments to low-income families were increased; and families were to be given preferential treatment in the assignment of housing and other services.

At the same time, campaigns were introduced aimed at raising overall "demographic literacy" (developing a citizenry better informed about the national demographic situation) and improving public health. By far the most publicized and most controversial of these campaigns was the attack on alcoholism and public drunkenness. The sale of alcoholic beverages was sharply curtailed in the mid-1980s. Soviet authorities felt that the elimination of this traditional social ill would have an immediate and direct impact on demographic processes by eliminating a major cause of divorce and premature disability and death. In addition, promoting safe and healthful working and living conditions was one of the chief aims of the growing numbers of officials and citizens concerned with the environment.

The success of these government measures remained in doubt in 1989. Persuasive evidence supported the view that patterns of urbanization, extreme reluctance to migrate, and higher fertility rates in Soviet Central Asia have continued. These demographic patterns, together with the strengths and limitations of the physical environment, have affected such critical issues as the cohesion of the Soviet federation and its nationality representation, the acutely uneven distribution of natural and human resources, investment in industrial development, and the character and composition of the work force and the military.

* * *

By far the most important English-language source of current information on the geography and population of the Soviet Union is the monthly journal *Soviet Geography*. Much of the information in the chapter derives from the excellent articles in this journal, some of which were written by its founder and editor, Theodore Shabad, who was, until his death in 1987, the foremost expert on the subject in the United States. Some standard texts on the geography of the Soviet Union are Paul E. Lydolph's *Geography of the*

U.S.S.R.; J.P. Cole's *Geography of the Soviet Union*; David Hooson's *The Soviet Union: People and Regions*; G. Melvyn Howe's *The Soviet Union: A Geographical Study*; and William Henry Parker's *The Soviet Union*. Pending publication of the final results of the 1989 all-union census, the most important source of data on the Soviet population has been the statistical handbook *Naselenie SSSR, 1987*. In recent years, more information has been made available to both Western and Soviet scholars on demographic developments in the Soviet Union. As of 1989, among the experts on the subject in the United States were Murray Feshbach, Stephen Rapawy, and W. Ward Kingkade. All three, especially Feshbach, have written extensively on various aspects of Soviet population (fertility, mortality, age and sex structure, and ethnicity). Particularly valuable was Kingkade's article "Demographic Trends in the Soviet Union." (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 4. Nationalities and Religions



People of various nationalities and religions

ON FEBRUARY 17, 1988, General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev declared that the nationalities question in the Soviet Union was a “crucially important vital question” of the times. He went on to call for a “very thorough review” of Soviet nationalities policy, an acknowledgment of the failure of the past Soviet regimes’ attempts to solve the problem of nationalities that was inherited from tsarist Russia. With remarkable candor, Gorbachev admitted that the problem not only still existed but that it was more acute than ever.

For close to seventy years, Soviet leaders had maintained that frictions among the many nationalities of the Soviet Union had been eliminated and that the Soviet Union consisted of a family of nations living harmoniously together, each national culture adding to and enriching the new Soviet culture and promoting the development of a single Soviet nationality. However, the national ferment that shook almost every corner of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s proved that seventy years of communist rule had failed to obliterate national and ethnic differences and that traditional cultures and religions would reemerge given the slightest opportunity. This unpleasant reality facing Gorbachev and his colleagues meant that, short of relying on the traditional use of force, they had to find alternative solutions in order to prevent the disintegration of the Soviet empire. Whether they succeed or fail in this task will, to a large degree, determine the future of the Soviet Union.

The extensive multinational empire that the Bolsheviks (see Glossary) inherited after their revolution was created by tsarist expansion over some four centuries. Some nationality groups came into the empire voluntarily, but most were brought in by force. Generally, the Russians and most of the non-Russian subjects of the empire shared little in common—culturally, religiously, or linguistically. More often than not, two or more diverse nationalities were collocated on the same territory. Therefore, national antagonisms built up over the years not only against the Russians but often among some of the subject nations as well.

Like its tsarist predecessor, the Soviet state has remained ethnically complex (see fig. 10). Indeed, the distinctions between the various nationalities of the Soviet Union have sharpened during the Soviet period. The concessions granted national cultures and the limited autonomy tolerated in the union republics (see Glossary) in the 1920s led to the development of national elites and a

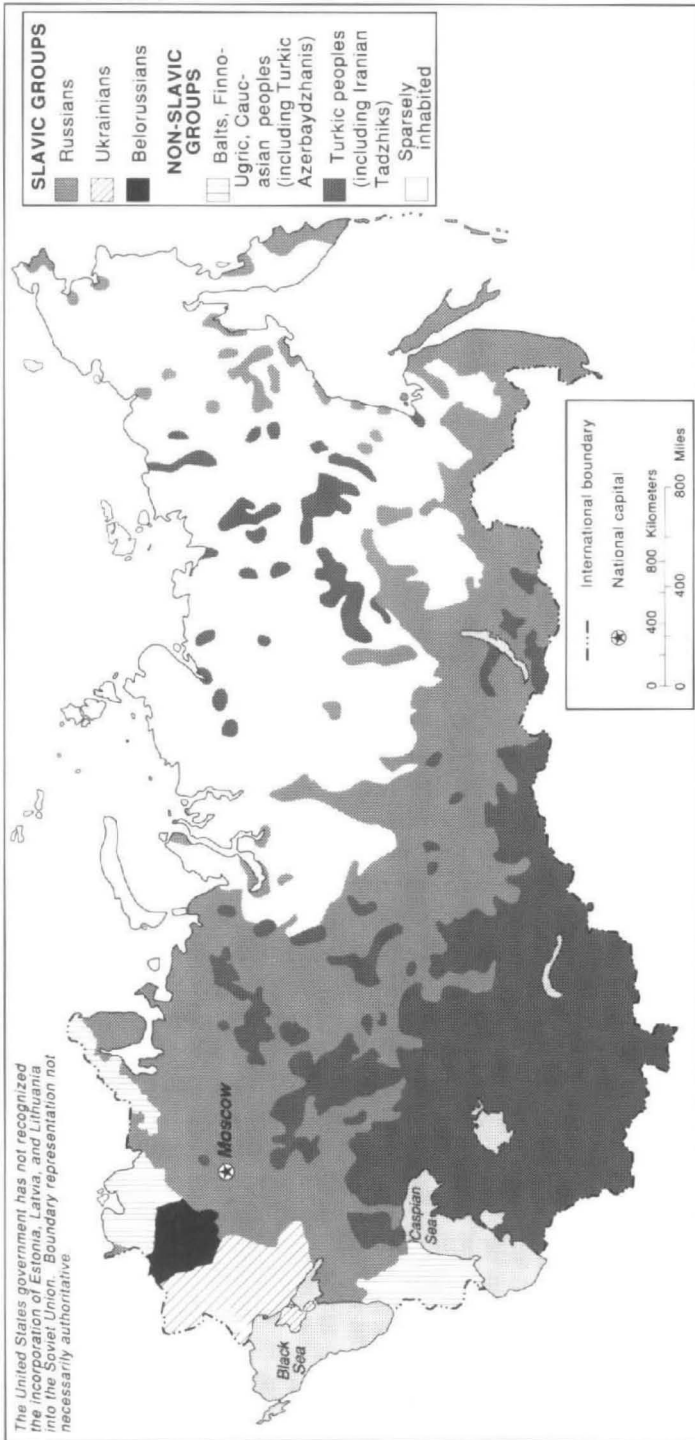


Figure 10. Nationalities and Nationality Groups, 1987

heightened sense of national identity. Subsequent repression and Russianization (see Glossary) fostered resentment against domination by Moscow and promoted further growth of national consciousness. National feelings were also exacerbated in the Soviet multinational state by increased competition for resources, services, and jobs.

Nationalities of the Soviet Union

The official Soviet census of 1989 listed over 100 nationalities in the Soviet Union (see table 13, Appendix A). Each had its own history, culture, and language. Each possessed its own sense of national identity and national consciousness. The position of each nationality in the Soviet Union depended to a large degree on its size, the percentage of the people using the national language as their first language, the degree of its integration into the Soviet society, and its territorial-administrative status. This position was also dependent on each nationality's share of membership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the number of students in higher institutions, the number of scientific workers, and the degree of urbanization of each nationality.

The various nationalities differed greatly in size. On the one hand, the Russians, who constituted about 50.8 percent of the population, numbered about 145 million in 1989. On the other hand, half of the nationalities listed in the census together accounted for only 0.5 percent of the total population, most of them having fewer than 100,000 people. Twenty-two nationalities had more than 1 million people each. Fifteen of the major nationalities had their own union republics, which together comprised the federation known as the Soviet Union.

The nationalities having union republic status commanded more political and economic power than other nationalities and found it easier to maintain their own language and culture. In 1989 some nationalities formed an overwhelming majority within their own republics; one nationality (the Kazakhs), however, lacked even a majority. In addition to the fifteen nationalities having union republics, some others had their own territorial units, such as autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous *okruga* (see table 14, Appendix A). The remaining nationalities did not have territorial units of their own and in most cases only constituted minorities in the Russian Republic (see table 15, Appendix A).

The nationalities that have had a significant political and economic impact on the Soviet Union include the fifteen nationalities that have their own union republics and the non-union republic nationalities that numbered at least 1 million people in 1989. They

are the Slavic nationalities, the Baltic nationalities, the nationalities of the Caucasus, the Central Asian nationalities, and a few other nationalities.

Slavic Nationalities

Since the establishment of the Soviet Union, the most dominant group of people numerically, politically, culturally, and economically have been the Slavs, particularly the East Slavs. Although little is known of the early history of the Slavs, they had by the seventh century A.D. divided into three distinguishable groups: the West Slavs, ancestors of the Poles, the Czechs, and the Slovaks; the South Slavs, ancestors of the Bulgarians, the Slovenes, the Serbs, and the Croatians; and the East Slavs, ancestors of the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Belorussians. The East Slavic tribes settled along the Dnepr River in the present-day Ukrainian Republic in the first centuries after the birth of Christ and from there spread northward and eastward. In the ninth century, these tribes became part of the foundation of Kievan Rus', the medieval state of the East Slavs ruled by a Varangian dynasty (see *The East Slavs and the Varangians*, ch. 1).

The East Slavs enhanced their political union in the tenth century when they adopted Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus'. Nevertheless, tribal and regional differences persisted and became more marked as the realm of Kievan Rus' expanded. To the northwest, East Slavic tribes mixed with the local Baltic tribes, while in the north and northeast they mixed with the indigenous Finno-Ugric tribes. By the time Kievan Rus' began to disintegrate into a number of independent principalities in the twelfth century, the East Slavs were evolving into three separate people linguistically and culturally: Russians to the north and northeast of Kiev, Belorussians to the northwest of Kiev, and Ukrainians around Kiev itself and to the south and southwest of Kiev. This process of ethnic differentiation and consolidation was accelerated by the Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus' and its collapse as a political entity in the thirteenth century. For several centuries, the three East Slavic nationalities remained related culturally, linguistically, and to a great extent religiously. Nevertheless, each of them has been influenced by different political, economic, religious, and social developments, further separating them from each other (see *The Rise of Regional Centers*, ch. 1).

Russians

Russians have been the largest and most dominant nationality in both the Soviet Union and its predecessors, the Russian Empire

and Muscovy. From the time of Muscovy's rise as the dominant principality in the northeast of the territory of Kievan Rus', a Russian state continually extended its territory and enabled Ivan III (1462-1505) to proclaim himself "Ruler of all Rus'." Peter the Great (1682-1725) established the Russian Empire, which by the end of the nineteenth century reached the Baltic Sea in the northwest and the Black Sea in the southwest, the Pacific Ocean in the east, and the Pamirs in the south (see fig. 3). The Romanov Dynasty, which promoted Russian administrative control over the disparate nationalities in its domain, ruled for three centuries until it was overthrown in February 1917 (according to the Julian calendar (see Glossary); March 1917 according to the Gregorian calendar). After the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in October 1917 (November 1917), Russian domination of political, economic, and cultural life in the Soviet Union continued despite the rule of Joseph V. Stalin, who was Georgian by birth. Yet throughout their history, Russians themselves were subjected to oppressive rulers, whether tsarist or communist. Particularly devastating since the advent of communist rule in November 1917 were the Civil War (1918-21), forced collectivization and industrialization, the Great Terror (see Glossary), and World War II, each of which resulted in extreme hardship and loss of great numbers of Russian people.

According to the 1989 census, some 145 million Russians constituted just over half of the population of the Soviet Union, although their share of the total has been declining steadily. A low fertility rate among the Russians and a considerably higher fertility rate among the peoples of Soviet Central Asia may make Russians a minority nationality by the year 2000.

Most Russians lived in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Russian Republic), an immense area occupying three-fourths of the Soviet Union and stretching from Eastern Europe across the Ural Mountains and Siberia to the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific Ocean. Many other nationalities lived in the Russian Republic. Sixteen of the twenty autonomous republics were located here, as well as five of the eight autonomous oblasts and all ten of the autonomous *okruga*. But Russians also constituted substantial minorities in the populations of most non-Russian union republics in the Soviet Union (see table 16, Appendix A). Only a small percentage of Russians claimed fluency in the languages of the non-Russian republics in which they resided.

In the late 1980s, Russians were the second most urban nationality in the Soviet Union (only Jews were proportionally more urbanized). Russians constituted about two-thirds of the entire urban population of the Soviet Union; all major cities in the Soviet

Union had a large Russian population. In addition, Moscow, the largest city and capital of the Soviet Union, served as the administrative center for the Russian Republic. The domination by Russians has been evident in almost every phase of Soviet life and has increased in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1972, 62.5 percent of the members of the Politburo, the highest organ of the CPSU, were Russians. In 1986 the percentage of Russians rose to 84.6 and then to 89 in 1989. Generally, Russians were the party second secretaries and the chiefs of the Committee for State Security (Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti—KGB) in non-Russian republics. Russians also constituted a majority of CPSU membership, amounting to about 61 percent in the 1980s. Only Jews and Georgians have also had representation in the party that was higher than their proportion of the population. Russian dominance of the CPSU has also helped them dominate Soviet society.

Russians held a high percentage of the most important positions in government, industry, agriculture, education, science, and the arts, especially in the non-Russian republics. The number of Russians attending higher education institutions also was disproportionate to their share of the population. Only Jews, Armenians, and Georgians had a proportionally higher number of students at these institutions.

Russian language and culture has had special status throughout the Soviet Union. The Russian language has been the common language in government organizations as well as in most economic, social, and cultural institutions. Higher education in many fields has been provided almost exclusively in Russian, and mastery of that language has been an important criterion for admission to institutions of higher learning. Administrative and supervisory posts in non-Russian republics were often held by Russians having little knowledge of the native language. In 1986 Russian was the language used to publish 78 percent of the books by number of titles and 86 percent of the books by number of copies. The publication of magazines and newspapers printed in Russian and in the other indigenous languages has been equally disproportionate.

The homeland of about 119.8 million Russians and over 27 million non-Russian people, the Russian Republic also provided substantial industrial, agricultural, and natural resources to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in 1989 the Russian Republic, alone among the fifteen union republics, had no party apparatus separate from that of the CPSU. The functions performed in non-Russian republics by republic-level CPSU organizations were performed for the Russian Republic by the central agencies of the CPSU.

Ukrainians

Ukrainians trace their ancestry to the East Slavic tribes that inhabited the present-day Ukrainian Republic in the first centuries after the birth of Christ and were part of the state of Kievan Rus' formed in the ninth century. For a century after the breakup of Kievan Rus', the independent principalities of Galicia and Volhynia served as Ukrainian political and cultural centers. In the fourteenth century, Galicia was absorbed by Poland, and Volhynia, together with Kiev, became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1569 Volhynia and Kiev also came under Polish rule, an event that significantly affected Ukrainian society, culture, language, and religion. Ukrainian peasants, except for those who fled to join the cossacks (see Glossary) in the frontier regions southeast of Poland, were enserfed. Many Ukrainian nobles were Polonized.

The continuous oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Polish nobility led to a series of popular insurrections, culminating in 1648, when Ukrainian Cossacks joined in a national uprising. Intermittent wars with Poland forced the Ukrainian Cossacks to place Ukraine under the protection of the Muscovite tsar. A prolonged war between Muscovy and Poland followed, ending in 1667 with a treaty that split Ukraine along the Dnepr River. Ukrainian territory on the right (generally western) bank of the Dnepr remained under Poland, while Ukrainian territory on the left (generally eastern) bank was placed under the suzerainty of the Muscovite tsar. Although both segments of Ukraine were granted autonomous status, Muscovy and Poland followed policies to weaken Ukrainian autonomy. A number of uprisings by Ukrainian peasantry led to the crushing of the remainder of Ukrainian autonomy in Poland (see *Expansion and Westernization*, ch. 1). Ukrainian self-rule under the tsar ended after Mazepa, the Ukrainian hetman (leader), defected to the Swedish side during the war between Muscovy and Sweden at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1775 Catherine the Great dispersed the Ukrainian Cossacks and enserfed those Ukrainian peasants who had remained free. The partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century placed most of the Ukrainian territory on the right bank of the Dnepr River under Russian rule. The westernmost part of Ukraine (known as western Ukraine) was incorporated into the Austrian Empire.

The resurgence of Ukrainian national consciousness in the nineteenth century was fostered by a renewed interest among intellectuals in Ukrainian history, culture, and language and the founding of many scholarly, cultural, and social societies. The Russian government responded by harassing, imprisoning, and exiling leading

Ukrainian intellectuals. Ukrainian academic and social societies were disbanded. Publications, plays, and concerts in Ukrainian were forbidden. Finally, the existence of a Ukrainian language and nationality was officially denied. Nevertheless, a Ukrainian national movement in the Russian Empire persisted, spurred partially by developments in western Ukraine, where Ukrainians in the more liberal Austrian Empire had far greater freedom to develop their culture and language.

