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## MILITARY POLITICS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE PREPARATION OF NATIONAL REGIONAL BOUNDARY IN CENTRAL ASIA

**Abstract:** The author in this article has analyzed military policy of Soviet government on the preparation of national regional boundary in Central Asia. In the article it was also revealed based on the archive materials component of forthcoming national military units in Central Asia and reaction of this policy to national republics.

**Key words:** Central Asia, Republic, military school, commander, military forces, military region, battalion, squadron, cavalry division, soldier

**Language:** English

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### Introduction

On the preparation of the national regional boundary it was already planned by the Center how to maintain the military politics of the Soviet government in the national republics of Central Asia. Taking into account the historical-national peculiarities, customs and traditions as well as conditions of the population of the republics of Central Asia the plan of organizing the national military units, the exact instruction of the servants in them were determined.

The problem of organizing the military units of the Red Army was first discussed in congress XII of the Communist party 1923, April. In the congress, it was suggested putting forward to check the personal structure of the Red Army, local people's life in the regions, and fix the relationship of the Red Army with local people.

In the meeting IV of the Central Committee of the Communist party in June 1923 the lack of military commanders belonging to the local nation in organizing the national units of the red army was shown as a main problem. Therefore, the meeting decided that in a short of time special military schools should be established and they should serve as a root for the military units.

### Materials and Methods

On the basis of the decisions of the Communist party's congress XII and Central Committee's meeting IV the chairman of Military Revolutionary Congress of the Soviet Union M.V.Frunze (1885-1925) worked out a five year term plan in November 1924 about establishing the national units of the Red Army. In the plan not only establishing the national units of the Red army, but also increasing their political preparation and military-technical knowledge was separately paid attention. Also, establishing special military schools, educational establishments and military academy was stated in the plan [3, 99].

Turkistan front made a decision in December 1924 about following the optional principles in providing the military units with necessary military specialists.

In Central Asia during the national regional boundary Bolsheviks stated with exact instructions and numbers in what forms the military units and their military problems will be in the Republics joining the Soviet Union in the future.

In the Turkistan Republic under Turkistan front the head of the organization of establishing national units sent a secret letter to the revolutionary congress of Turkistan front in 1923, August 21. Seven charts on the problem of establishing the



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national units were added as a footnote. In the first footnote it was shown that admission of the local people to the army and military education should be carried out step by step in five-year term on the basis of a calendar plan. In the footnote it was suggested that in the first year of establishing the national military units it should be admission of the local people to the infantry (private) forces, mounted forces artillery forces as well as technical military units and release from military service.

According to the footnote, in the first year of establishing the national military units 1600 people were admitted to the infantry (private) forces, 1400 people were admitted to the mounted forces, but they were not released from the military service. Because at that time it was meant that the military units had no sufficient military specialists. The admission to the artillery forces and technical military forces began in the second year. In the second year 2000 people were admitted to the infantry forces and later 800 people were released from the military service, 200 people were admitted to the artillery forces and nobody was released from the military service. 790 people were admitted to the mounted forces and 175 people were admitted to the technical military forces, but they were not released from the military service and stayed as a reserve [4]. For five years it was meant that 14850 people should be admitted to the infantry forces, 1525 people to the artillery forces (725 people were released later), 7495 people to the mounted forces (2935 people were released later), 963 people to the technical military forces (263 people were released later) [4].

According to the order 660/11 of Turkistan front December 12, 1924 about "Establishing national military units in Central Asia", in the national military units the call-up period was stated to be 2 years and the call-up age was from 19 to 24, and also the national military units were to be named after the national military groups of each republic or autonomous province (for example, 1-Uzbek workers' rifle division of the red army) [5].

This order was significant for it had taken the local people's lifestyle, living conditions and language features into account. Because, it was shown in the order that in the national military units the military commands and education should be in the native language of the national military groups. But exceptionally the lecturers were allowed to teach in Russian until the military regulations and textbooks had been translated into the local languages. But for the commander staff in the secondary military schools Russian was taught specially as a subject [6].

In the public house, specially built in Bukhara, the first common-uzbek congress of the Soviet was opened in 1925, February 13. On February 17 the congress acquired "The Declaration about the Foundation of the Soviet Socialist Republic of

Uzbekistan". This declaration proclaimed that Uzbekistan SSR had been legally founded and "voluntarily" joined the Union of SSR. Fayzulla Khujaev (1894-1938) was elected the head of Uzbekistan SSR.

