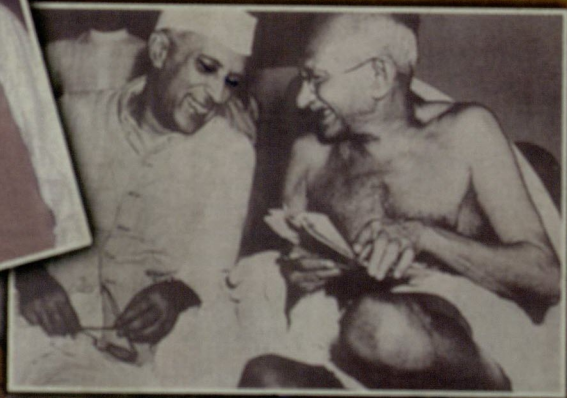
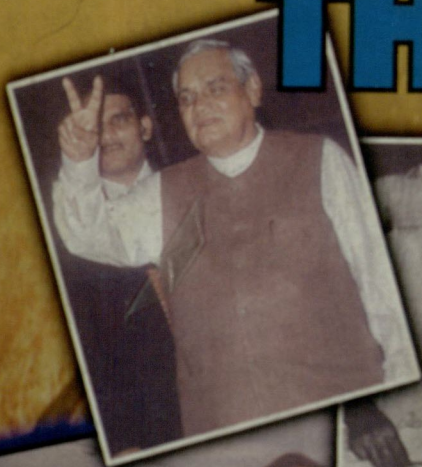


IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL THEORY



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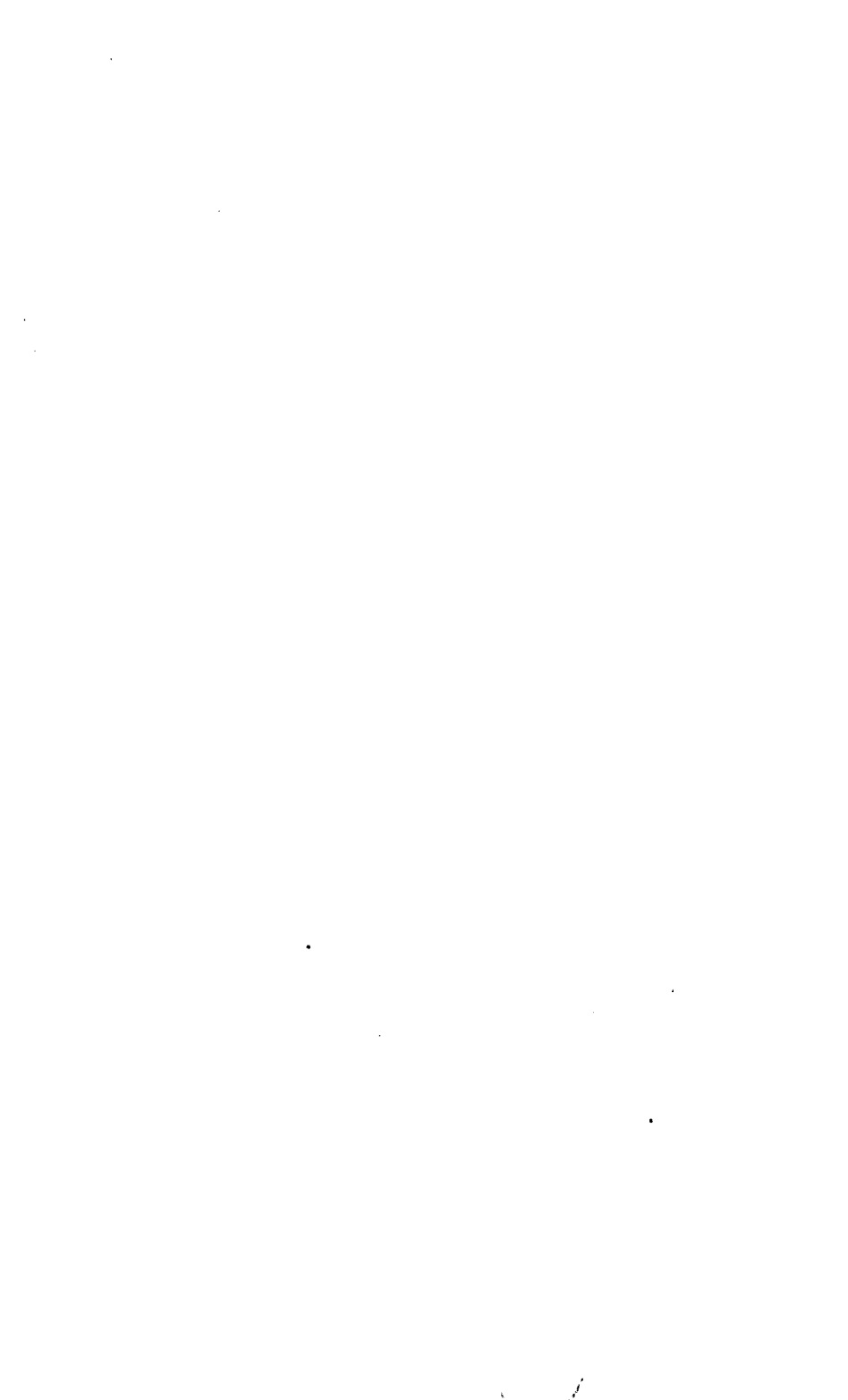
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Ideology and Political Theory

**A Study with Special Reference to the
Disintegration of the Soviet Union**

This book primarily seeks to analyse the role that ideology in general has played in the development of human consciousness to move incessantly towards making human society free from all inner contradictions thus imparting not only permanence to its perpetuation but also ensuring maximum human happiness to the people. Each ideology claimed to be perfect in offering solution of the problems that the generations faced keeping in mind the limitations in which each was formulated. There hardly had been any philosopher who could wield so much influence as Karl Marx did among the largest masses of the people all over the world. There was a time when it appeared that Marxism had come to stay but the history which has been a cruel master reacted in a different way uprooting the ideology from the country which was regarded as the Rome of Communism.

It is not an attempt to trace the history of disintegration of the Soviet Union which was no doubt the culmination of the process which had started much earlier. It is essentially a survey of events that led to the dissolution of communism which ultimately broke the backbone of communist system. The breakdown of the system has been the result of the failure of the Communist ideology to bring about, as it predicted, a new way of thinking among the mass mind of the Soviet people who were made to accept this ideology as a creed. There are numerous theories being set forth to promote different answers to this query. One of them suggests that communism has been a long and painful transition from capitalism to capitalism.

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1. Evolution of the Concept
2. Impact of Ideology on the Theorising Politics
3. The Soviet Ideology: Origin Evolution and Formulations
4. Ideological Socialist Bloc: Emergence Role and Configuration
5. Break-up of the Soviet Union: Rationale and Consequences
6. Conclusion: An End Or New Beginning

Ideology and Political Theory

**A Study with Special Reference to the
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By

Kundan Kumar

2003

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PREFACE

The present book is organised into five chapters, each of which seeks to analyse a particular aspect of the communist ideology since its inception from the days of Karl Marx. To start with, the concept of ideology has been delineated in the context of historical perspectives especially stressing the interpretation given by several philosophers in the light of their experience during the period they lived in. The significance of Marxism lies in its claim that earlier philosophers had interpreted the world differently, its object was to create a new one. In order to analyse Marxism in historical perspective, all relevant strands in the development of the main theme have been briefly discussed as precursors in the wake of which the socialist thought ran its course.

However, philosophers remained engrossed with the conflicting claims of different ideologies each of which posed as a panacea for human problems. In the international gathering in 1955, they almost unanimously endorsed the view that there should not be any ideological conflicts in a free society and an ideological accord was the demand of the day. In brief, ideological conflicts should be replaced by consensus on ideological matters.

Ideologies do not arise in a vacuum nor remain mere subjects of speculation among the philosophers. They provide theories to a state system and are very much concerned with the structure of political power in society. Even in the days of Greek civilization ideology provided guidelines to the people as to how their normal forms of government if not pursued by

altruistic motives and guided by noble sentiments could get perverted and give rise to tyrannies of various types.

Usually it is a political party that acts as the most important carrier and interpreter of ideology. In the book under reference, the Communist Party of Soviet Union has been analysed with particular reference to what extent it failed in its mission to educate people on whose support they wanted to survive. All these background developments form the subject matter of Chapter II.

The main theme of the essay, which is Soviet ideology, its origin, evolution and culmination, is designed to highlight the compulsions of circumstances that caused its emergence in the Soviet Union and led to its disintegration in 1991. Marxism, as Plamentz pointed out, could not have been produced in the dark ages nor could the steam engine, each of which required a certain social environment. Ideology like science is limited by the environment in which it is produced. In studying the emergence of ideologies we have not to go by the formulations of theoretical predictions but by the spirit of the forces that go to shape a society. According to Marxist interpretation, Russia, because of its industrial backwardness could not be a fertile ground for the growth of Communist ideology, but the basic idea was that Russian society of those days was most exploited economically and most conservative from the point of view of religion. These facts have been stated in detail in Chapter-III.

