



S O C I A L S C I E N C E



M. OVSYANNIKOVA
B. LEVITAN
S. USHAKOV
A. ALEXANDROV

Textbook for
Elementary
and Middle
Schools

Part ONE

STATE
TEXTBOOK
PUBLISHING
HOUSE
MOSCOW
1 9 3 3

M. OVSYANNIKOV — B. LEVITAN — S. USHAKOV
A. ALEXANDROV

SOCIAL SCIENCE

TEXTBOOK FOR
ELEMENTARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS

PART I

3rd GRADE

TRANSLATED FROM THE TEXTBOOK
approved by the Collegium of the
People's Commissariat of Education
of RSFSR

Translated by I. Levin
Edited by B. Perel



STATE TEXTBOOK PUBLISHING
HOUSE
MOSCOW — 1933

The original draft of this textbook (Part 1, Third Grade) was prepared by Comrades Ushakov and Alexandrov of Rostov. It was then considerably revised and abridged by Comrades Ovsyannikova and Levitan, who are the authors of the remaining three parts of this series.

In view of the difficulties encountered in compiling a textbook on social science for elementary and secondary schools, and the necessity for a try-out in actual practice in the schools, the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Education has admitted this textbook for the current school term, with a view to making necessary changes and additions, and using it as a standard textbook.

М. Овсянникова, Б. Левитан, С. Ушаков и А. Александров.
Обществоведение — учебник для начальной и средней школы.
Часть I. Третий год обучения. Перевод с учебника, допущенного Коллегией
НКП РСФСР. Перевод И. Левина.

Ответственный редактор *Д. Двофский*
Технический редактор *Г. Кантор*

Сдано в набор 23/VIII 1933 г. Подписано к печати 26/X 1933 г.

Формат бумаги 62 X 94^{1/16}. Тираж 1 000.

Изд. листов 6. Бум. листов 3. 82 000 печ. знак. в 1 бум. листе.

У-26, Учпедгиз № 4982. Заказ № 3241.

Уполн. Главлита № В-62323.

1-я Образцовая типография Огиза РСФСР треста „Полиграфкнига“. Москва, Валовая, 28.

Publisher's Note

This textbook on social science is one of a series of four for elementary and secondary schools. The series consists of four parts, and is adapted to the third, fourth, fifth and sixth grades respectively. The contents are in accord with the school curricula for 1933-34 of the People's Commissariat of Education of the R.S.F.S.R.

Part I (third grade) contains matter on the basic period of the revolutionary movement in Russia, the victory of the working class in October 1917, the Civil War, the role of the Bolshevik Party and its leaders, who prepared for the victory of the October Revolution and organized the defence of the Soviet Republics.

Part II (fourth grade) gives the essence of Proletarian Dictatorship, acquaints the pupil with the foundations of Soviet structure, with the successes in establishing Socialist society achieved by the workers and peasants of our country under the direction of the Leninist Communist Party and its leader Comrade Stalin.

Part III (fifth grade) acquaints the pupil with the life, work and struggle of the teachers and leaders of the working class, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and gives an elementary outline of the foundations of their teachings.

Part IV (sixth grade) gives the pupil a more thorough understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

CONTENTS OF PARTS II, III and IV

(Chapter Headings)

Part I

Why We Must Know Our Past

I The Situation of the Peasants under Serfdom

II The Peasants' Struggle against the Landlords

III Repeal of Serfdom

IV Struggle of the Peasants and Workers to 1905

V Revolution of 1905

VI The October Revolution

VII The Communist Party in the Struggle for Soviet Power

VIII Leninist Union of Communist Youth

IX The Pioneers

X The Struggle for Socialism — the Cause of the Working Class of the Entire World

Part II

I The Soviets

II The U.S.S.R., a Fraternity of Nationalities

III We are Building Socialism

IV The Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture

V Our Achievements on the Front of Culture

VI The Basic Tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan

VII Two Worlds

Part III

I Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

II Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

III Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin

Part IV

I The World of Capitalism

II Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism

III The General Crisis of Capitalism and the Present Economic Crisis

IV The World of Socialist Labour

V We and They

VI What Is Communism?

VII What Is Socialism?

VIII The Struggle for a Classless Socialist Society

IX The Teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the State

X The Bourgeois State

XI The Proletarian State

XII The Supreme Principle of Proletarian Dictatorship — The Unity of Workers and Peasants

XIII The Soviets as the Form of the Proletarian State

XIV The National Policy of the Proletarian Dictatorship

XV The Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the Second Five-Year Plan

XVI The Teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the Party

XVII The Struggle on Two Fronts

XVIII The Communist International

WHY WE MUST KNOW OUR PAST

In our country all power belongs to the workers and peasants. The toilers of our country, under the leadership of the working class and its Communist Party, are building their life anew. They are building a new life in which there will be no place for exploiters and exploited.

In other countries the power belongs to the capitalists. The capitalists keep the workers and peasants in a state of constant oppression.

The same thing existed formerly with us. There was a time when our fathers and mothers were lashed by landlords and tsarist hangmen. There was a time when our fathers and mothers worked day and night for the capitalists and landlords.

Our fathers and mothers carried on a long and stubborn struggle against their exploiters, against the tsar, landlords and capitalists.

Thousands of those who fought for the liberation of the toilers died in tsarist prisons and on scaffolds, thousands chained in heavy irons travelled along the Siberian roads to hard labour camps and exile.

By studying the past we learn *about the life and struggle of the workers and peasants of tsarist Russia and how they defeated their oppressors.*

The workers and peasants were victorious because their struggle was led by the Communist Party, at the head of which stood its leader Comrade Lenin.

By studying the past we learn *how the Bolsheviks led the toiling people to victory over tsarism, landlords and capitalists.*

The struggle is not over yet. The toilers of capitalist countries under the leadership of Communist Parties are carrying on a heroic struggle to overthrow capitalist rule. Our enemies are trying to hinder the great construction which is going on in our country. The capitalists of all countries are preparing war against us. Wreckers and kulaks creep into our factories and mills, electric power stations, mines, collective and state farms, and try to undermine our socialist construction.

When we learn how our fathers and mothers struggled and conquered, then we shall be able to: *better fight and conquer our enemies. Better build up the new life of our country as Lenin taught us, and as Stalin is teaching us become better fighters for the victory of the workers and peasants of the whole world.*

1. THE SITUATION OF THE TOILERS UNDER SERFDOM

§ 1. Serf Slavery

In Russia serfdom existed up till 1861. All the land with its resources and all the power in the country belonged to the tsar and landlords. The majority of the population consisted of serf-peasants and serf-handicraft workers.

The landlords owned the peasants as their own property.

The peasants farmed on small plots of land which belonged to the landlord.

The peasants could not go away from the landlord, no matter how bad their life was.

Throughout the year the peasant and his family were compelled to work for the landlord: to plough his land, to mow his meadows and take care of his herds.

The peasants were not paid for this work. Such work for the master-landlord was known as *corvée*.

This work for the landlord was very hard. Most of the time the peasant worked for the landlord. The peasant could work on his own farm only during the night and on holidays.

Those landlords whose land did not yield a good harvest sent the peasants elsewhere to earn money. The peasants went to work for landlords in the fertile soil districts or in the cities. These peasants were compelled to pay their master quit-rent.*

This quit-rent collected from the peasants was so big that often the landlord took from the peasant all his earnings.

Serf-peasants also worked for landlords in their households and on their estates. Such serfs were known as house servants. These house servants did not receive land. Neither did they receive any wages for their work. Their masters simply fed them, and their food was very meagre.

The house servants worked as butlers, cooks, stablemen. Among these servants were many craftsmen: blacksmiths, carpenters, harness makers. In the landlord's household almost everything was made by

* Quit-rent means that instead of working on the landlord's land, the peasants paid him in money or in kind.

these serf-craftsmen; hardly anything was ever bought outside the estate. The richer landlords had several hundred such house servants. Very often a landlord's family consisting of three or four people was served by 20 to 30 servants.

Serfs were the property of their masters just the same as any other piece of property. The masters were free to do what they wanted with their serfs. According to the laws of serfdom, the landlord could sell his serfs. Serf-peasants were sold and bought like any other goods.



Saltichikha Punishing the Serf-Peasants

Whole villages of serfs as well as families and individuals were sold. Often the landlord in selling his peasants would break up families. He would sell the father and retain the rest of the family in his own possession. The children of one family were sold to different landlords, which meant that for the rest of their lives they were taken away from their parents. The price paid was not high. There were cases where the landlord would exchange several peasant families or even a whole village for a thoroughbred dog. The landlord was at liberty to judge and to punish the peasants. For the smallest offence the peasants were lashed almost to death with whips and rods. Often they died in the course of such flogging. A certain Saltichikha, killed 75 serf-peasants with her own hands. If any of the peasants

committed an offence, she would beat them on the head with a heavy iron rod, or make them eat bits of glass, or feed them salt fish and then lock them up in a hot bath house without a drop of water for days at a time, etc.

The peasants were forbidden to protest against the cruel treatment of their masters. If, moreover, the peasant's grievance reached the authorities, the peasant himself was punished for complaining about his master.

The landlord was at liberty not only to beat his serfs, but to send them to prison and sentence them to hard labour.

The landlord had another means of dealing with unruly serfs — they were sent as soldiers to serve in the army. In those days the term of service in the army was 25 years, under conditions of severe discipline. Punishment in the army was very cruel; the soldiers were beaten with whips, sticks, iron rods or were compelled to run the gauntlet.* Only a few of the serfs who entered the army ever survived, to return home. And he who remained alive after these terrible 25 years of service, returned to his home village a sick, old invalid, no longer fit for any work.

Announcements in newspapers of that time, advertising the sale of serfs:

For Sale: Serf-craftsmen of good behaviour: 2 tailors, a shoe maker, a watch maker, a baker, a carriage maker, a blacksmith, a goldsmith and 2 drivers, can be seen and information given on prices in District 3, 4th Quart., House No. 51, at the residence of the landlord. Also 3 racehorses, one colt and 50 hounds for sale.

For Sale: Twenty-year old, able, good-looking girl skilled in housework, and a well-trained mare.

§ 2. The Church — The Defender of the Landlord

The landlords were not the only owners of serf-peasants. Monasteries and churches also possessed many peasants. The priests and monks were faithful servants of the tsar and landlords. They helped to keep the serf-peasants in obedience. The priests always threatened those

* Running the gauntlet. The soldier was compelled to pass between two lines of soldiers who beat him with sticks or iron rods.

peasants who did not work with sufficient zeal for their masters, that they would be "punished by God."

The tsar and the landlords were always building new churches and new monasteries. They very willingly paid for the services of their trusted servants, the priests and monks. The landlords donated big estates to the church. In those estates the work was done by serf-peasants, but the priests took all the crops.

The tsar gave the monasteries the right to possess their own serf-peasants. The monasteries possessed thousands of hectares of land and tens of thousands of serf-peasants. For example, the Troitsko-Sergiyevsky Monastery in the Moscow district possessed 106,000 serf-peasants. The peasants who belonged to the monasteries were also compelled to pay the *corvée*. The conditions of these peasants were just as hard as those of the peasants belonging to the landlords. They, also, were terrifically exploited and oppressed.

Such was the life of the toilers under serfdom.

§ 3. A Bitter Life

Grandmother Gavrilovna now lives on a collective farm. But she well remembers how her parents lived when they were serfs.

Gavrilovna likes to tell the children about the days of the past. Here are the Pioneers gathered around her listening to stories about peasant life in the days of serfdom.

Gavrilovna slowly begins her story: "I was very small when I was sold together with my mother."

"What do you mean you were sold?" impatiently asks Nadya.

"You listen and don't interrupt. We were serf-peasants belonging to the landlord Makarov. My father was a driver, and my mother looked after the chickens. Our master, Makarov, drank a good deal. He would get drunk and then begin to shoot his revolver. Once he shot and killed Mishka, the cook's apprentice.

"Well, once our master went to the village of Gribunino. He came across some very good calves and wanted to buy them. But at the same time the landlord Gribunin, to whom these calves belonged, was in need of a woman to look after the chickens. And so the master exchanged us for the calves. My father and brothers remained with master Makarov and my mother and I were taken over to Gribunino.

"My mother begged on her knees to be allowed to return to her husband and children, but the master would not permit this. . . .

"At first it seemed very lonesome in Grubinino. Before, my mother was always cheerful, but now she was all worn out. All of a sudden,

whether it was the fault of my mother or not, I don't know, but the chickens began to die. One after the other they would fall. The manager came around, cursed us and shook his fist.

“‘You do this on purpose’, he would say. ‘Very well, you have not been to our stable yet.’

“The most horrible tales were told about this stable. There was a courtyard surrounded by a high wall. On a high platform in the centre of the yard stood an armchair for the landlord. He would sit here and supervise the punishment of the peasants. Sometimes we



Serf-Peasants Being Sold

children would play near the stables and hear the cries and whipping in the courtyard, interrupted only by the landlord's shouts of 'Give him some more!'

