

IV. THE POLICE. + *the Exile System*

1. The main wheel in the state machinery. ~~As later under the Soviets, the police protected the govt from the wrath of the people.~~

2. Two Police Systems, independent of each other:

-Regular police -- under Ministry of Interior.

-Political police -- directly under the Tsar. (*3rd Section*)

3. Regular Police.

Much like the police in any country. in their functions.

Ignorant -- investigation in 1881 showed that in St. Pete many of police could not even sign their names, knew little about the laws they were supposed to enforce. Must have been worse in the country.

Corruption -- pay so low they had to get bribes from taverns, revolutionists, etc.

Many functions -- Needed the knowledge of a health officer, chemist, architect, censor, usher, public prosecutor, excise inspector, etc.

4. The Political Police (3rd Section) (1826-1880)

a. Origin -- due largely to Decembrist revolt.

General Benckendorff -- had informed Alexander I of the existence of the secret societies.

Submitted a memorandum to Nicholas I, saying that the Revolt could have been prevented if Russia had had a proper police force.

b. Creation -- Nicholas decided to ~~make~~ create a special political police, entirely separate from the Regular Police, ~~which were~~ under the administration of the Ministry of Interior.

~~Put it under his own personal Chancellery, i.e., his personal office. Thus in effect he became Police Chief.~~

Independent of all Ministries; empowered to spy on them.

c. Functions -- collection of info on counterfeiting,
Assigned: " " religious sects & dissenters.

- Control of foreigners.
- Administration of places of detention.
- Deportation of "suspicious or undesirable" persons.

-Collection of information on "all happenings without exception" !!

-Eradication of corruption & maladministration in govt.

Benckendorff - "your function is to prevent & avert all kinds of evil."
(Hollis)

d. Powers -- Outside of and Above the ordinary laws.

~~Imprisonment by administrative decree.
Could arrest, banish, imprison anyone without going through the ordinary legal and court procedure.~~

Accountable to no one but the Emperor.

Director (Benckendorff, ~~later Orlov~~) -- was close personal friend of the Emperor, and for this reason exercised great power. *Showered him with honors, saw him every day.*

Was made a member of the Committee of Ministers.

- "This-agency was the principal channel through which N, cholas exercised his personal rule."

(Florinsky)

ARREST + EXILE BY ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

I. EXTRA-LEGAL POWER OF THE THIRD SECTION (~~EXTRA-LEGAL POWER OF THE THIRD SECTION~~)

1. Could arrest anyone, put them in prison, exile them to Siberia
--without telling them why they had been arrested,
-without a trial
-without being able to call or see a lawyer,
-without being able to challenge or question the witnesses
against ~~them~~, *them,*
-without being able to see the evidence against ~~them~~ *them.*
-no habeus corpus. No appeal.
2. Completely outside of the regular court and legal system.

II. ARREST BEFORE THE CRIME IS COMMITTED.

1. "Social Prophylaxis" -- Police officers were instructed that ~~they~~
a person did not have to commit a crime to be arrested, but
he should be arrested before he had a chance to commit the crime.
Arrested because the police thought he might be thinking of
committing a crime.

Preventive arrest, *like preventive medicine.*

2. Crime to be prevented by arresting all those "whose political opinions
"are such as to raise a presumption that he will commit a crime"
against the existing order.

Arrested if his presence is considered "prejudicial to public
order" or incompatible with public tranquillity".

(Soviets also)

III. STUPID, ILLOGICAL ARRESTS.

1. Mr. Borodin -- Arrested by the police, exiled to Yakutsk, because
the police found in his apartment a "danerous" and "Pernicious"
manuscript. This manuscript was a copy of an article which he
had submitted to one of the most popular magazines in ~~the~~ Russia,
but which had not yet been published.

After his arrival in his place of exile, he found a copy
of the magazine, which subsequently had published his article,

Thus he was arrested for possession of an article which
soon thereafter was printed and distributed leagally all over
the empire, and which had passed the censors without trouble. (60)

2. Mr. Y -- arrested for being a friend of Mr. Z, who had earlier been
arrested and was awaiting trial. Subsequently Mr. Z's trial
was held, and he was acquitted. But Y had already departed for
Siberia to spend his years of exile.

3. Vladimir Sidorski - arrested by mistake in place of Victor Sidorski
When he complained, ~~the~~ convoy officer, simply changed name on
the rolls, sent him on to Siberia.