It may be recalled that during the First World War the allied forces as a matter of strategy had entered Russia probably on the invitation of the Tsar. During the Communist Revolution in 1917, the presence of the Western troops in the Soviet Union was used by Western powers against the new Soviet State. This added to the strength of counter revolutionaries who with their activities impeded the pace and development of the Communist revolution. The Soviet Union had not forgotten this bitter fact of history and continued to seek an opportunity to retaliate. The Marxist supporters found in the post-war period which gave them the opportunity to form a bloc extending over the whole of Central and East Europe. These developments have been discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Finally, to face new challenges particularly in its efforts to assert its superiority over other systems the communist ideology had to spread its wings over a number of other allied spheres but it failed to resist the onward march of mankind towards achieving the cherished goal of freedom. The details have been stated to show how the process of disintegration had started much earlier than expected and how it resulted in complete collapse which at one time was considered to be a new religion for the mankind. The Nobel Laureate, Norman Angel once remarked that communism would succeed to the extent it became a religion and it would meet the fate of some of these religions which were imposed by a small sect over others for very dubious reasons. The scope of these issues has been widely covered in Chapter V.

It should be kept in view that the developments in the Soviet world since 1989 have had a tremendous impact on the entire global system. Gorbachev after assuming power in 1985 never believed that the end of the Soviet Union was so inevitable and imminent. So he tried his hand with Glasnost and Perestroika but the system had been so incorrigible that he had to remain a passive witness to the transition from one system to another. Meanwhile the fall of Socialist regime in Eastern Europe and the re-unification of Germany brought the disintegration of the USSR to the world view as a fact to which all had to be reconciled.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of the thesis, under submission, the learned guidance that I received from my supervisor Dr. Nisar-ul-Haq, Reader in the Department of Political Science, Jamia Millia Islamia, has been a source of constant inspiration to me. The keen interest he took in the day-to-day progress of my research helped me to get it expedited without in any way affecting the work qualitatively. I will ever remain grateful for all that he did for me during the period I spent at Jamia. It is with a sense of great humility that I express my deep indebtedness to Professor S.J.R. Bilgrami, Dean of Social Science, Professor Z.M. Khan, Head of the Department of Political Science, Professor Z.A. Nizami, Professor of Political Science and till recently Director of the Academic Staff College and Professor Mohd. Mujtaba Khan, Department of Political Science for their encouragement, valuable suggestions and above all their readiness to help me in procuring the material from different sources which otherwise would not have been so easily available. In this context I cannot fail to express my gratitude to the other members of the faculty and fellow researchers who from time to time discussed the subject with me and gave their useful comments.

Among the libraries in which I had to work during the period of research, the Jamia Millia Islamia, Sapru House, Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, Parliament House, have been the custodian of extremely useful material that I required from time to time to analyse the various aspects of the subject. I take this opportunity to thank the librarians and staff

of these institutes for being extremely courteous to me during the period I spent in their association. Finally, the help I received from a number of other friends in extending their co-operation in several ways would ever remain an unforgettable experience of my life.

Kundan Kumar

INTRODUCTION

An ideology is a system of beliefs and ideas held in common by the members of a society either as a matter of experience or faith as inherited from its propagators. Ideology is the conversion of ideas into social levers, it is the commitment to the consequences of ideas. It not only sustains the society but also specifies a set of values that are more or less coherent. In political sphere it is regarded as a discourse in so far as it envisages guiding principles, practices and aspirations by which politically organised societies are to be governed. Complete individual loyalty to the ideology is demanded of those who accept it and it is essential and so imperative that the individual conduct is completely permeated by it. All adherence to the ideology are expected to be in complete agreement with each other.

The term ideology was coined in 1801 by Destutt de Tracy. Napoleon Bonaparte referred to the "ideologues" as the mongers of metaphysical trash, and fixed the popular connotation of the term as visionary moonshine. Studies of "ideology" as a distinctive type of human thought have emerged only recently. Marx's penetrating mind for the first time made the concept of ideology part of a systematic doctrine. He analysed the dependence of our ideologies upon our environment and emphasized especially the importance of the socio-economic setting of ideologies.

There has been tremendous impact of ideology on political theorising. Marxism is an ideology and socialist regimes have based themselves on Marxism. Ideologies often assumed the role of a saviour when societies were in crisis. In periods of social turmoil and widespread public discontent people look around

for ideas that would help them to understand the present realities. It promises for a better future. Certain ideologies thus appeal to the public mind not only for contemporary period but also in times to come.

Ideologies act as cementing bonds within a political system. They seek to bolster up a regime. Ideologies also play an important role in explaining political change. Political change is an essential element of political life. The speed and extent of change vary from system to system. Ideologies are the broad and comprehensive doctrines like liberalism, communism or fascism which having emerged in the past two hundred years acted as a peculiar and often decisive factor in contemporary politics. Our modern wars were ideological wars, our party conflicts were ideological conflicts. To understand the present and the past, we should have to understand the nature and effects of these ideologies; without it no study of modern politics, foreign or domestic, could make sense.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, an association of Western intellectuals, met in National Museum of Technology and Science in Milan in mid-September 1955. Some 150 writers, politicians, public figures, journalists and university professors had gathered to discuss a theme which was on the agenda as the "future of freedom". The aim for setting up the conference was to liberate liberal and social thinking from unnecessary stratification and working out a common basis for formulating more realistic and more constructive ideas in regard to the free society.

Most of the participants endorsed the view that we were living in the twilight zone of ideology where acute ideological conflicts were at end. In their view there should not be any ideological conflicts in free society and "end of ideology" was a first requirement of the free society. They maintained that there must be an ideological accord in the society. Ideological conflicts should be replaced by consensus on ideological matters. Many other sociological and economic concepts emerged such as "convergence theory", "post capitalist society", "stages of economic growth", and "value-free social science". All these concepts were associated with the theory of the "end of ideology".

In the recent times, many far-reaching changes have taken place. The pace of the change in the world has accelerated. Marxian ideology which at one time had such tremendous impact that it divided the world into two ideological blocs. Now we see that Marxian ideology is waning^{weak}. Developments in the socialist world especially after 1989 were so quick that political analysts and observers were completely confused and bewildered. The disintegration of the Soviet Union took place and many of East European countries opted for western democracy. Many factors were responsible for these sudden changes but the differences in ideologies were the main source of these changes.

Developments in the socialist world during the last few years particularly since 1989 have had a tremendous impact on the entire global system. As a matter of fact these developments were very quick. In spite of all the criticism of the Communist system and Marxist ideology, the critics did not visualise its total collapse. The change can be described as the fall of the Communist ideology. The process of change has been hailed by many in the west as an ideological victory of the capitalist model of democracy.

These regimes came to symbolise repression, censorship, ethnic chauvinism, militarism, red tape and economic backwardness. The failure of the economic content of communism, which, indeed was the most vital aspect of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, is believed to have been the bane of these societies as it wrought political degeneration leading to instability. Besides, in these societies there were some unique domestic, historical and political factors which also contributed to the rise of inimical forces to which the political-economic institutions fell prey in the final analysis. Gorbachev's policies of Perestroika and Glasnost did also contribute in bringing about the change.

Those countries that adhered to the Marxist-Leninist ideology differed with the west on socio-economic, political and cultural issues. Despite these ideological infirmities they claimed themselves to be more democratic. As it came to pass, the Marxist states crumbled under the dead weight of ideological inadequacies. The source of these contradictions in the Soviet

Union and other East European countries lay primarily in their differences in ideological thinking. The ideological dissimilarity with the west and its inability to absorb the shocks of the changing times led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Hence, with this backdrop the proposed study tends to examine the place of ideology in political theory and how far was ideology responsible for the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The significance of the research under reference can be highlighted by stating the developments of contemporary events that have so rapidly overtaken the world and the measures that were adopted to face the challenges. At one time, ideology had a tremendous impact on political thinking. At the time of social turmoil and widespread public discontent, ideology played a very important role in giving people a direction in understanding the present and preparing for the future goal. But of late it has been realised that ideology had lost importance in so far as it could control the mass mind as their sole liberator from all social tyrannies. Now no ideologies can repeat the Marxist slogan that by accepting their philosophical tenets, 'the common man could not lose anything but chains'.

History is witness to the fact that Marxian ideology had its sway for a considerable long time. It stood as a scientific philosophy, revolutionary programme, progressive movement and the socio-economic, political, cultural and moral basis of more than a thousand million people. During the course of its journey, it successfully faced many challenges from within and without. It guided many revolutionary movements of this ideology which had divided the world into two blocs—the capitalist and the socialist. But these days Marxism as an ideology has been labeled as an outdated ideology which is unable to deal with the complexities of the late 20th century. It arouses curiosity to find out how far this assumption is correct. Whether Marxism has really come to an end or not would be a fascinating area of a study.