“I did not sleep for whole nights after hearing the words of the manager. I was always thinking, will they drag my mother to this terrible stable? And the chickens, as if for spite, kept on dying.

“Once the manager came and said, 'The master demands a reply. Why did you kill all the chickens?' In saying so he laughed as if he was glad about something. I ran after my mother and cried and cried.... When the manager dragged her into the yard and closed the gate, I ran away. I ran for a long time; oh, to get away from that horrible scene, not to hear my mother's voice from behind the wall.

“Towards evening I went home. My mother was lying motionless on the bed. I lay down on the floor and fell asleep.

“In the morning my mother was gone; the manager came and asked about her, but I did not know where she was.

“Horsemen were sent out to look for her, the village women came and wept. She ran away, but, oh, she will be caught and that will be the end of her. The master never forgives runaways.

“But I did not even cry. I just sat in the corner as if turned to stone, and during the whole day I ate nothing.

“My mother was not found. The shepherds said that they saw her near the river and most likely she was drowned. This is how I lost my mother. My father I also never saw again — the landlord sent him to the army. He served there 20 years and was killed in the war.

“A month passed after my mother was lost. One day a big dog in a big wooden cage was sent to the master’s niece. It was a wonder of a dog. They called him ‘Pluto’ — the sly one.

“The servants told me, ‘You have been sold, you have been exchanged for this dog; soon you will be taken away.’ And indeed, it seems that the master’s niece took a liking to me when she was here on a visit. The man who brought the dog took me away to my new mistress.

“Yes, it was a bitter life we led. We were sold, exchanged for dogs. The peasants were humiliated by the landlords,” said Gavrilovna.

§4. A Serf Factory

At the end of the Eighteenth Century, in order to increase their profits, the Russian landlords began to build factories. But these factories were not like the factories of today. In the serf factories there were almost no machines. Most of the work was done by hand. The factories manufactured grain alcohol, woollen cloth, etc. The workers in these factories were the serf-peasants. Instead of the *corvée* the landlords would send the peasants to work in their factories.

Work in a serf factory was very hard. The peasants worked 16 to 18 hours every day without a rest. For the smallest offence or mistake they were severely beaten. The conditions of work were very bad. Their benches were placed close to each other. The tiny windows gave very little light. Everywhere there was dirt, and the air was bad.

The peasants who worked in the factories had almost no time left to take care of their own households. They were driven to poverty and became permanent workers.

When the serf-worker could no longer stand these miserable conditions, he ran away. But usually he was caught and sent back to the factory. And here, as an example for other workers, he was severely

punished. The runaway was beaten almost to death and then thrown into prison.

Often the workers in serf factories were sold together with the factories to some merchant. In such cases the workers were compelled to work for their new master for the rest of their lives.

Serfs also worked in mines and mills, working up ore and metal. Especially were there many such mines and mills in the Ural mountain region. Most of these mills belonged not to individual landlords and merchants but to the government. These factory serfs worked part of the year in the village and part in the factory. Their life was even worse than that of the rest of the serfs.

§ 5. Tsarist Russia — a Prison of Peoples

The tsar and the landlords were not satisfied with robbing and oppressing only the Russian peasants. By means of bloody wars, they conquered the Tartars, Bashkirs, Chuvash, Kulmiks, Mordva, the Siberian peoples, Ukrainians, White Russians, Poles, the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, and many others.

All of these nationalities were subjected to plunder and violence. Almost for nothing, by misleading the owners with the help of vodka and by the Cossack whip, the landlords and tsar's officials took over the best lands of the suppressed nationalities. These lands became the property of the landlords.

In these conquered lands only Russian merchants were allowed to carry on trade. The oppressed nationalities were forbidden to conduct trade not only in the cities, but even in the villages. Thus the Russian merchants who followed at the heels of the landlords quickly became rich.

Together with the landlords and merchants, Russian priests came to the newly conquered lands. By means of violence they converted the conquered peoples to the Russian orthodox faith. Those who refused were beaten with whips, their property was confiscated or destroyed.

The rebellions of oppressed nationalities were ruthlessly suppressed. Often the landlords would set one nationality against another. For example, in 1755 the Bashkirs who revolted against Russian landlords fled to Kirghizia. They wanted to unite with the Kirghiz and together fight the Russian slave-owners. But the tsarist government set the Kirghiz against the Bashkirs. The Kirghiz robbed the Bashkirs, took away their wives and children and drove them into the Kirghiz steppe.

Thus, with firearms, cross and vodka, the landlords, merchants and priests conquered people after people. Tsarist Russia became a prison of enslaved peoples.

Questions for Review

1. How did the serf-peasants live?
2. What is the *corvée*? What is quit-rent?
3. How did the landlord deal with his serfs?
4. How did the serf-workers live?

II. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEASANTS AGAINST THE LANDLORDS

§ 6. Tsarist Power — the Power of the Serf-Owners

The tsar was the richest landlord. Therefore, the tsarist government defended the interests of the landlords.

To enslave the serf-peasants and workers the tsar had his officials, officers, soldiers, police, courts and prisons.

The officers in the tsarist army were propertied noblemen. The priests were the faithful servants of the tsarist government. They helped the tsar and landlords to suppress the peasants. The church defended the serf laws by all means. Day in and day out the priests tried to convince the peasants that they must obey the tsar and landlord. And this treacherous work of the priests was paid for by the peasants themselves. The priests robbed the peasants and became rich.

§ 7. Peasant Revolts

Many serfs who were unable to bear life on the landlords' estates ran away. Runaway peasants wandered in the forests and along the highways, living by theft and burglary. Some of the runaway peasants went to the Volga, the Don and the Urals. These peasants were called Cossacks.

All the terrible punishment meted out to the peasants was unable to stop the horror-stricken peasants from running away from their masters.

Here and there revolts sprang up among the peasants. The serf-peasants revolted against the landlords. Very often the peasants lost all patience and killed the landlords.

Here is a story of one of these revolts, told by an old peasant who was once a serf and is now on a collective farm.

Once an order was received to supply recruits for the tsar's army. It was for the landlord to decide which of the peasants were to serve in the army.

In those days army service was long and difficult. Many died while in service, some were beaten to death, others were crippled

for life. Peasants who went to the army were given a send-off as if they were going to their graves.

Well, the landlord called the *burgmeister*.*

“Who shall we send to the army?” he asked. The *burgmeister* hated me. I was a bold young fellow and always spoke the truth. That is why he did not like me. So the *burgmeister* pointed to me.

“We should begin with this one.”

All the recruits were gathered in front of the landlord’s mansion. We were followed by our numerous relatives, all weeping.



Leaving for the Army

I was the first to be called to the landlord.

“What sort of things have you been saying in the village?” asked the landlord very severely.

“The same as everybody,” I replied.

“Tie him up,” shouted the landlord.

When they began to tie me my mother dropped upon her knees before the master. She begged and implored him to leave me alone. All my relatives were on their knees crying and begging the landlord. But this only made our master more cross.

I saw that he had taken up his whip and was beating my mother and the rest of my relatives kneeling down before him. . . My mother was weak and ill . . .

* *Burgmeister* — manager of the landlord’s estate.

I could not bear this. With all my strength I sprang up. I tore the cords binding me and jumped for the master . . . All the people followed me. We took hold of the landlord, tied him up and dragged him to the river, where he met his end.

After that government officials came. Punishment began and blood flowed freely . . .

We hid in the forests. Nights we would raid landlord estates. We destroyed and burnt them and returned to the forests.

Troops were sent to catch us. I was looked upon as the ringleader, and a high price was promised for my capture. I was compelled to run away to far-off regions.

Many years have passed since then. I returned to my native village an old man and here I am able to take part in the building of a new life.

§ 8. The Razin Revolt

Over 250 years ago a revolt took place against the landlords. This revolt was started by the poor Cossacks who consisted mainly of runaway serfs. The serf population of the Volga District, as well as the conquered peoples: the Bashkirs, Tartars, Chuvash, Mordva and Mari, joined this revolt. The leader of this revolt was the Cossack Stepan Razin.

Razin was fighting against the landlords, merchants and tsarist officials. He was able to capture a number of cities: Tsaritsin (now, Stalingrad), Astrakhan, Saratov, Samara. In the captured cities and estates Razin abolished the authority of the tsar, officials and landlords. The inhabitants were declared free Cossacks. All power was given over to the Cossack "ring" and its chief, one of Razin's followers.

The property of the landlords, priests and merchants, Razin's followers divided among those who took part in the revolt and the local poor population. The tsarist officials, landlords and merchants were either executed or thrown into prison.

The tsar and landlords were terror-stricken. They sent huge armies against the poor peasants and Cossacks led by Razin. But it was not so easy to crush this revolt. Several times the tsarist troops were defeated by the rebels. And only at the battle near Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk) did the well-equipped and well-trained tsarist forces defeat Razin.

The Razin revolt was drowned in blood. Razin's followers were executed by the thousands, tortured to death, mounted on spears, nailed to boards. Their eyes were torn out, their arms chopped off.

Stepan Razin himself fled to the Don. But here he was seized by the rich Cossacks and handed over to the tsarist officials. He was chained and brought to Moscow in an iron cage.

Before his execution Razin was terribly tortured, but this leader of the poor peasants and Cossacks was fearless. He did not cry nor moan; the tsar's hangmen were unable to get one confession from him. With the same courageous spirit Razin met his death; he was quartered.

For a long time the followers of Razin continued to terrify the landlords and tsarist officials until they were finally defeated by tsarist troops.

§ 9. The Pugachev Revolt

One hundred years after the Razin revolt, in 1773, a new and even bigger revolt took place. The leader of this revolt was a Don Cossack, Emilian Pugachev.

Pugachev served in the tsarist army. But not wanting to obey his landlord officers, he ran away from the army and wandered throughout Russia. He studied the life of the poor people and had only one thought — how to free them from the slavery of serfdom.

In the Caucasus Pugachev was caught and thrown into prison. But he succeeded in escaping. The soldier who guarded him ran away with him. After this Pugachev appeared in the Urals. Here all the peasants dissatisfied with life under serfdom gathered around him.

There were many who were dissatisfied. The life of the serfs towards this time became still worse. The *corvée* was becoming heavier. Life became worse for the non-Russian peoples who inhabited the Ural and Volga regions. More than others they were robbed and oppressed by landlords, officials, merchants and priests.

Serfs, Cossacks, serf-workers, the city poor and oppressed peoples rallied around Pugachev. Especially were there many Bashkirs in his ranks. One after another the tsarist forts surrendered to Pugachev. Many of the tsar's soldiers sent to crush the rebellion joined Pugachev's ranks.

Pugachev received great support from the serf-workers of the Urals. They made cannon and ammunition for him. These cannon were manned by serf-workers from the Ural mills.

The workers were the most conscious of the rebels. Among the leaders of the rebels, besides Pugachev, there were such able and brave leaders as the workers Beloborodov, Khlopusha and the Bashkir, Salavat Youlaivi.

The entire Volga region, where the memories of Razin still lived, joined the Pugachev rebellion.

Pugachev, like Razin, gave over to the peasants the land and property of the landlords, repealed the serf laws and severely punished the enemies of the peasants and workers. The peasants rallied in thous-

ands to the banners of Pugachev. Here and there huge flames sprung up, the burning estates of the landlords.

The landlords were seized with terror. They fled to the central districts, to Moscow and to St. Petersburg.

The serf-peasants who lived in Moscow, the workers and craftsmen impatiently awaited the arrival of Pugachev. Pugachev's leaflets were passed from hand to hand. In these leaflets he promised to come soon and put an end to serfdom.

The tsarist government sent huge military forces to fight Pugachev.

In a battle near Sarepta Pugachev's followers suffered a heavy defeat. Pugachev fled to the steppe. Like Razin he was caught by the rich Cossacks and turned over to the tsarist officials.



Pugachev Punishes the Landlords

Pugachev, like Razin one hundred years before him, was brought to Moscow in an iron cage. For a long time he was tortured and finally executed. Like Razin, Pugachev during his torture and execution showed great courage and will power.

The Pugachev revolt was crushed with great cruelty. The tsar's troops burnt down whole villages. On the highways, scaffolds were built from which hung the bodies of executed Pugachev followers.

Rafts with scaffolds from which the bodies of executed peasants hung, floated along the river.

The clergy took part in the crushing of this peasant revolt. One of the monasteries was surrounded by its own serf-peasants who were on Pugachev's side. When the tsar's troops came the priests called in all the peasants, telling them that the tsar's message would be read. When the peasants got together the soldiers drove them with bayonets

into the courtyard, then they were led out one by one, terribly beaten and thrown from the monastery wall into the river.

The tsar and the landlords were victorious, but for a long time to come they remembered Pugachev.

§ 10. Andreika — The Secret Messenger

There are many stories told about the Pugachev rebellion. Here is one of them.

The hut is full of people. About 50 young and old peasants and Cossacks, women and children, stand shoulder to shoulder. Three men sit at the table.

