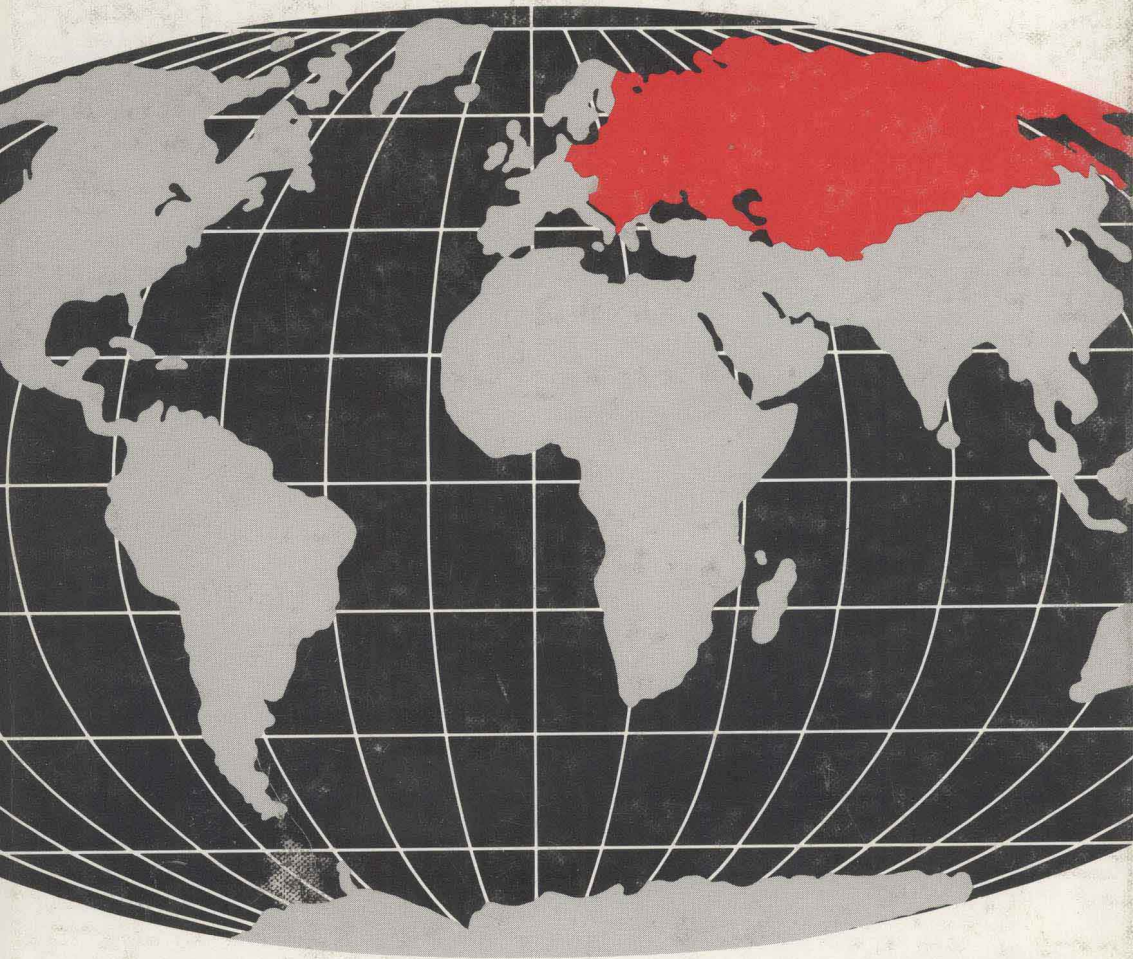


Jack C. Plano, Editor



Barbara P. McCrea  
Jack C. Plano and George Klein

# **THE SOMET AND EAST EUROPEAN POLITICAL DICTIONARY**

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Barbara P. McCrea  
Jack C. Plano  
George Klein  
Western Michigan University



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## SERIES STATEMENT

Language precision is the primary tool of every scientific discipline. That aphorism serves as the guideline for this series of political dictionaries. Although each book in the series relates to a specific topical or regional area in the discipline of political science, entries in the dictionaries also emphasize history, geography, economics, sociology, philosophy, and religion.