After the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Ukrainians in both empires proclaimed their independence and established national republics. In 1919 the two republics united into one Ukrainian national state. This unification, however, could not withstand the aggression of both the Red and White Russian forces and the hostile Polish forces in western Ukraine. Ukraine again was partitioned, with western Ukraine incorporated into the new Polish state and the rest of Ukraine established as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in March 1919, which was later incorporated into the Soviet Union when it was formed in December 1922.

In the decade of the 1920s, the Ukrainian Republic experienced a period of Ukrainization. Ukrainian communists enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in running the republic, and Ukrainian culture and language dominated. Stalin's rise to power, however, halted the process of Ukrainization. Consequently, Ukrainian intellectual and cultural elites were either executed or deported, and leading Ukrainian party leaders were replaced by non-Ukrainians. The peasantry was forcibly collectivized, leading to a mass famine in 1932-33 in which several million peasants starved to death. Pointing to the fact that grain was forcibly requisitioned from the peasantry despite the protests of the Soviet government in the Ukrainian Republic, some historians believe that Stalin knowingly brought about the famine to stop national ferment in the Ukrainian Republic and break the peasants' resistance to collectivization. When western Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union following the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of 1939, the population suffered terror and mass deportations.

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, Ukrainians anticipated establishing an independent Ukraine. As the Red Army retreated eastward, Ukrainian nationalists proclaimed an independent state, but the invading Germans arrested and interned its leaders. Ukrainian nationalist forces consequently began a resistance movement against both the occupying Germans and the Soviet partisans operating in the Ukrainian Republic. When the Red Army drove the Germans out of the Ukrainian Republic,

*Russian children on the train to
Krasnoyarsk, in Siberia,
Russian Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



*Armenian family celebrating
the New Year at a fair in the
central square, Yerevan,
Armenian Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



Ukrainian partisans turned their struggle (which continued until 1950) against the Soviet armed forces (the name Red Army was dropped just after the war) and Polish communist forces in western Ukraine. The Soviet regime deported Ukrainian intelligentsia to Siberia and imported Russians into the Ukrainian Republic as part of their pacification and Russification (see Glossary) efforts.

The vast majority of Ukrainians, the second largest nationality in the Soviet Union with about 44 million people in 1989, lived in the Ukrainian Republic. Substantial numbers of Ukrainians also lived in the Russian, Kazakh, and Moldavian republics. Many non-Ukrainians lived in the Ukrainian Republic, where the Russians, with over 11 million, constituted the largest group.

Ukrainians have a distinctive language, culture, and history. In 1989, despite strong Russifying influence, about 81.1 percent of Ukrainians residing in their own republic claimed Ukrainian as their first language.

By the 1980s, the majority of Ukrainians, once predominantly agrarian, lived in cities. The major Ukrainian cities in 1989 were Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Republic, with a population of 2.6 million, and Khar'kov, Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa, and Donetsk, all with over 1 million people.

Although Ukrainians constituted about 15 percent of the Soviet Union's population in 1989, their educational and employment opportunities appeared unequal to their share of the population. In the 1970s, they ranked only eleventh out of seventeen major nationalities (the nationalities corresponding to the fifteen union republics plus Jews and Tatars) in the number of students in secondary and higher education and ninth in the number of scientific workers in proportion to their share of the total population. Since the death of Stalin in 1953, the number of Ukrainians in the CPSU has steadily increased. Nevertheless, Ukrainians remained underrepresented in the party relative to their share of the population. This was particularly true in the Ukrainian Republic, where in the 1970s the Ukrainian proportion of party membership was substantially below their proportion of the population. The percentage of Russians in the CPSU in the Ukrainian Republic, however, was considerably higher than their share of the republic's population. Although in the past Ukrainians had held a disproportionately high percentage of seats on the CPSU Central Committee, since 1961 their share of membership in this body has steadily declined to 13 percent of the seats in 1986.

Belorussians

The ancestors of present-day Belorussians were among those East Slavic tribes that settled the northwestern part of Kievan Rus'

territory, mixing with and assimilating the indigenous Baltic tribes. After the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century and the collapse of Kievan Rus', Belorussian lands, together with the greater part of Ukraine, became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. When in 1569 the Grand Duchy of Lithuania joined in dynastic union with Poland to form the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Belorussians shared with Poles and Lithuanians a common king and parliament. For the next two centuries, Polish influence in Belorussia was dominant. Belorussian nobles, seeking the same privileges as their Polish counterparts, became Polonized and converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. Only the peasants retained their Belorussian national culture and Orthodox religion.

With the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, Belorussian lands passed to the Russian Empire. The tsarist government viewed Belorussians as simply backward, somewhat Polonized, Russians. It persecuted those Belorussians who had become Uniates in 1596 and forced them to reconvert to Orthodoxy (see Catholic, this ch.). Nevertheless, in the second half of the nineteenth century Belorussians experienced a national and political revival and developed a renewed awareness of their separateness from both the Poles and the Russians. The fledgling Belorussian political movement at the turn of the century reached its zenith during the February Revolution in 1917 and culminated in the establishment of the Belorussian Democratic Republic in March 1918. The newly created republic had its independence guaranteed by the German military. But when Germany collapsed, the new republic was unable to resist Belorussian Bolsheviks, who were supported by the Bolshevik government in Russia. On January 1, 1919, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was established and was subsequently incorporated into the Soviet Union. The western portion of Belorussia was ceded to Poland. At the end of World War II, that territory was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Numerically the smallest of the three East Slavic nationalities, Belorussians in 1989 numbered about 10 million people and constituted about 3.5 percent of the Soviet Union's total population, making them the fourth largest nationality in the country. Although most of them lived in the Belorussian Republic, over 1.2 million Belorussians lived in the Russian Republic, with sizable Belorussian minorities in the Ukrainian, Kazakh, and Latvian republics. Belorussians, like Russians and Ukrainians, speak an East Slavic language. Prior to 1917, both Latin and Cyrillic (see Glossary) alphabets were used, but subsequently Cyrillic became the official alphabet. In 1989 about 71 percent of Belorussians in the Soviet

Union considered the Belorussian language their first language, while the remainder considered Russian their native tongue.

In the late 1980s, the Belorussian Republic was the third most urbanized in the Soviet Union, with 64 percent of the republic's population residing in urban areas in 1987—a jump of 33 percent from 1959. Of the Belorussian population in the Soviet Union, about half lived in urban areas. This apparent anomaly was caused chiefly by the large number of Russians residing in the republic's cities. The capital and largest city in the Belorussian Republic, Minsk, had a population of almost 1.6 million people in 1989. Other major cities were Gomel', Mogilev, Vitebsk, Grodno, and Brest, all of which had populations of fewer than 500,000.

Although Belorussians were the fourth most prevalent nationality in the Soviet Union, they ranked only fifteenth in the number of students in higher education institutions and tenth in the number of scientific workers in the Soviet Union. They have fared much better in terms of sharing political power, however. Between 1970 and 1989, Belorussian membership in the CPSU has been fairly representative of their share of the population. In the CPSU Central Committee, Belorussians have actually held a somewhat higher percentage of full-member seats than warranted by their share of population. Paradoxically, they have not fared so well in their own republic. Although Belorussians made up 78.7 percent of the population of the republic in 1989, they had only 70 percent of the party membership in the Belorussian Republic. Russians, however, with only 12 percent of the population of the republic, constituted about 19 percent of the party membership.

Other Slavs

Poles made up the largest of the West Slavic nationalities in the Soviet Union. Although their numbers have been declining, in 1989 over 1 million Poles remained. Most of them lived in the western republics—the Belorussian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Latvian republics. Bulgarians, belonging to the South Slavic group, numbered nearly 379,000 in 1989. A majority of the Bulgarians lived in the Ukrainian Republic, with a large number residing also in the Moldavian Republic. In the 1980s, small numbers of Czechs and Slovaks (members of the West Slavic group) and Croatians and Serbs (members of the South Slavic group) also lived in the Soviet Union.

Baltic Nationalities

Although each is a separate and distinct nationality, the three Baltic peoples share many characteristics and experiences. Residing

in the northwestern corner of the Soviet Union, the Baltic peoples have been the most Western oriented of all the Soviet nationalities. They have had a strong and highly developed national consciousness, primarily because of the historic German and Polish influences and the religious heritage of western Europe. They were the only non-Russian nationalities to have experienced significant periods of political independence after World War I. It should be noted that the United States government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Although in 1989 the approximately 5.6 million members of the three Baltic nationalities made up only a small fraction of the Soviet population, they have achieved a higher level of economic and industrial development and social modernization than any other peoples in the Soviet Union.

Lithuanians

The ancestors of modern Lithuanians first settled in the present-day Belorussian Republic around 2000 B.C. Beginning in the fourth century A.D., Lithuanian tribes were steadily pushed northwest by Slavic tribes until they occupied the territory of the present-day Lithuanian Republic. United into a loose monarchy by King Mindaugas at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Lithuanians began to expand south and east. By the mid-fourteenth century, Lithuania had become one of the largest kingdoms in medieval Europe. With Vilnius as its capital, Lithuania encompassed much of what had been Kievan Rus', including the present-day Belorussian and Ukrainian republics.

The marriage of the Lithuanian king to the Polish queen in 1385 began a period of dynastic union that culminated in the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569. The union with Poland had a profound influence on Lithuanians. For example, Polonized Western culture was superimposed on native Lithuanian culture, Catholicism was established as the national religion, and Lithuanian nobility was almost completely Polonized.

By the end of the eighteenth century, most of Lithuania, along with parts of Poland, was incorporated into the Russian Empire. The remaining part of Lithuania, known as Lithuania Minor, became part of Prussia. After the Lithuanian national revival of the nineteenth century emerged in Lithuania Minor, it spread to the rest of Lithuania. When the Poles rose in an anti-tsarist, anti-Russian revolt in 1830, Lithuanians joined them. They did so again in 1863. And during the Revolution of 1905 in Russia, the Assembly of Vilnius raised the question of Lithuanian autonomy. By the time of the revolutions of 1917 and the Civil War that followed,

Lithuanians strove for nothing less than national independence. To reach that goal, they had to fight not only the Red Army but also the Germans and the Poles.

The independent Lithuanian state that emerged after the struggle was a democratic republic. It lasted until 1926, when it was toppled by rightist forces, which then established a form of benevolent dictatorship. That government lasted until 1940, when Lithuania was absorbed by the Soviet Union following the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of 1939. Thousands of Lithuanians were deported eastward by the Soviet government, the country's economy was nationalized, the peasantry was collectivized, and Catholic believers and Lithuanian intellectuals were persecuted. Not surprisingly, Lithuanians, like other nationalities in the western regions of the Soviet Union, greeted the attacking German army in 1941 as liberators. When the Germans refused to recognize their independence, however, Lithuanian nationalists engaged in underground resistance and partisan activity against them. After the Red Army's recapture of Lithuania in 1944, nationalists turned against the Russians. Guerrilla warfare against Soviet occupation did not end until the late 1940s.

In 1989 an overwhelming majority of the approximately 3 million Lithuanians resided in the Lithuanian Republic, the largest of the three Baltic republics. Small communities of Lithuanians were also in other republics. Although Lithuanians have resisted emigration, they have not been able to prevent immigration of Russians and other nationalities into the Lithuanian Republic. Lithuanians constituted about 80 percent of the residents of the republic in 1989, while Russians and Poles made up most of the remainder.

Lithuanians speak an Indo-European language that is distinct from both the Germanic and the Slavic languages. In 1989 the vast majority of Lithuanians considered Lithuanian their first language.

In 1987 about half of all Lithuanians were urban residents. But because a large number of Russians in the Lithuanian Republic lived in the cities, about 67 percent of the population of the republic was urban. The largest city in Lithuania was Vilnius, the capital of the republic, with a population of about 582,000 in 1989. Four other cities had populations of over 100,000. Relative to their share of the Soviet population, Lithuanians ranked high in terms of education and technological advancement. Although Lithuanians were the twelfth most populous nationality in the Soviet Union, they ranked seventh in the 1970s in both the number of students in higher education institutions and the number of scientific workers. Lithuanian membership in the CPSU was not in equal ratio to Lithuanians' share of the population. Also, Lithuanian



*Panoramic view of Riga, Latvian Republic
Courtesy Jonathan Tetzlaff*

representation on the CPSU Central Committee has been less than their share of the population. Native Lithuanians, however, have in the past held the most important positions in the party in the Lithuanian Republic.

Latvians

Like the Lithuanians, Latvians are descended from the tribes that migrated into the Baltic area during the second millennium B.C. Subsequently, they mixed with the indigenous Finno-Ugric tribes and formed a loose defensive union of Latvian tribes. Until the end of the thirteenth century, these tribes were preoccupied with the constant threat of invasion and subjugation, first by the Vikings and the Slavs and later by the Germans. Early in the thirteenth century, the Germanic Order of the Brethren of the Sword forcibly began to convert the pagan Latvians to Christianity. They were finally subdued by the Livonian Order of the Teutonic Knights, which then established the Livonian Confederation, a state controlled by landowning German barons and Catholic clergy but with no strong central authority. The Latvian people were reduced to enserfed peasants. By the end of the sixteenth century, the power of the Teutonic Knights had weakened considerably, and Latvia was partitioned between Sweden and Poland, with only the Duchy

of Courland remaining autonomous under the Polish crown. Russia, desiring to reach the Baltic Sea, also wanted Latvian territory. These desires were realized in the reign of Peter the Great, when Sweden was forced to cede its Latvian territory to Russia. With the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century, the remainder of Latvia fell under Russian control. In the nineteenth century, Latvians experienced the same period of national reawakening as the other nations in European Russia.

When the Russian Empire collapsed in 1917, Latvians sought national autonomy. Overrun by the German army, and formally ceded to Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918, Latvian nationalists overcame both German and Soviet Russian forces before they established an independent Latvian Republic later in 1918. Latvian independence lasted until 1940, when the Latvians, like the Lithuanians and Estonians, were forced first to allow Soviet troops to be stationed on their soil and then to accept a communist government. Shortly thereafter, Latvia was incorporated into the Soviet Union. Thousands of Latvians were killed or deported by the Soviet regime in 1940 and 1941 and again after the Red Army drove the Germans out of Latvia at the end of World War II. The Latvian peasantry was forcibly collectivized. Like the Lithuanians, Latvians carried on a guerrilla war against the Soviet occupation forces until 1948.

The vast majority of the almost 1.5 million Latvians in the Soviet Union in 1989 lived in the Latvian Republic, but they constituted a bare majority (52 percent) in their own republic. Russians made up almost 34 percent of the republic's population, with about twice as many Russians residing in the Latvian Republic as in the Estonian Republic or the Lithuanian Republic. The rest of the population consisted of considerable numbers of Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Poles.

The Latvian language is a distinct language, although it belongs to the same group of Indo-European languages as Lithuanian. The first books in Latvian appeared in the early seventeenth century, but literary Latvian was not fully established as a national language until the nineteenth century. In 1989 about 95 percent of all Latvians in the Soviet Union and 97.4 percent of those living in the Latvian Republic claimed Latvian as their first language.

The Latvian Republic was one of the most urbanized republics in the Soviet Union. In 1989 about 70 percent of its population resided in urban areas, which made it the third most urban republic. The most populous city was the capital, Riga, with about 915,000 people; two other cities had over 100,000 people each. Latvian cities have become very Russified, however, by the continuous influx

of Russians. The Latvian Republic also has a highly educated population. In 1986 the republic ranked fourth in the proportion of people with higher or secondary education. The more urbanized Russians in the republic, however, reaped most of the benefits of higher education. In the early 1970s, Latvians ranked only twelfth in the number of students in higher and secondary education and sixth in the number of scientific workers compared with their share of the Soviet population.

In 1984 the percentage of Latvians in the CPSU in the Latvian Republic was well below the percentage of Latvians in the republic. In the past, non-Latvians or Russified Latvians, some of whom could no longer speak Latvian, have held the top posts in the party leadership of the republic.

Estonians

Although they have a shared history with the Lithuanians and Latvians, Estonians are ethnically related to the Finns. The Finno-Ugric tribes from which Estonians are descended migrated into the present-day Estonian Republic thousands of years ago. They maintained a separate existence and fought off invaders until the thirteenth century, when they were subdued by Germans and Danes. With the Danish presence in Estonia more nominal than real, German control of Estonia lasted into the sixteenth century. Estonian nobility was Germanized, and the peasantry was enserfed. Attempts by German clergy to Christianize the Estonian peasantry were firmly rebuffed, and it was not until the eighteenth century that most of the Estonian population was finally converted to Lutheranism.

During the sixteenth century, Russians, Swedes, and Poles fought for control of Estonia. Victorious Sweden held Estonia until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was forced to cede Estonia to Russia. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Estonia, granted autonomy under its own nobility, abolished serfdom and enjoyed a period of national reawakening that lasted for most of the century. In 1880, when the Russian government introduced a Russification policy for Estonia, the national consciousness had progressed too far to accept it. In 1918 Estonian nationalists, after fighting both the Germans and the Russians, declared the independence of Estonia. With the exception of a four-year period of dictatorship, Estonia flourished as a democracy until 1940, when the Soviet Union absorbed it along with the other two Baltic states. The Estonians suffered the same fate as the Lithuanians and Latvians. The Estonian peasantry was collectivized, and the Estonian national elite was imprisoned, executed, or exiled.