The three were bearded, tanned almost black, as if hardened by the wind and sun. Andreika, a boy of 12, looks upon the three with eyes wide open. One of the three addressed the peasants:

“To all of you good people, who have suffered from oppression, whose backs are black and blue from the master’s whip, to all of you we extend our kindness. First of all, we give you freedom, you are freed from your masters, we give you land.” The crowd was moved by these words, women began to cry. But the speaker, a tall man with a black beard, gave the crowd a cheerful glance, touched his beard and continued:

“Now, my children, don’t give up. All of us must join in the fight against our enemies and together we must stand for our cause.”

The hut was filled with many voices. The reply came from many mouths.

“Yes, we shall stand up for our rights!”

“It has become impossible to live under the rule of the landlords.”

“We have had enough suffering, our whole life is slavery.” Pugachev rose and raised his hand.

“Now, my children, go. My ataman* will distribute you among the regiments. Now I must speak with my assistants.”

An old man who was the owner of the hut took Andreika to the table.

“Who are you, young man? Where are you from?” asked Pugachev of Andreika, meanwhile thinking of something else, something important. “Come, tell us.”

Andreika stood as if turned into stone, he could not take his eyes away from Pugachev, he could not speak.

“The boy came to you, from the Volga. He has something to tell you,” said the old man.

* Ataman — Cossack leader.

"Well, tell us quick what you know; what message have you for me? Tell me everything. Have your people heard about me?"

"Yes, they heard about you," quietly and with some difficulty said Andreika. And then all of a sudden, as one awoke from slumber, Andreika spoke clearly and quickly, as if afraid he would not have time to finish.

"They are awaiting you, they are awaiting freedom, the people can no longer bear the suffering . . .

"Our landlord caused us terrible suffering. We have lost all patience . . . He killed my father . . . My sister is in the dungeon . . ." Tears ran down Andreika's cheeks. Pugachev kindly put his hand on the lad's shoulder and said:

"Very well, go back to your people and tell them I will come soon. But they themselves must prepare. Tell them to find firearms where they can and make spears. Then I will come and defend you. Tell them not to lose time; freedom is not a bird, it will not just come. We ourselves must fight for our freedom and hold on to it. Understand?"

Andreika nodded. "Yes, I understand everything, everything. I will tell them all you have said."

Andreika could not take his eyes away from this man who promised the horror-stricken peasants freedom.

In the morning, with the first rays of the sun, Andreika went back to his village. Many pleasant thoughts were in his head. "Pugachev will come and the first thing he will do is to free my sister Lyuba from the dungeon, and he will execute our terrible landlord and grant all peasants freedom. . ."

Questions for Review

1. Whose interests did the tsarist government defend?
2. How did the church help the landlords to suppress the serf-peasants and serf-workers?
3. How did serf-peasants fight against tsarist rule and landlords?
4. When did the Razin revolt take place? When did the Pugachev revolt take place?

III. THE REPEAL OF SERFDOM

§ 11. How Serfdom Was Repealed

At the beginning of the nineteenth century many new factories were being built in Russia. Towards 1860, Russia already had several thousand mills and factories. More than half a million workers worked in these factories.

The factory owners were in need of more and more workers. The serf was a bad worker. He knew little of craftsmanship. He was forced to work in the factory, and very often he attempted to run away.

The more new factories and mills were built, the more new cities sprang up. The city population was in need of bread, meat, butter. The factories were in need of hemp, leather and other agricultural raw products. Besides this, much more bread was exported abroad; more hemp, timber, leather and other raw materials were also sent abroad.

All this compelled the landlords to cultivate much more land, but the serf-peasants, who received nothing in payment for their labour, were bad workers on their masters' land. The result was a poor harvest.

The factory owners were looking for people to buy their goods, but the serf-workers and peasants lived in poverty and could not afford to buy these goods.

Thus it seems that for factory owners serfdom was not profitable. For the landlords serf labour also brought less profits than they would have liked.

All this compelled the tsar, the factory owners, and the landlords to consider the repeal of serfdom.

Moreover, peasant revolts became more frequent. In the course of five or six years before the repeal of serfdom there were over 400 such revolts. The landlords and the tsar were becoming afraid that a new Pugachev rebellion would begin.

The tsarist government was compelled to repeal serfdom.

In 1861 Tsar Alexander II issued a manifesto repealing serfdom.

After the manifesto it was no longer permitted to buy and sell peasants, to present, exchange, mortgage, or inherit them. The peasants became "free."

But all the advantage of this "freedom" went to the landlords and factory owners. The peasants were free, but they received less land than they had when they were serfs. The peasants had to buy out their land. But they had to pay a large sum for it. The peasants were to pay more for the land than it was worth.

The peasants who were household servants received no land at all. Apart from this, for the first two years following the repeal of serfdom the peasants were compelled to work for their masters or to pay quit-rent as in the days of serfdom.

Most of the land, the best land, remained in the hands of the landlords. The peasants received the worst land. When they were set

“free” all the meadows, forests, ponds, were taken from them. The peasants could not get along without these lands, and willy-nilly they were compelled to go to the landlord. It became necessary to ask the landlord to allow them the use of his ponds, meadows, and in return the landlord forced the peasants to work for him. Now the landlord made the peasants cultivate as much land for him as he needed. In allowing the peasants to use his ponds, pastures, etc., the landlord demanded that the peasants either pay for this in money or by working on his land.

So the peasants began to work for the landlords in return for the use of the land which was formerly theirs. The peasants ploughed with their own horses the landlord's fields, gathered his harvest, threshed the landlord's grain.

All this ruined the peasants. Many of them had no time to work in their own households. They were compelled to look for means of living elsewhere; they searched for work in factories or in the cities. Such peasants became agricultural labourers in the countryside or workers in the city.

As a result of the repeal of serfdom the factory owners and landlords found many workers willing to work at low wages. These workers worked better than serfs, because if their work was bad they were immediately discharged and new ones were put in their place.

§ 12. Peasant Unrest after the Repeal of Serfdom

Such “freedom” the peasants did not expect. Instead of freedom and land they were drawn into a new enslavement even more bitter than serfdom. That is why in the very year that “freedom” was declared, peasant revolts took place almost everywhere in Russia. In the next two or three years about 2000 peasant revolts occurred.

In certain places the peasants would not believe the tsarist officials who read to them the tsar's manifesto of freedom. The peasants thought that the tsar's manifesto gave them real “golden” freedom and that the landlords and officials were concealing this from the people. The peasants did not understand that the tsar was on the side of the landlords.

Very few of the peasants could read and write, and could not read the manifesto themselves. Even those who could read found it difficult to understand the manifesto. The manifesto was purposely written in very difficult language, what is called “official” language. The peasants began to look for reliable people who could explain the meaning of the manifesto “correctly.”

For example in the village of Bezdna (in what is now the Tartar Republic) a certain person by the name of Anton Petrov, had, it seems, read the manifesto and explained that freedom had been granted to the peasants a long time ago, but that the landlords were concealing this. The peasants from the neighbouring villages came to Bezdna. Anton Petrov told them that according to the manifesto freedom had been granted in 1858, but the landlords were holding this back from the peasants.

Petrov told the peasants not to listen to the landlords and tsarist officials, not to work any more for their masters, not to pay quit-rent, to take the grain from the landlords' granaries. He said that according to the manifesto all the land belonged to the peasants and that the landlords should receive only one-third of their former possessions.

Under the influence of Anton Petrov many peasants refused to work for their masters. They thought that the landlords no longer had any right to make them work.

But the tsarist officials thought differently. The horror-stricken landlords demanded from the authorities that Anton Petrov be immediately arrested. A detachment of soldiers led by General Apraksin was sent to Bezdna.

"Where is Petrov," demanded the general, upon arriving in the village; but the peasants surrounded Petrov's hut and would not surrender him.

The general ordered his soldiers to fire . . .

The tsar's soldiers fired volley after volley at these unarmed peasants. The whole street was covered with the bodies of killed and wounded.

Anton Petrov was captured, chained and court-martialled, and on April 19, 1861, he was shot. This is how the tsar and the landlords dealt with those who wanted not the "freedom" of the landlords but real freedom for the peasants.

§ 13. After the Declaration of "Freedom"

The life of the peasants did not improve after the repeal of serfdom. It was impossible for the peasants to live upon the meagre harvest of their tiny farms. Most of their money had to be given to the tsar in payment of taxes or to the landlords in payment for their plots of land. The landlords continued to lead a life of leisure and comfort, and exploited the peasants as before. The appalling poverty of the peasants made them go to the landlords to seek employment. The peasants worked for low wages, very often in payment of their debts

to the landlord. Moreover, the number of kulaks* in the villages rapidly grew.

Even before the repeal of serfdom there were rich peasants in the villages. They made their money by exploiting the labour of others or by trading. Rich peasants were allowed to buy their freedom from the landlords but even those who remained serfs were usually given positions as managers, foremen, etc.

After the repeal of serfdom the rich peasants bought up the land and rented it out to the poor peasants. They lent the peasants money and



The Kulak

exact large sums as interest in return for the loan. The poor peasants were compelled to borrow money from the kulaks because of the high taxes they had to pay.

Millions of peasant householders were ruined by these kulaks. Thousands of ruined peasants were compelled to seek employment with the landlords and kulaks. They became either agricultural labourers or went to work in the factories.

The kulaks, just like the landlords, tried to make the peasants work longer hours and paid them as little as possible. The kulaks were the direct allies of the landlords. They owned much land, cattle, agricultural implements, and often were very rich. Because of this they

* Kulak — a rich peasant who lives by exploiting the labour of poor peasants, usually paying them starvation wages.

were able to keep not only poor peasants, but a considerable section of the middle peasants in constant bondage.

Here is what a former serf tells of this kulak oppression:

“No, my friend, I have never seen freedom at all. All I had was one lean cow — skin and bones, nothing else — and a houseful of children. How was I to live? The landlord kept on saying: ‘You want to eat; work for me, I will feed you.’ Well, I went to work for him, but very soon there was no work to be had. ‘There are too many of you,’ the landlord would say, ‘Where will I put you all? I have sold my land to a merchant who will build a factory.’

“Finally, the merchant came to our village and built his factory. The women cultivated flax, and the merchant bought this flax almost for nothing.

“The peasants would come to the merchant and beg him: ‘Give us work, do not make beggars of us.’

“The merchant would grin and reply:

“ ‘Very well, I will find work for you, but don’t try to loaf. I will fix your wages myself.’

“It was all the same for the peasant boys — they had no other choice than to work for the merchant almost for nothing. ‘Thank you very much,’ they replied, their heads bent low, and went to the factory to begin work.

“Then there was also the kulak’s oppression. The kulak Trifon bought up the homes from the poor peasants at a very low price. The peasants would come to him to ask for the use of a horse. ‘Help us, Brother Trifon, do not forget we worked together for the master.’ Trifon would deride them and say: ‘Very good, but how can I help you?’

“ ‘We have heard, Trifon, that you have money, lend us some to buy a horse, we will pay you with profit as soon as we can.

“Trifon would reply, ‘Alright, I am willing to help you. But let us agree, I will let you use my horse and will lend you some money, in return for this you must give me half of your harvest.’

“ ‘But how is this, Trifon? The horse is yours and the money you lend us will be returned, but still you want half of our harvest. Is this fair?’ were the questions the peasants put to him.

“ ‘Yes, I want half of your harvest because I am helping you; if I do not help you you will simply starve to death.’

“The peasants thought over the whole business but saw that there was no other way out and finally went to Trifon and said:

“ ‘Alright, have it your way . . .’

“That is how the peasants were compelled to work year after year

for Trifon. But this was not all. The tsar's officials were always after the peasants. They would come to the village, collect all the peasants together and demand, 'Why does not this village pay its taxes? You are very far behind in your payments!' Then the tax collector visits



The Peasant's Last Cow Being Confiscated in Payment of Taxes

every house. In most of the houses there is nothing to be found, but the last cow was taken away in payment of taxes . . .

“Yes, my children, that was our ‘freedom.’”

Questions for Review

1. In what year was the manifesto declaring the repeal of serfdom issued?
2. What advantages from the repeal of serfdom did the landlords and factory owners receive?
3. What were the conditions of the peasants after the repeal of serfdom?

IV. THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' STRUGGLE UP TO 1905

§14. How the Capitalists Made Their Money

After the repeal of serfdom in Russia, scores of new cities sprang up. On the outskirts of the cities, mills and factories were built in which

thousands of workers were employed; in the richer parts of the city, beautiful palaces were built.

Who were the owners of all these mills and factories? To whom did all these beautiful houses and palaces belong?

The owners of all these mills and palaces were capitalists. They became the chief power in the country. Their factories produced shoes, cloth, sugar, clothing, furniture, etc. All of this was produced with the help of hired labour, but the profits went to the capitalists who owned the factories and machines.

It was very profitable for the capitalists to hire hungry peasants. They paid their workers very low wages and made them work long hours. If a worker made a mistake in his work he was fined. The capitalists made the workers labour as much as 17 hours a day. Their meagre wages were hardly enough to save the peasants from starvation.

This is how capital was formed, this is how the bourgeoisie became rich. At the expense of the workers the capitalists were able to lead a life of leisure.