4. Young Man in Odessa -- Sentenced to be hanged for involvement in a plot to assassinate a government spy. His aged parents came to Odessa to have a last word with him. Police, instead of letting them see him, arrested both of them and exiled them to Siberia by administrative process. No evidence against them, except that they had given birth to the son. (Guilt of relatives.)

IV.

IV. NUMBER DEALT WITH? BY ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS.

This great and arbitrary power held by the police was not something that existed only on paper, and rarely used in practice. Used constantly, and in large numbers.

~~Kennan~~ was permitted to study the archives of the chief exile bureau in Tobolsk, and found that:

1827-1846 (20 years) -- 79,909 *exiles to Siberia.*

Varied between 3,000 and more than 6,000 a year.

1878-1887 -- *averaged 17,500 a year to Siberia*

More than half -- ~~Kennan found that~~ more than half of the persons sent to Siberia as criminals had been sent there by administrative process, i.e., without trial.

(66)

ACTIVITIES OF THE THIRD SECTION

Poked its nose into everything. Everybody's affairs were its affair.

1. Censorship -- one of its main fields of activity. Extended to ludicrous lengths.

One one occasion ~~the chief assistant of Benckendorff called~~ the editor of one of the leading ~~new~~ journals (Bulgaria), who was in the pay of the 3rd Section, was called ~~him~~ to task for having said in print that St. Petersburg had a bad climate:

"Look here! You dare to insult the climate of the Tsar's residence!"

(108)

2. High Dignitaries to Report to Benckendorff on Their Movements, Pay Their Respects.

Important personages ~~whom~~ who came to St. Pete, or who left St. Pete, were expected to come by and pay their respects to Benckendorff.

A general, assigned to new duty post: ~~caus~~

"Yesterday I received...the command of the Most High to join the army at the front in the Caucasus, and esteemed it my duty to present myself to His Excellency before leaving."

Pushkin -- Left on a trip to the Caucasus. Benckendorff wrote to him, complaining that he had not been by to report his expected departure.

3. No Matter was Too Personal -- ~~Thompson~~ Nicholas had once made an advance to a beautiful woman named Zhadimirovskaja, but she repulsed him. Later she fell in love with a nobleman, deserted her husband, and ran off with the noble.

Nicholas was furious. Mobilized the whole apparatus of the 3rd Section to find and apprehend the "criminals". They were found, she was returned to her husband, and the nobleman thrown into prison, later to be made an enlisted man ~~and~~ and sent to the army.

DENUNCIATIONS TO THE 3rd SECTION. -

informers encouraged.

1. Nicholas also ordered the 3rd Section to examine carefully each denunciation received, including claims that plots existed against the govt or the royal dynasty.
2. Too Many of them -- Since the 3rd section received about 15,000 appeals petitions and denunciations a year, it was unable to handle them effectiently
3. Types of Denunciations -- children against their parents, serfs against the masters, soldiers against their officers

~~Nicholas encouraged the denunciations~~ offered rewards to those who, for some reason or another, wished to denounce a fellow citizen.

4. False Denunciations -- were numerous, although Nicholas issued a law making the punishment for a false denunciation identical with the punishment which the supposed crime would have entailed.
5. John Sherwood -- a man born in England, but who came to Russia when a young boy, had been generously rewarded by Nicholas in the early days of his reign, for denouncing the Decembrists in the South.

Sherwood was ~~given~~ made a noble, given an estate with serfs, & made an officer in the army.

Thus the reign began with glory given to informers.

6. Rewards for Denunciations -- Serfs given their freedom, soldiers were promoted, etc. Also could count on money, estates, and official statements of "monarchical gratitude".

(Monas 89-)

(6)

General to visit

VI. PASSPORTS.

1. Needed not only for travel abroad, but also for all peasants, tradesmen, or ~~working~~ workers traveling more than 20 miles from ~~the~~ residence. *(Today everybody must have one.)*

2. Cost -- Not great, ~~but~~ for domestic passport, but enough to be a burden on the poor.

Especially burdensome in view of the fact that peasants commonly left home in winter to work in town.

~~3. Peasant Commune -- When serfs freed, the peasant commune given power over issuance of passports. Could refuse peasant the right to leave, prevent him from changing his residence occupation.~~

4. Wives -- ~~men~~ could not reside away from husband without his written permission, after which a passport was issued her.

Permission could not be granted for more than a year, even with husband's consent.

If husband went away on long journey for more than year, wife had to go and beg from 3rd Section for a special permit.

~~Wife~~ Wife could not escape from a tyrant.