This dictionary series incorporates special features designed to help the reader overcome any language barriers that may impede a full understanding of the subject matter. For example, the concepts included in each volume are selected to complement the subject matter found in existing texts and other books. All but one volume in the series utilize a subject-matter chapter arrangement that is useful for classroom and study purposes.

Entries in all volumes include an up-to-date definition plus a *Significance* paragraph in which the authors discuss and analyze the term's historical and current relevance. Most entries are also cross-referenced, providing the reader the opportunity to seek additional information related to the subject of inquiry. A comprehensive index allows the reader to locate major entries and other concepts, events, and institutions discussed within these entries.

The political and social sciences suffer more than most disciplines from semantic confusion. This is attributable, *inter alia*, to the popularization of the language, and to the focus on many diverse foreign political and social systems. This dictionary series is dedicated to overcoming some of this confusion through careful writing of thorough, accurate definitions for the central concepts, institutions, and events that comprise the basic knowledge of each of the subject fields. New titles in the series will be issued periodically, including some in related social science disciplines.

—Jack C. Plano  
Series Editor

## A NOTE ON HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

*The Soviet and East European Political Dictionary* is organized so that entries and supplementary data can be located in several ways. First, concepts are grouped alphabetically within subject-matter chapters. If a reader, for example, wished to find an entry dealing with Marxist theory, he or she could turn to Chapter 2, Ideology and Theory, to find it. In addition, students and general readers can increase their knowledge in a subject area by studying groups of concepts that are related to lectures or textbook assignments. When readers are in doubt as to which chapter contains a term, they can consult the general index. Page numbers for entries appear in the index in boldface type; concepts of lesser significance discussed within entries can be found in the index with page numbers in regular type. Supplementing the index is a Guide to Countries that informs readers where they may find specific information on economic, social, political, and historical topics. Finally, readers can more fully explore topics by using the extensive cross-references provided at the end of the definitional paragraph in most entries. Page numbers have been added for readers' convenience. In these ways, readers have access to broad classes of related information in using this book.

The authors have designed the format of this book to offer the reader a variety of approaches in the quest for information about the Soviet and East European political systems. This design encourages its use as (1) a study guide for introductory courses in the international and comparative fields; (2) a supplement to the textbook or book of readings adopted for use in courses that focus on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; (3) as a course aid in cognate fields, such as history, economics, and international relations; (4) a source of review materials for advanced courses in the field; and (5) a reference guide to the specialized language that relates to the Soviet and East European systems.

## *PREFACE*

Precise language is the basic tool of every intellectual discipline. This maxim has served as a guideline and as a challenge in the authors' efforts to define and analyze the main concepts and structures that relate to the Soviet and East European political systems.

With the emergence of the Cold War and the bipolar balance system at the end of World War II, the peoples of Western Europe and the United States were confronted with new situational factors in their relations with Eastern Europe. Over the years, the Cold War intermittently heated up and then cooled into a period of *détente*. The bipolar system began to erode after Stalin's death in 1953, moving Eastern Europe toward a multipolar or polycentric system. Today, at the center of that region stands the Soviet Union, a giant among states when viewed from geographical, power, and economic perspectives. Within the Soviet sphere of influence are the communist-party states of Eastern Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Two of these—Yugoslavia and Albania—remain largely free of Soviet hegemony; the rest have limited degrees of sovereignty and have developed unique institutions. Concepts, structures, and institutions relating to all of these political systems are included in this volume, but major attention is given to the central entity, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or the Soviet Union, as it is commonly called. The authors are aware that this approach of using the Soviet Union as a model may blur the many real distinctions among these complex and individual systems. Students are urged to consult the many fine regional and country studies which have expanded the field of East European studies in recent years.