§ 15. How the Workers Lived in Tsarist Russia

Peter Alexeyev, a Moscow textile worker, devoted his entire life to the workers' and peasants' cause. He was sentenced to ten years hard labour in Siberia because of his activities in the revolutionary movement. In 1877 he delivered a speech before the court in which he told about the life of the workers. Here is what Alexeyev said:

"We, millions of working people, live worse than animals. From early childhood we are abandoned by our parents. Ten-year old boys and girls are sent to work in the mills and factories.

"What do we find there? We are forced to sell ourselves to the capitalists for a piece of black bread. We are taught a trade by being beaten black and blue. Our food is insufficient. We work in filth and have no fresh air. We sleep on the floor covered only with rags.

"This is the life of a worker from childhood. From childhood we are taught to stand this oppression of the capitalists, to stand for all offences until the proper time comes. From childhood we learn to hate the capitalists, to hate the whole tsarist system.

"Our wages are very low, and from these wages the capitalists collect their fines and try to take away our last pennies. This plunder they consider their profit.

"The worker is the same as the serf — he cannot leave the capitalist on his own accord. If we try to leave the factory and demand to be relieved of our work because of the capitalist oppression, of heavy

finer, etc., we are accused of revolting. Soldiers are then sent and at the point of the bayonet we are made to continue to work for the capitalists. Our best comrades are exiled to Siberia, sentenced to hard labour, thrown into prison. The worker cannot express his grievances because the police, who are the servants of the masters, beat us and drive us away.

“The workers cannot lead the life of human beings. Their life is simply a slow death from starvation.

“In Russia the workers are persecuted for reading books, especially if they are caught reading books which speak about their own conditions. A worker who reads books is told — ‘you do not look like a worker — you read books.’ ”

These were the words of one of the first working class revolutionaries, Peter Alexeyev, before the tsarist court. He concluded his speech with the following words:

“The mighty fist of millions of working people is being raised against the oppression of tsarism, and tsarism defended by the soldiers’ bayonet will soon fall.”

§ 16. The Capitalists Exploited Women and Children

The capitalists forced not only the men to work, they also made women and children work for them as well.

In tsarist Russia women and children could be found working in the mines. The capitalists in their desire to make more profit are always looking for cheap labour. The labour of women and children is the cheapest labour. Women workers usually receive half the wages paid to men. Children receive even less. But women and children work the same number of hours and do the same work as the men.

The tsarist laws did not safeguard the labour of women and children. In tsarist Russia there were no laws safeguarding the labour of the workers.

Here is how the writer Serafimovich describes the life of a young miner in tsarist Russia:

“A miner covered from head to foot with coal dust and clad in huge torn boots with no stockings on was walking to work through the deep snow. His son, a boy of ten, also black from coal dust, shabbily dressed walked along barefooted.

“Soon the boy and his father reached the pit, where one could see big machines driving belts, shafts and chains. This was the pithead from where the miners went down to the pit. Here also was the office.

"The miner led his 10-year old son to the office and addressed the manager. 'Please, give my son a job on the water pump, it's time he began to work.' The manager raised his head, glanced at the lad, murmured something to himself and continued to write. 'Why do you force the poor lad to work?' sullenly asked another miner who happened to be in the office. 'It is not I that force him. It is necessity that does it. I must find some means to feed the family.' 'Will you put him to work on the small water pump?' the clerk asked Finogenov, one of the miners. Finogenov looked at the boy. 'What the deuce do I want with him? What will I do with him?' 'Take him and stop grumbling,' said the clerk. 'No,' said Finogenov, 'I won't take him, take him yourself if you like.' 'You are always looking around for cheap labour,' grumbled Finogenov, walking towards the pit. The lad followed him without saying a word.

"They came to the well and entered the cage. 'Move on, don't stand there looking about,' shouted Finogenov at the boy when the cage was lowered and they had reached the coal-bed. Then they both proceeded to Finogenov's seam without saying a word to each other. Both of them crept along for fear of hitting their heads on the beams.

"Finally they reached a pump. 'Well, Senka,' said Finogenov to the lad, 'stand here and work this pump. Make sure you count how many strokes you make. When you make 100 strokes let me know. Meanwhile I shall take a little nap.' Senka bent down and after searching about for a while found the handle of the pump and began to work. 'One,' counted Senka as he made his first stroke, at the same time feeling the water coming through his boots. Senka continued to pump without seeing anything at all before him. Every once in a while he would forget how many strokes he had already made and began to count all over again. He had made many more than 100 strokes but the water still continued to flow. Time passed and Senka was almost up to his knees in water. He was so tired he could no longer work. 'I cannot work any longer,' said Senka quietly to Finogenov.

"The water continued to flow and now Senka's trousers were soaking wet and they stuck to his body.

"'What the devil have you been doing! Look at all this water,' shouted Fenogenov and boxed Senka's ears. 'Dont stand there! Beat it,' Fenogenov continued to shout.

"Senka found his way to a heap of coal and laid down to rest. He reached into his pocket for a piece of dirty, wet black bread. He was thoroughly exhausted and could barely move his hands and feet."

§ 17. The Workers Begin their Struggle

More and more factories were being built in Russia. More and more workers were employed in these factories. A new class sprang up, a class which did not exist in serf Russia — the working class.

Hunger and unbearable conditions led the workers to struggle against their capitalist oppressors. When the workers found it no longer possible to stand the horrible conditions, they went on strike. The workers would stop work and tell the boss that they would not take up work again until all their demands were satisfied. They demanded higher wages and shorter working hours, less fines and better housing conditions.

The first strikes took place in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Then the strikes spread to Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov and other cities. In the three years from 1878 to 1880 there were more than 30 strikes in Russia in which 35,000 workers took part.

The workers did not yet have their own party. That is why the first strikes were not very successful; they were without leadership. It was easy for the capitalists to crush these strikes with the help of soldiers and police.

But the workers very soon learned that in their struggles against the bosses they must be organized and stand together. The workers became convinced that their conditions can be improved only by an organized struggle against their oppressors.

§ 18. The Morozov Strike

One of the best known strikes of the first years of the working class struggle was the strike of the Morozov textile workers in Orekhovo-Zuyevo. One of the leaders of this strike, the weaver Moiseyenko, tells the following story about this struggle.

“I worked in Orekhovo-Zuyevo in the Morozov textile mills. Conditions were very bad there, the workers were always being fined and cheated out of their meagre wages. We worked from 16 to 17 hours a day. If any of the workers took sick they were immediately discharged. If a worker got too old to work he was discharged and driven out into the streets like a dog.

“The life of the worker was like hard labour, the factory was full of stool-pigeons and police spies.

“We had to use all possible means to carry on our revolutionary work among the workers. For example, the workers would get together to smoke in the small smoking room filled with people and tobacco smoke. Together with another worker, Volkov, we would take up

a newspaper, any paper, and make believe that we were reading it, but instead of reading the paper we would speak to the workers. 'How long are you going to stand these horrible conditions? The capitalists are sucking our blood; our patience will soon be up. Are we to be sheep for ever!' All of the workers eagerly listened to us and were very much surprised at these words.

"The papers are beginning to write rather interesting things nowadays. It seems that new times have come. 'And how can you, Anisim, read the paper in this dark room,' they asked him.

"The workers did not notice that I was holding the paper upside down. This is the way we agitated among the workers for a strike.

"Eight thousand workers came out like one man. The strike was on. This was in January 1885. The factories stopped and immediately officials, police and Cossacks came. The workers shouted, 'We'll tear down the old factory and that's all there is to it.'

"On January 11, thousands of weavers came out on to the streets. At the head of the procession marched Volkov with a red banner. When they reached the governor's house, the strikers sent in a deputation to negotiate with the governor. Volkov stepped forward and handed the governor a paper containing the strikers' demands. The strikers demanded an increase in wages, a reduction of fines and permission to elect shop stewards.

"'Arrest him,' shouted the governor, pointing to Volkov.

"The soldiers who had already surrounded the deputation wanted to arrest Volkov, but Volkov was not to be taken so easily.

"'If anybody is going to be arrested we shall all be arrested,' shouted Volkov; 'one for all and all for one!'

"'Arrest us all,' shouted the workers, and flung themselves forward in defence of Volkov.

"Then the Cossacks came upon the scene. They cut off about 100 people from the rest of the group and locked them up in the dining-room. At the door they placed armed guards.



Moiseyenko

“I at once saw that we must free these people or the strike would be lost. And here, some children came over and told me that there was no guard at the other side of the building. I immediately ran to the other side and much to my surprise, indeed there was no guard. The heavy doors were locked. I made an attempt to break the doors but I could not force them open. Then the children brought a long bench with the help of which we were able to force the doors and amid shouts of ‘Hurrah!’ our arrested comrades marched out. I saw that all the workers were running towards us, followed by soldiers. The soldiers began to beat the workers with their bayonets. I went forward and shouted at the top of my voice to the soldiers: ‘What are you doing, you are beating your own people!’ In reply to this one of the soldiers raised his rifle and aimed his bayonet at my chest. Luckily I was able to get hold of the rifle and take it away from him. I continued to shout to the soldiers, begging them not to kill their brothers. Finally, the fight stopped. I walked through the crowd and told the soldiers: ‘Do not raise your arms against these workers, they are your brothers.’ In the evening when I reached my barrack and began to undress I found that the soldier had wounded me with his bayonet but my excitement during the fight was so great that I did not notice it then.”

§ 19. The Significance of the Morozov Strike

News about the Morozov strike spread throughout the country. In some cities, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Tver, the workers after hearing of the events in the Morozov mills also decided to strike.

All of this compelled the tsarist government to agree to certain concessions to the workers. The tsarist government was compelled to issue laws that somewhat relieved the conditions of the workers in the factories. The workers were given the right to leave their place of employment at any time they desired.

Of course the tsarist government did not leave the strikers alone; many workers were discharged because of their strike activities. The more revolutionary workers were sent to prison. The organizer of the strike was exiled to Archangel and put under watch by the police.

But the Morozov strike was of great importance for the further development of the struggle of the workers. The workers saw that they constitute a great force, providing they fight as one man against their oppressors.

Lenin wrote about the Morozov strike: “The government got scared and made certain concessions. The workers have to thank not the tsarist officials but their comrades who fought for and achieved the repeal of unbearable oppression.”

The strike opened the eyes of the workers and showed them that their bad conditions could be overcome not only in their own factory but in all factories. For the first time comradely contacts between the workers of various cities were established.

The Morozov strike showed that the masses are in need of leadership on the part of the more advanced revolutionary workers, such as Moiseyenko and Volkov. It is precisely such advanced revolutionary workers who are able to unite the workers and lead them on to struggle. This strike showed that workers trust and follow their leaders despite armed force used by the tsar and capitalists.

§ 20. The Struggle Grows

In the ten years between 1891 and 1900 many new, large factories were built in tsarist Russia. The capitalists were becoming richer every year.

The conditions of the workers were very bad. Wages were very low (textile workers received not more than 12 to 15 roubles a month). The struggle between the workers and capitalists was becoming sharper. In the five years, from 1882—1886, 80,000 workers participated in strikes; and in the five years, from 1895—1899, almost half a million workers took part in strikes. During this time the strikes became mass strikes. Primarily they were strikes against the capitalists, and took place first of all in the large factories and mills. The strikes in these large mills were always better organized and the workers stood more solidly together.

These struggles united the workers more and more. The workers already had their first revolutionary organizations, illegal circles and "leagues of struggle." Later on, they organized the first revolutionary class Party.

The class hatred of the workers against their oppressors was growing. The workers plainly saw that in this struggle the tsarist government was on the side of the landlords and capitalists, and was always sending its police and soldiers against the workers. The workers became convinced that it was necessary to fight not only individual capitalists, but to fight the tsarist regime as a whole.

There were many strikes in those years. But the most outstanding of these were the strike of the St. Petersburg weavers, the Obukhov workers strike (also in St. Petersburg) and the Rostov strike in 1902.

§ 21. The Strike of the St. Petersburg Weavers

The strike of the St. Petersburg weavers took place in 1896. This strike began in one textile factory and it was supported later by the

workers of all the textile mills in the city. Thirty-five thousand were out on strike. The strike was led by the "St. Petersburg League of Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class." The leader of this league was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The strikers stood firm and fought stubbornly. Never before had tsarist Russia seen the workers of so many factories come out on strike against the capitalists. Moreover, they stood firm as one man, and their ranks were united. The threats of the police did not affect the strike. The metal workers of St. Petersburg organized a collection of money to help the striking textile workers. News about the strike reached the workers abroad and the workers of England collected money and sent it to help their comrades in Russia. For the first time the workers of Russia linked up their struggle with the struggle of the workers of other countries against their common enemy, the capitalists.

For several months the textile mills of St. Petersburg were at a standstill, and their owners suffered heavy losses. The tsarist government and the factory owners were frightened by the stubborn fight of the workers.

Just as the Morozov workers, the weavers of St. Petersburg compelled the government to make concessions. On July 2, 1897, a new law was issued according to which the working day was limited to 11½ hours instead of 13 hours as before.