Altogether about 10 percent of the Estonian population was deported eastward. The remaining population was subjected to a policy of Russification, made easier by the large influx of Russians into the republic.

In 1989 Estonians were numerically the smallest nationality to have their own republic. According to the 1989 census, just over 1 million Estonians lived in the Soviet Union, fewer than nationalities without their own republics, such as the Tatars, Germans, Jews, Chuvash, Bashkirs, and Poles. Almost 94 percent of the Estonians lived in the Estonian Republic, the smallest and northernmost of the three Baltic republics. In 1989 it had a population of almost 1.6 million, of which Estonians made up just over 61 percent. The largest national minority in the Estonian Republic was the Russians, constituting over 30 percent of the population. A small Estonian population resided in the Russian Republic.

Estonians, like Finns, speak a language that belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages. Like the other two Baltic nationalities, Estonians use the Latin alphabet. Of the three Baltic nationalities, Estonians have been the most tenacious in preserving their own language. In the 1989 census, 95.5 percent of the Estonians in the Soviet Union and 98.9 percent of those residing in the Estonian Republic considered Estonian their first language.

Estonians, the majority of whom live in cities and towns, ranked as one of the most urbanized peoples in the Soviet Union. In 1989 the Estonian Republic was the second most urbanized republic, with over 70 percent of its population residing in urban areas. However, only two cities in the Estonian Republic had a population of over 50,000: Tallin (482,000), the capital of the republic, and Tartu (115,000).

The Estonian Republic ranked sixth among the republics in the number of citizens with secondary and higher education per thousand people. Within the Estonian Republic, the percentage of Estonians among the educated elite was very high, particularly in cultural and educational fields. Estonians also ranked high in the number of scientific workers. Whereas Estonians have dominated the cultural fields in the republic, Russians have held political power out of proportion to their share of the republic's population. Only 52 percent of the party members in the Estonian Republic were Estonians. In the past, Russians have not held the top posts in the Estonian Republic's party leadership, but many of the top Estonian leaders in the party were highly Russified.

Nationalities of the Caucasus

A small mountainous region in the southwestern portion of the Soviet Union known as the Caucasus has been the home to three

major nationalities—the Armenians, Georgians, and Azerbaydzhanis—and to twenty-four minor nationalities. The three major nationalities had their own union republics along the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, sometimes known as the Transcaucasus. The other nationalities resided in their own autonomous republics or autonomous oblasts, mostly along the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, or lived scattered within the boundaries of the three Caucasian republics or the Russian Republic. Over 15.7 million people, or 5.5 percent of the total population of the Soviet Union in 1989, lived in the Caucasus, a region not much larger than the territory of the three Baltic republics. Although they have shared historical experiences, the three major nationalities of the Caucasus have far greater differences than the three Baltic nationalities or the three East Slavic nationalities. The differences are particularly sharp between the Azerbaydzhanis and the Armenians and Georgians. The Turkic-speaking Azerbaydzhanis are Muslims. Culturally and historically linked to both Iran and Turkey, they have not experienced independent statehood except for a brief period after the fall of the tsarist government in 1917. Both Armenians and Georgians have been Christian since the fourth century, and their history of independent statehood dates back to classical antiquity.

Armenians

The first Armenians inhabited the territory of the present-day Armenian Republic as early as the seventh century B.C. The first Armenian state, however, came into existence in the second century B.C. At least part of Armenia was able to retain a degree of independence until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was divided between the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Savafid Empire. The fate of the Armenians was particularly harsh in the Ottoman Empire. Persecution of Armenians by the Ottoman Turks reached its peak in 1915, when the government forcibly deported Armenians to Syria and Mesopotamia. Estimates of Armenians who were killed or otherwise perished at that time range as high as 1.5 million people. Only a small number of Armenians—about 120,000—remained in Turkey in the 1970s.

The Armenian Republic encompasses the territory of Persian Armenia, which was conquered by Russia in 1828. Here, as elsewhere in the Russian Empire, cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century was an important factor in the development of Armenian national consciousness. With the coming of the Bolshevik Revolution, Armenian nationalists joined the Georgians and the Azerbaydzhanis to form the short-lived Transcaucasian Federated

Republic. By May 1918, the union of the three peoples broke up into three independent republics. Armenian independence lasted only until November 1920, when, with the help of the Red Army, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed. In March 1922, the republic joined again with Georgia and Azerbaydzhan to form the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, which—together with the Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian republics—joined to form the Soviet Union in December of that year. In December 1936, the Soviet government broke the federation into three separate union republics.

In the 1920s, the Soviet regime gave Armenians the same opportunity as it gave other nationalities to revitalize their culture and language. The onset of Stalin's rule at the end of the 1920s, however, brought dramatic changes. Together with forced collectivization of agriculture and rapid industrial development, the Soviet regime tightened political controls over the Armenian people and applied to them, as to others, its policy of Russification.

Two-thirds of the more than 4.6 million Armenians living in the Soviet Union resided in the Armenian Republic, the smallest and least populous of the three Caucasian republics. The Armenian Republic was the most ethnically homogeneous of all the Soviet republics. Over 93 percent of the population of the Armenian Republic in 1989 were Armenians. Only the Azerbaydzhanis formed a substantial national minority in Armenia. No other republic, however, had such a large percentage of its nationals living outside its borders. Large numbers of Armenians lived in the Azerbaydzhan, Georgian, and Russian republics.

Armenians speak a unique Indo-European language, which uses an equally unique alphabet. The vast majority of the Armenians living in the Soviet Union and over 99 percent of the Armenians in the Armenian Republic regarded Armenian as their first language.

The citizens of the Armenian Republic rank among the most highly educated people in the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, the republic ranked second among the republics in the number of individuals with higher and secondary education per thousand people. Armenians also ranked second among Soviet nationalities in the number of scientific workers per thousand people.

Armenians were the third most urbanized nationality in 1970s. Some 68 percent of the Armenian Republic's population resided in towns and cities. The major city in the Armenian Republic was Yerevan, the capital, with nearly 1.2 million people in 1989. Two other cities, Leninakan and Kirovakan, had populations of more than 100,000.

Armenian representation in the CPSU has been quite high relative to their share of the Soviet population. Armenians also dominated in the party apparatus of the Armenian Republic.

Georgians

Georgians possess perhaps the oldest culture among the major nationalities of the Soviet Union. The ancestral Georgian tribes appeared in the Caucasus probably during the second millennium B.C. These tribes began to unite into larger political entities in the first millennium B.C., and by the sixth century B.C. the first Georgian kingdom was established. From the first century A.D. until the early twelfth century, Georgians endured a succession of conquests by the Romans, Iranians, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks. After each conquest, Georgians were able to regain their independence, reaching a golden age during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when Georgian power extended to include other parts of the Caucasus. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, Georgia was invaded first by Chinggis Khan's and then by Tamerlane's hordes. The destruction wrought by these invasions and internal feuding between the Georgian rulers and their vassals led to the disintegration of Georgia at the end of the fifteenth century. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Georgians faced two new powerful foes, Turkey and Iran. Unable to resist the threat of either, the Georgians sought the aid of their Russian neighbors and in 1783 signed a treaty of friendship with imperial Russia, which guaranteed Georgia's independence and territorial integrity. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, Russia began the process of annexation of Georgian lands, which was completed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth-century nationalist reawakening that swept the Russian Empire and aroused its nationalities had a much stronger socialist content in Georgia than in any other non-Russian part of the empire. From the beginning, it was closely identified with Marxism (see Glossary), particularly the Menshevik (see Glossary) branch of Russian Marxism. In 1918 Georgian Mensheviks, who were in control of the revolutionary ferment in Georgia, declared Georgian independence. In 1921 the Red Army invaded Georgia in support of a Bolshevik coup there and established it as a Soviet republic; in December 1922 the Georgian Republic entered the union of Soviet republics as part of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic was established as a union republic of the Soviet Union in 1936.

According to the 1989 census, Georgians numbered almost 4 million, and 95 percent of them lived in the Georgian Republic.

Only the Baltic nationalities were as concentrated in their own republics. Within its borders were also two autonomous republics, the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic and the Adzhar Autonomous Republic, and one autonomous oblast, the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

In 1989 over 5.4 million people lived in this densely populated republic, of whom about 69 percent were Georgians. Armenians, Russians, and Azerbaydzhanis were the largest national minorities in the republic. Since 1970 the number of Russians in the republic has steadily decreased.

Georgians speak an Ibero-Caucasian language that belongs to the Caucasian group of languages. Like the Armenian language, the Georgian language has a distinct alphabet. The overwhelming majority of Georgians living in the Soviet Union and 99.7 percent of Georgians in their own republic considered Georgian their native tongue in 1989.

Georgians constitute one of the most highly educated nationalities in the Soviet Union. In 1971 Jews were the only nationality having a greater percentage of students in higher education institutions, and Georgians had the third highest number of scientific workers relative to their share of the population. Yet the Georgian Republic was one of the least urbanized. In 1987 only 55 percent of Georgian residents lived in towns and cities, and as of 1970 only 44 percent of all Georgians in the Soviet Union lived in urban areas. Among the major cities in the Georgian Republic were Tbilisi, the capital with 1.3 million people, and Kutaisi with 230,000; three other cities had populations over 100,000.

Traditionally, Georgians have been very active participants in the CPSU. In 1983 Georgians ranked first, ahead of the Russians, in the size of party membership relative to their share of the total population. The most famous Georgian CPSU member was Joseph V. Stalin, whose surname was Dzhugashvili. Other prominent Georgians were the Bolshevik leader Sergo Ordzhonikidze and the longtime chief of the secret police, Lavrenty Beria. Eduard A. Shevardnadze, a full member of the Politburo and minister of foreign affairs in the 1980s, was also a Georgian.

Azerbaydzhanis

The early inhabitants of the present-day Azerbaydzhan Republic were a mix of different people, as the country had endured many invasions since the sixth century B.C. Until the ninth century A.D., however, the Iranians were dominant. The large migration of Turkic tribes into the area between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and their subsequent mixing with the indigenous population,



*Residents of Tbilisi reading declarations at a "democracy wall" near the center of the Georgian capital
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

led to the formation of the Azerbaydzhan people. With time, the Turkic element became culturally dominant except in religion. Unlike most Turkic Muslims, who were Sunni, most Azerbaydzhanis became Shia Muslims akin to the Muslims of Iran. From the eleventh to the early nineteenth century, Azerbaydzhan was almost continuously under Iranian control. In 1724 Peter the Great annexed the Baku and Derbent regions of Azerbaydzhan, but Iran regained them a dozen years later. Russian presence became permanent in the first half of the nineteenth century, when Azerbaydzhan was divided between Iran and Russia.

At first, Russian control of Azerbaydzhan had little effect on the life of the people. In fact, the rise of Azerbaydzhan national consciousness in the late nineteenth century was influenced more by the changes within Turkey and Iran than by the political and social events in imperial Russia. Rapid development of the oil industry, the growth of such industrial centers as Baku, and the influx of Slavs into Azerbaydzhan at the turn of the century, however, drew Azerbaydzhanis closer to Russia. A secularized elite, modeled on the Young Turks, came into being. It soon split between a relatively urban Marxist faction and an Islamic faction closely tied to the rural areas of Azerbaydzhan. In 1918 the more rightist, Islamic

faction formed an independent republic with the help of the Turkish army. The short-lived independence of the Azerbaydzhanis came to an end in 1920 when the Red Army invaded and established a communist regime, which helped turn Azerbaydzhani into a Soviet republic.

Although Soviet rule was accompanied by repressive measures, tight political control, and collectivization, the Azerbaydzhani Republic grew industrially and economically. Another result of Soviet rule was the dramatic rise in literacy. In 1927 only 31.9 percent of the deputies in the Baku soviet were literate. By 1959 some 97 percent of the entire population of the Azerbaydzhani Republic was literate, according to Soviet statistics.

The most populous of the three major nationalities in the Caucasus region, the Azerbaydzhanis have important characteristics that distinguish them from the other two nationalities. Being Muslim and of Turkic origin, they differ ethnically and culturally from the Armenians and Georgians. Also, they are separated by a long international border from fellow Azerbaydzhanis in Iran with whom they share their origins, culture, language, and religion. Occupying the southernmost part of the European Soviet Union, the Azerbaydzhani Republic includes the Nakhichevan' Autonomous Republic, which is separated from the rest of the Azerbaydzhani Republic by the Armenian Republic, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which is populated mostly by Armenians.

Like other Muslim groups in the Soviet Union, the Azerbaydzhanis have demonstrated a remarkable population growth since the 1950s. In 1989 the Azerbaydzhanis numbered almost 6.8 million. Some 5.8 million of them lived in the Azerbaydzhani Republic, where they made up 83 percent of the population. The largest national minorities within the borders of the Azerbaydzhani Republic were Russians and Armenians, who together made up about 11 percent of the population. About 37 percent of the Armenians in Azerbaydzhani resided in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, where they constituted 77 percent of the population. The number of Russians living in the Azerbaydzhani Republic in 1989 was slightly larger than the number of Armenians.

Azerbaydzhanis speak a Turkic language that belongs to the southern branch of Altaic languages. Originally the language developed from a mixture of languages spoken by the Iranian and Turkic tribes living there. It became a literary language late in the nineteenth century when the Azerbaydzhani intelligentsia popularized literature written in their native language. In 1922 Soviet officials replaced the original Arabic alphabet, first with the Latin alphabet and then in 1937 with the Cyrillic alphabet. According

to the 1989 census, about 97.6 percent of the Azerbaydzhanis in the Soviet Union regarded the Azerbaydzhan language as their native tongue.

In 1987 the Azerbaydzhan Republic was among the least urbanized republics, with only 54 percent of its population living in urban areas. Large cities included the capital, Baku, with a population of over 1.1 million, Kirovabad with 270,000, and Sumgait with 234,000.

The level of Azerbaydzhan education was high. Azerbaydzhanis ranked fifth among the nationalities in the number of students in institutions of higher education per thousand people, but they ranked eighth in their share of scientific workers. In 1979 Azerbaydzhanis were seventh in CPSU membership.

Other Nationalities of the Caucasus

In addition to the three major nationalities in the Caucasus region, about two dozen other nationalities and numerous subgroups resided there. Most of these nationalities lived in the Dagestan Autonomous Republic located northeast of the Caucasus Mountains in the Russian Republic. In 1989 the more than 2 million people of the Dagestan Autonomous Republic were among the most diverse populations, ethnically and linguistically, in the world. The nationalities ranged in size from almost half a million Avars to barely 12,000 Aguls and even smaller groups. The great majority of the Dagestan people were Sunni Muslims; but small numbers of Shia Muslims, Christians, and Jews were also present.

Central Asian Nationalities

Soviet Central Asia, a vast area of over 3.9 million square kilometers, is made up of the Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmen, Uzbek, and Tadzhik republics. In 1989 some 49 million people, or over 17 percent of the population of the Soviet Union, lived there. About 37 million people, or over 75 percent of the population of Soviet Central Asia, belonged to nationalities that were traditionally Islamic. In the 1980s, they, like Muslims in other parts of the Soviet Union, have been very resistant to the process of Russification. In 1989 some 98 percent of Soviet Central Asian Muslims spoke primarily their own languages, and their fluency in Russian was low in comparison with other Soviet nationalities.

The five nationalities of Soviet Central Asia shared a number of common characteristics. They had similar ethnic origins, experienced similar historical development, and, most important, were all part of an Islamic society. But regional and cultural differences were also present, especially between the Tadzhiks, who speak an

Iranian language, and the rest, who speak Turkic languages with various degrees of commonality. The life-styles of the five peoples also differed, from the Tadjiks, who have an ancient urban tradition, to the Kazakhs, some of whom were still nomadic as late as the 1920s.

Uzbeks

The history of the Uzbeks and their homeland is closely tied to that of Turkestan, an ancient territory stretching from the Caspian Sea in the west and extending into China and Afghanistan in the east, encompassing most of the areas of the present-day Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadjik, and Kirgiz republics and the southern portion of the Kazakh Republic. In the centuries before the birth of Christ, Turkestan was populated by people of Persian stock, and they endured successive waves of invaders. In the sixth century B.C., Turkestan for the most part belonged to the Persian Achaemenid Empire. Alexander the Great invaded Turkestan in the fourth century B.C., and the Huns overran the area in the fifth century A.D. Arabs conquered Turkestan in the seventh century A.D. and introduced the Islamic religion and culture. Another series of invasions by predominantly Turkic peoples began at the end of the tenth century and continued into the thirteenth century when the great Mongol invasion swept the area. The Mongol invaders were soon assimilated by the Turkic population and adopted their language, culture, and religion.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Turkestan was conquered by yet another wave of Turkic nomads, the Uzbeks. The Uzbeks, whose name derives from Uzbek Khan, the ruler of the Golden Horde (see Glossary) at the beginning of the fourteenth century, were a mixture of Turkic tribes within the Mongol Empire. The center of the Uzbek state became the city of Bukhara. Subsequently, the independent Uzbek khanates of Khiva and Kokand evolved. The khanates of Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand inherited aspects of the Iranian, Turkic, and Arabic civilizations. Their populations were mostly Uzbek, but within their borders also lived considerable numbers of Tadjiks, Turkmens, and Kirgiz. By the eighteenth century, the khans of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand had extended their control over the innumerable independent tribal kingdoms and ruled central Turkestan. But the process of consolidation was not complete, and many peripheral areas in Turkestan remained almost totally independent of or in rebellion against one or another of the three khanates. In the vast steppes and deserts in the north, the Kazakhs grazed their herds as they always had; the nomadic Turkmens roamed the wide stretches of



*Kalyan Minaret (completed in 1127) and Kalyan Mosque (completed in 1514) in the old section of Bukhara, Uzbek Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

pastureland to the west; the rebellious Kirgiz made their home in the mountainous valleys in the east; and the Iranian-speaking Tadjiks maintained their traditional life-style in the southeast, in the highlands north of the Hindu Kush.