The problem of establishing the national military units of the Red Army in Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces was also widely discussed in the organizations of the Communistic parties of the republics. In the first congress of Uzbekistan Communistic Party, took place in 1925, February 6-12 in Bukhara, the problem of establishing national military units in Uzbekistan SSR was also discussed together with a number of other problems. The Congress made a decision that it was necessary to spread agitation and propaganda among the people in the villages about the military structure [2, 55].

In the second congress of Uzbekistan Communistic party which took place in 1925, November 22-30 in Samarkand, the problem of establishing national military units was discussed again too. It was mentioned by the congress that the plans in the social field, in uniform, in education, in teaching a language, in giving a command or order, in working out the military technical terminology, in translating the regulations, manuals and military-political literatures, in training commanders, political and administrative personals should be approved [2, 143].

Because the policy of establishing national military units in Uzbekistan SSR was widely carried out by the Soviet government, the congress of Uzbekistan Communistic Party approved of general obligatory military service in 1926. Moreover, military lessons were added to the curriculum by the suggestion of the congress.

The policy of national regional boundary carried out by the Soviet government influenced on the military matters. After the national regional boundary in the republics of Central Asia which were included in the USSR it was planned to establish national military units on the basis of a five year term "absolutely secret" calendar plan. According to this calendar plan, in Uzbekistan SSR:

- 1) A special Uzbek rifle battalion (together with small commander staff school) – 728 people;
- 2) A special Uzbek mounted division (together with small commander staff school) – 514 people;
- 3) A special Uzbek rifle company – 178 people;
- 4) a special Uzbek mounted troop – 178 people;
- 5) A special Uzbek cargo mounted battery– 140 people were planned to establish national military units [6].

USSR Revolutionary Military Council Head deputy's special plan about establishing national military units in Uzbekistan, Turkmanistan,



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Tadjikistan and Kora-Kyrgyz autonomous province was adopted. In establishing these national military units TASSR (Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialistic Republic), BPSR (Bukhara People's Socialistic Republic) and KhPSR's (Khorezm People's Socialistic Republic) population number was taken into account in this plan. According to Central Statistics Authority (CSA) and Turkistan Economical Council's accounts (reports), in 1917, 1920 and 1922 in Central Asian republics 7 million 364 thousand 416 local people inhabited except Europeans. According to the nationality, the population was divided as followings:

- a) Uzbeks – 3 mln 614 thousand 486 people;
- б) Tadjiks – 1 mln 206 thousand 330 people;
- в) Kyrgyz-Kazaks – 1 mln 091 thousand 925 people;
- г) Turkmens – 625 thousand 653 people;
- д) Kora-Kyrgyzs – 607 thousand 551 people;
- е) Other nations – Karakalpaks, Kuramas, Taranchis, Kipchaks, Dungans and others – 218 thousand 471 people.

The numbers above cannot be absolutely true (exact) according to the objective condition in Central Asia. This indication showed in the account (report) as a whole 7 million 500 thousand people (total number of population in the Central Asian republics and provinces), it is difficult to say that the population in the Central Asian republics and provinces was precisely assigned before the national regional boundary. According to the national regional boundary and national features of Central Asian republics: Uzbekistan SSR and Turkmenistan SSR and autonomous provinces: According to the structure of Tajikistan and Kora Kyrgyzstan, the population was divided throughout the republics and provinces as in the followings: In Uzbekistan SSR – 4 million; In Turkmenistan SSR – 1 million 100 thousand; in Tajikistan – 600000, in Kora Kyrgyz – 800000 people. In Total 6 million 500 thousand people. 1 million Kazak-Kyrgyzs were included in TASSR, Amudarya, Sirdarya, Yettisuv regions were given to Kyrgyzstan [7].

During the national regional boundary in SSSR the total population was 130 million people, there was an army with 600 people, this was equal to approximately 45 people for every 10000 people. For the 7,5 million population of the Central Asian republics and provinces the national army with 28 thousand people was established. This army was allocated as in the followings to the Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces:

- a) Uzbekistan SSR – 16000 people;
- б) Turkmenistan SSR – 5000 people;
- в) Tajikistan province – 3000 people;
- г) Kara-Kyrgyz province – 4000 people.