The victory of the St. Petersburg weavers encouraged the workers of other cities. Throughout the whole country the working class movement was growing and broadening.

§ 22. The May Day Strike and the "Obukhov Defence"

In 1901 the Obukhov strike broke out.

In the early morning of May First, that year, when the factory whistles called the workers into the shops, one and a half thousand proletarians of the Obukhov ammunition plant did not show up to work. This plant belonged to the tsarist government. Its director, General Vlashev, issued an order that many workers be discharged.

It was then that the illegal party organization decided to call out all the workers to strike action.

"Strike, comrades!" This was the slogan passed to the workers by the Bolshevik Andreyev. "Call out all departments, demand the reinstatement of the discharged workers!"

In about an hour the entire 6,000 workers of the Obukhov plant were on strike; they walked out like one man. They were striking against the persecution of their comrades for observing the First of

May — the International Day of the Toilers. This was something altogether new even for the advanced St. Petersburg metal workers, who were the vanguard section of the proletariat.

From all sides the workers were calling: "Hold on, Comrade Andreyev! Don't give up! We shall stand by our comrades, we will not allow the capitalists to stop us from celebrating our holiday!"

The workers went to the factory management.

"Let's have the director! Bring out Vlashev," demanded the workers. General Vlashev came out and stood before the workers. Andreyev advanced to meet him.

"We demand," began Andreyev, speaking in a voice that could be heard by everyone of the 6,000 workers, "that the workers who were discharged for observing May First be taken back on their jobs."

"We demand the release of the arrested workers!"

"We demand that May First be declared a holiday for all workers!"

"We demand an 8-hour day!"

General Vlashev hated the workers, but he understood that this was a very grave situation, and therefore he preferred to act the sly fox.

"I agree," said the general softly. "Appoint your representatives for negotiations."

But at the same time the police had already gone to fetch the Cossacks. The general was only playing for time, waiting for the Cossacks to come and crush the strike with one blow. But imagine the surprise of General Vlashev when the Cossacks met with stubborn resistance on the part of the workers. The workers decided to fight for their demands and met the Cossacks with a volley of stones.

Later soldiers were sent to help the Cossacks. The officer in charge of the soldiers ordered them to fire upon the workers. This was the beginning of the famous defence of the Obukhov workers which began on May 7, 1901.

The Cossacks and soldiers were met with volley after volley of stones, sand, firewood, pieces of iron, bits of steel and bricks. All the main entrances to the factory yard were barricaded.

Everywhere the workers could hear Andreyev's bold call to struggle.

"The workers of St. Petersburg are supporting us," Andreyev told the workers. He was speaking the truth, because the workers of the other factories hastened to join their comrades of the Obukhov plant. Very soon over 20,000 workers were fighting the Cossacks and soldiers sending volley after volley of stones from every side.

The tsar's government was compelled to grant some of the workers' demands. But in two months the government took away from the Obu-

khov workers the concessions they had won. With all its hatred and fury it came down upon the Obukhov workers as if trying to make up for its shameful defeat during the May events. Two workers were arrested and sent off to hard labour camps in Siberia; about 30 workers were sent to prison.

The Obukhov defence will forever live in the memory of the workers. This was the first strike in which the workers of Russia fought for their right to celebrate the First of May and for an 8-hour day. The Obukhov strike showed the workers of the whole world how the Russian proletariat had grown. The workers began their first armed struggle against their enemies by throwing stones. Stones were the first weapons of the workers.

§ 23. The Rostov Strike

On October 2, 1902, the whole country was aroused by the famous Rostov strike. This strike was organized by the Don Committee of the Workers' Party, led by S. I. Gusev, one of Lenin's best pupils.

This Rostov strike began with the strike of the boiler makers in the Caucasus railway repair shops. The conditions of these workers were very bad. Labourers received 60 kopeks for 10 hours' work. In order to earn one rouble it was necessary to work a day 14 hours. The work was very hard. Fines absorbed a good part of the workers' meagre wages. Besides the foremen were always abusing the workers.

Unrest among the workers grew day by day. Finally, when one of the foremen tried to beat up a worker, the workers could bear this no longer and a strike was called.

One of the workers, Anatole Sabino, with a group of other young workers rushed to the boiler room. They gave the signal and at once the watch word went through all the shops, "Stop work!"

Out of a thousand strikers a young worker, the Bolshevik Ivan Stavsky, who was in contact with the Don Committee of the Workers' Party, came out and called upon the workers to conduct an organized struggle. "Today no one must resume work. Tomorrow morning we will all gather here at the factory gates and elect a strike committee to discuss our demands," Stavsky told the workers.

On the following morning the workers gathered in front of the factory. Their wives and children came with them.

The workers elected a strike committee and worked out their demands.

The workers demanded the introduction of a 9-hour day, higher wages, free schools for their children. They demanded the overthrow of the tsarist regime.

The workers of the Rostov factories and mills supported this strike of the railwaymen. Other toilers of the city joined the strikers. On the following day 30,000 workers gathered outside the city to hear the report of the delegates who had visited the governor, Obraztsov.

The delegates reported: "The governor demands that we turn over the leaders of the strike and return to work. Only after we have done this will he agree to discuss our demands."

"What shall we do, comrades," asked Stavsky, "Do you agree to these conditions?"

"No," was the unanimous reply of the workers. "We shall continue the strike. Down with the tsarist regime!"

Every day the workers held their meetings outside the city. For a number of days political meetings were held throughout the city without interference by the police. At these meetings members of the Don Committee of the Workers' Party spoke. In fiery speeches they called upon the workers to fight against tsarism.

The government was panic-stricken, and for several days it could not decide upon any course of action in connection with the strike.

But finally, on November 9, a regiment of Don Cossacks was brought to Rostov to put down the strike. On November 11, when the workers gathered for their daily meeting, the Cossacks charged the crowd.

Many workers were panic-stricken, but Ivan Stavsky was calm. "Lie down comrades," he shouted.

Everyone dropped to the ground. The Cossacks, upon seeing these tens of thousands of workers who were determined to die rather than disperse, stopped their horses.

The meeting continued the whole day. The Cossacks waited, and when the workers were returning home they fired into the crowd without warning. Six workers were killed instantly and 12 seriously wounded. The strike committee was arrested. During the night the police searched the workers' houses, arrested and took away to prison all active revolutionary workers.

From this day the strike began to decline. At first the workers in the small factories returned to work and on November 23 the railroad workers went back to work.

The Rostov strike was of great importance. It was the first strike of all the workers of one city that ever took place in Russia. The workers of all the factories in Rostov demonstrated their solidarity with the striking railwaymen. The strike showed the growth of hatred among the masses against the tsarist regime. The workers for the first time came out on strike under the slogan, "Down with the monarchy," inscribed on their banners.

§ 24. The Struggle of the Workers Was Led by the Workers' Party

The strikes of the Obukhov and Rostov workers were already being led by the workers' party at the head of which was its leader, V. I. Lenin.

This party did not spring up at once. First, in all the industrial cities, revolutionary workers' circles were organized. There were many of these circles in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), where many large factories and mills were located. The circles carried on active work among the workers and often led strikes.

In the autumn of 1893, V. I. Lenin began his work in St. Petersburg. He was 23 years old then. Vladimir Ilyich at once became the centre of working class activity. He surprised the workers by his devotion to the working class cause and his vast knowledge. Very soon Lenin was at the head of the revolutionary circles of St. Petersburg.

In 1898, under the leadership of V. I. Lenin the revolutionary workers organized a workers' party.

§ 25. Nikolai Petrovich

The worker Knyazev tells a story of Lenin's activities in St. Petersburg:

"In the port, where I was employed as a fitter, there were many revolutionary-minded workers. In the evenings a revolutionary group of workers met secretly in my house. One day I was told that our circle was to have a new leader, a certain Nikolai Petrovich. I was told that he was one of the best leaders.

"At the appointed hour I heard a knock on my door. On opening the door I came face to face with a man of about 30 years old with a small ginger beard, round face and penetrating eyes. He was dressed in a spring coat and had his collar raised although it was summer. What is more, his cap was drawn over his eyes. He entered the room and asked: 'Does Knyazev live here?' 'Yes, I am Knyazev.' The newcomer said: 'I am Nikolai Petrovich.' 'We have all been waiting for you,' I replied.

"Nikolai Petrovich told us that he had been wandering through the side streets to avoid the tsarist spy who was following him. We entered a semi-dark room where all the comrades were already gathered. Nikolai Petrovich acquainted us with what we were to do in our circle. He spoke with such confidence and so understandingly that it was impossible not to believe him. The workers listened to him with ever-growing attention. Then he asked us where we worked and what books we had

read. He asked us whether we knew what to fight for and how to carry on the struggle. After this he very plainly and clearly explained to us that we would achieve nothing as individuals. Only when the workers get together would they represent a force capable of defeating the bosses.

“The workers at once were very pleased with what Nikolai Petrovich told them and with his manner of making things so clear.

“From then on, Nikolai Petrovich visited us very often. He told us how the workers of other countries were fighting for a better life, how the workers should carry on a struggle for liberation and for the building of a new life, a new society of toilers.

“We learned to like Nikolai Petrovich. We waited impatiently for his visits . . . If there was anything we could not understand, we would say to one another, ‘Nikolai Petrovich will come and explain the whole thing.’ On one occasion we awaited the arrival of Nikolai Petrovich but he did not come. I found out later on that Nikolai Petrovich was also leader of another circle and that he had been arrested there.

“Imagine my surprise when many years later, after the revolution, I found out who Nikolai Petrovich really was. There was no end to my happiness. To think that Nikolai Petrovich was no other than Lenin. And I am proud of the fact that Lenin was my first teacher in an illegal revolutionary circle and that I was his pupil.”

§ 26. Lenin, the Leader of the Bolshevik Party

Lenin taught us that the power of the tsar and the landlords could be overthrown only by the workers in union with the peasantry. But for this purpose it is necessary for the workers to organize. The workers must have their own militant workers' party.

Only under the leadership of the party can the working class lead the toiling peasantry to the overthrow of the tsar and the capitalists — this is what Lenin taught us. The party must unite in its ranks the best, most advanced, class-conscious workers of the country and lead the revolutionary struggle of the workers and their allies, the peasants.

And it was Lenin who began the organization of such a party. In 1895 the St. Petersburg workers' circles were united into the St. Petersburg League for the Liberation of the Working Class. Such leagues were also organized in other cities.

In December 1895 Lenin was arrested and sent to prison; later he was exiled to Siberia. But even from prison and exile Lenin did not cease to direct the revolutionary struggles of the workers. Lenin wrote that the time had come when it was urgently necessary to organize a revolutionary workers' party.

The first congress of this party took place in March, 1898, in Minsk. The congress was conducted illegally and it laid the foundations of the workers' party.

At this time Vladimir Ilyich was in exile in far off Siberia, in the village Sustenskoï (Minusinsk district); therefore he could not be present at the congress. After finishing his exile, in the summer of 1900, Lenin went abroad. While residing abroad Lenin continued to lead the



V. I. Lenin

struggle of the Russian workers against the capitalists. He received many letters from revolutionaries carrying on their activities illegally, from workers, and he replied to all of these letters by giving advice on the organization of the movement. Under Lenin's leadership there began the publication of the newspaper *Iskra* (*The Spark*). With the help of this paper Lenin and his followers taught the workers what they should fight for and how to conduct the struggles.

Through the medium of the *Iskra* Lenin carried on a great struggle for the establishment of a strong workers' party.

From 1903 the workers' party, organized by Lenin, began to be called the Bolshevik Party, and its members Bolsheviks.

§ 27. Joseph V. Stalin

Joseph Stalin is Lenin's best follower. Together with Lenin he organized the Bolshevik Party. He never left Lenin; together with him he fought against all those who attempted to mislead the working class.

The tsarist government, in particular, persecuted Stalin. In 1902 he was arrested and jailed in Batum prison, where he remained until the end of 1903, when he was exiled to Siberia.

But after a month in exile Stalin escaped and once more took up his revolutionary activities.

In the years between 1904 and 1913 Stalin was arrested on three occasions and sent to exile to Solvichegodsk, Vologda and Narym. Stalin succeeded in escaping from these places and with untiring energy continued his revolutionary work.

In 1913 the tsarist government exiled Stalin to the far off village of Kuraka. This village is in the far north, where the Polar night lasts

for almost half a year. The whole village consists of only a few small huts, hundreds of miles from the nearest railway. Here Stalin remained until the 1917 revolution.

The whole life of Comrade Stalin is one relentless struggle for the cause of the workers and peasants. Stalin continues the cause of Lenin. He is the leader of our Leninist Communist Party and of the world proletariat.

§ 28. The Tsarist Government Persecutes the Bolsheviks

The tsarist government soon noticed the influence that the Bolsheviks were gaining among the workers.

The government severely persecuted the Bolsheviks. The tsarist government used such methods as arrest, imprisonment, exile, hard labour and hanging, against the revolutionary workers. Many

Bolsheviks died in the course of the struggle, for the interests of the workers and peasants. Comrades Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Frunze, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov, Sverdlov and scores of others of the best Bolshevik fighters were arrested on many occasions and sentenced to imprisonment and exile.