Although Peter the Great attempted the first Russian invasion of Turkestan in the beginning of the eighteenth century, systematic Russian penetration of Turkestan was undertaken only in the mid-nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva, greatly reduced in size, had become vassal states of the Russian Empire. The rest of the territory and the entire territory of Kokand was incorporated into Russian Turkestan, created in 1867, which was divided into five provinces and presided over by a Russian governor general. Turkestan, together with the four provinces of Kazakhstan (see Glossary), constituted what came to be known as Russian Central Asia (subsequently Soviet Central Asia). In spite of tsarist toleration of the Muslim religion and customs, Russian conquest of Turkestan had an immediate impact on aspects of the indigenous culture and society. Early in the twentieth century, economic development came to Turkestan, new towns sprang up, cotton grew where once nomads grazed their herds, and railroads linked Turkestan with

markets in Russia. The nomadic Kirgiz, Kazakhs, and Turkmens were especially resentful of the evolving changes. In 1916, when the Russian government ended its exemption of Muslims from military service, much of Russian Central Asia rose in a general revolt against Russian rule.

In November 1917, the Bolsheviks established Soviet power in the city of Tashkent. In April 1918, they proclaimed the Turkestan Autonomous Republic. The great mass of the Muslim population, however, took no part in these events. Only after the Bolsheviks attacked the Muslim religion, intervened directly in native society and culture, and engaged in armed seizure of food did the indigenous population offer fierce resistance in a national and holy war against the Soviet regime, known as the Basmachi Rebellion (see Glossary).

The autonomous soviet republics of Khorzem (formerly Khiva) and Bukhara were established in 1920 and incorporated into the Soviet Union. In 1924 and 1925, the entire Soviet Central Asian territory was reorganized by an act known as the national delimitation process in Central Asia. The Turkestan Autonomous Republic was abolished and divided along ethnic and linguistic lines into the Uzbek and Turkmen union republics, the Tadzhik Autonomous Republic within the Uzbek Republic, and the Kirgiz Autonomous Republic and the Karakalpak Autonomous Oblast within the Russian Republic. At the same time, the Kazakh Autonomous Republic within the Russian Republic was also established. The Tadzhik Autonomous Republic became a union republic in 1929, and the Kirgiz Autonomous Republic became a union republic in 1936. The Karakalpak Autonomous Oblast became an autonomous republic in 1932 and was transferred to the Uzbek Republic in 1936. The same year, the Kazakh Autonomous Republic was transformed into a union republic.

In the 1980s, the Uzbeks were the most populous nationality in Soviet Central Asia. Of the nearly 16.7 million Uzbeks in the Soviet Union in 1989, most of them lived in the Uzbek Republic, which lies in the middle of Soviet Central Asia. Most of the remaining Uzbeks lived in the other four Central Asian republics. In the 1989 census, the population of the Uzbek Republic was slightly over 19.9 million, with Uzbeks making up almost 71 percent. The largest minority in the Uzbek Republic in 1989 was the Russians with over 1.6 million, or 8.3 percent of the total population, followed by the Tadzhiks (932,000), Kazakhs (808,000), and Tatars (468,000). In addition, there were 411,000 Karakalpaks, most of whom lived in the Karakalpak Autonomous Republic in the Uzbek Republic. The Karakalpaks constituted only 31 percent of their autonomous

republic's total population and were the second largest nationality, after the Uzbeks.

Uzbek, the language of the Uzbeks, belongs to the Turkic family of languages and has both a variety of dialects and a mixed vocabulary of Arabic, Persian, and Russian loanwords. The original Arabic alphabet was replaced in the 1920s by the Soviet government with an alphabet based on Latin script and subsequently with an alphabet based on Cyrillic script. In 1989 about 98.3 percent of the Uzbeks regarded Uzbek as their first language.

Uzbeks were among the least urbanized people in the Soviet Union. In 1979 only about 25 percent of all Uzbeks lived in cities. Nevertheless, Tashkent, the capital of the Uzbek Republic, had a population of nearly 2.1 million people in 1989, and five other cities had populations over 200,000. The populations of these cities had a disproportionately high number of Russians and other non-Uzbeks, however.

Uzbeks were the third largest nationality in the Soviet Union but in 1971 ranked tenth in the number of students in institutions of higher education and fifteenth in the number of scientific workers per thousand. Uzbeks were also very underrepresented in the CPSU. In the early 1980s, Uzbeks ranked twelfth among Soviet nationalities in party membership. Although they made up about 4.8 percent of the total population of the Soviet Union in 1979, they held only 1.5 percent of the seats on the CPSU Central Committee. Uzbek membership in the Uzbek Republic's party organization was also below their share of the republic's population. Russians, in contrast, made up only about 8.3 percent of the population of the republic but held 21 percent of party membership. Russians also had a majority in the Central Committee of the CPSU in the Uzbek Republic and tended to occupy top party positions.

Kazakhs

The origins of the Kazakh people and their name itself are matters of historical debate. First emerging as an identifiable group in the fifteenth century, they were a mix of indigenous Turkic tribes, which had been in the area since the eighth century, and nomadic Mongols, who invaded the area in the thirteenth century. Originally they differed little from their Turkic neighbors—the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, and the Karakalpaks—but political divisions and different economic development caused them to enter the nineteenth century as distinctly different from the other three peoples.

Russians had limited and intermittent contacts with the Kazakhs between the mid-sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Russia began to exert control over them.

Harassed by their neighbors, particularly the Kalmyks, in 1731 the nomadic Kazakhs placed themselves under the protection of the much more powerful Russian state. Afterward, Russian penetration into Kazakhstan was unremitting and included building a network of forts and settling the land with Russian peasants. Despite a series of Kazakh rebellions against them, Russian expansion continued, and by the second half of the nineteenth century Kazakhstan was firmly under Russian control. The tsarist policy of ending Kazakh nomadism and of settling the land with Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, and Jews continued. The new settlers received huge portions of the most fertile land. An almost exclusively non-Kazakh class of workers began to appear, and a budding industry, operated by the new immigrants, began to grow. These developments threatened to destroy the traditional form of existence of the Kazakh pastoral nomads.

The indigenous population's resentment against the settlers, as well as against conscription of Muslims into the military, erupted as a major rebellion in 1916 and, although quickly suppressed, set the stage for the nationalist movement in Kazakhstan following the February Revolution of 1917. Kazakh nationalists established a national government and engaged in an armed struggle against both pro- and anti-Bolshevik Russian forces. By mid-1919, however, weakened by the struggle, Kazakh nationalists sought accommodation with the Bolsheviks. In August 1920, the Kirgiz Autonomous Republic was established for the Kazakhs (until the mid-1920s Soviet officials called them Kirgiz) within the Russian Republic. In 1925 it was renamed the Kazakh Autonomous Republic and became a union republic in 1936.

The Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War that followed further disrupted the traditional life of the Kazakhs. Many Kazakhs left with their herds for China and Afghanistan. Almost a million died from starvation in the famine of 1921-22. The rest were soon faced with forced collectivization, and a continuous influx of Russians and other people gradually reduced the Kazakhs to a minority in their own land. Kazakh leaders, even Kazakh communists, who protested these policies were purged or executed, first in the late 1920s and then during the purges of the Great Terror in the 1930s.

In 1989 the 8.1 million Kazakhs constituted the fifth most populous nationality in the Soviet Union. Over 6.5 million, or 80 percent of the Kazakhs, lived in the Kazakh Republic, by far the largest of the five Soviet Central Asian republics. In fact, after the Russian Republic, it was the second largest republic and had a territory of over 2.7 million square kilometers. It was also the least homogeneous of all the union republics. No nationality constituted



*Children in the old section of
Tashkent, Uzbek Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



*Young boy collecting firewood,
Dushanbe, Tadzhik Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

a majority of the 16.5 million people in the Kazakh Republic. The Kazakhs, with nearly 40 percent of the population, were the most numerous nationality. Russians, with about 38 percent, were the second most populous nationality in the Kazakh Republic. From 1959 to 1989, however, the Kazakhs have shown a steady increase in their share of the republic's population. Simultaneously, the percentage of Russians in the total population has declined. Ukrainians and Germans, the next two largest national minorities, whose individual shares made up about 5 percent and 6 percent of the population, respectively, also declined from 1959 to 1989. More than 1.5 million Kazakhs lived in other parts of the Soviet Union, with the largest concentrations in the Uzbek and Russian republics.

The language of the Kazakhs belongs to the same family of Turkic languages as the languages of the Kirgiz, the Uzbeks, and the Turkmen. Kazakh, a unique language with Arabic and Tatar elements, became a literary language in the 1860s. Until 1926, Kazakh had an Arabic script; from 1926 until 1940, it had a Latin alphabet; and since 1940, it has had a Cyrillic alphabet. In spite of the significant numbers of Russians and other nationalities in the republic, the Kazakhs have retained very high usage of their own language. In 1989 about 98 percent of the Kazakhs living in the republic regarded Kazakh as their native tongue. Of the non-Kazakh residents of the Kazakh Republic, only 1 percent could converse fluently in the Kazakh language.

In 1987 the great majority of the Kazakhs lived in rural areas. Nevertheless, because of the large numbers of urban Russians and other nationalities, 58 percent of the Kazakh Republic's population was urban. Many large cities were scattered throughout the republic. The capital city of Alma-Ata, for example, had a population of over 1.1 million in 1989. Other large cities included Karaganda (about 650,000) and five others having populations over 300,000.

In the 1980s, the Kazakh Republic ranked ninth among the fifteen union republics in the educational level of its residents. But the educational achievements of Russians residing in the republic were considerably higher than those of the indigenous Kazakhs. In 1970 forty-two Russians for every thirty-one Kazakhs studied in institutions of higher learning; and in special secondary schools the ratio was eighty-six Russians to thirty-six Kazakhs. Kazakhs ranked sixth among all nationalities in the number of students in higher education institutions and thirteenth in the number of scientific workers per thousand.

Between 1969 and 1989, Kazakh membership in the CPSU was considerably below their share of the country's population. In the

Kazakh Republic, however, their membership in the party was somewhat higher than their share of the republic's population. Kazakhs also held a relatively high percentage of the leadership positions in the republic's party organization, with Russians or other Slavs generally acting as their deputies. Kazakh representation in the CPSU Central Committee nearly equaled their share of the population in the Soviet Union.

Kirgiz

The term *Kirgiz* was first used in the eighth century in reference to the tribes occupying the upper reaches of the Yenisey River. Historians disagree on the early history of the Kirgiz; but in the tenth century they apparently began migrating south searching for new pastures or driven by other people—particularly the Mongols in the thirteenth century—until they settled in the present-day Kirgiz Republic. By the early sixteenth century, they were the area's predominant people. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the Kirgiz people alternated between periods of tribal independence and foreign conquest. They were overrun by the Kalmyks late in the seventeenth century, the Manchus in the mid-eighteenth century, and the Kokand Khanate in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Russian conquest of the Kirgiz began in the mid-nineteenth century, and by 1876 they were absorbed into the Russian Empire. Kirgizia became a major area of Russian colonization, with Russians and other Slavs given the best land to settle, reducing considerably the grazing lands used by the Kirgiz nomads. Kirgiz resentment against Russian colonization policies and conscription for noncombatant duties in the army led to a major revolt throughout Russia's Central Asian territory, including Kirgizia. Casualties were high on both sides, and thousands of Kirgiz fled with their flocks to Afghanistan and China.

The tsarist government did not recognize the Kirgiz as a separate national entity or political unit. Kirgizia, along with other Turkic nations of Central Asia, was included in Russian Turkestan, created in 1867. At first the Bolshevik attitude toward the Kirgiz was equally unenlightened. Having defeated the nationalists, the White armies (see Glossary), and foreign interventionists in Kirgizia by 1919, the Bolsheviks included it in the newly established Turkestan Autonomous Republic. In 1924 the Kara-Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast was created (called Kara-Kirgiz to distinguish it from the Kazakh Autonomous Republic, which was named the Kirgiz Autonomous Republic). In 1925 it was renamed the Kirgiz Autonomous Oblast and

in 1926 the Kirgiz Autonomous Republic. In 1936 it became a union republic.

In the first years of their rule, Soviet authorities continued the colonization policies of the tsarist regime. The Soviet government mitigated its policy, however, after the Basmachi Rebellion, a popular Turkic nationalist movement that swept former Turkestan from 1918 to 1924 and recurred periodically until 1931. In the mid-1920s, the Soviet government permitted traditional Kirgiz culture to flourish. It also promoted the creation of native leadership and slowed the influx of Slavs into the region. In the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, these policies were replaced by Stalin's program of forced denomadization and collectivization and replacement of the Kirgiz intelligentsia and leadership with an ideologically acceptable Stalinist elite. Some Kirgiz protested by slaughtering their herds or driving them into China. Nevertheless, by 1933 about 67 percent of the nomads were collectivized. The Kirgiz intelligentsia was decimated. Many Kirgiz members of the CPSU in the republic were purged. Despite the turmoil, the Kirgiz subsequently achieved some industrialization, a higher standard of living, and substantial achievements in education.

According to the 1989 census, slightly more than 2.5 million Kirgiz lived in the Soviet Union, 88 percent of them in the Kirgiz Republic. About 175,000 Kirgiz also resided in the Uzbek Republic.

According to the 1989 census, the Kirgiz, with 52 percent of the population, for the first time in decades constituted a majority within their own republic. Russians, with almost 22 percent of the population, were second. Other large minorities included the Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Germans, and Tatars. Like other Muslim groups in the Soviet Union, the Kirgiz showed a phenomenal population growth between 1959 and 1979. While the population of the Soviet Union grew by 15.8 percent between 1959 and 1970, the Kirgiz increased by 49.8 percent. As a result, the proportion of the Kirgiz in the republic has been steadily increasing, while the Russian share of the population has been declining despite their continuous immigration into the republic.

The Kirgiz language, which belongs to the Turkic group of languages prevalent in Soviet Central Asia, has three regional dialects. A Kirgiz literary language was not fully developed until the Soviet period. It merges all three dialects and incorporates Iranian, Arabic, and Russian elements. Like other Turkic languages of Soviet Central Asia, the Kirgiz language first used an Arabic script, which later was replaced by a Latin script in 1928 and finally by a Cyrillic one in the early 1940s. According to the 1989 census, Kirgiz was spoken as a native language by about 97.8 percent of all Kirgiz

in the Soviet Union and 99.5 percent of those living in the Kirgiz Republic.

The Kirgiz were the least urbanized major nationality in the Soviet Union. During the 1970s, only 14.5 percent of the Kirgiz lived in urban areas. In the Kirgiz Republic, they constituted less than one-fifth of the republic's urban population. Russians residing in the republic were the most urbanized segment of the population, with over half of them living in towns and cities. In 1989 the Kirgiz Republic was the second least urbanized republic in the Soviet Union, with 40 percent of its population residing in urban areas. Frunze, the capital and largest city, had a population of 616,000, and Osh had over 200,000; but only one other city had a population of more than 50,000.

In the 1970s, the Kirgiz were eighth among the seventeen major nationalities in number of students attending institutions of higher education and fourteenth in the number of scientific workers per thousand. In 1987 the Kirgiz Republic ranked eleventh among the fifteen union republics in number of individuals with higher or secondary education per thousand residents.

In the 1980s, the Kirgiz ranked eleventh in CPSU membership corresponding to their share of the population. The Kirgiz Republic ranked twelfth among Soviet republics in the percentage of its citizens belonging to the CPSU, but Russians residing in the republic were clearly overrepresented.

Tadzhiks

Unlike the other nationalities of Soviet Central Asia who are ethnically Turkic, the Tadzhiks trace their origins primarily to the Persians who settled the area as early as the sixth century B.C. and were part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire. From the seventh century A.D. until the fourteenth century, the Tadzhiks were overrun, as were the other people of Central Asia with whom the Tadzhiks developed a common civilization, first by the Arabs and then by other invaders. By the fourteenth century, the Tadzhiks were distinguished from the other peoples of Central Asia primarily by their language and the fact that they were sedentary, not nomadic like their neighbors. The name *Tadzhik* is derived from a word used to distinguish the Turkic people from Iranian subjects of the Arab Empire. By the sixteenth century, however, it had come to mean a trader from Central Asia or simply a sedentary person.

Beginning in the fifteenth century, the Tadzhiks were under Uzbek rule, and by the eighteenth century most of Tadzhik territory was under the khanate of Bukhara. The Afghan conquest of

Tadzhik territory from the south began in the mid-eighteenth century, and Russian expansion into Tadzhik lands from the north followed a century later. By the end of the nineteenth century, northern Tadzhikistan was under Russian rule, southern Tadzhikistan continued under the khanate of Bukhara, and the remaining Tadzhik territory was within Afghanistan.

Russian conquest of Tadzhikistan and subsequent immigration of Russian settlers had a minimal effect on traditional Tadzhik society. The revolutionary movement in Tadzhikistan was composed of Russians, not Tadzhiks. Therefore, Soviet power was established in 1918, and, with little resistance, northern Tadzhikistan was included in the newly created Turkestan Autonomous Republic. Nevertheless, when the Red Army invaded the khanate of Bukhara in 1921, it met with fierce resistance from the growing Basmachi movement. The movement continued until 1924 when the Tadzhik Autonomous Republic was created and incorporated into the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1929 the Tadzhik Autonomous Republic was made a union republic.