Although the number indications of the national military units and structures for the Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces were

exactly determined, CCRCP (Central Committee of Russian Communist party) Central Asian bureau decided to stop at the half of the numbers indicated above, for the reason that until these national military units were formed and allocated totally to the republics and autonomous provinces, a lot of time and sum of money would be spent. Therefore, CCRCP Central Asian bureau made a decision to fulfill the plan of establishing (forming) the national military units gradually step by step taking the calendar plan for next 5 years into account.

According to the calendar plan for the next five years:

- 1) Together with the autonomous province of Tajikistan in Uzbekistan SSR 2 separate rifle brigade and 2 separate mounted brigade were assigned;
- 2) In Turkmenistan SSR and Kara-Kyrgyz autonomous province 1 rifle battalion and 2 mounted regiments were assigned.

It was difficult to act with big army in the mountains and deserts. Special rifle battalions were the most comfortable forces for the infantry units which carried out the wars in the mountains and deserts. The rifle battalions were formed and established on the basis of Western European countries such as England, French and Italy's standards of mountain-infantry forces. Although the English-Indian army was formed according to the regiment system of a metropolis army, it was organized by the principles of special rifle battalions, 4 battalions were united to the rifle brigades. The reason for this case was that on the one hand to have a strong supply of force to break out and go around when moving in the mountains, because it was obvious this case would happen in the war movements in the mountains [8].

On the occasion of the national-regional boundary in Central Asia the Red Army of Khorezm peoples' Soviet Republic (KhPSR) was reestablished as the national parts of the Red Army of Uzbekistan SSR. In the plenum (session) of CCRCP Central Asian bureau the problem of military matters and establishing national military units in the Central Asian republics on the eve of national regional boundary were secretly discussed. In the discussion was considered the problem of establishing military structures in Uzbekistan SSR and other republics of Central Asia until the end of 1925 and was approved by the commander of Turkistan front at that time M.V. Levandovski (30.04.1924-02.12.1925). The following suggestions were put forward in the discussion:

1. To the problem of establishing military units in the Central Asian republics and provinces the structure of national units of the Red Army, which was indicated in session XII of RCP and later found its development in the resolution of All Union Council III of WRA (workers' red army) political staff, was taken as a basis...;

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2. The followings were considered to be the basis of establishing national military units: training necessary political command frames from the native people, for training the middle part political commanders and low part political commanders of these units it should be established national military schools;

3. Until the December of the last year (1924 – R.E) the matters about establishing national military units didn't have a certain plan or system. Only during the national regional boundary after the republics and provinces of UzSSR, TSSR, TASSR and **KAP (Kyrgyzstan Autonomous province)** had been reestablished, Turkistan front generally ran the military units in the central Asian republics and provinces. And a five-year term calendar plan was worked out.

4. According to the five-year term calendar plan, the formation of national military units in Turkistan front in 1924-1925 was as in the following:

**Uzbekistan SSR.** a) special Uzbek rank battalion with 728 people together with small commanders training school;

б) Special Uzbek mounted division with 514 people together with small commanders training school;

в) Special Uzbek rank company with 178 people;

г) Special Uzbek mounted troop with 178 people;

д) Special cargo Uzbek mountain-mounted battery with 140 people [9].

**Tajikistan ASSR:** a) Special Tajikistan mounted troop with 178 people;

б) commanders' staff with 190 people;

**Turkmenistan SSR:** a) small commanders training Turkmen national school with 190 people;

б) Special Turkmen mounted troop with 178 people;

5. For training the middle part political commanders the followings are organized:

a) the United national department of Central Asian national military school and front Supreme Party school. The school and the national department staff were strictly conformed with the yearly demand in the five-year term for the middle part commanders staff. From 1927 the middle part of political commanders staff of Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces was completely covered with the graduates of red commanders national school and national department of political leaders [10]. In 1925-1926 the following tasks were assigned on establishing national military schools in Central Asian republics and provinces:

**Uzbekistan SSR** – a) to establish a small commanders' school and full special Uzbek rank regiment( Uzbek rank battalion will be located into the regiment);

б) to establish a small commanders' school and full special Uzbek mounted regiment (Uzbek mounted division will be located into the mounted regiment);

в) the special Uzbek mounted troop and cargo mountain-mounted battery, which were formed in 1924-1925 will stay unchanged;

г) to establish the Authority of the United Uzbek brigade.