But notwithstanding this terror the Bolsheviks continued their stubborn struggle for the liberation of the workers and toilers from the yoke of tsarism and capitalist and landlord oppression. They were training the workers for the coming proletarian revolution, for the seizure of power.



J. V. Stalin

Questions for Review

1. Why was the bourgeoisie becoming rich and the workers poor?
2. In what year did the Morozov strike take place?
3. Why did the strikes become more organized and militant?
4. In what year was the workers' party organized?

V. THE REVOLUTION OF 1905

§ 29. The Revolution Is Coming

In 1904 the tsarist government began a war with Japan.

The main purpose of this war was the seizure of new lands — Korea and Manchuria. This was necessary for the landlords in order to exploit

the peasants who lived there. This was still more necessary for the big merchants and factory owners in order to sell their goods in these countries at immense profits.

But besides all this the tsarist government hoped that by means of war it would draw the attention of the workers and peasants away from revolution.

The capitalists of Japan sent well-trained and well-equipped troops to the front. The military technique of Russia was much lower than that of Japan and the Russian soldiers were not so well-trained as the Japanese.

At the very beginning of the war the Russian troops suffered heavy losses, and were soon completely defeated. The Russian navy suffered complete defeat. Thousands of workers and peasants were killed in this war, thousands were crippled while fighting for the profits of the capitalists.

The war even more ruined the peasantry and made the conditions of the workers unbearable.

The workers came out more often against their oppressors.

In August 1904, a series of big strikes took place throughout the country. A very decisive struggle was conducted by the workers of Baku.

All of these offensives of the workers were led by the Bolsheviks. The Baku strike ended in a victory, part of the demands of the workers were granted.

In January 1905, a strike broke out in the Putilov works in St. Petersburg. Toward the end of 1904 four workers were dismissed from the Putilov works. The conditions of the workers in this factory were so bad that the dismissal of the four workers was sufficient to bring all the workers of this huge plant out on strike.

The Putilov workers sent their delegates to other factories. The workers of other factories and mills in St. Petersburg could no longer bear their conditions of starvation and poverty, and joined the Putilov workers in their struggle. On January 8, 1905, over 140,000 workers in St. Petersburg had stopped work.

The strikers demanded a shorter working day, an increase in wages, free medical treatment, and free schools for their children. Many workers demanded the overthrow of tsarism.

§ 30. To the Tsar!

In order to sidetrack the workers from the revolutionary struggle and to maintain their faith in the tsar, the secret police founded in St. Petersburg the Society of Russian Workers.

At the head of this society stood a priest by the name of Gapon, who was a paid agent of the police. Gapon tried to convince the workers that it was not the tsar who was to blame for their terrible conditions but the members of his court and the factory owners.

When the strikes began, Gapon tried to draw the workers away from revolutionary struggle by proposing that they approach the tsar with a petition. In this petition he proposed that the workers express all their grievances. Some workers liked the idea of Gapon, because they still believed the tsar would help them if they approached him.

The Bolsheviks warned the workers that they should not appeal to the tsar. The Bolsheviks said: "Comrades, it is useless to go to the tsar and to expect liberation from him. Liberty cannot be bought by petitions; we must not ask the tsar to help us; we must overthrow tsarism. Only by this means will we achieve freedom. Freedom is bought with blood, it is won by relentless struggle."

This is what the Bolsheviks wrote in their proclamations to the workers on January 8. The more advanced and class-conscious workers spoke at meetings and supported the Bolsheviks. They warned the workers that it was useless to go to the tsar.

But in the masses there still existed some hope in the good-will of the tsar. The workers did not suspect that Gapon was betraying them. Gapon finally succeeded in convincing the workers to march to the tsar's palace. The workers believed him and decided to present their petition to the tsar.

§ 31. Bloody Sunday

On Sunday, January 22 (9), 1905, on a crisp winter morning, the workers of St. Petersburg, worn out by war and starvation, went to the tsar.

The workers were very peaceful. At the head of a procession of several thousand workers all dressed in their Sunday clothes, marched the priest Gapon. The workers carried ikons and portraits of the tsar. Their wives and children marched side by side with them. From all sides the many thousand procession of workers approached the Winter Palace.

It was a peaceful procession of workers, but the tsarist government met it with bullets and bayonets. The tsar ordered his soldiers to shoot at this huge crowd of workers.

At the junction Narvsky Arch and Troitsky bridge the soldiers stopped the procession. After the order was given to disperse, which could not be heard by the workers, the soldiers, acting upon the orders of

their officers, opened fire. The workers began to run. The Cossacks rode them down and shot at them.

The same thing happened in other parts of the city. Everywhere the workers were being shot down. Cossacks and soldiers chased the workers and shot them down.

The remainder of the workers nevertheless reached the Winter Palace where the tsar lived. But here again they were met by rifle fire. The workers turned back and tried to run, but as they ran they were shot down by volley after volley fired from the Palace Square.

In a short time the square in front of the winter palace was covered with the bodies of killed and wounded. In the course of that day 1,200 workers were killed and 5,000 wounded.

January 22 (9), 1905, has since then been known as "Bloody Sunday."

§ 32. The Revolution Grows

January 22 (9) marked the beginning of the 1905 revolution.

The workers began to understand that the tsar and the whole tsarist regime were their worst enemies. They began to understand that they must depend only upon themselves and their Bolshevik Party. Immediately after January 22 (9) the Bolsheviks issued a proclamation to the workers in which they called upon them to declare a general strike and take up arms.

News about the shooting down of peaceful unarmed workers in St. Petersburg spread like lightning throughout the country. Everywhere the workers were rising in struggle. In Moscow, Baku, Rostov, Kharkov, Odessa, everywhere the workers were out on strike.

The red banners of the strikers bore the slogans, "Down with the tsar!" "Take up arms against the tsar and the landlords!" "Land to the peasants!"

The revolution was spreading and involving the whole country. Under the influence of the strikes there began peasant revolts and revolts in the army and navy.

§ 33. The Tsar Organizes Pogroms

The tsarist government tried to crush the revolution at the very beginning. It tried to deceive the workers by promises, and when this failed it used armed force against them.

The tsarist government tried to divert the attention of the toilers from the revolution by fostering hatred among nationalities. It incited one nationality against another. In many cities it organized Jewish pogroms. In October, in the course of one week, over 100 pogroms

took place. During these seven days over 3,000 people were killed and about 10,000 wounded.

Comrade Lenin wrote as follows about these Jewish pogroms:

“When the cursed tsarist monarchy was living through its last days it tried to set the backward workers and peasants against the Jews. The tsarist police, in league with the landlords and capitalists, organized Jewish pogroms. The landlords and exploiters tried to direct the hatred of the workers and peasants, worn out by poverty, against the Jews. In other countries also the capitalists always foster hostilities against the Jews in order to keep the workers away from the real enemy of the toilers—the capitalists. Hostility against the Jews is only possible where the oppression of landlords and capitalists has succeeded in keeping the workers and peasants in a state of complete ignorance. Only the most backward and completely ignorant can believe the lies and slander spread against the Jews.

“It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the toilers. The enemies of the toilers are the capitalists of all countries. Among the Jews there are very many workers and toilers, in fact they constitute the majority. They are our brothers, likewise oppressed by capital, our comrades in the struggle for socialism. Among the Jews there are also kulaks, exploiters and capitalists, just the same as there are among other nations. The rich Jews, just the same as the rich Russians and the rich people of other nationalities, stand together to oppress the workers.”

In February 1905, the government tried to revenge itself on the revolutionary workers of Baku for their glorious strike. They set the Tartars against the Armenians. Police agents organized a pogrom and took part in the slaughter. Policemen, dressed in Tartar clothes, together with hooligan elements, began to beat up the Armenians. Baku was thrown into a state of terror. The pogrom-makers entered houses, killed and plundered.

Here is the story of an eye-witness of this pogrom.

“Our train was nearing the station of Kiur Damir. The train was filled with Armenian refugees from Ganja, where for several days Armenian-Tartar slaughter had been going on. The victims were mostly women, children and old men.

“The train was full of the cries of the women and children.

“In our carriage there was a woman who had lost her senses. She had seen with her own eyes how her husband and three children had been killed. The poor woman was sitting with a bundle of rags imagining that it was her child.

“Everywhere one could hear cries of horror. ‘My husband was killed,’ ‘My sons were murdered,’ ‘My daughter was killed,’ and so on.

"All of a sudden the window pane crashed and bits of glass fell upon the floor. Somebody had fired a shot at the window. The people in the carriage were panic-stricken. We were unable to quiet the women. Several of them stood upon their knees and begged that their lives be spared.

"I looked out of the window. Several scores of Tartars were standing in groups of five and six along the railway. They were waving their daggers in the air. But our train continued its journey and left them behind.

"When we reached the station I learned that the Tartar population went through no less suffering. Among the Tartars many had lost their fathers, sons and daughters.

"Then I understood the whole meaning of this tsarist plot. The tsarist government was setting one people against another. It was doing this in order to keep the toilers from fighting their real enemy, the tsar, the landlords and capitalists."

But these pogroms could not stop the revolution. The toiling Armenians and Jews, with more courage than before, continued to fight the tsarist regime and the capitalists.

§ 34. Revolt in the Army and Navy

The strikes of the workers and the peasant rebellions were followed by revolts in the army and navy.

The tsarist government tried to train the sailors and soldiers to be faithful defenders of the tsarist regime. The officers in the army and navy were noblemen, landlords and capitalists. They established churches in the army where the priests called on the soldiers and sailors to obey their officers. But the soldiers and sailors are only workers and peasants dressed in military uniform. The soldiers of the tsarist army suffered just the same as the workers and peasants. The soldiers were also dissatisfied with the tsarist regime. The Bolsheviks succeeded in penetrating into the army and establishing their groups there. They explained to the soldiers the meaning of this war of plunder.

The defeat of the tsarist army in the war with Japan only fostered this dissatisfaction of the soldiers and sailors. The army began to waver. In individual detachments the soldiers refused to obey their commanders. In certain parts of the army and navy open mutiny broke out.

The most outstanding was the mutiny on the cruiser *Potemkin* of the Black Sea Fleet.

On June 14, 1905, the sailors of this ship, unable to bear any longer the treatment they got from their officers, revolted. They killed their commander and seven officers and went to Odessa to help the

workers who were on strike there. The revolt was led by the sailor Matushenko.

Here is a story told by one of those who took part in the revolt.

“On June 17, the sailors of the *Potemkin* spent a restless night. They knew that the whole tsarist squadron had left the harbour of Sevastopol and taken to the high seas. At any moment the fleet might attack the *Potemkin*.

“They slept with their clothes on in order to be ready at a moment’s notice. The cannons were loaded. All preparations were made in case of an attack during the night.

””The squadron is coming!” was the signal given in the early morning. All the sailors hurried on deck. Far away on the horizon columns of black smoke could be seen. It was the Black Sea Fleet.

“Dead silence prevailed on the ship. We were being met by five battleships, several cruisers and a whole flotilla of gunboats.

“The *Potemkin* gave the signal ‘Cast anchor or we shall fire!’ The squadron slowed down.

“The following message came by wireless from the admiral. ””Sailors, we are amazed at your behaviour; you have gone mad. Surrender and you shall be pardoned.

””Rebels do not surrender!” was the reply of the *Potemkin*.

“The *Potemkin* sailors prepared for a life-and-death fight. Matushenko was in command. It was decided to sink the ship, in case the battle resulted in defeat. Many sailors took off their hats and said good-bye to their pals.

“Meanwhile the squadron had begun to surround the *Potemkin*. All of a sudden the *Potemkin* steamed ahead into the midst of the Black Sea squadron. Every second the *Potemkin* sailors waited for the guns to open fire, but instead of a broadside from the battleships of the Black Sea Fleet the *Potemkin* sailors heard a mighty cry.

“‘Hurrah!’ ‘Long live liberty!’

“The sailors left the cannons and threw their hats up with a mighty cheer.

“Matushenko climbed up the mast and signaled to the nearest ship ‘Arrest your officers and join us.’

“The admiral of the fleet was frightened. Fearing that his other ships would join the mutiny he directed the fleet full speed ahead for the high seas. He was returning to Sevastopol.

“The *Potemkin* changed its course and followed the fleet. One of the battleships, *George the Conqueror*, began to lag behind and joined the *Potemkin*. It seemed at one time that the *Synop* would also join, but instead it continued its course with the fleet.

“The admiral issued the order: ‘Train the guns on the *Potemkin* and sink her.’ But the sailors did not fulfil the order. Instead they threw the gunlocks into the sea to keep the officers from firing against the *Potemkin*.

“The whole Black Sea Fleet was fleeing from one ship — the *Potemkin*.”

But the revolting sailors did not succeed in joining the Odessa workers because of disagreement in their own ranks. One section was for going ashore at once; others wanted to wait until the whole fleet mutinied.