The pace of change in the world has been accelerated. One of the major reasons for the collapse of the monolithic communist state apparatus was its inability to absorb shocks and change quickly both in technology and in politics. This in a way vindicates the assertion of the end of ideology theorists that there cannot be only one model of managing modern complex

societies, but it is the synthesis of the few that could lead to the establishment of a stable society. It is true that the ideological division of the world led to a continuing debate between the different ideologies competing and supplementing, but the emphasis of the end of 'ideology theory' was to go beyond this specificity and look to the essential convergence rather than divergence between two modes of arrangement and social engineering. This is in mark contrast to other ideologies like polycentrism or the Marxist schools that emerged in the west and remained confined mainly in the east among the dissidents.

For Marx, reality had no structure outside the one imposed by the human productive activity. For him, man himself had no essence of nature but changed through interactions with his national and social environment. All thought was a reflection of the environment in which man found himself. He believed that man has been the slave of extraneous economic forces and religious philosophical and political illusions and asserted that man if he only had the scientific understanding of society could determine his circumstances. Rejecting the three great sources of theocratic traditions in the West, Greek philosophy, Judaism and Christianity, Marx asserted that in future man, the creator, would become the most potential weapon of social change. He believed "in the unity of theory and practice and said that it is not consciousness that determines life but life that determines consciousness." In other words, it is the material development in society which had created a false distinction between theory and practice and spirit and matter. Theory according to him was, hand-maiden of practical material interests; communist theory for Marx is not a mere description or explanation of the realities of human life and society or even prediction of what is to come but the necessary weapon for the demolition of class-society and a blueprint for establishing a new world based on the knowledge that man creates himself.

In this context a new idea may be added. Marx also had a theory of history. But with the fall of socialism, Marx's theory of economic basis of society which forms the corner-stone of his historical materialism too has proved to be a dialectical obsession. But then how are social formations to be explained? Is there any other reliable pattern of development to depend upon? Again what is the next higher society and with what

regimes? The search in the matter is imperative as a social obligation.

Even some communist philosophers believe that a historical type movement as Marxism was, is such that in forward movement of progress, it does not occur twice. History has no example of reconstruction, once a historical type is lost. Though the remnants of feudalism survive even today, we can never conclude that reconstruction of European feudalism as a historical type has become possible. The slave-holding society of the Roman type that existed for a period of 300 years cannot reappear even if desired. There are some remnants of a historical type but it never confirms its recurrence.

Karl Jasper used the term 'axial time' which prepares the objective conditions for the reappearance of a historical time and this specific 'axial time', once passed never does come again. Therefore, the idea of reconstruction of Marxian socialism is basically anti historical and as such stands rejected by us without any hesitation. There is another view which suggests that the idea of reconstruction persists. Some give the back-to-Lenin concept, other give the back-to-Marx idea, in which they say that the 1917 Revolution was premature as the then Russia was an underdeveloped country with little capitalist growth. There are still others who hope to rebuild Marxian socialism following the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and occasionally by invoking even Mao.

There are some Communists who think on the above lines in a mood of penance that emanates from truth of faith to which they want to stick. If the struggle for socialism had not been abandoned after the downfall of the Paris Commune, why should one give it up now following the collapse of the Soviet Union? By asserting the historic fall of Marxian socialism we, however, would like to point out that the disintegration of the Paris Commune is not similar to that of the Soviet Union. Paris

Commune was suppressed but the Soviet Union suffered a fall from within. Whereas the Paris Commune succumbed to the forces of external factors, Soviet communism died of its own inner contradictions rendering its revival an unlikely possibility.

ABSTRACT

Ideology and Political Theory: A Study with Special Reference to the Disintegration of the Soviet Union

I. Theme and its Significance

This essay primarily seeks to analyse the role that ideology in general has played in the development of human consciousness to move incessantly towards making human society free from all inner contradictions thus imparting not only permanence to its perpetuation but also ensuring maximum human happiness to the people.

Historically speaking it started from the days of Thucidides and Aristotle who are regarded as pioneer thinkers in the realm of political speculation. But the earlier ideas were refreshed in each age by the philosophers of the day. Each ideology claimed to be perfect in offering solution of the problems that the generations faced keeping in mind the limitations in which each was formulated. Thomas Maine's Utopia was a chain in ideological link of the West.

In the wake of the barbaric practices that were witnessed in the post industrial era in the form of worst possible economic exploitation by those who controlled means of production over the have-nots, a new wave of resentment stirred the conscience of all thinking people. The credit goes to Karl Marx who is considered the prophet of the age as it is he who gave form to what remained a vision to his predecessors? The basic postulates of his philosophy immensely influenced the mass mind everywhere. As he said the philosophers earlier had interpreted the word differently, his mission was to create a new one. There

hardly had been any philosopher who could wield so much influence as Marx did among the largest masses of the people all over the world. There was a time when it appeared that Marxism had come to stay but the history which has been a cruel master reacted in a different way uprooting the ideology from the country which was regarded as the Rome of Communism.

An attempt has been made in these pages to analyse the concept and its working and also what brought about its downfall. Ideologies do not emerge in a vacuum nor do they wither away in the atmosphere of disbelief or non-believing. Likewise, ideologies do not die but they get eclipsed. They may emerge soon if the conditions conducive for their birth and growth again challenge the status-quo and call for the reversion of the old systems in a renewed form bereft of the flaws which brought about their downfall.

Finally, this essay does not essentially attempt to trace the history of disintegration of the Soviet Union which was no doubt the culmination of the process which had started much earlier. It is essentially a survey of events that led to the dissolution of communism which ultimately broke the backbone of communist system. The breakdown of the system has been the result of the failure of the Communist ideology to bring about, as it predicted, a new way of thinking among the mass mind of the Soviet people who were made to accept this ideology as a creed. It is none of the business of the present researcher to speculate on what will happen in the future. There are numerous theories being set forth to promote different answers to this query. One of them suggests that communism has been a long and painful transition from capitalism to capitalism.

II. Ideology and its Role

Our modern age is predominantly an age of ideology. Ideology has always been and will continue to be an inevitable commitment of our earthly existence. But "Studies of ideology" as a distinctive type of human thought has emerged only very recently. This discipline maintains that philosophical thought or, more correctly, thought in general, is always the expression of a specific social situation. Every social group develops its own conceptual apparatus, certain peculiar methods and a specific

style of thinking according to its position in society. These patterns of thought are ideologies.

The ideology strictly means a system of ideas elaborated in the light of certain conceptions of what ought to be. It designates a theory of social life which approaches the facts from the point of view of an ideal and interprets them, consciously or unconsciously, to prove the correctness of its analysis and to justify that ideal. Thus every ideological construction involves the projection of a certain ideal into the future, keeping in view its evaluation in the present and also its evolution in the past.

Ideologies consist of programmes for the future of the society, the community, the nation, the state or the world, together with quasi-scientific explanations of social facts so interpreted that the desired future state is covertly or overtly scheduled to come about either logically, morally or from the point of view of natural laws.

The French philosopher Antonie Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) coined the term 'idéologie' in 1796. De Tracy was an aristocrat, sympathetic to the French Revolution (1789), but was imprisoned during the Terror. Tracy saw 'ideology' as a science of the human mind and he believed that his task was not simply explanatory; he wanted to develop a system of education which would produce better people.

The word 'ideology' quickly degenerated into a pejorative term, referring more to the object rather than to the form of study, a situation which largely remains today. The best known Marxist statement on ideology appears in 'The German Ideology', which Marx wrote with Friedrich Engels (1820-95) in the 1840s. In their view the class which had the means of material production at its disposal, had control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lacked the means of material production were subjected to it.

In the field of ideologies much of the work done belongs to the cumulative study of problems that existed from the days men learnt to line together in society. The study of ideology is associated with the growing conviction that human behaviour is largely non-rational or irrational. The work of Charles Darwin

has much to do with the spread of such ideas. Since there is no break in the chain of descent between man and other animal species we need not assume that the behaviour of man is determined by forces radically different from those operating in the behaviour of animals. Since behaviour of animals is largely impulsive and instinctive, men began to assert, at the turn of the present century, that human beings too have instincts, and that human actions are in considerable proportion non-rational or non-logical.

Ideologies come in all colours—red, white, green and saffron (communist, racist, islamic, hindu etc.). National socialism in Germany was exclusively devoted to the cause of a master race. The Klu-Klux-Klan of America and the skinheads of neo-Nazis of modern Europe, the Muslim and Hindu fundamentalists of Afro-Asian countries are all testimony of the power that ideologies exercise over the minds of men. Ideologies move men to close their minds to all extraneous ideas and to follow their particular ideologies zealously and even blindly.

In the absence of leadership by well organised minorities, mass populations are rarely, if ever, capable of decisive action. Revolutions always depend, therefore on the initiative of an organised minority. Among the communists, this minority was the dictatorship of the proletariat: a new kind of regime based not on popular consent but on the revolutionary power of a small, well organised elite, the communist party.