In 1989 the Tadzhiks numbered about 4.2 million, three-fourths of whom lived in the Tadzhik Republic. They were divided into the Tadzhiks proper (the Tadzhiks of the plain) and the Pamiris (the Tadzhiks of the mountains). Most of the Pamiris lived in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, located in the western Pamirs in the southeastern Tadzhik Republic. The Soviet census of 1989, however, did not distinguish between the two groups. Over 900,000 Tadzhiks also lived in the Uzbek Republic. In 1989 the Tadzhiks made up only about 62 percent of the Tadzhik Republic's population. The largest national minority living in the Tadzhik Republic was the Uzbeks, followed by the Russians.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the Tadzhiks is their language, which is closely related to Persian and belongs to the Southwest Iranian group of languages. The Tadzhik alphabet, like the alphabets of Turkic languages, was Arabic until 1930, Latin in the next decade, and finally Cyrillic in 1940. Almost 98 percent of the Tadzhiks regarded Tadzhik as their native language.

The Tadzhiks were among the least urbanized of all the nationalities in the Soviet Union. In 1989 about 67 percent of the Tadzhik Republic's population lived outside urban areas, making it the least urbanized republic. It was also the only republic to show a decline in the percentage of urban population between 1970 and 1987. The Tadzhik Republic had only two large cities in 1989, the capital, Dushanbe (595,000), and Leninabad (165,000).

The Tadzhiks rated very low in their level of education. Although they had officially achieved 99 percent literacy by 1971, the Tadzhiks

ranked sixteenth among the seventeen major nationalities both in the number of students in institutions of higher learning and in the number of scientific workers per thousand.

In 1983 the Tadzhiks were the most underrepresented among the nationalities in their share of CPSU members and very underrepresented in the Central Committee of the party.

Turkmens

The Orguz Turks, forebears of the Soviet Turkmens, migrated into the territory of the present-day Turkmen Republic at the end of the tenth century and beginning of the eleventh century. Composed of many tribes, they began their migration from eastern Asia in the seventh century and moved slowly toward the Middle East and Central Asia. By the twelfth century, they had become the dominant group in the present-day Turkmen Republic, assimilating the original Iranian population as well as other invaders who preceded them into the area. By the end of the fourteenth century, the Orguz tribes had developed a common language and traditions, and by the fifteenth century they were recognizable as a single people. Although they often became subjects of a neighboring state, their military skills and pastoral culture enabled them to enjoy an independent existence. Forced into a cooperative and defensive alliance first by the Mongol invasion and then by the Uzbek conquest, the Turkmens nevertheless retained their strong tribal divisions and failed to establish a lasting state of their own.

The Turkmens opposed Russian expansion into Central Asia more vigorously than other nationalities. They defeated a Russian force in 1717, when Peter the Great first attempted the conquest of Central Asia. And, in the nineteenth century, when the Russians resumed their expansion into the area, Turkmen cavalry posed determined and prolonged opposition. The conquest of Turkmenia (also known as Turkmenistan) was not completed until 1885, and the territorial boundary of Russian Turkmenia was not set until a decade later by an Anglo-Russian border treaty. That treaty separated the Turkmens of Russia from the roughly equal number of their brethren in present-day Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Turkey.

Turkmenia became part of Russian Turkestan and was treated by the tsarist government as a colonial territory where Russians and other Slavs were encouraged to settle. A railroad was built, and other features of modernity were introduced. Turkmens resented losing their grazing land and in 1916 joined a Muslim uprising throughout Russia's Central Asian territory.

After the February Revolution of 1917, several political forces competed for power in Turkmenia. The Turkmens were divided

between Islamic traditionalists and the more progressive nationalist intelligentsia. At this time, both Bolshevik and White armies sought the loyalty of Turkmenia's Russian population. A provisional government, established by Turkmen nationalists with support of the White forces and limited British assistance, was able to maintain itself against the Bolsheviks until mid-1919. Thereafter, Turkmen resistance against the Bolsheviks was part of the general Basmachi Rebellion, which reemerged sporadically until 1931. By 1920, however, the Red Army controlled the territory, and in 1924 the Turkmen Republic was established in accordance with the national delimitation process in Central Asia.

The Soviet policy of forced collectivization in the late 1920s and early 1930s was particularly abhorrent to the nomadic Turkmen. It led to enhanced national self-awareness and an opposition movement, which burst into an open rebellion in 1928-32. In response, Soviet authorities arrested scores of native communist leaders and broad segments of the Turkmen intelligentsia. Most perished in the Great Terror of the 1930s.

The great majority of the over 2.7 million Soviet Turkmen lived in the Turkmen Republic, the least populous of the Soviet Central Asian republics. Turkmen constituted nearly 72 percent of the republic's 3.5 million population. Russians and Uzbeks were the largest minorities.

The Turkmen language, which developed from several Turkic dialects and has adopted some Arabic, Persian, and Russian loanwords, belongs to the southern group of Turkic languages. In the 1989 census, about 98.5 percent of the Turkmen considered it their first language. Only slightly more than 25 percent of the Turkmen had fluency in Russian.

In 1987 Turkmen were more rural than urban, even though the population of the Turkmen Republic, which included a large number of highly urban Russians, was almost evenly divided between urban and rural residents. The Turkmen Republic had only a few large cities in 1989. Ashkhabad, the capital, had a population of 398,000; only Chardzhou and Tashauz also had populations over 100,000.

In 1971 Turkmen were fourteenth among the seventeen major nationalities in the number of students in higher education institutions and twelfth in the number of scientific workers per thousand. In 1986 the Turkmen Republic ranked tenth among the union republics in the number of students in higher education per thousand.

Turkmen were among the least represented nationalities in the CPSU. In 1984 they ranked thirteenth among the union republics.

*Man in native costume,
Ashkhabad, Turkmen Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



Other Major Nationalities

In addition to the nationalities just described, seven other nationalities numbered over 1 million people in the 1989 census: Moldavians, Tatars, Jews, Germans, Chuvash, Bashkirs, and Mordvins. None of these nationalities fit into the preceding groups of nationalities, yet each was a significant part of the complex fabric constituting the multinational Soviet state, either because of their large population or because of some other critical factor.

Moldavians

Although Moldavians have their own union republic, the existence of Moldavians as a separate nationality has been debatable. Soviet authorities consider Moldavians a distinct nationality. But most Moldavians see themselves as ethnic Romanians because they do not differ from the population of Romania linguistically or culturally. They believe that the creation of the Moldavian Republic and the “artificial” Moldavian nationality was, from its inception, an attempt to legitimize Soviet political claims to a portion of Romanian territory.

Ancient Moldavia, a territory that included portions of both present-day Romania and the Soviet Union’s Moldavian Republic, was part of Scythia. Later, it fell under partial control of the Roman Empire. As the Roman Empire declined, Moldavia was

invaded by successive waves of barbarians moving into the empire. Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, part of Moldavia belonged to Kievan Rus' and later to the principality of Galicia. Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of Moldavia was a vassal state of the Tatars. The first independent Moldavian state arose in the mid-fourteenth century and lasted until the beginning of the sixteenth century when Moldavia became a vassal state of Turkey. In the late eighteenth century, Russia attempted to secure control of Moldavia and finally succeeded in 1812, when the portion of Moldavia known as Bessarabia was ceded to Russia.

Despite tsarist efforts to Russify Bessarabia by settling large numbers of Russians, Ukrainians, and Jews there, at the time of the February Revolution of 1917 most of the inhabitants considered themselves Romanians. They established the Democratic Moldavian Republic soon after the onset of the revolution and then joined with Romania in April 1918.

In 1924 Soviet authorities created the Moldavian Autonomous Republic for the Romanian-speaking population remaining in the Soviet Union. But only about 30 percent of the inhabitants of the newly created autonomous republic were "Moldavians," or Romanian speaking. The majority of the residents of the republic were Ukrainians, Jews, or Russians. In 1940 the Soviet Union reincorporated Bessarabia and, together with the territory of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic that contained a mostly Romanian-speaking population, formed the Moldavian Republic. In 1944 Romania, under pressure from the Soviet Union, formally recognized the existence of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. According to the 1989 census, over 3.3 million Moldavians lived in the Soviet Union, of whom 83 percent resided in the Moldavian Republic. The republic, the second smallest of the union republics in area, had a population of over 4.3 million, of which nearly 2.8 million, or over 64 percent, were Moldavians. Ukrainians constituted 14 percent of the population, while Russians made up another 13 percent. Only the Ukrainian and Russian republics had sizable Romanian-speaking minorities in their territory.

According to 1989 statistics, 91.6 percent of Moldavians in the Soviet Union considered Moldavian their first language. Spoken Moldavian did not differ from the language spoken in Romania; however, Soviet authorities replaced the traditional Latin alphabet with the Cyrillic alphabet.

The Moldavians were one of the least urbanized nationalities, behind only the Kirgiz as the most rural people in the 1970s. In 1986 only 47 percent of the Moldavian Republic's population lived in urban areas. This represented an increase of 15 percent from

1970, when it was the least urbanized of all the union republics. The overwhelming majority of Moldavians lived in rural areas, while Russians in the republic resided mostly in the cities. The largest city in 1989 was the capital, Kishinev, with a population of 665,000. Two other cities had populations of over 100,000.

In the 1970s, Moldavians were last among the major nationalities in the number of students in higher education institutions and the number of scientific workers per thousand. The Moldavian Republic also consistently ranked last among the union republics in the number of students in higher education per thousand.

Moldavian representation in the CPSU as well as in its own republic party organization has been among the lowest of all the nationalities. In the 1980s, Moldavians were next to last among union republic nationalities in their share of total party membership. In the republic, Russians and Ukrainians held a disproportionate number of seats in the party. Of the nine Moldavian Republic's Central Committee members elected in 1971, five were Russian, three were Ukrainian, and one was Moldavian.

Tatars

Three major Tatar groups reside in the Soviet Union: Volga Tatars (the overwhelming majority of all Tatars in the Soviet Union), Crimean Tatars, and Siberian Tatars. Most are descended from the Turkic-speaking Bulgars who came into the Volga-Ural region in the seventh century and the Kipchak tribes who invaded the area as part of the Mongol Empire. From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, they were part of the Golden Horde. In the fifteenth century, the Golden Horde broke up into the Kazan', Astrakhan', Crimean, and Siberian khanates. The Volga Tatars, the descendants of the Kazan' and Astrakhan' hordes (see Glossary), were conquered by Russia in the sixteenth century. The Siberian Tatars were incorporated into the Russian Empire later that century, and the Crimean Tatars were incorporated at the end of the eighteenth century.

After their conquest by Russia, the Volga Tatars were subjected to harsh political, economic, and religious policies. Only the Tatar nobles who had intermarried with Russians and, in many instances, gained positions of power and influence in the Russian state, escaped persecution. Thousands of Tatars were deported north to work in Russian shipyards. Russians confiscated Tatar property, destroyed their mosques and religious shrines, and pressured them to convert to Christianity. After a series of Tatar revolts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tsarist government began to change its policies. In 1788 Islam was given official status in Russia,

and in 1792 Tatars were granted the right to trade with the Turkic populations of Turkestan, Iran, and China.

Repressive measures by the Russian government against Crimean Tatars and Slavic immigration into Crimea forced many Tatars to emigrate. Others were forcibly deported. During a century of Russian rule, the Tatar population in Crimea declined from about 500,000 at the end of the eighteenth century to fewer than 200,000 by the end of the nineteenth century.

Siberian Tatars—mainly hunters, trappers, and horse breeders scattered over a large territory—presented no threat to the Russian state and for a time continued to live unmolested. In the nineteenth century, many Siberian Tatars moved to the cities, seeking employment in the newly built sawmills and tanneries.

Despite renewed harassment in the second half of the nineteenth century, Tatars formed the intellectual and political elite of the Muslim population in Russia. Tatars were active in the Revolution of 1905 in Russia. They participated in the First Duma of 1906 and the Second Duma of 1907, and they were the leading proponents of the pan-Turkic movement that emphasized racial, religious and linguistic unity of all Turkic-speaking peoples.

After the February Revolution in 1917, the Volga Tatars tried to establish an independent federation of Volga-Ural states. This dream proved impossible in the face of both Bolshevik and White Russian opposition. Instead, with the help of the Red Army, the Tatar Autonomous Republic was created in May 1920 as part of the Russian Republic.

The Crimean Tatars' attempts to create an independent state in 1917 were also thwarted by the Bolsheviks, and in October 1921 the Soviet leaders created the Crimean Autonomous Republic. Later, however, the Crimean Tatars were exiled from Crimea during World War II and scattered throughout Soviet Central Asia.

In the 1989 census, the Tatars, with over 6.6 million people, were the sixth largest nationality in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, they did not have their own union republic. Over 1.7 million Tatars lived in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, one of sixteen autonomous republics in the Russian Republic, where they had a plurality of almost 48 percent of the population. About 1 million others lived in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, also located in the Russian Republic, where they ranked second in population after the Russians and just ahead of the Bashkirs, a closely related Turkic nationality. Another 2.6 million Tatars lived scattered throughout the rest of the Russian Republic. Of these, about 500,000 were Siberian Tatars living in western Siberian towns and villages. Over 1 million Tatars—a majority of whom were probably exiled



*Synagogue in Kishinev, Moldavian Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

Crimean Tatars—were also found in Soviet Central Asia—mostly in the Uzbek and Kazakh republics.

Each of the three Tatar groups speaks a distinct language, although all belong to the West Turkic-Kipchak group of languages. The language of the Crimean Tatars also contains a large number of Arabic and Persian loanwords. The Siberian Tatars have no written language of their own and use the literary language of the Volga Tatars.

In 1989 over 83 percent of all Tatars and 96.6 percent of those residing in the Tatar Autonomous Republic regarded Tatar as their native language. A high percentage of Tatars were also fluent in Russian. The educational level of Tatars in the Soviet Union varied. Tatars living in their own autonomous republic or elsewhere in the Russian Republic were not as well educated as the highly urbanized Crimean Tatars who lived in the Soviet Central Asian republics.

Tatar representation in the CPSU both in the Soviet Union and in the Tatar Autonomous Republic has been consistently low. In the 1980s, they were particularly underrepresented in the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Jews

Jews first appeared in eastern Europe several centuries before the birth of Christ. By the first century A.D., Jewish settlements

existed along the northern shores of the Black Sea. In the eighth century, the descendants of these early Jewish settlers converted the nomadic Turkic Khazars to Judaism. Jewish communities existed in Kiev and other cities of Kievan Rus'. They were destroyed, however, during the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century.

Persecuted in western Europe, Jews began migrating to Poland in the fourteenth century, and from there they moved to the present-day Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian republics, where by the mid-seventeenth century they numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Although initially they were under royal protection and enjoyed communal autonomy, life for the great majority of Jews in Poland worsened, and they became as oppressed as Poland's Christian subjects. Forbidden to own land, many Jews served as estate managers and as middlemen between the Catholic Polish landowning nobility and the Orthodox Ukrainian and Belorussian enserfed peasants living on the nobles' estates. On the estates, they often collected taxes for the nobles, controlled the sale of salt and fish, ran the grain mills, and acted as overseers of peasant labor. Jews also owned the local village taverns. Particularly insidious was the Polish Catholic nobles' practice of making the Jews collect taxes on Orthodox churches. As a result, in addition to disliking them as foreigners and non-Christians, the peasants held Jews directly responsible for their oppressed and miserable lives. These early resentments were the seeds of primitive anti-Semitism in eastern Europe and later in the Russian Empire. When the Orthodox peasantry joined the Ukrainian Cossacks in the mid-seventeenth century in a revolt against the Poles and the Catholic Church, thousands of Jews were also killed. When Russian armies swept into Polish-Lithuanian territories following Muscovy's alliance with the Ukrainian Cossacks in 1654, they killed additional thousands of Jews, forcibly converting some to Christianity and driving others into exile. From 100,000 to 500,000 Jews perished, some 700 Jewish communities were destroyed, and untold thousands fled the war-ravaged areas.

Although Jews had been expelled from Russia in 1742, the subsequent incorporation of Polish territory as a result of the partitions of Poland meant that by the end of the eighteenth century Russia had the largest Jewish community in the world. The tsarist government prohibited Jews from living anywhere except in the area known as the Pale of Settlement, which included the Baltic provinces, most of Ukraine and Belorussia, and the northern shore of the Black Sea.

About 1.5 million Jews lived in the Russian Empire in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Confined within the Pale of Settlement, they were subjected to stringent anti-Jewish regulations. Although for the next century restrictions on Jews were periodically eased, they were reimposed or even made harsher during the frequent periods of reaction that followed. Nicholas I (1825–55) promoted forced induction of Jewish youth into military service, where they were often coerced into being converted to Christianity. Jewish rights to lease land and keep taverns were rescinded, and the Pale of Settlement was reduced in size. However, the reign of Alexander II (1855–81) brought a relaxation of the restrictions imposed on the Jewish population: some Jews were permitted to settle outside the Pale of Settlement, to attend universities, and to enter government service. After the assassination of Alexander II, however, the old restrictions were reimposed, and persecution of Jews continued until the February Revolution in 1917. Government-sanctioned pogroms against Jewish communities, during which Jews were beaten or killed and their personal property destroyed, were particularly brutal. The pogroms were led by the Black Hundreds, an officially sanctioned reactionary group composed largely of civil servants.

In spite of persecution, the Jewish population in the Russian Empire expanded rapidly during the nineteenth century. Later, on the eve of World War I, it was estimated at 5.2 million. Jewish culture flourished within the bounds imposed on their community. Jews became more active politically, and the more radical among them joined the spreading revolutionary movements.