The tsarist authorities in Odessa were terrified. They utilized the time while the *Potemkin* was not in action to crush the workers’ revolt in the city.

The *Potemkin* held out for 11 days, hoping that the whole fleet would rise. But of the Black Sea fleet only the battleship, *George the Conqueror*, revolted, and even then too late. There was not as yet revolutionary class-consciousness among the majority of the sailors in the navy. Moreover, the *Potemkin* sailors, too, were not sufficiently decisive in their action.

On June 24, the *Potemkin*, having used up almost all its coal and food supplies sailed for Rumania where it surrendered to the Rumanian authorities. When the leader of the mutiny, the sailor Matushenko, returned to Russia, he was hanged by the Russian officials.

The mutiny on the *Potemkin* was of great significance. It was the first open revolt of the armed forces on the side of the workers and peasants.

Thus the armed forces, which up till then had been the main weapon of the tsar and landlords, were becoming unreliable.

§ 35. The October General Strike

In October 1905, the revolutionary movement reached its highest point of development.

In the beginning of October a railway strike began in Moscow. This strike spread to all the important railways. The trains stopped. The railway traffic of the whole country came to a standstill. Soon workers of other industries joined the railway workers. The whole country was in the grip of a general strike.

The chief demands of the strikers were: overthrow of tsarism, and the introduction of an 8-hour working day. In St. Petersburg a Soviet of workers’ deputies was elected to lead the strike.

During this time a mutiny had taken place among the sailors of Kronstadt and the soldiers in Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov and other cities.

Day by day the movement of the peasantry was developing. In October and November more than one-third of all the counties in Russia were in the grip of peasant revolts. The peasants burnt down about 2,000 landlord estates and divided among themselves all the treasures which had been plundered by the landlords.

The revolution was rapidly growing.

With the beginning of the general strike the Bolshevik Party began with special energy to prepare the workers for armed revolt. It was teaching the workers that only by armed revolt would they be able to overthrow the tsarist regime.

At this time Comrade Lenin returned from abroad.

§ 36. The Soviets of 1905

During the revolution the workers, who revolted under the leadership of the party, elected from among their midst strike committees. From every factory and mill one delegate was elected to every 500 workers.

The leadership of the strike was in the hands of these strike committees. They published leaflets and issued orders. It was from these strike committees that in 1905 there came into being the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The Soviets of 1905 were the beginning of our Soviet power. The first Soviet was organized as early as May 1905, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. But of special importance was the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

The St. Petersburg Soviet was elected in October 1905. It led the general strike and the revolutionary struggle in that city. The Soviets in St. Petersburg introduced an 8-hour day, issued a law granting free speech, freedom of assembly. The Soviet organized unemployment relief. The Soviet published its own paper, *The Soviet of Workers' Deputies News*.

Very soon Soviets were established in Moscow, Kharkov, Warsaw, Odessa Rostov and other large industrial centres.

§ 37. The December Armed Revolt

The revolutionary struggle in the country was growing very rapidly. In December the Bolshevik Party, with Lenin at its head, taking into account the growth of the revolutionary movement among the workers, decided to begin an armed revolt.

"By arming ourselves and organizing we shall prepare for the common struggle side by side with our brother workers, the Polish, Jewish,

Caucasian, Finnish and others. We shall prepare to deliver the last blow to the old dying regime.

“Down with the tsar! Long live the revolution!”

“Long live socialism!”

This was the call of the Bolsheviks to the workers. In the factories of all big cities the Bolsheviks were organizing fighting groups and supplying them with firearms and training them how to use these weapons.

But the tsarist government began its attack on the revolution. The capitalists of St. Petersburg dismissed 75,000 workers.

At the beginning of December the tsarist government arrested the St. Petersburg Soviet.

The Moscow Soviets in reply to the arrest of the St. Petersburg Soviet called upon the workers to strike. The first day of the strike brought out 150,000 workers.

In reply to this offensive of tsarism there arose a new strike wave throughout the whole country. Now the workers could not limit themselves merely to strike action.

The workers realized that there is only one road to follow—the road pointed out by the Bolshevik Party—the road of armed revolt against tsarism.

In Moscow and other cities, in December of 1905, the workers began an armed rebellion. The centre of this revolt was Moscow.

The St. Petersburg proletariat, which was already weakened by repeated strikes, was unable to come out in open armed revolt.

On December 10, 1905, Moscow was covered with barricades. The Moscow Soviet had its own armed workers' groups. These groups were led by the Moscow Party Committee.

The tsarist soldiers hesitated. Part of them were kept locked up in their barracks: the officers were afraid to let their soldiers out on to the streets.

The workers resisted heroically. The government was compelled to send new troops to Moscow. From St. Petersburg it sent the Simenev and other regiments of guards.

The tsarist general Dubassov, with an overwhelming force, began his attack.

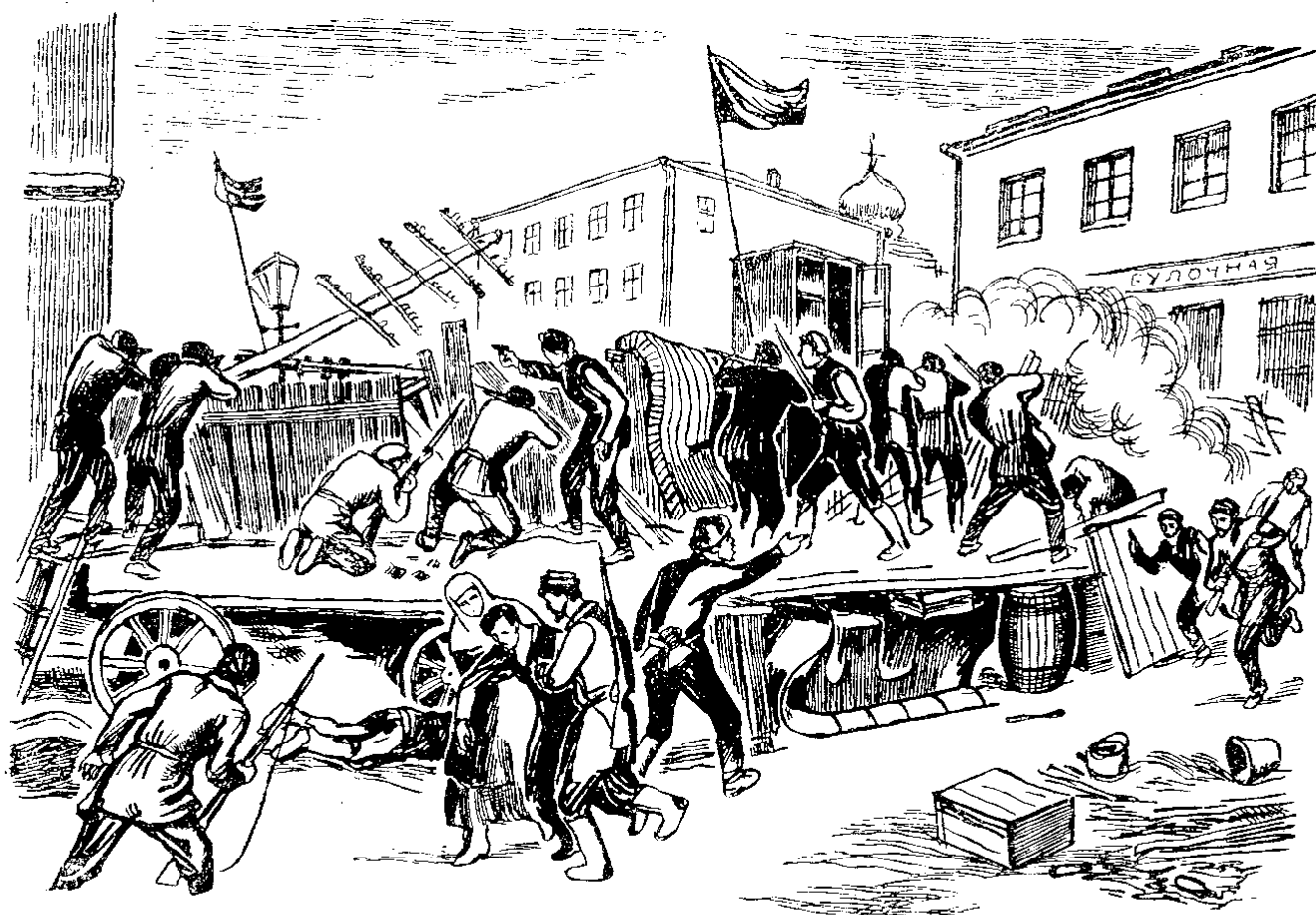
The workers fought courageously but could not withstand the overwhelming attack of the troops. Against the cannons, machine-guns and rifles of the tsarist soldiers — most of the workers had only revolvers.

The workers' fighting groups retreated to the outskirts of Moscow, to a section known as Pressnya. Here the workers stood firm for several

days and with unprecedented heroism held the barricades against the attacks of the tsarist troops.

§ 38. Barricade Fights in the Pressnya

The working class section of Moscow, Pressnya, was transformed into the fortress of the revolt. The whole district was covered with barricades. Five hundred workers armed with revolvers, bombs and rifles constituted the heroic garrison of this fort. The Bolsheviks were in the front ranks.



Barricades in Moscow

For ten days the workers of Pressnya, with unexampled courage, stood firm against attack after attack of overwhelming forces of Cossacks and soldiers.

“Destroy Pressnya but crush the revolt!,” was the order issued by the hangman Dubassov.

On the night of December 17, Pressnya was surrounded by an iron ring of tsarist troops. With the break of dawn artillery fire began. Not for one moment did the cannon fire stop. It continued from two sides until late at night. Houses and barricades were on fire. Pressnya was one huge flame. The night was as light as day.

Pressnya prepared itself for the fatal struggle. Amidst clouds of dense black smoke women and children carried bullets to the workers.

Suddenly from the direction of the railway the tsarist troops broke through the barricades. The railway workers who defended this barricade did not have time to resist the attack.

Cannon fire opened up from the third quarter.

The workers strained all their forces to hold the barricade. The leader of the workers, a Bolshevik worker, Comrade Sedoy was wounded, but he did not leave the battlefield; he continued to direct the workers.

"Blow up the barricade!" he ordered."

And the barrels, lamp-posts, boxes, etc., from which the barricades were built, flew into the air with deafening noise.

The terrified soldiers retreated.

"Hurrah! Hurrah! Long live liberty!" cheered the workers.

But the tsarist soldiers were coming closer and closer; it was plain that Pressnya could not hold out much longer.

In the morning Sedoy issued the order to disperse.

Pressnya was captured.

In the midst of smoke and destroyed houses Pressnya was silent. Soldiers patrolled the streets.

Now and then stray shots were heard. This was the tsarist hangmen shooting passersby. They surrounded houses and searched for firearms. They arrested those who were suspected of being revolutionaries and took them to the Moscow river. Here they were shot. The ice of the Moscow river was soon covered with corpses. Everywhere one could see holes in the ice with edges red with blood.

§ 39. Landlord Russia on Fire

In the villages here and there peasant revolts broke out. Here is a story about one of these revolts, told by an eye-witness:

"We stopped at the house of a poor peasant. The hut was a very small one, very crowded and was striking in its poverty. The big stove in the hut was cold. On the table smoked a tiny kerosene lamp without a glass.

"Bad weather," remarked our driver. "It's so dark that it's impossible to see the road. We thought that this would be the end of us, until we saw your light. How is it you are not asleep, at so late an hour."

"Who sleeps now," curtly replied the host. "Nobody thinks about sleep now. We have slept enough; it is now time to rise."

"Where have you come from," asked the peasant.

"From the station."

"Is that so. That means the machine has started?" (Meaning the trains are running.)

“Yes.”