5. Children -- Those under age did not have separate papers, but were entered on the father's papers.

Thus if father was a ~~man~~ drunken beast, mother could not send the children away from home without his permission, ~~and~~

COUNT ALEXANDER K. BENCKENDORFF

1. 1st head of the 3rd Section, ~~and the man who suggested its creation to Nicholas.~~
2. Assignment given him by Nicholas -- (apocryphal story). Benckendorff asked Nicholas what he was supposed to do. Nicholas took a clean white handkerchief and handed it to him with these words:

"Here are your orders. Take this and wipe away the tears of my people."

3. Background -- A Baltic Baron. A firm believer in blind and unquestioning service and obedience to the autocrat.
4. Personality -- Polite, gentle, humane. Very conservative. Devoted to the status quo.

Criticized a proposed administrative reform as follows:

"It is one more proof of that very dangerous malady of change which is undermining the whole world in this century. I consider it a veritable scourge among us everywhere, where everything ought to be stable like the absolute power itself, which is fundamentally indispensable to our existence. One can, and one should try to improve, perfect; but there ought to be no changes except on the sovereign's own initiative, and quite rarely at that."

5. Absent-Minded -- It was said that he could scarcely remember his own name. Though assigned the task by Nicholas of knowing ~~minutely~~ everything that happened in the Russian Empire, he could ~~scarcely~~ only with difficulty ~~manage~~ keep his calendar of appointments straight

6. Great Inertia, Apathy -- Hardly knew what was going on.

Fortunate that ~~him~~ the great power which he held was not in the hands of a cruel, ambitious, and energetic man.

Able Assistants -- did the real work. (~~von Vock, later Dubelt~~)

(3rd Section)

- e. Two Types of Employees of 3rd Section: 1) Gendarmes.
2) Secret Agents.

1) Gendarmes -- a uniformed military force, ~~commanded by the Director of the 3rd Sec.~~
not "secret."

2) Secret Agents -- recruited from all branches of population, including children. Spies, informers.

Tried to, and did, infiltrate revolutionary organizations.

- f. Fear of the Police. (comment of writer in 1894)

"The Third Section has fostered a spirit of distrust.... The necessity to keep silent in order to be safe led to futility; intellectual inertness or moral apathy descended on men who were deterred from taking too great an interest in their own country."

"Conversation, to be safe, is voluntarily insignificant and systematically frivolous.... Even when they travel abroad, the tsar's subjects are under a sort of oppression, as though they had got out of the habit of breathing freely."

(Russia still the same!)

- g. Police Caused Dissatisfaction -- People didn't like being watched, spied upon. Sense of injustice at arbitrariness, violation of the regular legal procedure.

Made rebels out of some people. Increased opposition to regime.

Police held in general contempt.

- h. Inefficiency -- Despite the network of agents and informers, the police were not able to prevent the assassination of Alex II, of one of the chiefs of the 3rd Section, and of numerous other high officials.

Revolutionary movement continued to grow.

Much less efficient than Soviet police.

i. No. of Political Police - 1893 — 12,000
OGPU in 1922 — 262,000

Bols knew police methods from the other end - made it more efficient.

(67)

Tell about George Kennan

VII. SIBERIA AND THE PENAL SYSTEM.

- Three main types of punishment:
- Imprisonment
 - Forced Labor
 - Exile

1. Imprisonment --

Relatively little of it. Few prisons. ^{most of the} ~~most of~~ available space ~~for~~ prisoners awaiting trial.

Generally preferred to send them to Siberia. ^{taken up by} (vast natural prison!)

2. ^{Forced} Hard-Labor Convicts. (Salt mines!)

Maximum of 20 years usually. ~~But~~ But in some of the mines the living ~~conditions~~ and working conditions were so bad that ~~many~~ few could live as long as 20 years.

Some mines -- lived in the mine, worked in chains. Like being buried alive.

Other work -- not all of it was so bad. Might work ~~in~~ in state factories, building roads, etc. Sometimes had no regular work to do, idle.

Barracks -- ordinarily must live in them only for the first 1/4 of their term, after which they ~~can~~ ^{could} find lodgings elsewhere in the vicinity.

3. Exile (compulsory colonists) -- much easier.

Merely forced to live in a certain place, forbidden to leave, but otherwise free to ~~find~~ find their own living quarters, follow their occupation, live off of any private income they may have. Have wives and families with them. Could buy property. Hunt and fish, roam around.