Ideology is never an end in itself but the means to an end, which end is the over all progress of mankind. Different ideologies have devised different means to achieve this end, and no ideology is, or can be, absolutely applicable and relevant to all times, places and circumstances. Every ideology has a particular time and place. There is a tide in the affairs of men which when taken in its stride leads to good fortune and prosperity. No one can stop the march of an idea whose time has come and ideas that are out of time with ground reality are fated to die. Capitalism and communism had to wait till the industrial revolution before they could be fully developed into the powerful ideologies of their times.

III. Eclipse of Marxism

Communists in pre-Marxian days used to claim that the people in the West always talked in terms of creating a Utopia on the model of Thomas Maine's 'Utopia'. But Marx in his view developed socialism from a Utopia to a science. Nearly 150 years separated the English bourgeois revolution and the French revolution. Another 80 years passed before the emergence of the prototype of the first worker's state—the Paris commune, but the October Revolution of 1917 laid the first foundation of the world socialist system.

Another claim of the communists was that Marx was the sole protagonist of what is known in history as scientific socialism. They believed that under the new dispensation a new society would be created in which the structure of power would be recast and the system of private property would be abolished. The call to create a society in which there would be no poor or rich, nor the private property would be allowed to exploit the have-nots drew popular response. Marx advocated that even the early christians did not believe what was possible or practical. All his life Marx continued to elaborate the basic principles of his philosophy which was not only a pioneer effort to pose a problem in a most logical manner but which also sought to solve the problems which so far were considered insoluble. In brief Marxism declared itself to be the science of how to construct a society of social justice which remained a dream so far for all those who believed to be the reformists of the society.

However, due to the collapse of Marxian socialism, the Utopian nature of communism has become exposed. Also with the fall of socialism, Marx's theory of economic basis of society, which formed the cornerstone of his historical materialism too appeared to be irrelevant. The question often posed was whether the change could be described as the fall of communist ideology or the failure of the soviet style of state system. The general consensus among scholars has been that it was the soviet system as set up by the leaders in power in the light of their understanding of the communist philosophy that had met its doom. The ideology and the system could not be identified as two separate entities.

The concept of communism as understood and promoted by Stalin was called 'army barrack' socialism upholding repression', militarism and ethnic chauvinism. After Stalin, a new leadership emerged which tried to give it a new meaning but they could not go beyond a certain stage in making communism as an acceptable alternative by other countries which had the same problems of poverty and backwardness to deal with. Even communism after the second world war was enforced by the military regime of the Soviet Union, it was never adopted as a system by a popular vote. The Soviet leaders struggled to improve their system by various means. But in the world of competitive ideologies they could not make much headway. On the other hand, problems went on accelerating.

The failure of the economic contact of communism which was the most vital aspect of the Marxist ideology turned out to be the sole reason for creating instability and finally its collapse.

During the cold war period reforms were introduced in the Soviet Union because it had lost this war. During this period Marxism had lost all force as an ideology and communism as a political order and Soviet type of socialism as an economic system. Meanwhile the Soviet wings had spread all over East Europe and major parts of Asia. This economic-military over-extension weakened the ideological force leading to dilution of Soviet authority over its allies.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 ended an important chapter of history. The momentous changes that took place between 1985 and 1991, the magnitude and swiftness of the transition from Communism to post-totalitarianism and from Soviet to post-Soviet government were unanticipated and yet have somehow become inevitable. During Gorbachev's time it was already clear that the slow evolution of the Soviet system had accelerated swiftly. For sometime greater contacts with outside world, contempt for tired and aging leaders, rising economic expectations and the decline in growth caused by the arms race had been awakening the desire for political change among the elites. In a society with no independent institution it was impossible to express these demands in a sustained and public way. But the hunger for change was there and sometimes it had to assert.

When Gorbachev came to assume power in 1985 he sought to introduce some reforms through perestroika but he made it clear that it was not to replace Soviet system. It was not in his mind to change the economic and social structure of communist society. The aim of reforms was to overcome economic stagnation and to make the Soviet Union more effective and competitive. Glasnost was another concept associated with his name. It stood for 'openness', to make public what has been hidden. It increased the opportunities for public analysis by making information more accessible, removing the ban on certain topics and providing opportunities to ask questions and offer any conceivable options for answers.

The situation in Soviet Union had deteriorated so much that these well meaning concepts could not cut much ice and what was needed now was radical transformation of the whole Soviet system based entirely on new tenets of liberalism. But the problem was to democratise the country which had for a generation been under totalitarian regime, such a system could not be transformed into a new set up over night. It appeared as if it would take if not a generation, at least a few years to change the complexion of the society. In fact the events in 1991 did not launch the country on the path of democracy but it was a turning point, a moment of discontinuity. However, the 19th annual session of the Soviet Communist Party gave the lead to the developments that resulted in the break-up of the Soviet system. It is at that conference that a decision was taken to allow contested elections in the coming year. This marked the end of the one-party system, the collapse of one party itself and finally the collapse of the Soviet Union.

No one in 1985 imagined that USSR was under threat of falling apart. The process of disintegration happened to be remarkably smooth. Compared with other European empire the Soviet Union fell apart with no blood shed. Eastern Europe was given up without a shot being fired. The republics of the Soviet Union broke away with only minimal resistance from Moscow which preferred to remain docile. If later there was conflict it was not between Russians and non-Russians but between other ethnic groups. That Russia adjusted to the loss of empire and she reacted to transition non-violently and without turning to xenophobia has been a remarkable event of the century.

IV. Contents of the Essay: Synoptic View

As regards the pattern of analysing the theme of research, the dissertation under submission has been organised into five chapters, each of which seeks to analyse a particular aspect of the communist ideology since its inception from the days of Karl Marx. To start with, the concept of ideology has been delineated in the context of historical perspectives especially stressing the interpretation given by several philosophers in the light of their experience during the period they lived in. The significance of marxism lies in its claim that earlier philosophers had interpreted the world differently, its object was to create a new one. In order to analyse Marxism in historical perspective, all relevant strands in the development of the main theme have been briefly discussed as precursors in the wake of which the socialist thought ran its course.

However, philosophers remained engrossed with the conflicting claims of different ideologies each of which posed as a panacea for human problems. In the international gathering in 1955 they almost unanimously endorsed the view that there should not be any ideological conflicts in a free society and an ideological accord was the demand of the day. In brief, ideological conflicts should be replaced by consensus on ideological matters.

Ideologies do not arise in a vacuum nor remain mere subjects of speculation among the philosophers. They provide theories to a state system and are very much concerned with the structure of political power in society. Even in the days of Greek civilization ideology provided guidelines to the people as to how their normal forms of government if not pursued by altruistic motives and guided by noble sentiments could get perverted and give rise to tyrannies of various types.

Usually it is a political party that acts as the most important carrier and interpreter of ideology. In the dissertation under reference, the Communist Party of Soviet Union has been analysed with particular reference to what extent it failed in its mission to educate people on whose support they wanted to survive. All these background developments form the subject matter of Chapter II.

The main theme of the essay, which is Soviet ideology, its origin, evolution and culmination, is designed to highlight the compulsions of circumstances that caused its emergence in the Soviet Union and led to its disintegration in 1991. Marxism, as Plamentz pointed out, could not have been produced in the dark ages nor could the steam engine each of which required a certain social environment. Ideology like science is limited by the environment in which it is produced. In studying the emergence of ideologies we have not to go by the formulations of theoretical predictions but by the spirit of the forces that go to shape a society. According to Marxist interpretation Russia, because of its industrial backwardness could not be a fertile ground for the growth of Communist ideology, but the basic idea was that Russian society of those days was most exploited economically and most conservative from the point of view of religion. These facts have been stated in detail in Chapter III.

It may be recalled that during the First World War the allied forces as a matter of strategy had entered Russia probably on the invitation of the Tsar. During the Communist Revolution in 1917, the presence of the western troops in the Soviet Union was used by western powers against the new Soviet State. This added to the strength of counter revolutionaries who with their activities impeded the pace and development of the communist revolution. The Soviet Union had not forgotten this bitter fact of history and continued to seek an opportunity to retaliate. The Marxist supporters found in the post-war period a catalytic situation which gave them the opportunity to form a bloc extending over the whole of Central and East Europe. These developments have been discussed in detail in chapter IV.

Finally, to face new challenges particularly in its efforts to assert its superiority over other systems the communist ideology had to spread its wings over a number of other allied spheres but it failed to resist the onward march of mankind towards achieving the cherished goal of freedom. The details have been stated to show how the process of disintegration had started much earlier than expected and how it resulted in complete collapse which at one time was considered to be a new religion for the mankind. The Nobel Laureate Norman Angel once remarked that communism would succeed to the extent it

became a religion and it would meet the fate of some of these religions which were imposed by a small group of people over others for very dubious reasons. The scope of these issues has been widely covered in Chapter V.