For Jews, World War I and the Civil War that followed the revolutions in Russia were great calamities. The Pale of Settlement was the area where most of the prolonged military conflict took place, and Jews were killed indiscriminately by cossack armies, Russian White armies, Ukrainian nationalist forces, and anarchist peasant armies. In addition, the emergence of an independent Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia and the annexation of Bessarabia by Romania left large numbers of Jews outside the Soviet state borders. By 1922 the Jewish population in the Soviet Union was less than half of what it had been in the former Russian Empire.

The early years of the Soviet state provided unusual opportunities for Jews to mainstream into Soviet society. Although the majority of Jews had opposed the Bolsheviks during the Civil War, many supported the creation of the new, “non-national” state, which they expected would tolerate Jews. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were integrated into Soviet cultural and economic life, and many Jews occupied key positions in both areas. Jews were particularly

numerous in higher education and in scientific institutions. Official anti-Semitism ceased, restrictions on Jewish settlement were banned, Jewish culture flourished, and Jewish sections of the CPSU were established. Many Jews, such as Leon Trotsky, Grigori V. Zinov'ev, Lev B. Kamenev, Lazar M. Kaganovich, and Maksim M. Litvinov, occupied the most prominent positions in party leadership. The purges in the mid- to late 1930s, however, reduced considerably the Jewish intelligentsia's participation in political life, particularly in the party's top echelons.

The 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union was particularly horrific for Soviet Jewry. About 2.5 million Jews were annihilated, often by collaborators among the native populations in the occupied territories who aided the Germans in killing Jews. Paradoxically, in Soviet territories that escaped German occupation, anti-Semitism also reemerged in the local population's resentment against the often better educated, wealthier Jews who were evacuated there before the advancing German armies.

Jews were the most dispersed nationality in the Soviet Union. In 1989 a majority of the 1.4 million Jews in the Soviet Union lived in the three Slavic republics. Approximately 536,000 lived in the Russian Republic, 486,000 in the Ukrainian Republic, and 112,000 in the Belorussian Republic. Large Jewish minorities also lived in the Uzbek and Moldavian republics, and smaller numbers of Jews lived in all the remaining republics.

Although the Jewish (Yevreyskaya) Autonomous Oblast in the Soviet Far East was designated as the homeland of the Soviet Jews, only 8,887 Jews lived there in 1989, just over 4 percent of the population of the oblast. Never high, the number of Jews in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast has been declining—14,269, or 8.8 percent, of the oblast's population in 1959 and 11,452, or 6.6 percent, in 1970.

Between 1959 and 1989, the Jewish population in the Soviet Union declined by about 900,000. The decline was attributed to several factors—low birth rate, intermarriage, concealment of Jewish identity, and emigration.

Although 83 percent of the Jews regarded Russian as their native language in 1979, Soviet authorities recognized Yiddish as the national language of Soviet Jewry. Small groups of Soviet Jews spoke other "Jewish" languages: in Soviet Central Asia some Jews spoke a Jewish dialect of Tadjik, in the Caucasus area Jews spoke a form of Tat, while those in the Georgian Republic used their own dialect of the Georgian language.

Soviet Jews were overwhelmingly urban. In 1979 over 98 percent of all Jews in the Soviet Union lived in urban areas. Four cities

in particular—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Odessa—had large concentrations of Jews. Along with being the most urbanized nationality, in the 1970s Jews also ranked first among all nationalities in educational level and in numbers of scientific workers per thousand.

Traditionally, Jews have been highly represented in the CPSU, and their membership exceeded considerably their proportion of the total population. Soviet statistics show that 5.2 percent of all CPSU members in 1922 were Jews; in 1927 the figure declined to 4.3 percent. In 1976 the figure was 1.9 percent, almost three times the percentage of Jews in the general population.

Chuvash

Descended from the Finno-Ugric tribes of the middle Volga area and the Bulgar tribes of the Kama and Volga rivers, the Chuvash were identifiable as a separate people by the tenth century A.D. Conquered by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, they became part of the Kazan' Horde. Since the mid-sixteenth century, they have been under Russian rule. After the revolutions of 1917 and the Civil War, the Soviet government established the Chuvash Autonomous Oblast within the Russian Republic. In 1925 the oblast became the Chuvash Autonomous Republic.

The Chuvash were originally Muslim but were forced to convert to Christianity by the Russians. Many reconverted to Islam in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the 1980s, some were Orthodox Christians, others Sunni Muslims.

In 1989 the Chuvash population was over 1.8 million. Slightly over half lived in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic, within the Russian Republic, where they constituted over 67 percent of the population. Large concentrations of Chuvash also resided in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, and other parts of the Russian Republic.

The Chuvash speak a unique language that includes a large number of Finno-Ugric and Slavic loanwords but that belongs to the Bulgar group of Turkic languages. Because no written Chuvash language had existed before the Russian conquest, it is the only Turkic language in the Soviet Union to have always used a Cyrillic alphabet. In 1989 about 76.5 percent of the Chuvash considered Chuvash as their first language.

In the 1980s, the Chuvash remained overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. In 1987 Cheboksary, the administrative center of the Chuvash Autonomous Republic, was the only city in the autonomous republic with over 100,000 people.

Bashkirs

The Bashkir nationality developed from a mixture of Finno-Ugric tribes and a variety of Turkic tribes. They were recognized as a distinct people by the ninth century, when they settled an area between the Volga, Kama, Tobol, and Ural rivers, where most Bashkirs still live. Conquered by the Mongols of the Golden Horde in the thirteenth century, the Bashkirs were absorbed by different hordes after the breakup of the Golden Horde. Since the sixteenth century, they have been under Russian rule. Impoverished and dispossessed of their land by Russian settlers, the once-nomadic cattle breeders were forced to labor in the mines and new factories being built in eighteenth-century Russia. For two centuries prior to 1917, the Bashkirs had participated—together with the Chuvash, the Tatars, and other nationalities in the area—in the many violent outbreaks and popular uprisings that swept the Russian Empire. After the revolutions of 1917, a strong Bashkir nationalist and Muslim movement developed in the territory of the Bashkirs, where much of the Civil War was fought. In their quest for an autonomous state, the Bashkirs sought the support of both the Bolsheviks and the White forces. In the end, most joined with the Bolsheviks, and in February 1919 the Bashkir Autonomous Republic was established, the first autonomous republic within the Russian Republic.

The great majority of Bashkirs were Sunni Muslims. They had originally adopted Islam in the tenth century, but many were forced by the Russians between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to convert to Christianity. Most, however, reconverted to Islam in the nineteenth century.

In 1989 over 1.4 million Bashkirs lived in the Soviet Union. Nearly 864,000 of them resided in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, where they made up about 22 percent of the population. The Bashkirs were only the third largest nationality in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic, behind the Russians and the Tatars.

The Bashkir language belongs to the West Turkic group of languages. Until the Soviet period, the Bashkirs did not have their own literary language, using at first the so-called Turki language and in the early twentieth century a Tatar language. Both languages used an Arabic script as their written language. In 1940 Soviet authorities gave the Bashkir language a Cyrillic script. In 1989 about 72 percent of the Bashkirs claimed Bashkir as their first language.

The Bashkirs remained predominantly rural and agricultural; less than 25 percent of them lived in urban areas in the 1980s. Although Ufa, the capital of the Bashkir Autonomous Republic,

had over 1 million people in 1987, the overwhelming majority were Russians.

Mordvins

Like the Chuvash, the Mordvins were another nationality having their own autonomous republic along the middle reaches of the Volga River in the Russian Republic. The Mordvins, like the Chuvash and the Bashkirs, were Finno-Ugric and like the Chuvash had been a part of the Kazan' Horde prior to their incorporation into the Russian Empire in the sixteenth century. Soviet authorities established the Mordvinian Autonomous Oblast in 1930, which in 1934 became the Mordvinian Autonomous Republic.

The Mordvins, who numbered around 1.2 million people in 1989, were mostly scattered throughout the Russian Republic. Less than a third lived in the Mordvinian Autonomous Republic. Mordvins, who made up less than 32 percent of the population, were the second largest nationality in their autonomous republic, while Russians, with 61 percent, constituted a majority.

A predominantly agricultural people, the Mordvins speak their own language, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages. Their written language, which came into being under Soviet rule, uses a Cyrillic alphabet. In 1989 about 67 percent of the nationality claimed Mordvinian as their native tongue. Mordvin religious believers were mostly Orthodox Christians.

Germans

About 2 million Germans lived in the Soviet Union in 1989. The Kazakh Republic had the largest concentration of Germans (over 956,000), followed by the Russian Republic (841,000) and the Kirgiz Republic (101,000). Prior to World War II, many Germans lived in their own autonomous republic on the Volga River and were referred to as Volga Germans. Stalin ordered their dispersal into Soviet Central Asia and Siberia when Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941. Unrepatriated German prisoners of war further increased the German population in the Soviet Union. Since World War II, however, a considerable number of Germans have returned to German territory. In 1989 only 49 percent of the Germans claimed German as their first language.

Others

In addition to the nationalities discussed in the preceding pages, many other nationalities with populations of fewer than 1 million have been recognized by Soviet authorities. Several of the larger nationalities not previously mentioned had autonomous republics

of their own: the Buryat, the Yakut, the Ossetian, the Komi, the Tuvinian, the Kalmyk, and the Karelian nationalities. Also, two pairs of nationalities, the Chechen-Ingush and the Kabardian-Balkar, each shared an autonomous republic. About eighteen nationalities lived either in autonomous oblasts or in autonomous *okruga*. All of these nationalities resided in the Russian Republic. In many cases, Russians had either a majority or a plurality of the population in these autonomous territorial units. Numerous other nationalities without an administrative territory of their own lived scattered throughout the Soviet Union, generally in the Russian Republic.

Religious Groups in the Soviet Union

Official figures on the number of religious believers in the Soviet Union were not available in 1989. But according to various Soviet and Western sources, over one-third of the people in the Soviet Union, an officially atheistic state, professed religious belief. Christianity and Islam had the most believers. Christians belonged to various churches: Orthodox, which had the largest number of followers; Catholic; and Baptist and various other Protestant sects. The majority of the Islamic faithful were Sunni. Judaism also had many followers. Other religions, which were practiced by a relatively small number of believers, included Buddhism, Lamaism, and shamanism, a religion based on primitive spiritualism.

The role of religion in the daily lives of Soviet citizens varied greatly. Because Islamic religious tenets and social values of Muslims are closely interrelated, religion appeared to have a greater influence on Muslims than on either Christians or other believers. Two-thirds of the Soviet population, however, had no religious beliefs. About half the people, including members of the CPSU and high-level government officials, professed atheism. For the majority of Soviet citizens, therefore, religion seemed irrelevant.

Orthodox

Orthodox Christians constituted a majority of believers in the Soviet Union. They hold that the Orthodox Church is the true, holy, and apostolic church and that it traces its origin directly to the church established by Jesus Christ. Orthodox beliefs are based on the Bible and holy tradition as defined by the seven ecumenical councils held between A.D. 325 and 787. Orthodox teachings include the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the inseparable but distinguishable union of the two natures of Jesus Christ—one divine, one human. Mary is revered as the mother of God but is not regarded as free from original sin. Other saints are also highly

revered. Persons become saints simply by being recognized over a long period of time by the whole church. No official canonization is required.

Orthodox believers recognize seven sacraments and punishment after death for sins committed but do not recognize the concept of purgatory. Baptism and the Eucharist are the two most important sacraments. After the ninth century, the sacrament of marriage became requisite for a valid marriage. Holy orders are conferred on both married and unmarried men, but only the latter are eligible to become bishops.

Worship is an essential part of Orthodoxy and is centered on the liturgical celebration every Sunday and holy day. Laity fully participate in the liturgy, responding in unison to the priest and singing hymns a cappella (organs and other musical instruments are not allowed). Church services are notable for their splendor, pageantry, profusion of candles, and bright colors. Priests' garments, as well as altars and church vestments, are ornate and colorful. Icons—pictures of Christ, Mary, and the saints, as well as representations of biblical events—adorn church walls. An ornate screen of icons, the iconostasis, separates the altar from the worshippers. Icons, often lit by candles, also adorn the homes of most Orthodox faithful. Icons are venerated but not worshiped. Worship is reserved for God alone.

In the late 1980s, three Orthodox churches claimed substantial memberships in the Soviet Union: the Russian Orthodox Church, the Georgian Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. They, together with the much smaller Belorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, were members of the major confederation of Orthodox churches in the world, generally referred to as the Eastern Orthodox Church. The first two churches functioned openly and were tolerated by the regime. The Ukrainian and Belorussian autocephalous Orthodox churches were not permitted to function openly.

Orthodox churches that make up Eastern Orthodoxy are autonomous bodies, sometimes referred to as autocephalous or self-governing. The highest authority in each church is either a patriarch or an archbishop who governs in conjunction with the Holy Synod, an assembly of bishops, priests, monks, and laity. The Holy Synod elects the head of its church, the patriarch or archbishop, and in concert administers the church. Matters of faith or other matters of importance are decided by ecumenical councils in which all member churches of Eastern Orthodoxy participate. Decisions of the councils regarding faith are accepted by the followers as infallible.

Eastern Orthodoxy does not have a strict hierarchical order with one head, but the ecumenical patriarchate in Istanbul is generally recognized as the leading official. Individual churches, however, share the same doctrine and beliefs.

Russian Orthodox Church

The Russian Orthodox Church, which has the largest religious following in the Soviet Union, traces its origins to Kievan Rus' when in 988 Prince Vladimir made Byzantine Christianity the state religion. When Kievan Rus' disintegrated in the thirteenth century, the metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus' moved to Vladimir, one of the newly established principalities in the northeast. By the fourteenth century, the metropolitan's seat was permanently established in Moscow, the capital of Muscovy. Until the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the Russian church was subordinate to the Orthodox patriarch in Constantinople (present-day Istanbul). Afterward, the Russian Orthodox Church considered itself independent of the church in Constantinople, and in 1589 the title of patriarch was accorded to the metropolitan in Moscow (see *The Golden Age of Kiev; The Time of Troubles*, ch. 1).

The Russian Orthodox Church in Muscovy was closely tied to the state and was subservient to the throne, following a tradition established by the Byzantine Empire. That subservience was reinforced during Moscow's drive to acquire the lands of Kievan Rus', a drive that the Russian Orthodox Church supported. Another characteristic of the medieval Russian Orthodox Church was its emphasis on asceticism and the development of monasticism. Hundreds of monasteries dotted the forests and remote regions of medieval Russia. Monasteries not only served as the centers of religious and cultural life in Russia but also played important social and economic roles as they settled and developed their surrounding land.

Isolated from the West, the Russian Orthodox Church was largely unaffected by the Renaissance and Reformation and continued its essentially inward orientation. The introduction of Western-influenced doctrinal and liturgical reforms by Ukrainian clergy in the seventeenth century aroused deep resentment among Russian Orthodox believers and clergy and led to a split within the church (see *Expansion and Westernization*, ch. 1).

Peter the Great, while transforming Muscovy into the Russian Empire, further curtailed the minimal secular power the Russian Orthodox Church had held previously. In 1721 Peter abolished the patriarchate and established a governmental Holy Synod, an administrative organ, to control the church. From that time through



*Church of the Epiphany (completed in 1845), Moscow. A functioning church, it is the seat of the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church.
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*

the fall of the Russian monarchy in 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church remained directly under state control. Its spiritual and worldly power was further reduced after the Bolsheviks came to power (see Peter the Great and the Formation of the Russian Empire, ch. 1).

According to both Soviet and Western sources, in the late 1980s the Russian Orthodox Church had over 50 million believers but only about 7,000 registered active churches. Over 4,000 of the registered Orthodox churches were located in the Ukrainian Republic (almost half of that number in western Ukraine, where much of the population remained faithful to the banned Ukrainian Catholic Church). The distribution of the Russian Orthodox Church's six monasteries and ten convents was equally disproportionate. Only two of the monasteries were located in the Russian Republic. Another two were in the Ukrainian Republic and one each in the Belorussian and Lithuanian republics. Seven convents were located in the Ukrainian Republic and one each in the Moldavian, Estonian, and Latvian republics; none were located in the Russian Republic. Because most of the Orthodox believers in these western Soviet republics were not Russian, many resented the word *Russian* in the title of the Russian Orthodox Church. They viewed that church as a willing instrument of the Soviet government's Russianization policy, pointing out that only Russian is used in the liturgical services in most Russian Orthodox churches in Ukrainian and Belorussian republics and elsewhere.

Georgian Orthodox Church

The Georgian Orthodox Church, another autocephalous member of Eastern Orthodoxy, was headed by a Georgian patriarch. In the late 1980s, it had 15 bishops, 180 priests, 200 parishes, and an estimated 2.5 million followers.

The spread of Christianity in Georgia began in the fourth century. It became the state religion in the sixth century, and in 1057 the Georgian Orthodox Church became autocephalous. In 1811 the Georgian Orthodox Church was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church but regained its independence in 1917 after the fall of tsarism. Nevertheless, the Russian Orthodox Church did not officially recognize its independence until 1943.

Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

When the metropolitan of Kiev and all Rus' moved to Moscow in the fourteenth century, Ukrainian Orthodox believers were left without an ecclesiastical leader. From the mid-fifteenth to the late seventeenth century, the see of Kiev was under the jurisdiction of

the patriarch of Constantinople and had its own metropolitan. In 1686, however, the Russian government's pressure on Constantinople led to a transfer of the metropolitan see of Kiev to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church separated from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1919, and the short-lived Ukrainian state adopted a decree confirming autocephaly for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The church's independence was reaffirmed by the Bolshevik regime in the Ukrainian Republic, and by 1924 the church had 30 bishops, almost 1,500 priests, nearly 1,100 parishes, and between 3 and 6 million members.