**Tajikistan ASSR:** a) Special Tajik mounted division (special mounted troop as well as small commanders' school will be changed to the mounted division). **Turkmenistan SSR:** a) small commanders' school and special Turkmen mounted regiment (Turkmen mounted troop will be changed to the mounted regiment).

**Kyrgyzstan Autonomous province** a) Special mounted half troop together with training platoon will be changed to special Kyrgyz Autonomous province [11].

The main basis of Uzbekistan national military units consisted of national units of Bukhara people's Soviet Republic (BPSR) and Khorezm people's Soviet Republic (KHPSR).

Efficient works in filling the national military units and small commanders' schools of Uzbekistan SSR with necessary military specialists were carried out, there were not any insufficiency in filling with necessary military personels. In December, 1924 the national military units of Uzbekistan SSR were filled because of the commanders from the 126 people national department under the 2<sup>nd</sup> division school.

The middle and large commanders part of the national units were filled by the commanders involved from WRA (worker's red army) parts. For the middle part of commanders staff mainly those who know the Uzbek language were chosen. The large commanders staff consisted of specialists who didn't know any Uzbek. It is mentioned in the report of Turkistan front that "The large commanders staff consisted of specialists who don't know any Uzbek, but we have to get used to it, because there is no any military specialists among the large commanders staff who know the Uzbek language" [12]. In 1925 this insufficiency was covered (filled) by 8 people who graduated from the oriental courses, later the oriental courses delivered 15-18 people, who were well trained and knew the language well, to the national military units ever year [12].

In 1925-1926 special Uzbek rank battalion and special Uzbek rank company in Uzbekistan SSR were changed into Uzbek rank regiment with full 1263 people staff according to the five-year term calendar plan. And also special mounted Uzbek division with full 782 people staff was changed into mounted regiment and the combined Authority of the combined Uzbek brigade was formed [13].

In the meeting of the Executive commission of CCRCPC Central Asian bureau which was held on 22

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June, 1925 a decision about settling national military units in Uzbekistan SSR was adopted. According to the announcement № 17 of this meeting, it was mentioned the necessity of the military units being reestablished in Uzbekistan SSR be settled in different settlements, specifically, the Red Army of Uzbekistan SSR should be settled in Samarkand in the first place [14]. Besides Samarkand, the settlement of national military units in Central Asian republics was as in the followings:

a) In BPSR (Bukhara people's Soviet Republic) 1) training-rifle regiment consisting of 3 companies; 2) 1 training-personnel mounted regiment consisting of 3 troops; 3) training-personnel battery; 4) Bukhara commanders school in the city of Leninsk and 5) military-labour school.

б) In Turkmenistan SSR 1) Turkmen national united commanders school for 325 students;

2) Infantry and mounted soldiers of small commanders staff school under the 2 nd Turkish rifle division and the national departments of 2 special mounted brigades in Fergana city, which the first was for 115 students and the latter was for 38 students. в) KHPSR – 1) 1 rank company with 139 people and 2) 1 special mounted troop with 179 people.

According to the national regional boundary and the national features, on the occasion of the foundation of Uzbekistan SSR, Turkmenistan SSR, Tajikistan and Kara-Kyrgyzia autonomous provinces, the national military units existing in BPSR were reestablished at the end of 1925 .

According to the calendar plan of CCRCP Central Asian bureau, the following units were formed in the basis of the national military units of Uzbekistan SSR, BPSR and KHPSR:

1) Bukhara rifle regiment was reformed as a special rifle battalion but in real it was never more than special rifle battalion.

2) Bukhara mounted regiment was formed as a special mounted division, which was not more than mounted division.

3) Bukhara commanders school was joined to Turkmenistan United national School in 1925, October 1.

4) Turkmenistan United National School was reestablished as Central Asia commanders school with 5 year course (3 year training and 2 years special course).

5) the training course consisted of 2 non-rank and 1 rank companies, every of which had 145 people. The special course consisted of 1 rifle company with 120 people, 1 mounted troop with 60 people and an artillery division with 30 people.