This book has been designed primarily as a teaching/learning supplement for use by students in their Soviet and East European classes, especially in the introductory course to that region of the world. In addition, the authors hope that others, such as public officials, research scholars, visitors to Eastern Europe, and the general public will find it useful. Definitions, although longer and more analytical than those found in most political dictionaries, are not of a length and

depth to meet the needs of the serious scholar. The book's value is to be found in the ease with which the reader can locate significant entries that provide basic knowledge about a political concept, structure, or institution and use it to gain a better understanding of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We hope that these "building blocks" will add meaning and interest to all courses that focus on that complex region.

No effort was made by the authors to be exhaustive in their selection of entries for this volume. Each was selected by a sifting and winnowing process in which the authors were guided by several key questions. Does this concept, for example, increase the ability of the reader to communicate in the technical language that applies to the region? Will it contribute to a student's search for knowledge and understanding? How effectively will it supplement other classroom materials? The selection of entries was thus based on our subjective judgment of the basic core of knowledge that can be used as a starting point for understanding the Soviet and East European political systems.

*The Soviet and East European Political Dictionary* incorporates an unusual format. Although dictionaries have generally remained unchanged in their organization since they first emerged in the fifteenth century, this volume has several unique features. Entries, as already noted, have been selected on the basis of the major foci of the field. The book is divided into chapters in which key concepts are grouped according to the subject matter of the field. In this way, the book can be used in and out of the classroom as a teaching/learning tool, with chapter assignments and topical quizzes, unlike a straight A to Z type of dictionary that is designed primarily for reference purposes. Each chapter in our dictionary is linked through subject matter with a chapter or chapters generally found in leading textbooks in the field. Each entry contains not only a paragraph of definition but also a paragraph of "*Significance*." The latter is used to place the concept in its historical context and provide a contemporary perspective of it within its contemporary environment. Most entries include cross-references in which the reader is encouraged to seek out additional, related information that will add to his or her understanding. Cross-references include page numbers to facilitate and encourage their use. For further reference, the book utilizes a Guide to Countries through which the reader can locate materials pertinent to specific countries in the region. Finally, it incorporates a comprehensive index that includes all of the concepts, events, strategies, theories, institutions, and leading personalities that are defined or described in the book. These features encourage the book's use as a reference tool. An additional unique feature is found in the index: all dictionary entries are identified by page numbers in boldface type, and topics of lesser importance contained within the entries are printed with page numbers in regular type.

As all who have worked in the field know, there is no entirely satisfactory answer to the problem of transliterating Russian words into English. In transliterating Russian and other languages written in

the Cyrillic alphabet, the authors have modified the Library of Congress system, especially when a name or word has become familiar to American readers in a simplified form (Trotsky, not Trotskii), and have replaced the Library of Congress's *ia* with *ya* (as in *Narodnaya volya*, not *Narodnaia volia*). The Russian soft sign is represented by an apostrophe. Diacritics have been retained for languages such as Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, and Serbo-Croatian.

Interdisciplinary fields of intellectual and academic interest perhaps suffer more than most disciplines from semantic confusion. This is especially true when beginning students focus for the first time on a region of the world that is unfamiliar to them. Providing some help to students in introductory courses that focus on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe was one of the primary factors that motivated the authors in writing this book. We hope the book measures up to these expectations, and we would appreciate comments from faculty or students concerning this objective.

The authors recognize the important role played by many scholars who, in their articles and books, have contributed to the enrichment of the language of comparative politics in general and to this region in particular. These efforts and contributions have made *The Soviet and East European Political Dictionary* possible. We also wish to thank our students, who have challenged us over the years in a way that could only add to the value of this book. The authors, however, accept full responsibility for errors, and we invite readers to communicate those of commission as well as of omission to us.

A note of sadness pervaded the usually joyous and relief-filled atmosphere that typifies the completion of a writing project. Early on—December 5, 1981—the project received a setback and the coauthors a great shock with the sudden death of fellow author, Dr. George Klein. Dr. Klein had a long and illustrious career in academia, focusing his scholarly attention on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, especially on Yugoslavia and on Czechoslovakia, the country of his birth and early life. He traveled extensively in the region and enjoyed many personal and professional contacts. In many ways, this book reflects the life and times of George Klein, and we, his coauthors and friends, remember him fondly.