Merely had to be under ~~constant~~ police surveillance.

Govt support -- ^{small} monthly allowance for living expenses, if they ~~could not find proper employment~~.

Lenin -- got married, wrote letters, went hunting. Published books. Studied Marxism, wrote pamphlets, met with other revolutionaries. Packages from home. ~~allowance paid him by govt~~ he rented a house, hired a servant.

4. Sometimes merely forbidden to live in certain cities.

omit?

¹ Kennan, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 397.

"Deportation by étape in Siberia is attended by miseries and humiliations of which a European or American reader can form only faint conception. I had many opportunities, during our journey from Tomsk to Irkótsk to see convicts on the march ... to inspect the wretched étapes in which they were herded like cattle at night ... The result of my investigation was a deliberate conviction that the suffering involved in the present method of transporting criminals to Siberia is not paralleled by anything of the kind that now exists in the civilized world outside of Russian Europe. Some of the suffering is due, of course, to negligence, indifference, or official corruption; but a very large part of it is the necessary result of a bad and cruel system ... six or eight thousand men, women, and children cannot march two thousand miles across Eastern Siberia without suffering terrible hardships." ~~Mr. Kennan's journey through Siberia is noted on the attached map by a green line. Convicts and their company were expected to march "330 miles a month with twenty-four hours of rest every third day." Kennan, op. cit., p. 369.~~

Walk average of 11 miles a day.

(16 1/2 mi. on the days they walked)

With chains on their legs.

162
130
120

¹ Kennan, Ibid., pp. 400-402.

"As the party ... approaches one of the log villages that lie along its route the chief asks the convoy officer to allow them to sing the 'begging song' as they pass through the settlement ... the convicts all remove their grey caps; and entering the village with a slow dragging step ... they begin their mournful appeal for pity."

Lanin quotes (page 124 of his work) that of the 100,000 inmates of Russian prisons less than one-third live on prison rations. "In most of the prisons visited the rations are distributed as nearly as possible in the following manner: to two-thirds of the total number of convicts nothing whatsoever is given."

Dostoevsky's imprisonment at Onsk in the 1850's seems to have been more fortunate: "Our food, also, was fairly adequate. The prisoners asserted that there was no such food in the penal battalions in European Russia. Many of us, besides were able to have our own food. Beef cost half a copeck a pound in the winter... our bread was especially good and was famous all over the town." F. M. Dostoevsky, Memoirs from the House of the Dead (trans. Jessie Caulson) (London, Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 21. The original published in 1861-1862.

² Kennan, Vol. II, p. 138.

Way stations (étapes) - crowded log cabins, dirty, smelly, stuffy, no ventilation. Many slept on floor.

4. The Journey to Siberia.

In early times, they had to walk, maybe as far as 4,500 miles. Journey lasting for a year or longer. Poor food, sleeping on the ground. Many died. Worst part. *Death rate in Tiumen forwarding prison: 23-44%*
Later began transporting most by ~~train~~ river steamer.

5. Number of Exiles. (convicts of all categories)

Under Nicholas I -- ^{as many as} 6,000 per year.
Alex. II -- 20,000 " "

Total number in exile, in ~~1855~~ ^{upto} 1855 - 100,000 - end of reign of Nich I

under Stalin.
(Nothing compared to the millions, ~~run~~. Estimates ~~run~~ as high as 14 million. Certainly ~~run~~ several million.)
were

6. Escapes.

Very high % escaped. Perhaps as ^{many} ~~many~~ as 1/3. (especially colonists)

Province of Tobolsk (1876) -- 51,000 persons entered on the registers as penal colonists, but only 34,000 there.

Provinces of Tomsk & Yenisseisk (1883) -- 20,000 registered, ^{as penal colonists,} Only 2,600 actually there. (87% missing)

Stalin -- escaped 3 times.

Lenin -- escaped also.

7. Comparison with Soviet Penal System. - "progress"

- a. Fewer arrested, imprisoned, exiled, under tsars.
- b. Although seemed harsh treatment by European standards, actually was very soft compared with ~~tsar's~~ ^{Stalin's} system.
- c. Revolutionaries treated with tender mildness, compared with ruthless handling ~~tsar's~~ ^{under Stalin.}

"Progress" - things getting better & better.

Police today much more efficient.

#

55

not surprising.¹ (Under the most harrowing mental and physical strains the laborers lived their grim lives in grotesque ghettos, returning from ten or twelve hours work to lie down on a "bare plank" above which hung, by authority of prison authorities, the stale words, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."²)

The mechanisms of the monarchical slave system have not been minutely described; it would be tedious and impossible.