In 1924-1925 Central Asia commanders school had 2 training and 1 special course departments which 325 students in total, and that was not against the requirements of the Authority of higher educational institutes of the army. From the

next year was held a selection for the 1 and 2 training course departments. The Next years Central Asia commanders school was reestablished as a military educational establishment with 5 departments, 3 training courses with 145 people. 40 people of them from the 3 rd department (section) were given to SPS (Supreme Party School), and the rest 105 people were distributed as in the followings while passing to the special division (section): infantry division – 60 people, mounted division – 30 people and artillery division 15 people if the artillery section remains at school, if not it was planned that the training course would decrease 15 people, that is, it would be 130 people.

But CCRCP Central Asian bureau suggested about forming the national military units that “If the national military units remain, then the commanders staff remained in them cannot be able to fulfill the plan fully in the next following years and to form them partially will remain for the next year, and this is politically very complicated. Without having a certain commanders staff, it is impossible to form digital sections (units)” [15].

It was indicated by CCRCP Central Asian bureau that the total number of the national military units in Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces would be as in the following way:

**Uzbekistan SSR:** 2 special rank battalions, that is 728 x 2 – 1456 people, 182 horses; 1 special rank company – 139 people, 15 horses; 1 special mounted division – 550 people, 517 horses, 3 special mounted troops, that is 179 x 3 – 537 people, 552 horses, 1 cargo mountain-mounted battery – 130 people, 136 horses; The United Central Asian national commanders school – 528 people, 101 horses. Total: 3340 people, 1503 horses.

**Turkmenistan SSR:** 1 special mounted troop – 179 people, 184 horses. Small commanders staff training school – 122 people, 55 horses. Total: 301 people, 239 horses.

**Tajikistan autonomous province:** 1 special rank company – 139 people, 15 horses. Total: 139 people, 15 horses.

**Kara-Kyrgyz autonomous province:** 1 special mounted troop – 179 people, 184 horses. Total: 3959 people, 1941 horses.

The problem of settlement of national military units too didn't stay out the Centre's consideration (attention). The settlement of the military units in other provinces (or districts) not in the native places, might arise negative feelings among the people [16].

In settling the military units in Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces the Soviet government carried out a deliberated policy. Settling the military units in their settlements enabled the military servants to communicate with their families, and furthermore, it helped the Soviet government's ideas to become widespread among the native people of Central Asia. Also it gave an

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opportunity to use the commanders staff of the military units settled in the centre of provinces (districts) in training works of the youth to the military service enrollment.

The settlement of the military units by the Centre was as in the following order:

In Tashkent: 1) Central Asia commanders school;

2) 1 special mounted troop;

In Samarkand: 1) 1 special cargo mounted battery;

2) 1 special rank company;

3) military commissariat of the Republic;

In Kokand: 1) 1 special rifle battalion;

In Fergana: 1) 1 special mounted troop;

In Old Bukhara 1) 1 special rank battalion;

In Bekhbudiy (Karshi): 1) 1 special mounted division;

In Khiva: 1) 1 special rank company 2) 1 special mounted troop [17].

The call up period in the national military units was indicated the same as in WRA. In the end of 1926, in autumn the first graduates of Central Asia commanders school was changed into national military units. 1) 2 special rank battalions of Uzbekistan SSR with 4 battalion staff was changed into 1 special rank battalion. 2) 2 special rank companies, if special company of Uzbekistan SSR which was included in the 1 rank company in Khiva was not taken into an account, was changed into special rank battalion with 3 companies. 3) special mounted division and special mounted troop (the one in Khiva was not taken into an account) were changed into special mounted regiment.

According to the calendar plan of CCRCP Central Asian bureau, after the first graduates from Central Asia commanders school, the following military units were approved to be established in Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces:

a) Uzbekistan SSR – 1 special rank brigade with 4 battalion staff and 1 special mounted brigade with 3 regiment staff;

б) Tajikistan autonomous province – 1 special rank brigade with 4 company staff and 1 special mounted troop (planned to establish in 1926);

в) Turkmenistan SSR – 1 special mounted regiment, 1 special rank company and 1 special mounted troop (planned to establish in 1926).

г) Kara-Kyrgyz province: 1) 1 special mounted regiment 2) 1 special rank company (planned to establish in 1926).