—Barbara P. McCrea

—Jack C. Plano  
*Western Michigan University*



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# The Soviet and East European Political Dictionary



## 1. *Historical Perspectives*

**Agrarian Populism** Peasant-based political movements that seek to benefit the small-holding peasantry through land redistribution, self-government, and fairer prices for agricultural products. Originally antiauthoritarian and egalitarian, agrarian populism in nineteenth-century Europe focused on securing land reform, and in many societies included a strong socialist bent. Two forms of agrarian populism are important to the political history of the communist-party states: (1) the agrarian-based revolutionary groups in czarist Russia whose adherents believed that Russia could achieve socialism without enduring the miseries of capitalism; and (2) the peasant-based political parties which emerged in the much more liberalized political atmosphere of interwar Eastern Europe. The first group were a major influence in the formation of a Marxist movement in Russia; the second played a major, and sometimes debilitating, role in the interwar Eastern European governments, and were destroyed by the communists after World War II. The Russian populist movement (*narodnichestvo*) arose in the 1860s and 1870s. The various Russian anarchists, nihilists, liberal democrats, populists, socialists, and, eventually, Marxists, arose from the agrarian populist ferment of the postemancipation (1861) decades in Russia. Especially active in the 1870s and 1880s, the populists (*narodniki*) held that by building on the tradition of the self-governing communal peasant village, the *mir*, Russia could avoid capitalism and achieve socialism. After the assassination in 1881 of Alexander II by a populist terrorist group, the *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will), many Russian populists and socialists were forced to flee abroad to Western Europe, where they came into contact with European Marxists. The fusion of Marxism and populism was largely effected by the exiled Georgi Plekhanov, who had formed the first



Russian revolutionary party, *Zemlya i Volya* (Land and Liberty) in 1876. In 1898 Plekhanov played a leading role in the formation of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), Russia's first Marxist party, which advocated a proletariat-led Marxist revolt against the czardom. Plekhanov sided with the more gradualist Mensheviks in the 1903 split between the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. In 1902, the Russian Social Revolutionary Party (SR) was formed out of several loosely defined groups of populists. It advocated a program of agrarian socialism, through revolution if necessary, and, when the czardom fell in March of 1917, was the leading party contending for power until the Bolshevik coup d'état doomed the Social Revolutionaries. East European agrarian populism was focused differently. The various peasant movements were accorded legitimate status once the Eastern European territory was carved up into individual states by the post-World War I Versailles settlements. In those states that preserved democratic forms, peasant parties in the interwar period played an important political role, one far less revolutionary than the Russian agrarians. Peasant parties were particularly important in Poland, where the Peasant Party constituted a majority in the first Constituent Assembly and pushed through a land reform in 1919, and Czechoslovakia, where the peasant parties took part in the democratic coalition governments of interwar Czechoslovakia. In the poorer Balkan states, agrarian politics were important despite the fact that these new governments soon lapsed into dictatorships. The interwar Yugoslav government was hamstrung by the noncooperation of the Croat Peasant Party. The Bulgarian Agrarian Union, under Alexander Stamboliski, and the Romanian National Peasant Party, led by Iuliu Maniu, accomplished limited land reforms. The East European agrarian movements usually consisted of two wings, a populist one, which sought reform for the benefit of the poorer peasantry, and a wing that represented the richer peasantry, usually the more influential ones. Most East European states carried out some land reform, especially in Czechoslovakia. However, land reform was carried out under the looming shadow of the Bolshevik Revolution next door, so that the rulers permitted land redistribution in order to defuse an agrarian-based revolution. In the 1930s the agrarian parties of interwar Eastern Europe also sought high tariffs against imported food as the worldwide Great Depression worsened. In much of Eastern Europe, the economic stagnation was blamed not only on the Depression but also on the peasant parties, which sought to preserve a traditional way of life in the face of modern technology. *See also* BOLSHEVIK, p. 10; MENSHEVIK, p. 26; MIR, p. 28.

*Significance* In the long run, under communism agrarian populism suffered the same fate in Russia and Eastern Europe. Bolshevism was