It should be kept in view that the developments in the Soviet world since 1989 have had a tremendous impact on the entire global system. Gorbachev after assuming power in 1985 never believed that the end of the Soviet Union was so inevitable and imminent. So he tried his hand with Glasnost and Perestroika but the system had been so incorrigible that he had to remain a passive witness to the transition from one system to another. Meanwhile the fall of Socialist regime in Eastern Europe and the re-unification of Germany brought the disintegration of the USSR to the world view as a fact to which all had to be reconciled.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

Our modern age is predominantly an age of ideology. Ideology has always been and will continue to be an inevitable commitment of our earthly existence. There has never been a time, when human behaviour, particularly political behaviour, has not been largely affected by the mental images, through which men have grown accustomed to perceive and judge the world around them. The emergence of the comprehensive doctrines like liberalism, fascism and communism, during the past two hundred years had been a decisive factor in moulding our thinking in contemporary politics. Without some understanding of the nature and effects of these ideologies, no study of modern politics, foreign or domestic, could possibly make sense.

"Studies of ideology" as a distinctive type of human thought has emerged only very recently. This discipline maintains that philosophical thought or, more correctly, thought in general is always the expression of a specific social situation. Every social group develops its own conceptual apparatus, certain peculiar methods and a specific style of thinking according to its position in a society. Every pattern of thought, every philosophical or other cultural product belongs to the specific social group in which it originates and with whose existence it is bound. These patterns of thought are ideologies. In America, "ideology" and "ideologue" are still taken by most of the thinkers as derogatory terms, and are used to condemn

IMPACT OF IDEOLOGY ON THEORISING POLITICS

Political ideology is looked at as a set of political beliefs that characterise any group, government or the entire nation. Political ideologies are political ideas presented in a systematic and coherent pattern to achieve specific political goals through definite action programmes. These are methodically formulated and often related to philosophical systems. Their forms are often related to the distribution of political power which might mean both defence or change of the existing political structure and relationships.

According to Marx and Engels, ideology includes not only the theory of knowledge and politics but also metaphysics, ethics, religion and indeed any form of consciousness which expresses the basic attitude on commitments of a programmatic and rhetorical application of some philosophical system which arouses men to political action and may provide strategic guidance for that action.¹

Ideology is a more specific term than ideas. It has in practice been employed with different emphasis. It is a pattern of ideas thrown up automatically by specific social circumstances. All societies generate their own ideologies. It is a total, all-embracing and systematic explanatory system and plan of political action. It is a set of ideas formulated into a precise political programme. It is a fervently held but impractical formula for a political utopia.²

THE SOVIET IDEOLOGY: ORIGIN EVOLUTION AND FORMULATIONS

Historical Background

It is said that political power is based on force, yet force alone is an inadequate basis for a political system. This paradox is frequently resolved by explaining that the monopoly entails only the legitimate exercise of force. But what is legitimate depends on the attitudes of the population of the territory or at least on the attitudes of a dominant element among the population. Attitudes reflect widely held expectations concerning proper political behaviour, customs and beliefs which constitute the political culture of a society. The effort to determine the political culture involves direct surveys of the attitudes of the population. But in a closed system like the Soviet, this approach was forbidden.

To understand Soviet system, we must understand that it is the creation of a consciously articulated body of ideas—the ideology. Political culture like most popular customs was extremely persistent. What preceded the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, was more of a shameful memory of the past rather than a proud heritage. The Czarist regime prevailed in the same territory for centuries prior to the establishment of the USSR. Czarism was essentially a Russian phenomenon.

One of the most striking parallels between Czarism and Bolshevism is the existence of an unusual measure of centralised,

IDEOLOGICAL SOCIALIST BLOC: EMERGENCE ROLE AND CONFIGURATION

The first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia took place in 1905-07, but for a variety of reasons it ended in defeat of the revolutionary forces. The dramatic deterioration in the standard of living of Russia's working masses after the revolutionary explosion of 1905-07 caused a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement among the popular masses of Russia as early as the second decade of the 20th century. The First World War (1914-1918) in which Czarist Russia fought on the side of the entente caused a brief interruption in the revolutionary upsurge of 1910-14. The period witnessed the rising tide of the revolutionary movement, bringing the crisis to a head which culminated in the overthrow of Czarism in February 1917.

The February bourgeois-democratic revolution did not bring the working masses of Russia either liberation from the domination of their exploiters, or Russia's withdrawal from the imperialist war. The masses needed an efficient and energetic leadership and they found it in their vanguard, the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin.

The political situation in the country at that time was extremely complex. After the overthrow of the Czarist monarchy workers, soldiers and peasants throughout the country had

BREAK-UP OF THE SOVIET UNION: RATIONALE AND CONSEQUENCES

Developments in the socialist world particularly since 1989 have had a tremendous impact on the entire global system. The developments were so quick and fast that they left the political analysts and observers completely confused and bewildered. Starting with Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost; followed by the signing of the INF treaty and the fall of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany and on top of all, the disintegration of the mighty Soviet Union, the events moved at such a speed that even before the fall of one was assessed, the other came with a bang.

No social scientist could explain or predict that such total changes were in the offing though there were plenty of sophisticated and empirical frameworks and models. Samuel Huntington, the great philosopher of the concept of political change and decay, wrote in 1984 that the possibility of democratic developments in Eastern Europe were virtually nil.

The survival of the Soviet Union had become a subject of intense discussion in the academic and political circles. But the development leading to its end were so unpredictable that it was not visualised as a certainty till the close of the year 1990. The change could be described either as the fall of the communist ideology or it could be called only the failure of the Soviet style of state system. The process of change has been hailed by many

CONCLUSION: AN END OR A NEW BEGINNING

The end of cold war marked the end of interstate conflicts that dominated the world since 1945 and at a later stage by the Soviet-US nuclear confrontation. However, two obvious prospective issues were whether this marked an end of great power military rivalry at least for a generation or whether a new pattern of interstate blocs would emerge to replace the old. But one thing appeared certain that major military confrontation or the threat there of was now almost over. As for hegemony, there appeared a situation of great fluidity in which no bloc of states seemed likely to emerge to match the US. All would go well if the US itself would be reluctant to play the unipolar role which the collapse of the USSR had allotted to it. The future seemed to be uncertain and the US may create more problems with consequences which could constitute a threat to peace.

The second dimension of the end of cold war was the end of communism as a political force. But it was a phenomenon confined to Europe; the trends within China indicated a move towards capitalism if not liberalism and the remaining communist states like Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea were unable to provide an international alternative. Two questions arose in this connection, first, what was the future of an alternative to capitalism?, second, what was the historical role of the whole communist experience? As regards the first it seemed that no programme of political challenge to liberal capitalism was visible

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APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF ETHNIC UNREST IN THE USSR 1986-1991

This chronology was compiled from various sources including Report on the USSR, FBIS Daily Report, The New York Times, Nationalities Papers, and The Economist.

June 1986: Ethnic tensions between Russians and Yakuts in city of Yakutsk.

December 1986: Dinmukhamed Kunaev replaced as party leader of Kazakhstan by Gennadii Kolbin, an ethnic Russian. Riots in Alma-Ata.

August 1987: Demonstrators turn out in all three Baltic capitals to mark the 48th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet pact which resulted in their incorporation into the USSR.

January 1988: A petition is signed by 75,000 Armenians demanding the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh by the Armenian Republic.

February 1988: One million Armenians participate in protests and strikes in the Armenian capital of Erevan. Clashes in Sumgait, Azerbaijan, result in the deaths of at least thirty-one people.

Police and civilian auxiliary officers prevent demonstrations to mark Lithuania's twenty years of independence.

April 1988: Estonia forms a Popular Front. Latvia and Lithuania soon follow suit.

July 1988: 100,000 Lithuanians attend a rally in Vilnius to hear a report from Lithuanian participants in the party conference.

November 1988: The Estonian Supreme Soviet declares its right to veto all-union laws passed in Moscow by a vote of 258-1 (with several abstentions). Gorbachev assails this decision.

January 1989: A rally in Lithuania calls for the removal of all Soviet troops from the Baltic. Estonia and Lithuania make Estonian and Lithuanian their official state languages. Latvia and Moldavia prepare for similar action.

March 1989: 20,000 demonstrate in Riga against the Latvian Party Central Committee's condemnation of "anti-Soviet and separatist" currents in the republic.

April 1989: Nineteen demonstrators are killed and 200 are wounded in clashes with Soviet troops at a pro-independence rally in Tbilisi. Attempts are made to distance Gorbachev from the massacre, leading to the replacement of Georgia's party secretary and premier.

Soviet troops pour into Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, following a nationalist meeting.

Soviet tanks roll into the Estonian cities of Tallinn and Tartu and the Latvian capital of Riga.

2,000 members of the Democratic Union rally in Moscow to protest the killings in Tbilisi; forty-seven are arrested.

May 1989: The Estonian Supreme Soviet votes for an economic autonomy programme. The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet votes for constitutional amendments, granting Lithuania the right to veto Soviet laws.

June 1989: 70,000-80,000 demonstrators participate in a rally by the Popular Front of Moldavia to protest the 1940 annexation of Moldavia by the USSR.

Rioting breaks out in the Fergana region of Uzbekistan between Uzbeks and Meskhetian Turks. Seventy-nine are killed and 800 injured.