¹ F. M. Dostoevsky, Memoirs from the House of the Dead, Ibid. (cited in prior footnote), p. 10. He states further from experience: "... on the inside that world seemed like an impossible fairy-tale ... our own peculiar world, unlike anything else at all; here were our own peculiar laws ... dress, morals and customs, a house of the living dead." p. 6. That internal prison control was an "official fiction" and that étapes and prisons were ruthlessly ruled by a "semi-independent oligarchy" in agreement with authorities is vividly revealed by all sources. This particularly applies to more recent sources involving the Soviet system. A lengthy and lurid term paper could be dedicated to a study of prison life and customs during one-hundred years of Russian prison practices.

² Kennan, op.cit., p. 158.

The rations upon which prisoners subsisted at Kara were as follows: 3 pounds of black rye-bread; four ounces of meat (reminding Kennan of "small refuge scraps intended for use as soap grease") a small quantity of barley, and "occasionally ... potatoes or a few leaves of cabbage. "Brick-tea" was plentiful. The first "hearty and nourishing meal" was not experienced however by convicts until after return from an exhausting day's labor. (pp. 159-60).

More than 170,000 sent to Siberia from
1878-1886 and more than

-13-

half a million since the beginning of the ^{19th} present century.¹

Once on the road to the interior the "marching parties" were subject to the etape system itself. These station houses were situated along the routes "at intervals of from twenty-five to forty miles." In the more desolate expanses "half-way houses" or "pou-étapes" were situated between etapes

1

Kennan, Ibid., Vol. I, p. 52. Mr. Kennan's statistical data were obtained from awe-struck officials in various locations and branches of the Bureau of Exile Administration who, not fully understanding, and perhaps slightly suspicious of his purpose but being singularly impressed by his credentials, opened their files and minds, fortunately for Mr. Kennan, to excess. Prior to the creation in 1823 of an official bureau for the classification, sorting and supervision of exiles, only haphazard supervision had been maintained. In 1811 a regular guard force had been organized and exiles had been given documents of identification. "In 1817, etapes, or exile station houses, were erected along the most important routes." According to the records of the Bureau, between 1823 and 1887, 772,979 exiles were sent to Siberia. The more startling figures which follow and the prior information in this footnote may be found in Chapter IV, pp. 74-102. Statistics covering exiles sent to Siberia from 1823 to 1887 are as follows:

From 1823 to 1832	98,725
From 1833 to 1842	86,550
From 1843 to 1852	69,764
From 1853 to 1862	101,238
From 1863 to 1877	91,257

For the individual years from 1878 to 1887 the figure averages about 17,500 per year. 18,843 passed through the forwarding stations for inner Siberia during 1885, the year of Mr. Kennan's unique tour. Author Dillon in his Russian Traits and Terror, p. 112 (the work is previously cited) reveals figures published by the Russian government in 1885; though his figures are not so extensive, the total to 1855 (727,506) closely substantiates Kennan's total for that year. (737,728).

Between the years 1901 and 1913 the number of prisoners ~~was~~ doubled.¹ But the increase was attributed almost entirely to "common criminals." And prior to the First World War, "the number of prisoners fluctuated between 80 and 90 per cent of the maximum capacity of prisons."² By 1917, "the number fell almost to zero." (actually 24,095).

In 1922 the administration process, so odious to the tenets of the original revolutionists, received new and more deadly potentialities in the pronouncement that sentences of this nature would be imposed by the newly organized G.P.U. And in November of 1923 the Judicial College of the G.P.U. was created to resurrect "traditions" long since established by the Cheka of the Tsars.³ This organization was to populate

¹ David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicholaevsky, Forced Labor in the Soviet Union (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), p. 159. Mr. Dallin's figures, based on Tsarist, Ministry of Justice records, later published under Soviet auspices, are as follows:

1901	84,632
1903	96,005
1908	171,219
1912	183,949
1913	169,367

² Dallin, Ibid.. According to Dallin there were "700 prisons with an aggregate capacity of 201,774." Obviously, the reforms begun after Kennan's visit continued to expand in expense and effectiveness.

³ David Rousset, Police-State Methods in the Soviet Union, trans. Charles R. Joy (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1953), p. 18. Crimes coming under administrative jurisdiction were designated as: "Sabotage, willful arson, injury to machines and other installations belonging to the state, and other forms of submission."