From 1926 60 infantry forces, 30 mounted forces and 152 artillery forces graduated from central Asia commanders school every year and later for the next 5 years it could fully provide the demands and requirements of military units for the red commanders.

Even military education in the national military units was precisely planned by CCRCP Central Asian bureau.

In the national military units teaching was in their own mother tongue, but the commanderships, the parts of weapons and technical terms were in Russian. During the tsarist empire of Russia and the Soviet government because of the native people of Central Asian republics and autonomous provinces not being enrolled to the military service, having no modern military commands and military terms, and because it required a long time to create it, Russian military commands and terms had to be used.

**Food:** Because the eating in the national military units didn't fit to the meals that the native people were used to, at the early times the daily national meals, which they used to eat, were included in the daily menu of the military units by CCRCP Central Asian bureau. At the early times the bakery foods which were made from yeast were given instead of Russian bitter bread and also national meals such as plov and soup were given.

Besides that, 8 bowls of rice, 2 pats(sticks) of butter, 21 bowls of wheat flour were compulsory to be added to each red army soldier's menu. And also, in the national military units rice was replaced by buckwheat.

**Clothing (uniform):** in the national military units a uniform in WRA model except head caps was implemented (introduced). Winter cap (calpac) was replaced by kubanka (low astrakhan cap), and service cap was replaced by panama hat.

To maintain (run) the national military units in Central Asia was given to the military front district RMC (Revolutionary Military Council) consisting of military public commissariats throughout the republics of Central Asia under the leadership of SSSRRMC (Revolutionary Military Council of SSSR).

It was indicated by CCRCP Central Asian bureau that it was necessary to make national military commissariat of the republic which united and ran the military units in the provinces and in Tajikistan and Kara-Kyrgyz autonomous provinces to make provincial military commissariats [18].

Besides that, in all the military commissariats the necessity for nativization of the military apparatus, that is, to exchange the Europeans with the native people, knowing the language and the lifestyle of Central Asian people well, was included in the plan of CCRCP Central Asian bureau.

Although the Soviet government had carried out wide propogandas in establishing national military units of Uzbekistan SSR and involving the native people in the red army military service, there occurred some desertions in the national military units. The reason for the desertion was the family status of the red army soldiers and not to punish the people who deserted. Therefore, Session II of

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Uzbekistan Communist Party made a decision about giving all the special privileges to the families of the red army soldiers and carry out this work continuously in time.

In the national military units a numerous practical works were also carried out to eliminate illiteracy. To eliminate illiteracy the national military units were provided with special professionals by the help of Public Education commissariat. They educated (taught) the national red army soldiers to be literate. From 1925 to 1928 illiteracy in the national military units of Central Asian Military District (CAMD) was up to 95 %. For instance, in the Tajik national military unit of Central Asian Military District (CAMD) 97 soldiers were illiterate according to the statistics of 1927, January 1, but in 1927 June 1 it decreased to 30 people, and on September 1 it was 7 people [3, 103]. In order to eliminate illiteracy among the soldiers in the national military units a 3,5 month educational program was worked out.

At the end of 1928 Central Asian Military District (CAMD) consisted of the United Uzbek brigade, Turkmen mounted brigade, Tajik mountain-rifle battalion, Kyrgyz mounted troop and other numerous military institutions and units [19]. Most of the native soldiers who returned from the military

service were actively involved in the different spheres of social life. Most of them had positions of trust in the Party and Komsomol organizations, and other profession organizations. Supreme Soviet of SSSR adopted a new edition of the law "about Common military obligation" in 1939, September 1. According to this law there was no class limitation in the enrolment of military service. In the article 3 of the new edition of the law it was indicated as "All the male citizens of SSSR are obligated to serve in the Armed force of SSSR despite their race, nation, belief, educational and social background" [1].

### Conclusion

On the occasion of the adoption of the new edition of the law "About Common military service" the military oath of Armed forces of SSSR was changed with some additions and changes.

In conclusion, after the policy of national-regional boundary by the Centre establishment of national military units in Uzbekistan SSR was carried out taking the lifestyle of the native people, their traditions and geographical conditions of Uzbekistan SSR and other Central Asian republics into account although it was dependent on the sake of the Soviet government.

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