July 1989: Ethnic riots break out in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, as well as in Abkhazia, Georgia. In Abkhazia, eighteen are killed and 239 injured.

Gorbachev warns the Union in a television broadcast that ethnic conflict poses a great threat to continued state stability.

20,000 Georgians march for independence in Tbilisi.

August 1989: Approximately one million demonstrators in the Baltics participate in a human chain of protest against the 50th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Lithuania declares that the 1940 annexation to the USSR is invalid.

Estonia passes a voter-registration law.

Representatives of several pro-independence groups gather at Riga Conference to make radical demands.

Moldavians rally to make Moldavian the official language of the republic.

Thousands of Russian factory and shipyard workers in Tallinn walk off their jobs in protest against perceived discrimination. Language and residency requirements are cited.

September 1989: Founding Conference of the Ukrainian Popular Front for Perestroika (Rukh) in Kiev.

Ukraine announces that Ukrainian will become the Republic's official language.

Azerbaijan passes an extensive sovereignty law.

October 1989: The Latvian Popular Front declares a goal of "complete independence" at their 2nd Congress.

November 1989: Lithuania moves to have a popular referendum on the question of secession.

December 1989: The Lithuanian Communist Party secedes from the USSR Communist Party. The Lithuanian legislature votes 243-1 to abolish the clause in its constitution which grants the Communist Party a monopoly on power.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet votes to unite with Nagorno-Karabagh region.

Nationalist and Popular Front movements achieve victory in Latvian and Estonian elections.

January 1990: Fierce fighting breaks out between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Sixty-six are killed and 220 injured. 10,000 Armenians and many Russians are evacuated from Azerbaijan. Soviet troops attack Baku, using artillery, tank, and naval gunfire to break a blockade of Baku's port and raid the offices of the Azerbaijani Popular Front.

Ukrainian Popular Front mobilizes 400,000 to form a human chain from Lviv to Kiev

February 1990: Thousands participate in riots in the Tajik capital of Dushanbe. Thirty-seven are killed and eighty wounded. The clashes are provoked by false rumours that thousands of Armenians were to be given preference for apartments in the capital.

Lithuania requests talks with Moscow to discuss ending all constitutional ties to the Soviet Union.

Ethnic violence occurs in Samarkand, Uzbekistan after 10,000 people demonstrate to demand an end to persecution of Uzbek Popular Front members.

March 1990: The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares Lithuania to be an independent state by a vote of 124-0 (with six abstentions). A non-communist, Vytautas Landsbergis, is elected president, Gorbachev claims acts are "illegal and invalid." Soviet tanks and personnel carriers rumble through the streets of Vilnius. Lithuania appeals for international recognition.

Tens of thousands of Ukrainians defy a ban by the Kiev authorities and answer a call by Rukh for mass meetings in support of Lithuanian independence.

Estonia declares its independence.

April 1990: Moscow imposes severe economic sanctions on Lithuania, implementing embargoes of oil and gas supplies. Estonia supports Lithuanian independence in a resolution.

200,000 rally in Tbilisi to press for independence and to protest the April 1989 massacre.

May 1990: Latvia declares its independence.

The Baltics decide to coordinate independence movement policies.

Commission on Tatars adopts a programme to return Tatars to their historical homeland in the Crimea between 1991 and 1996.

More ethnic violence occurs in Armenia while tens of thousands demonstrate demanding formal political ties with Nagorno-Karabakh.

June 1990: The RSFSR Congress of people's Deputies votes overwhelmingly for sovereignty.

Uzbekistan declares sovereignty.

139 people are killed in inter-ethnic violence over a land dispute between Uzbeks and Kyrghyz in Kyrghyzan's Osh oblast.

July 1990: Ukraine declares sovereignty and rejects the "deployment, production, and use of nuclear weapons on its territory."

Ethnic violence continues in Osh, Kyrgyzstan.

Belarus declares sovereignty.

August 1990: Karelia becomes the first ASSR to declare its sovereignty.

Komi and Tataria soon follow.

3,000 people flee Tuva because of conflict between ethnic Russians and locals.

September 1990: "Dniester-Soviet" and Gagauz leaders proclaim secession from Moldavia and recognize each other.

A state of emergency is declared in Mordvinia banning all rallies, meetings, and city and rayon soviet sessions in response to mounting public movement against the republican leadership.

Turkmenistan Parliament declares sovereignty.

75,000 to 100,000 rally in Kiev for greater independence from Moscow.

October 1990: Ukrainian students declare a hunger strike in Kiev, demanding rejection of the new union treaty, full sovereignty and independence, an end to Communist party domination, and radical social and economic reforms. Ukrainian prime minister Masol tenders his resignation. Yakutia, Chukchi, Chuvash, Mari, Khanty-Mansil, Yamal-Nenets, and Udmurtia move to declare sovereignty.

November 1990: Following the proclamation of an independent Dniester Republic, the Moldovan militia clashes with an "internationalist detachment" of Russian workers. Six are killed, thirty injured.

December 1990: Lithuania and Estonia boycott the Federation Council Meeting.

North Ossetia declares itself a union republic.

January 1991: Attempting to take control of local radio and television stations in Vilnius, Soviet troops kill fourteen Lithuanians. Gorbachev claims he did not order the violence.

200,000 rally in Moscow to protest Lithuanian crack-down and call for Gorbachev to resign.

Ten are killed in ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Six Georgian policemen are killed in a South Ossetia shootout.

Moldova revokes a Soviet conscription law declaring Moldova's youth are not obliged to serve in Soviet armed forces.

Moldovan Popular Front decides to boycott the all-Union referendum to be held in March.

Georgia boycotts the March referendum. The Georgian Supreme Soviet moves to create a National Guard.

February 1991: Lithuanians vote 9:1 in favour of a "democratic and independent state of Lithuania."

Ukraine discusses the possibility of an independent army.

North Ossetia requests presidential rule.

Ukraine Supreme Soveit supports Crimean Independence. A national referendum is slated on the question.

Lviv, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Termopol oblasts decide to hold separate ballots.

Turkmenistan makes plans to create foreign consulates.

Gagauz opens its own university.

500,000 rally in Nagorno-Karabakh for a transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenian control. Two are killed there in continuing ethnic violence.

Shooting occurs among national militias in Tskhinvali, South Ossetia.

March 1991: Latvians and Estonians turn out for a referendum on independence. Both have large majorities in favour.

Armenia decides to hold a referendum on independence, 98 per cent vote for secession.

Moldova creates a presidential style government.

Chechen-Ingushetia ASSR issues a statement that they will not participate in the referendum.

Ethnic Germans in the USSR hold a conference to request the re-creation of a German ASSR on the Volga. South Ossetian extremists burn four Georgians to death.

Latvia approves a law to protect minorities in the republic.

Ukraine approves private land ownership.

Armenians attack the village Kheyrimli, Azerbaijan; casualties result.

April 1991: The Georgian government demands that Gorbachev withdraw troops from South Ossetia and in a unanimous vote declares full secession from the Union.

Soviet troops and Azerbaijani militia begin a crackdown on Armenian insurgents in Western Azerbaijan. Thirty-five Armenians are killed by Soviet troops and Azerbaijani police during an attack on the village of Getasen in Azerbaijan.

Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, and Moldova propose cooperation in independence efforts.

The Kyrgyz Supreme Soviet refuses to sign the Union Treaty.

Communist Party property in Armenia is nationalized.

100,000 workers strike in Belarus asserting political demands.

The Peoples' Front of Latvia drafts a plan for a transition period in the move toward Latvian independence.

Eight are killed and sixteen wounded in ethnic clashes between Chechen-Ingush and Cossaks in Cossak settlement 80 km. from Grozny in the Checheno-Ingushetia ASSR.

May 1991: Armed Georgians kill seven in South Ossetia, secession conflicts are cited.

200,000 rally for Lithuanian independence in Vilnius.

The New Ukrainian Constitution draft is published. An independence referendum is planned for Ukraine.

Checheno-Ingushetia declares a National "Justice Day" for the rehabilitation of repressed peoples.

The Congress of People's Deputies of Dagestan declares the autonomus republic to be the Sovereign Dagestan SSR.

1,500 Armenians are forcibly deported from Nagorno-Karabakh by Azerbaijanis; 1,200 more are forced to leave their homes and live in tents.

Anti-election protests in Tatarstan. Protestors do not want the RSFSR presidential elections to take place as scheduled for June 12.

Independence-seeking republics set up a coordinating body. Six republics are involved: Moldavia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, and Armenia.

June 1991: Soviet troops set up checkpoints in Vilnius. Lithuanians hold a vigil around the parliament building in Vilnius to help prevent an army attack.

Moldova founds a National Bank, separate from the Union.

The Congress of the Chechen People reaffirms the decision to rename Checheno-Ingushetia the Chechen Republic of Nakhnichichi, to exist within historical boundaries.

President of Georgia, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, states that Georgia wants membership in the European Community.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet approves a draft law "On the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR."

Crimean Tatars vote for sovereignty.