From its inception, the church faced the hostility of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian Republic. In the late 1920s, Soviet authorities accused the church of nationalist tendencies. In 1930 the government forced the church to reorganize as the "Ukrainian Orthodox Church," and few of its parishes survived until 1936. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church continued to function outside the borders of the Soviet Union, and it was revived on Ukrainian territory under the German occupation during World War II. In the late 1980s, some of the Orthodox faithful in the Ukrainian Republic appealed to the Soviet government to reestablish the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Armenian Apostolic

The Armenian Apostolic religion is an independent Eastern Christian faith. It follows Orthodox Christian beliefs but differs from most other Christian religions in its refusal to accept the doctrine of Christ's two natures—divine and human—promulgated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Armenians were converted to Christianity in the third century and became the first people in the world to adopt Christianity as a state religion. Despite seizing its property and subsequently persecuting and harassing its clergy and faithful, the Soviet government has allowed the Armenian Apostolic Church to continue as the national church of the Armenian Republic.

In the 1980s, the Armenian Apostolic Church had about 4 million faithful, or almost the entire Armenian population of the country. The church was permitted 6 bishops, between 50 and 100 priests, and between 20 and 30 churches, and it had one theological seminary and six monasteries.

Catholic

Catholics accounted for a substantial and active religious body in the Soviet Union. Their number increased dramatically with

the annexation of western Ukraine in 1939 and the Baltic republics in 1940. Catholics in the Soviet Union were divided between those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, recognized by the government, and those remaining loyal to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, banned since 1946.

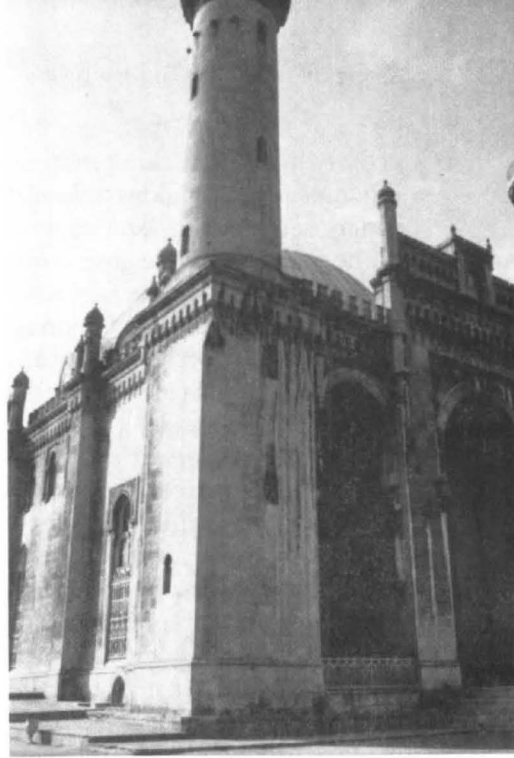
Roman Catholic Church

The majority of the 5.5 million Roman Catholics in the Soviet Union lived in the Lithuanian, Belorussian, and Latvian republics, with a sprinkling in the Moldavian, Ukrainian, and Russian republics. Since World War II, the most active Roman Catholic Church in the Soviet Union was in the Lithuanian Republic, where the majority of people are Catholics. The Roman Catholic Church there has been viewed as an institution that both fosters and defends Lithuanian national interests and values. Since 1972 a Catholic underground publication, *The Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*, has spoken not only for Lithuanians' religious rights but also for their national rights.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was established in 1596, when a number of Ukrainian and Belorussian bishops, clergy, and faithful of the Orthodox Church recognized the supremacy of the Roman Catholic pope at the Union of Brest. Nevertheless, the Uniates (see Glossary) retained the administrative autonomy of their church and preserved most of their traditional rites and rituals, as well as the Old Church Slavonic (see Glossary) liturgical language. Belorussian Uniates were forced to reconvert to Orthodoxy after the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century when Belorussia became part of the Russian Empire. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, however, continued to function and grow in western Ukraine, which was ceded to the Austrian Empire in the partitions. By the twentieth century, it acquired standing as a national church in western Ukraine. Its close identity with the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people and the loyalty it commanded among its 4 million faithful aroused the hostility of the Soviet regime. In 1945 Soviet authorities arrested and deported the church's metropolitan and nine bishops, as well as hundreds of clergy and leading lay activists. A year later, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which at that time had some 2,500 parishes, was declared illegal and forcibly united with the Russian Orthodox Church. Nonetheless, the Ukrainian Catholic Church continued to survive underground (see Policy Toward Nationalities and Religions in Practice, this ch.).

*Taza Pir Mosque (completed in 1906), Baku, Azerbaydzhan Republic. An active mosque, it is the largest in the Caucasus.
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



Protestant

Various Protestant religious groups, according to Western sources, collectively had as many as 5 million followers in the 1980s. Evangelical Christian Baptists constituted the largest Protestant group. Located throughout the Soviet Union, some congregations were registered with the government and functioned with official approval. Many other unregistered congregations carried on religious activity without such approval.

Lutherans, making up the second largest Protestant group, lived for the most part in the Latvian and Estonian republics. In the 1980s, Lutheran churches in these republics identified to some extent with nationality issues in the two republics. The regime's attitude toward Lutherans has been generally benign. A number of smaller congregations of Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, Mennonites, Jehovah's Witnesses, and other Christian groups carried on religious activities, with or without official sanction.

Muslim

In the late 1980s, Islam had the second largest number of believers in the Soviet Union, with between 45 and 50 million people identifying themselves as Muslims. But the Soviet Union had only about 500 working Islamic mosques, a fraction of the mosques in prerevolutionary Russia, and Soviet law forbade Islamic religious

activity outside working mosques and Islamic schools. All working mosques, religious schools, and Islamic publications were supervised by four "spiritual directorates" established by Soviet authorities to provide governmental control. The Spiritual Directorate for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the Spiritual Directorate for the European Soviet Union and Siberia, and the Spiritual Directorate for the Northern Caucasus and Dagestan oversaw the religious life of Sunni (see Glossary) Muslims. The Spiritual Directorate for Transcaucasia dealt with both Sunni and Shia (see Glossary) Muslims. The overwhelming majority of the Muslims were Sunnis; only about 10 percent, most of whom lived in the Azerbaydzhan Republic, were Shias.

Islam originated in the Arabian Peninsula in 610 when Muhammad (later known as the Prophet), a merchant in the Arabian town of Mecca, began to preach the first in a series of revelations granted him by God through the angel Gabriel. Muhammad's denunciation of the polytheism of his fellow Meccans earned him the bitter enmity of the leaders of Mecca, whose economy was based largely on the thriving business generated by pilgrimages to the pagan Kaabah shrine. In 622 Muhammad and a group of followers were invited to the town of Yathrib, which came to be known as Medina (meaning the city) because it was the center of Muhammad's activities. The move to Medina, called the hijra (hegira), marks the beginning of Islam as a force in history; it also marks the first year of the Muslim calendar. Subsequently, the Prophet converted the people of the Arabian Peninsula to Islam and consolidated both spiritual and temporal leadership of all Arabia in his person.

After Muhammad's death in 632, his followers compiled those of his words regarded as coming directly from God as the Quran, the holy scripture of Islam; others of his sayings and teachings and precedents of his personal behavior, recalled by those who had known him during his lifetime, became the hadith. Together they form the sunna, a comprehensive guide to the spiritual, ethical, and social life of orthodox Muslims. Muhammad's followers spread Islam to various parts of the world. Some oasis-dwelling people of Central Asia were first converted to Islam in the seventh century. The Tatars of the Golden Horde, who converted to Islam in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, spread Islam throughout Central Asia (see *The Mongol Invasion*, ch. 1). Most of the Kirgiz and Kazakh tribes of Central Asia, however, converted to Islam in the nineteenth century while they were under Russian rule. In the Caucasus region, Islam was introduced in the eighth century, but not until the seventeenth century was it firmly established there.

Islam means submission (to God), and one who submits is a Muslim. The *shahada* (testimony or creed) states the central belief of Islam: "There is no god but God [Allah], and Muhammad is his Prophet." Muhammad is considered the "seal of the prophets"; his revelation completes for all time the biblical revelations received by Jews and Christians.

The duties of Muslims form the five pillars of the faith. They are the recitation of the creed (*shahada*), daily prayer (*salat*), almsgiving (*zakat*), fasting (*sawm*), and pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca. Believers pray while facing toward Mecca in a prescribed manner each day at dawn, midday, midafternoon, sunset, and nightfall. When possible, men pray in congregation at a mosque under a prayer leader; on Fridays they are obliged to do so. Women generally pray at home but may also attend public worship at a mosque, where they are segregated from the men. A special functionary, the muezzin, intones a call to prayer to the entire community at the appropriate hour.

Since the early days of Islam, religious authorities have imposed a tax (*zakat*) on personal property proportionate to one's wealth; this is distributed, along with free-will gifts, to the mosques and to the needy. The ninth month of the Muslim calendar is Ramadan, a period of obligatory fasting (*sawm*) during daylight hours for all but the sick, the weak, children, and others for whom fasting would be an unusual burden. Finally, all Muslims at least once in their lifetime should, if possible, make the hajj, or pilgrimage, to the holy city of Mecca to participate in special rites held there during the twelfth month of the calendar.

Ideally every Muslim is expected to practice all five pillars of the faith, but Islam accepts what is possible under the circumstances. This acceptance is particularly significant for Soviet Muslims, who can thus function both as Soviet citizens and as members of an Islamic community. Soviet Muslims, however, have had difficulty adhering to certain Islamic practices. For example, fasting during the month of Ramadan was infrequently observed because of the demands of meeting agricultural and factory work quotas. In the late 1980s, permission to make the hajj was given only to about twenty Soviet Muslims annually. A commonly observed practice, however, was circumcision of young Muslim boys at around the age of seven. Regardless of the degree of their adherence to all Islamic precepts, most Soviet citizens born to Muslim parents consider themselves Muslims.

A Muslim is in direct relationship with God; Islam has neither intermediaries nor clergy. Those who lead prayers, preach sermons, and interpret the law do so by virtue of their superior knowledge

and scholarship rather than by virtue of special powers or prerogatives conferred by ordination.

The differences between Sunnis and Shias were originally political. After Muhammad's death, the leaders of the Muslim community chose Abu Bakr, the Prophet's father-in-law, as caliph (from the Arabic word *khalifa*; literally, successor). Some persons favored Ali, the Prophet's cousin and husband of his favorite daughter, but Ali and his supporters (the Shiat Ali, or Party of Ali) eventually recognized the community's choice. Ali became the fourth caliph in 656. A great schism followed, splitting Islam between the Sunnis, who supported an elected caliph, and the Shias, who supported Ali's line as well as a hereditary caliph who served as spiritual and political leader. Over the centuries, the Sunnis have come to be identified as the more orthodox of the two branches.

The differences between the Sunni and Shia interpretations rapidly took on theological and metaphysical overtones. The Sunnis retained the doctrine of leadership by consensus, although Arabs and members of the Quraysh, Muhammad's tribe, predominated in the early years. Meanwhile, the Shia doctrine of rule by divine right became more and more firmly established, and disagreements over which of several pretenders had the truer claim to the mystical power of Ali precipitated further schisms. Some Shia groups developed doctrines of divine leadership far removed from the strict monotheism of early Islam, including belief in hidden but divinely chosen leaders and in spiritual powers that equaled or surpassed those of the Prophet himself.

Muslims in the Soviet Union are a disparate and varied group. Although most of them reside in Central Asia, they can be found on the western borders of the Soviet Union as well as in Siberia and near the border with China. Ethnically they include Turkic people like the Azerbaydzhanis, Uzbeks, Tatars, and Uygurs; Iranian people like the Tadzhiks, Ossetians, Kurds, and Baluchi; Caucasian people like the Avars, Lezgins, and Tabasarans; and several other smaller groups.

Soviet Muslims also differ linguistically and culturally from each other. Among them, they speak about fifteen Turkic languages, ten Iranian languages, and thirty Caucasian languages. Hence, communication between different Muslim groups has been difficult. Although in 1989 Russian often served as a lingua franca among some educated Muslims, the number of Muslims fluent in Russian was low. Culturally, some Muslim groups had highly developed urban traditions, whereas others were recently nomadic. Some lived in industrialized environments; others resided in isolated mountainous regions. In sum, Muslims were not a homogeneous group

with a common national identity and heritage, although they shared the same religion and the same country.

In the late 1980s, unofficial Muslim congregations, meeting in tea houses and private homes with their own mullahs (see Glossary), greatly outnumbered those in the officially sanctioned mosques. The mullahs in unofficial Islam were either self-taught or were informally trained by other mullahs. In the late 1980s, unofficial Islam appeared to split into fundamentalist congregations and groups that emphasized Sufism (see Glossary).

Policy Toward Nationalities and Religions in Practice

Since coming to power in 1917, the Soviet regime has failed to develop and apply a consistent and lasting policy toward nationalities and religions. Official policies and practices have not only varied with time but also have differed in their application from one nationality to another and from one religion to another. Although all Soviet leaders had the same long-range goal of developing a cohesive Soviet people, they pursued different policies to achieve it. For the Soviet regime, the questions of nationality and religion were always closely linked. Not surprisingly, therefore, the attitude toward religion also varied from a total ban on some religions to official support of others.

The Soviet Constitution, in theory, describes the regime's position regarding nationalities and religions. It states that every citizen of the Soviet Union is also a member of a particular nationality, and a citizen's internal passport identifies that nationality. The Constitution grants a large degree of local autonomy, but this autonomy has always been subordinated to central authority. In addition, because local and central administrative structures are often not clearly divided, local autonomy is further weakened. Although under the Constitution all nationalities are equal, in practice they have not been. In 1989 only fifteen nationalities had union republic status, granting them, in principle, many rights, including the right to secede from the union. Twenty-two nationalities lived in autonomous republics with a degree of local self-government and representation in the Council of Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet. Eighteen additional nationalities had territorial enclaves (autonomous oblasts and autonomous *okruga*) but possessed very little power of self-government. The remaining nationalities had no right of self-management. Stalin's definition in 1913 that "A nation is a historically constituted and stable community of people formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life, and psychological makeup revealed in a common culture" was retained by Soviet authorities through the 1980s. But, in granting

nationalities a union republic status, three additional factors were considered: a population of at least 1 million, territorial compactness of the nationality, and location on the borders of the Soviet Union.

Although Vladimir I. Lenin believed that eventually all nationalities would merge into one, he insisted that the Soviet Union be established as a federation of formally equal nations. In the 1920s, genuine cultural concessions were granted to the nationalities. Communist elites of various nationalities were permitted to flourish and to have considerable self-government. National cultures, religions, and languages were not merely tolerated but in areas with Muslim populations were encouraged.

These policies toward the nationalities were reversed in the 1930s when Stalin achieved dictatorial control of the Soviet Union. Stalin's watchwords regarding nationalities were centralism and conformity. Although Georgian, Stalin pursued a policy of drawing other nationalities closer to the Russian nationality (*sblizhenie*—see Glossary). He looked toward Russian culture and language as the links that would bind different nations together, creating in the process a single Soviet people who would not only speak Russian but also for all intents and purposes be Russian. Native communist elites were purged and replaced with Russians or thoroughly Russified persons. Teaching the Russian language in all schools became mandatory. Centralized authority in Moscow was strengthened, and self-governing powers of the republics were curtailed. Nationalities were brutally suppressed by such means as the forced famine of 1932–33 in the Ukrainian Republic and the northern Caucasus and the wholesale deportations of nationalities during World War II, against their constitutional rights. The Great Terror and the policies following World War II were particularly effective in destroying the non-Russian elites. At the same time, the onset of World War II led Stalin to exploit Russian nationalism. Russian history was glorified, and Soviet power was identified with Russian national interests. In the post-World War II victory celebration, Stalin toasted exclusively the Russian people while many other nationalities were punished as traitors.

The death of Stalin and the rise of Nikita S. Khrushchev to power eliminated some of the harshest measures against nationalities. Among the non-Russian nationalities, interest in their culture, history, and literature revived. Khrushchev, however, pursued a policy of merger of nationalities (*sliianie*—see Glossary). In 1958 he implemented educational laws that furthered the favoring of the Russian language over native languages and aroused resentment among Soviet nationalities.

Although demographic changes in the 1960s and 1970s whittled down the Russian majority overall, they also led to two nationalities (the Kazaks and Kirgiz in the 1979 census) becoming minorities in their own republics and decreased considerably the majority of the titular nationalities in other republics. This situation led Leonid I. Brezhnev to declare at the Twenty-Fourth Party Congress in 1971 that the process of creating a unified Soviet people had been completed, and proposals were made to abolish the federative system and replace it with a single state. The regime's optimism was soon shattered, however. In the 1970s, a broad national dissent movement began to spread throughout the Soviet Union. Its manifestations were many and diverse. The Jews insisted on their right to emigrate to Israel; the Crimean Tatars demanded to be allowed to return to Crimea; the Lithuanians called for the restoration of the rights of the Catholic Church; and Helsinki watch groups (see Glossary) were established in the Georgian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian republics. Petitions, samizdat (see Glossary) literature, and occasional public demonstrations voiced public demands for the rights of nationalities within the human rights context. By the end of the 1970s, however, massive and concerted efforts by the KGB had largely suppressed the national dissent movement. Nevertheless, Brezhnev had learned his lesson. Proposals to dismantle the federative system were abandoned, and a policy of further drawing of nationalities together (*sblizhenie*) was pursued.