A Ukrainian Workers' Union is formed. During a protest in Kiev demonstrators demand that Ukraine reject the proposed Union Treaty.

An German National Raion is created in Altai Krai.

July 1991: An opinion poll in Lithuania shows that 85 per cent of the population supports independence, with only 4 per cent opposed. A similar poll conducted in Armenia indicates that 80 per cent of Armenians support secession from the USSR.

Troops order the inhabitants of three Armenian villages in the Geranboi region to leave their homes.

Several Russian democratic groups within the RSFSR oppose Azerbaijan's signing of the Union Treaty because of human rights violations in the republic. They demand guarantees of minority Russian rights within Azerbaijan as a pre-condition to Azerbaijan's participation in the new union.

Crimean ASSR drafts a constitution which is adopted by the Crimean Supreme Soviet.

Uzbeks set up an International Association, EI, to develop cultural and economic cooperation between Soviet Uzbeks and Uzbek diasporas.

1,000 Meskhetians, Muslim ethnic Georgians who were deported by Stalin, demonstrate outside the Kremlin.

August 1991: The National Independence Front is formed in Lithuania.

The International Israeli Organization opens a branch in Kiev to promote Jewish culture, tradition, and customs in Ukraine.

A proposal to create a Siberian Soviet Federal Republic is published in Narodnaya Tribuna.

The self-styled "Dniester SSR" moves to separate all enterprises and institutions from Moldova.

"Gang of Eight" Soviet hardliners stage a coup, detaining President Gorbachev in the Crimea. Coup fails to gain popular and military support.

Baltic governments in exile are planned in case the elected governments are unable to function after the coup. Lithuania demands removal of Soviet forces from the republic. Latvia asserts that the coupleaderw have no authority in the Latvian Republic. Estonia condemns the coup and declares independence.

Moldova issues a statement condemning the coup and calls for independence.

Anti-coup protests are organized in Ukraine, and the Ukrainian parliament declares independence.

Turkmen President Niyazov declares coup authority in Turkmenistan.

Uzbek President Karimov declares coup initiatives invalid.

Yeltsin issues a decree recognizing Estonia's and Latvia's independence.

September 1991: Belarus declares independence and decides to form its own defense system.

Uzbekistan moves to break away from the Union. Later both Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan declare independence.

Demonstrators in Azerbaijan call for independence. The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet votes to restore the independent status the republic had in 1918-1920. Nagorno-Karabakh declares independence from Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan Popular Front demonstrations in Baku call for dissolution of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Lithuania demands that the Soviet army withdraw completely from its territory. Estonia nationalizes all Soviet property. Baltic states are recognized internationally, and the Council of Europe grants all three guest status.

Moldova proclaims independence and receives diplomatic recognition from Romania and Georgia.

Ukraine seeks diplomatic ties with the United States, Canada, Israel, and all states with which it shares a border. Demonstrations occur in Western Ukraine in support of Ukrainian independence. Ukrainian nationalists also protest against the proposed economic union.

Ukraine calls for its own army.

Tajikistan declares economic sovereignty and later declares independence.

Armenia nationalizes all Communist Party property and votes for secession. 95 per cent of the electorate participates in referendum on secession.

The self-proclaimed Gagauz Republic declares independence.

The Georgian parliament breaks ties with the USSR.

Turkmenistan decides to hold a referendum on independence.

October 1991: The Baltic council, comprised the leaders of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, issue a joint statement demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their respective territories to begin immediately. The Baltic states join UNESCO. Later they are admitted as associate members of the North Atlantic Assembly. Lithuania declares it does not intend to take on USSR debts.

The Ukrainian Parliament passes a law on citizenship requirements. Ukraine insists on having its own armed forces.

Northern Ingush Republic is proclaimed.

An overwhelming majority in Azerbaijan votes against signing an interrepublican economic treaty.

The Supreme Soviet of Tatarstan adopts a resolution on state independence. A national referendum is called on the status of the republic.

In Turkmenistan 94 per cent vote for independence in a referendum.

The Belarus Supreme Soviet prepares a draft proposal for a republican national guard.

Uzbek Popular Front proclaims itself an official political party. Uzbeks try to retrieve the throne of the Khans in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, claiming it belongs to the Uzbek people.

The Kazakh government derives a plan to issue its own currency in the republic.

The Georgian Supreme Soviet rejects Georgian participation in the new treaty on economic union.

November 1991: The Moldovan First Deputy Prime Minister and Economics Minister asserts that Moldova intends to cancel her initial adherence to a proposed Treaty on the Economic Community of Sovereign States. The Moldovan Popular Front calls for reunification with Romania.

Moldova takes over Soviet army property and establishments in Moldovan soil and moves to form a professional army.

Parliamentary elections occur in Checheno-Ingushetia.

Parliament decides to nationalize all enterprises, departments, and associations of Checheno-Ingushetia.

An Independent Association of Ukrainian Officers is formed. Ukraine moves to place military units in its territory under the republic's control. A Ukrainian independence poll indicates, a majority of people support the August declaration of independence.

Uzbekistan nationalizes all gold mines within the republic.

Magadan Oblast opposes move by Chukchi Autonomous Okrug to secede.

Lithuania and Latvia introduce national currencies.

Latvia claims property occupied by the Soviet army.

Estonia adopts a citizenship law which is in essence a re-adoption of the 1938 citizenship law and tightens border controls by restricting crossings. Lithuania establishes diplomatic links with NATO.

Belarus makes initiatives for a separate currency and establishes a defense ministry.

Balkar Republic is proclaimed by Balkar people in Nalchuk, the capital of Kalbarden-Balkar Republic in the North Caucasus. A Confederation of Mountain Peoples of Caucasus is proclaimed.

Azerbaijan tries to abolish the Autonomous state of Nagorno-Karabakh.

December 1991: Ukraine votes 9:1 for independence.

Kravchuk becomes the first president of independent Ukraine receiving 61 per cent of the popular vote. Kravchuk declares he will not sign a Union Treaty, economic or otherwise. Crimea supports an independent Ukraine with 51 per cent in favour. Poland, Hungary, and Canada recognize independent Ukraine.

Leader of the three Slav republics, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine, declare a new Commonwealth of Independent States. Minsk is chosen capital of this new Commonwealth. The agreement of the three republics states that the Soviet Union no longer exists. Gorbachev resists dissolution of the Union.

Announcements are made that on December 31, 1991 the Soviet flag will be lowered from atop the Kremlin, Gorbachev says he is prepared to resign.

Five Asian republics, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, join the plan for a Commonwealth.

Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine ask the United States for recognition. Yeltsin declares Russia wants to join NATO.

Eleven states, all of the former republics except the Baltics and Georgia, formally establish the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Russia assumes the Soviet seat of the United Nations Security Council.

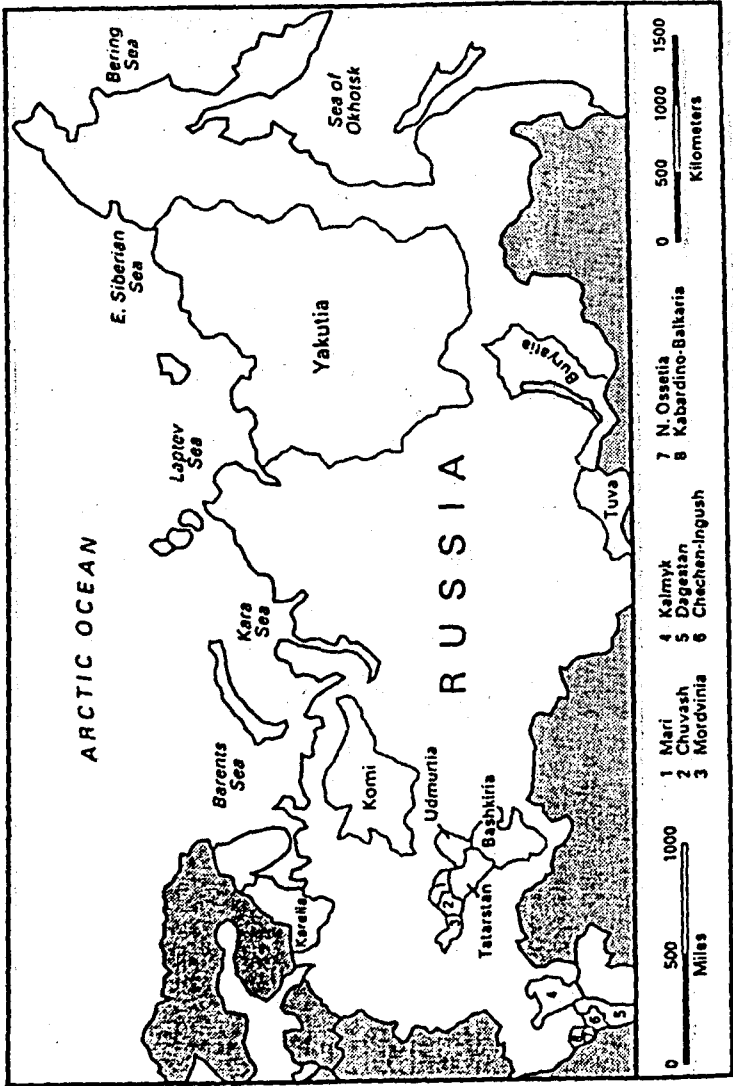
Ethnic violence erupts in Georgia as Georgian nationalists demand resignation of President Gamsakhurdia.