Language has often been used as an important tool of the nationality policy. According to the Constitution, the Soviet Union has no official language, and all languages are equal and may be used in all circumstances. Citizens have the right to be educated in their own language or any language chosen by them or by their parents. Nevertheless, demography and Soviet policies have made Russian the dominant language. Under Brezhnev, Soviet officials emphasized in countless pronouncements that the Russian language has been "voluntarily adopted" by the Soviet people as the language of international communication, has promoted the "social, political, and ideological unity" of Soviet nationalities, has enriched the cultures of all other nationalities in the Soviet Union, and has given "each Soviet people access to the treasure of world civilization." Russian has been a compulsory subject in all elementary and secondary schools since 1938. In the schools of all the republics, where both a national language and Russian were used, science and technical courses have been mainly taught in Russian. Some higher education courses have been available only in Russian. Russian has been the common language of public administration in every republic. It has been used exclusively in the armed forces,

in scientific research, and in high technology. Yet despite these measures to create a single Russian language in the Soviet Union, the great majority of non-Russians considered their own native language their first language. Fluency in Russian varies from one non-Russian nationality to another but is generally low, especially among the nationalities of Soviet Central Asia. A proposal in the 1978 Georgian Republic's constitution to give the Russian language equal status with the Georgian language provoked large demonstrations in Tbilisi and was quickly withdrawn.

Soviet policy toward religion has been based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism (see Glossary), which has made atheism the official doctrine of the Soviet Union. Marxism-Leninism has consistently advocated the control, suppression, and, ultimately, the elimination of religious beliefs. In the 1920s and 1930s, such organizations as the League of the Militant Godless ridiculed all religions and harassed believers. Propagation of atheism in schools has been another consistent policy. The regime's efforts to eradicate religion in the Soviet Union, however, have varied over the years with respect to particular religions and have been affected by higher state interests.

Soviet officials closely identified religion with nationality. The implementation of policy toward a particular religion, therefore, has generally depended on the regime's perception of the bond between that religion and the nationality practicing it, the size of the religious community, the degree of allegiance of the religion to outside authority, and the nationality's willingness to subordinate itself to political authority. Thus the smaller the religious community and the closer it identified with a particular nationality, the more restrictive were the regime's policies, especially if in addition it recognized a foreign religious authority such as the pope.

As for the Russian Orthodox Church, Soviet authorities have sought to control it and, in times of national crisis, to exploit it for the regime's own purposes; but their ultimate goal has been to eliminate it. During the first five years of Soviet power, the Bolsheviks executed 28 Russian Orthodox bishops and over 1,200 Russian Orthodox priests. Many others were imprisoned or exiled. Believers were harassed and persecuted. Most seminaries were closed, and publication of most religious material was prohibited. By 1941 only 500 churches remained open out of about 54,000 in existence prior to World War I.

The German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 forced Stalin to enlist the Russian Orthodox Church as an ally to arouse Russian patriotism against foreign aggression. Religious life revived within the Russian Orthodox Church. Thousands of churches were reopened

and multiplied to 22,000 before Khrushchev came to power. The regime permitted religious publications, and church membership grew.

The regime's policy of cooperation with the Russian Orthodox Church was reversed by Khrushchev. Although the church remained officially sanctioned, in 1959 Khrushchev launched an anti-religions campaign that was continued in a less stringent manner by his successor. By 1975 the number of operating Russian Orthodox churches was reduced to 7,000. Some of the most prominent members of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy and activists were jailed or forced to leave the church. Their place was taken by a docile clergy who were obedient to the state and who were sometimes infiltrated by KGB agents, making the Russian Orthodox Church useful to the regime. The church has espoused and propagated Soviet foreign policy and has furthered the Russification of non-Russian believers, such as Orthodox Ukrainians and Belorussians.

The regime applied a different policy toward the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Belorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Viewed by the government as very nationalistic, both churches were suppressed, first at the end of the 1920s and again in 1944 after they had renewed themselves under German occupation. The leadership of both churches was decimated; large numbers of priests—2,000 Belorussian priests alone—were shot or sent to labor camps, and the believers of these two churches were harassed and persecuted.

The policy toward the Georgian Orthodox Church has been somewhat different. That church has fared far worse than the Russian Orthodox Church under the Soviet regime. During World War II, however, the Georgian Orthodox Church was allowed greater autonomy in running its affairs in return for the church's call to its members to support the war effort. The church did not, however, achieve the kind of accommodation with the authorities that the Russian Orthodox Church had. The government reimposed tight control over it after the war. Out of some 2,100 churches in 1917, only 200 were still open in the 1980s, and the church was forbidden to serve its faithful outside the Georgian Republic. In many cases, the regime forced the church to conduct services in Old Church Slavonic instead of in the Georgian language.

The Soviet government's policies toward the Catholic Church were strongly influenced by Soviet Catholics' recognition of an outside authority as head of their church. Also, in the two republics where most of the Catholics lived, the Lithuanian Republic and the Ukrainian Republic, Catholicism and nationalism were closely

linked. Although the Roman Catholic Church in the Lithuanian Republic was tolerated, large numbers of the clergy were imprisoned, many seminaries were closed, and police agents infiltrated the remainder. The anti-Catholic campaign in the Lithuanian Republic abated after Stalin's death, but harsh measures against the church were resumed in 1957 and continued through the Brezhnev era.

Soviet religious policy was particularly harsh toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Ukrainian Catholics fell under Soviet rule in 1939 when western Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union as part of the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Although the Ukrainian Catholic Church was permitted to function, it was almost immediately subjected to intense harassment. Retreating before the German army in 1941, Soviet authorities arrested large numbers of Ukrainian Catholic priests, who were either killed or deported to Siberia. After the Red Army reoccupied western Ukraine in 1944, the Soviet regime liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic Church by arresting its metropolitan, all of its bishops, hundreds of clergy, and the more active faithful, killing some and sending the rest to labor camps, where, with few exceptions, they perished. At the same time, Soviet authorities forced some of the remaining clergy to abrogate the union with Rome and subordinate themselves to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Prior to World War II, the number of Protestants in the Soviet Union was low in comparison with other believers, but they have shown remarkable growth since then. In 1944 the Soviet government established the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists to give the government some control over the various Protestant sects. Many congregations refused to join this body, however, and others that initially joined the council subsequently left. All found that the state, through the council, was interfering in church life.

The regime's policy toward the Islamic religion has been affected, on the one hand, by the large Muslim population, its close ties to national cultures, and its tendency to accept Soviet authority and, on the other hand, by its susceptibility to foreign influence. Since the early 1920s, the Soviet regime, fearful of a pan-Islamic movement, has sought to divide Soviet Muslims into smaller, separate entities. This separation was accomplished by creating six separate Muslim republics and by fostering the development of a separate culture and language in each of them. Although actively encouraging atheism, Soviet authorities have permitted some limited religious activity in all the Muslim republics. Mosques functioned in most large cities of the Central Asian republics and the Azerbaydzhan

Republic; however, their number had decreased from 25,000 in 1917 to 500 in the 1970s. In 1989, as part of the general relaxation of restrictions on religions, some additional Muslim religious associations were registered, and some of the mosques that had been closed by the government were returned to Muslim communities. The government also announced plans to permit training of limited numbers of Muslim religious leaders in courses of two- and five-year duration in Ufa and Baku, respectively.

Although Lenin found anti-Semitism abhorrent, the regime was hostile toward Judaism from the beginning. In 1919 Soviet authorities abolished Jewish community councils, which were traditionally responsible for maintaining synagogues. They created a special Jewish section of the party, whose tasks included propaganda against Jewish clergy and religion. Training of rabbis became impossible, and until the late 1980s only one Yiddish periodical was published. Hebrew, because of its identification with Zionism, was taught only in schools for diplomats. Most of the 5,000 synagogues functioning prior to the Bolshevik Revolution were closed under Stalin, and others were closed under Khrushchev. For all intents and purposes, the practice of Judaism became impossible, intensifying the desire of Jews to leave the Soviet Union.

Manifestations of National Assertiveness

Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*' (see Glossary) exposed the official corruption, economic malaise, and general discontent that had permeated Soviet society for some time prior to his assumption of power. Gorbachev encouraged public discussion of sensitive issues, including the question of nationalities and religions in the Soviet Union. These policies led to a renewed ferment among the nationalities throughout the Soviet Union. By 1987 the Baltic nationalities, Armenians, Ukrainians, Soviet Muslims, Belorussians, Georgians, and others, including native Russians themselves, were expressing their national and religious grievances and calling on the regime to redress them.

Baltic Nationalities

In the 1980s, the most extensive movements among the Soviet nationalities, in terms of both participation and far-reaching demands, took place in the Baltic republics. In 1986 peaceful demonstrations began in Riga, the capital of the Latvian Republic, and from there quickly spread to the other two republics. Originally, the demonstrations were held to denounce Stalin's crimes and to demand that the Soviet government reveal the truth about the forced annexation of the Baltic states into the Soviet Union in 1940. In the late 1980s, public demonstrations of 100,000 people or more

occurred in all three republics. The republics' parliaments declared their native languages as official and replaced the republics' flags with their pre-1940 national flags. All demanded sovereignty in managing their political and economic affairs, formed quasi-political popular fronts, and replaced their respective CPSU first secretaries with less conservative and more nationalistic party leaders. The Soviet regime made concessions to the Catholic Church in the Lithuanian Republic, permitting the pope to elevate one of the bishops to cardinal. Churches were reopened for worship in all three republics, and a more tolerant attitude toward religion was generally accepted.

Armenians

The complexity of the nationalities question and the potential danger it has raised for the Soviet regime were clearly demonstrated in the nationalist movements in the Armenian Republic in 1988. In the past, Armenians had been one of the nationalities most loyal to Moscow. Nevertheless, in February 1988 hundreds of thousands of Armenians staged a four-day demonstration in Yerevan, the republic's capital, demanding the return to the Armenian Republic of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, an autonomous region that had been under the administration of the Azerbaydzhan Republic since the early 1920s but was populated largely by Armenians. When Soviet authorities showed some sympathy for Armenian demands, infuriated Azerbaydzhan residents of the city of Sumgait, which had a considerable Armenian population, went on a rampage that left 32 dead and 197 wounded, according to official accounts. The regime recognized that altering nationality borders could provoke dire consequences and refused the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's request to unite with the Armenian Republic. When the Nagorno-Karabakh soviet voted to secede from the Azerbaydzhan Republic, the regime declared the vote illegal, arrested and expelled the leader of the Nagorno-Karabakh Committee, which had been formed in the Armenian Republic, and sent armed troops into Yerevan, the capital of the Armenian Republic. Other members of the Nagorno-Karabakh Committee were arrested and taken to Moscow. But the aroused passions continued, and the Armenian national movement gathered momentum in September 1988, when 100,000 people demonstrated in Yerevan.

Ukrainians

National assertiveness was awakened much more slowly in the Ukrainian Republic. Although Gorbachev seemed willing to grant



Nationalist demonstrators gather in 1989 in Baku's central square, Azerbaydzhan Republic. Young men in Yerevan, Armenian Republic, raise their fists to protest service in the Soviet armed forces. Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard

extensive concessions to the small Baltic nationalities, he was much less inclined to allow them for the much more numerous Ukrainians, whose natural, agricultural, and industrial resources have been vital to the Soviet Union and whose size has contributed significantly to the country's large Slavic majority. Ukrainian nationalists were viewed by the regime as a severe threat, and Soviet authorities have used harsh measures against Ukrainian national and religious leaders. Nevertheless, a democratic national movement gained momentum in the late 1980s. It was particularly strong in the western regions of the Ukrainian Republic, where the population had not been exposed as long to a policy of Russification as had the people of the eastern regions of the Ukrainian Republic. A democratic front with a program similar to the Baltic popular fronts, a Ukrainian cultural club to preserve Ukrainian culture and history, and an ecological movement have been formed and have gained an increasing following. The crucial issue for Ukrainians in the late 1980s was the use of the Ukrainian language as the official language of the republic and as the language of instruction in the republic's schools. Ukrainians raised demands for transforming the Soviet Union into a voluntary confederation of free republics.

Another important development in the Ukrainian Republic was the revived activity of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Several bishops and clergy and thousands of believers of the illegal church appealed to the Supreme Soviet in 1988 for the church's legalization. Also, clergy and thousands of faithful began to defy the authorities by holding open religious services.

Central Asian Nationalities

National discontent in Soviet Central Asia erupted during the mid-1980s. The discontent began over the removal for corruption of the native CPSU first secretaries in the Kirgiz, Tadjik, and Turkmen republics. When the CPSU first secretary of the Kazakh Republic was also ousted and replaced with an ethnic Russian in December 1986, however, an unprecedented two days of rioting followed, with a large number of casualties. The riots demonstrated the local population's resentment against Russians' occupying the most prestigious jobs in the republic, a grievance that was shared by the native populations of the other Central Asian republics. Other commonly held grievances of Central Asian nationalities included resentment against the government's decision to drop the diversion of Siberian rivers, which would have brought badly needed water to the area, and the continuous distortion of their national history by pro-Russian historians.

Russians

The rise of Russian nationalism was another notable development during the first years of Gorbachev's rule. Begun as a movement for preservation and restoration of historic monuments and for a more balanced treatment of the tsarist past, it increasingly assumed a politically conservative character. The chauvinistic, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic group called Pamiat (Memory) won considerable public support among Russians and official toleration in Moscow and Leningrad. In a more positive manifestation of Russian nationalism, the government granted new visibility and prestige to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian Orthodox hierarchy was given favorable exposure in the Soviet media, and in 1988 the government sponsored celebrations in Moscow of the millennium of the adoption of Christianity in Kievan Rus'. The regime, in an unprecedented event, permitted the broadcast of a televised Easter Mass celebrated by the Russian Orthodox Church. It also handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church some of the most important shrines and hundreds of churches, many of which had previously belonged to Ukrainian religious denominations.

Other Nationalities

In the late 1980s, other nationalities, including the Belorussians, Moldavians, Georgians, and Jews, demanded that measures be taken to preserve their cultures and languages. Belorussians centered their demands primarily on recognition of the Belorussian language as the official language of the republic. Moldavians asked the government to allow them to use the Latin alphabet, as do other Romanian speakers, while Georgians appealed for greater religious concessions. Soviet officials, meanwhile, had changed their policy toward Jews and were allowing greater numbers to emigrate. The Soviet press was also giving increased and positive coverage to Jewish cultural activity, and Soviet authorities had promised to permit the teaching of Hebrew and to allow the opening of a kosher restaurant in Moscow, a Jewish museum, and a Jewish library.

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English-language sources on nationalities in the Soviet Union are abundant. The *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities*, edited by Zev Katz, provides a very good overview of the fifteen nationalities that have their own union republics, as well as the Tatars and the Jews. Stephen Rapawy's "Census Data on Nationality Composition and Language Characteristics of the Soviet Population: 1959, 1970, and

1979" and W. Ward Kingkade's "USSR: Estimates and Projections of the Population by Major Nationality, 1979 to 2050" give comprehensive statistical analyses of the nationalities listed in the Soviet census of 1979. The Soviet government's *Natsionalnyi sostav naseleniia, Chast' II* gives data on the 1989 census. Excellent essays on various aspects of the nationality question and on particular nationalities in the Soviet Union can be found in *The Last Empire*, edited by Robert Conquest; in *Soviet Nationality Policies and Practices*, edited by Jeremy R. Azrael; and in *Soviet Nationality Problems*, edited by Edward Allworth. The availability of English-language secondary sources on particular nationalities varies. The history, religion, culture, and demography of Soviet Muslims are covered in great detail in such recent works as Shirin Akiner's *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union* and Alexandre Bennigsen and S. Enders Wimbush's *Muslims of the Soviet Empire*. Equally comprehensive is the treatment of Estonians in Toivo U. Raun's *Estonia and the Estonians*; of Kazakhs in Martha Brill Olcott's *The Kazakhs*; and of Tatars in Azade-Ayse Rorlich's *The Volga Tatars* and in *Tatars of the Crimea*, edited by Edward Allworth. Nora Levin's two-volume *The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917*, Benjamin Pinkus's *The Jews of the Soviet Union*, and Mordechai Altshuler's *Soviet Jewry since the Second World War* are some of the available sources on Soviet Jewry. Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History* is an excellent general treatment of the relationship between Ukrainians and Russians, while Jaroslaw Bilocerkowycz's *Soviet Ukrainian Dissent* is particularly valuable for the period since the 1960s. Alexander R. Alexiev's *Dissent and Nationalism in the Soviet Baltic* sets the scene for the stormy events that took place in the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian republics in the late 1980s. Few or no monographs are available in English on such major ethnic groups as Belorussians, Moldavians, Poles, and Germans or on the large number of smaller nationalities. Analyses of current developments regarding these and other Soviet nationalities are provided, however, by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's weekly publication *Report on the USSR*.

The status of various religions in the Soviet Union and their relationship with the Soviet regime are treated extensively in such works as *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, *Cross and Commissar*, and *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*, all three edited by Pedro Ramet, as well as in *Christianity and Government in Russia and the Soviet Union* by Sergei Pushkarev, Vladimir Rusak, and Gleb Yakunin. John Anderson's *Religion and the Soviet State* deals primarily with religious repression in the 1980s and with Soviet authorities' varying treatment of the different religions. An analysis of the basis of Soviet atheism and a historical

analysis of Soviet religious policy is provided in Dmitry V. Pospelovsky's *A History of Marxist-Leninist Atheism and Soviet Antireligious Policies* and *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions*. A detailed, extensive, and most readable account of Russian Orthodoxy can be found in Jane Ellis's *The Russian Orthodox Church*, while Bohdan R. Bociurkiw presents a clear and concise history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in his *Ukrainian Churches under Soviet Rule*. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)