Gorbachev resigns marking the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union.

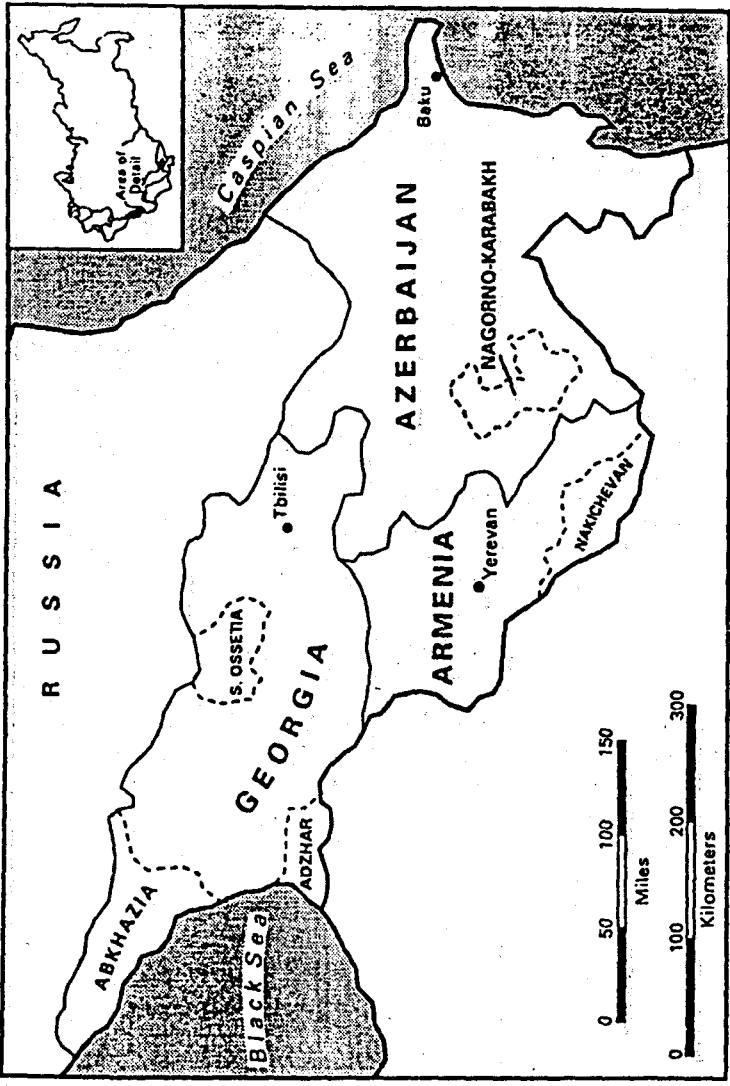
Note:

This Appendix was compiled by

Siobhan Fisher.



Russia



The Caucasus



The Baltics

Table—1.1. Russian Population Distribution in the Soviet Republics by 1989 (in thousands of persons)

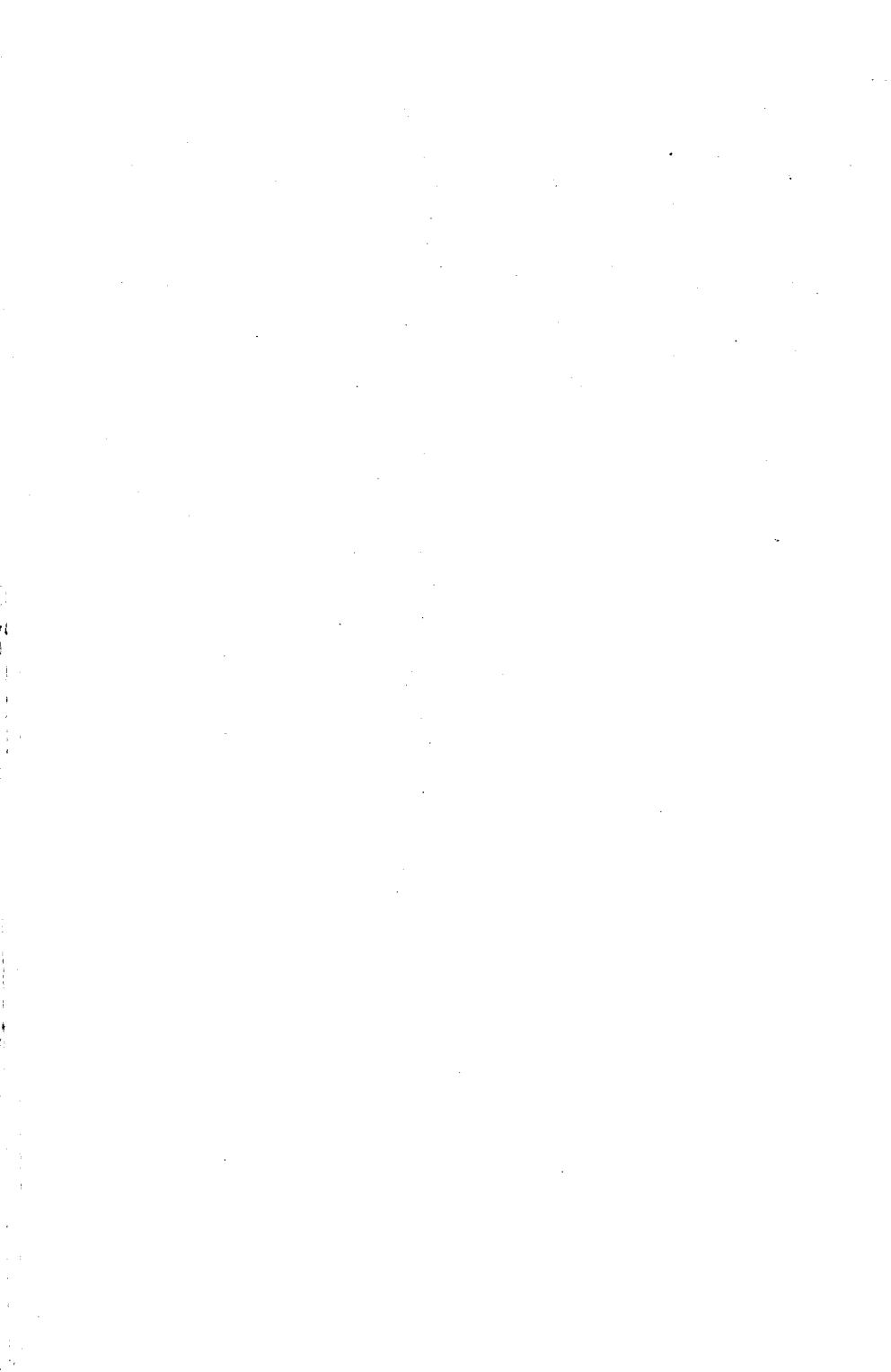
| Republic | Total population | Russian population | Russian percentage of total population |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Russian Federation | 147,000 | 119,865 | 81.5 |
| Ukraine | 51,452 | 11,356 | 22.1 |
| Kazakhstan | 16,463 | 6,228 | 37.8 |
| Uzbekistan | 19,810 | 1,652 | 8.3 |
| Belorussia | 10,152 | 1,342 | 13.2 |
| Kirgizia | 4,258 | 917 | 21.5 |
| Latvia | 2,667 | 906 | 34.0 |
| Moldavia | 4,335 | 562 | 13.0 |
| Estonia | 1,565 | 475 | 30.3 |
| Azerbaijan | 7,021 | 392 | 5.6 |
| Tadjikistan | 5,093 | 388 | 7.6 |
| Lithuania | 3,675 | 344 | 9.4 |
| Georgia | 5,401 | 341 | 6.3 |
| Turkmenistan | 3,523 | 334 | 9.5 |
| Armenia | 3,305 | 52 | 1.6 |

Source: 1989 population census.

Percentage Distribution of Population in Latvia and Estonia, by Ethnic, Group, 1959-1989

| | 1959 | 1970 | 1979 | 1989 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|
| Latvia | | | | |
| Latvians | 62.0 | 56.8 | 53.7 | 52.0 |
| Russians | 20.6 | 29.8 | 32.8 | 34.0 |
| Belorussians | 2.9 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 4.5 |
| Ukrainians | 1.4 | 2.3 | 2.7 | 3.5 |
| Others | 7.1 | 7.1 | 6.3 | 6.0 |
| Estonia | | | | |
| Estonians | 74.6 | 68.2 | 64.7 | 61.5 |
| Russians | 20.1 | 24.7 | 27.9 | 30.3 |
| Ukrainians | 1.3 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 3.1 |
| Belorussians | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.8 |
| Others | 3.1 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 3.3 |

Source: Population census for the years shown.



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