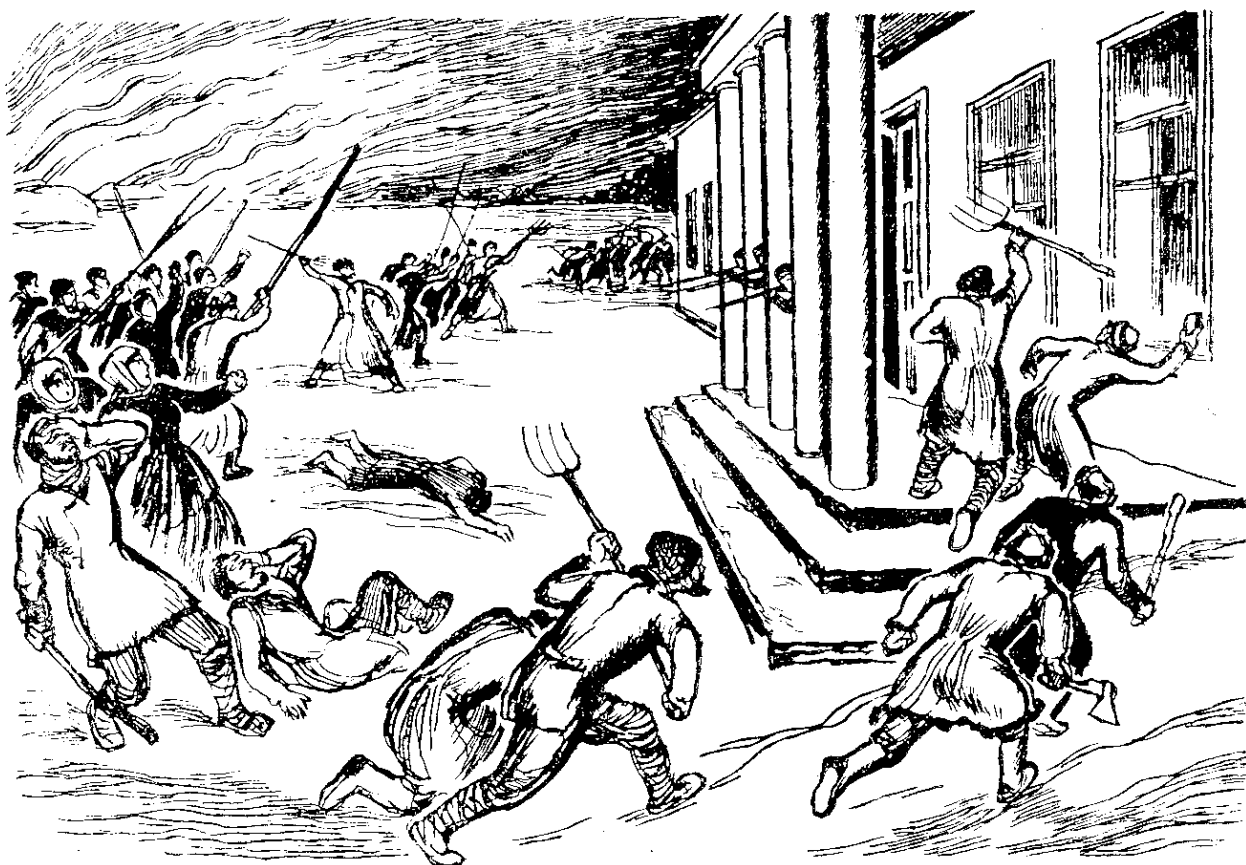
“‘That means the strike is over? Well it seems there wasn’t enough forces. And we thought...’”

“‘Well, what’s new from your parts? Is there anything good to hear?,’ began our host again, are they still dying?...’

“He was silent for a few minutes, apparently thinking about something and then he continued, with horrible calm: “My son also was beaten to death.’

“‘But how?’ I asked.

“‘Well, so. . . with the knout.’



A Raid on a Landlord’s Mansion

“From behind the stove we heard soft cries, someone was weeping. The peasant’s face trembled.

“‘Now, now, stop it,’ he said, turning round to the stove, and explaining: ‘My wife is always crying. Whenever she thinks of him. We only had one son, you see.’”

“The weeping stopped and all was silent in the hut. The snowstorm outside continued. The peasant sat on the bench without raising his head, his face was stern and serious.

“‘After a long silence he continued.

“‘He was 18 years old, an excellent lad. He would always go to the station to fetch the newspapers. No matter how bad the weather was, he always went. He would bring back a pile of papers, and immediately all the peasants would surround him to listen to the latest news.

Well, he was killed,' continued the peasant with a sigh. 'All his bones were broken, his eyes were torn out, the flesh was stripped off his bones in pieces.'

" 'We are plain and simple *muzhiks*. We are living as if in a pit without any light. We dig the earth and look into the earth, but we were always hoping. . . waiting for some favours from god or the tsar. We thought that if our life would not be better, then perhaps our children would live a better life. So this is what tsar and god have given us. I don't believe any longer either in god or in the tsar. What I'm thinking of is this: if our enemies use force then we must use force . . . instead of waiting to have our neck pushed through a noose we should take to arms.'

"Suddenly a face appeared at the window.

The peasant jumped up and went over to the window. Then he took his axe and went out. We had not long to wait; soon the death-like silence of the hut was broken by sounds. We listened.

" 'The call,' shouted our driver, and dashed out of the hut, with me following him.

"Peasants were marching along the village street. They were going to the landlord's estate. The whole village had revolted against the landlord. At the head of the procession marched a group of poor peasants, led by our host, who was holding his axe aloft.

" 'If you are going to use force, we shall use force', he kept on saying.

"Not more than ten minutes passed. In the black night there glared a flame. It seemed a huge torch had been lighted. It was the fire of the landlord's house.

" 'But look there,' said our driver, pointing to the right. We all looked and saw a huge pink spot, like a moon of colossal size.

" 'They are burning landlords' houses every day,' said our driver. 'It must be on the Voropanov estate . . .'

"He remained silent for a few moments and stood staring at the fire. Then he said with a sigh:

" 'Landlord Russia is ablaze!' "

§ 40. Why the 1905 Revolution Suffered Defeat

The Moscow revolt was crushed. Immediately after this the tsarist government succeeded in crushing the revolt in other cities.

The strike movement still continued here and there. Peasant revolts also continued in the countryside. But every month it became clearer that the revolution was defeated. The tsarist government succeeded in maintaining power and postponing its defeat.

Why did the 1905 Revolution end in defeat?

The revolution suffered defeat because the workers were poorly armed and did not yet have sufficient experience in revolutionary struggle. The peasants fought in an unorganized manner, indecisively, and not as stubbornly, as the workers. The peasant revolts were isolated from the revolts of the workers. This helped the enemies of the people to defeat the workers, who were the main force of the revolution; after that it was an easy job to crush the peasant revolt.

The tsarist government was able to use the army and navy against the revolt of the workers and peasants. Help was given to the tsar by the capitalists of other countries. The foreign capitalists were afraid of losing their profits, therefore they lent the tsar money with which to crush the revolution. The foreign capitalists worked hand-in-hand with the Russian capitalists. They were afraid lest their workers and peasants would follow the example of the workers and peasants of Russia.

§ 41. The Significance of the 1905 Revolution

The revolution of 1905 was of immense importance for the working class and the peasantry.

For the first time millions of workers and peasants decided to rise and struggle against tsarism.

“The workers have been defeated,” said Lenin, “but this was only one of those defeats that are a guarantee of victory in the future.”

The workers and peasants clearly saw their class enemy. They saw that the tsar together with the landlords and capitalists oppressed the workers.

The revolution showed that the Bolsheviks are the only revolutionary party of the working class, capable of bringing the struggle of the workers against tsarism to a victorious end.

The workers and peasants learned that in order to achieve their liberation they must fight with arms in hand to overthrow the power of the tsar, capitalists and landlords.

The workers more and more became the leaders of the peasants in their struggle against the exploiters. When returning to their native villages in times of unemployment, the workers brought into the countryside the sentiments of the working class. Especially great revolutionary activity among the peasants was conducted by those workers who were exiled to the countryside for participation in the strike movement.

Questions for Review

1. In whose interests was the war with Japan started?
2. What was the aim of the tsarist elements in organizing pogroms?

3. How did the Bolsheviks look upon the workers going to the tsar with a petition?
4. What is the significance of January 22 (9)?
5. What was the result of the October strike?
6. Where were the first Soviets organized?
7. Why did the 1905 Revolution suffer defeat?
8. What lessons does the 1905 Revolution teach the workers and peasants?

VI. THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

§ 42. The Struggle Is not yet Finished

After the defeat of the 1905 Revolution there began a period of cruel terror against the workers and peasants. Troops patrolled the country and hanged and shot workers who fought in the revolution. Thousands were sent to prison merely for speaking about liberty.

Especially cruel was the terror against the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik Party was compelled to go into illegality once more.

In December 1907, V. I. Lenin again went abroad. The police were searching everywhere for him in order to kill him. The police were also looking for Stalin. In March 1908, Stalin was arrested.

But in these unheard-of difficult times our Party continued its work among the working class. "The revolution is not over," said the Bolsheviks. "It has been crushed but it will rise once again. Again the workers will rise, and will overthrow the tsar and the landlords."

The Bolsheviks began to prepare the workers and peasants for a new revolt against their oppressors. Lenin, though living abroad, led the work of the Bolshevik Party and the struggles of the working class.

Regarding Lenin's work abroad Comrade Stalin says: "Very few of those who remained in Russia were so closely linked up with the working class movement of our country as was Comrade Lenin, although he lived abroad. Whenever I visited him abroad, in 1907, 1908 and 1912, I saw heaps of letters from Russia, and Lenin always knew more about the Russian movement than those who remained in Russia."

Little by little the working class movement recovered from its defeat. Strikes became more frequent. The Bolshevik Party grew stronger. In 1910 the Bolsheviks began to publish their paper *The Star*. When this paper was suppressed by the tsarist government in 1912, the Bolsheviks began the publication of *Pravda*. These papers were led by Lenin and Stalin. Among the workers the *Pravda* and the *Star* were immensely popular.

In March 1912, the workers of the Lena goldfields in Siberia, unable any longer to bear the cruel exploitation of the capitalists, protested against the unbearable conditions in the gold mines. They declared a strike, elected a strike committee and presented their demands to the management. The strikers demanded the establishment of an 8-hour working day, an increase in wages, etc. The tsarist government sent its soldiers to crush this strike. The strike committee was arrested. When the workers, together with their wives and children went to see the management to present their demand for the release of the strike committee, they were fired upon. Two hundred and seventy were killed and 250 wounded.

This murder of a peaceful workers' procession, of workers who only demanded an increase in wages and an improvement of their conditions, caused great alarm among the working class masses.

As after January 22 (9), 1905, there began a number of strikes throughout the country in reply to the events in the Lena goldfields. In St. Petersburg the workers began to build barricades and to take up arms against the tsar and capitalists. Notwithstanding the terror against the workers, the revolutionary movement grew day by day.

§ 43. The World War

In 1914 began the World War which the capitalists had been preparing for many years. Millions of workers and peasants were killing each other on the battlefields only to increase the profits of the capitalists.

The war started between Germany and Austria-Hungary, who were later joined by Turkey and Bulgaria on one side, and on the other side by Great Britain, France and Russia, who were later joined by Italy, Japan, the United States and other lesser countries. Over 20 nations took part in this terrible war, in which brother killed brother.

The German capitalists hoped that by this war they would be able to rob their richer neighbours, England and France. For a long time they had been preparing to take away the English and French colonies for markets in which to sell their goods and make huge profits by exploiting the cheap labour of the colonial workers.

On the other hand England and France had also been preparing to attack Germany. The capitalists of these countries could not permit the continuous growth of German industry, as this threatened their profits. Therefore, the English and French capitalists decided to crush Germany, to take away her colonies and to divide among themselves the territory of Austria and Turkey.

The Russian landlords and capitalists sided with England and France. For many years they had been dreaming of capturing Constantinople from Turkey, because this city is a seaport on the Black Sea, and it would help to increase the trade and profit of the Russian merchants and capitalists.

Each of the warring countries wanted to get new markets for its goods. Each of these countries wanted to have millions of Chinese, Indian, Turkish workers and peasants working for it. Each of these countries were seeking more profits by exploiting the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, where labour was cheap.

But there were no longer regions that could be easily captured. All the colonies were already divided among the capitalists. It was now necessary to seize these colonies from capitalists who had conquered them earlier. This is why the capitalists began the imperialist war.

But the capitalists of each of the warring countries deceived the toiling masses, telling them that they were carrying on a war in the interests of its own people.

The priests of all the warring countries fostered hatred against other nationalities and called upon the population to fight for "their fatherland and religion". Religion has always been the best means whereby the capitalists and their governments mislead the workers and peasants into sanctioning mass murder for the profits for the exploiters.

§ 44. How the Bolsheviki Fought against the War

The Bolsheviki, led by their leader Comrade Lenin, came out openly against this imperialist war. Lenin exposed the plans of the capitalists and explained the real significance of this war of plunder.

Comrade Lenin wrote that "this is a war of the capitalists, a war of big robbers, who are fighting with each other to show which of them will receive more profits, plunder more countries, and who will oppress and enslave more nations.

"This war of plunder cannot receive any support from the working class and the peasantry".

The Bolsheviki published leaflets in which they called upon the workers to overthrow the tsarist government and turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

The Bolsheviki carried on work among the soldiers. They told the soldiers that this war of plunder must receive no support from the workers and peasantry. The workers must come out against the bourgeoisie. They must transform the imperialist war into civil war, *i.e.*, a war of the toilers against their exploiters. The Bolsheviki called upon the soldiers to fraternize.

The following incident took place. Sholokhov the writer tells us about it in his book.

One of the regiments, in which Valet served, participated in an attack in the morning of October 3.

The soldiers were walking through a wood. Somewhere in the distance shells were falling. On every step the soldiers stumbled over the remains of the horrors of war. In the bushes and on the grass, everywhere, there were the bodies of the killed.



Soldiers Fraternizing at the Front

Valet and another soldier who was walking with him reached the front ranks and walked apace with them. Together they jumped into the trenches.

“Let’s search the dugout, perhaps there is something to eat,” says the soldier to Valet.

“Come on,” replied Valet, “you go to the left and I go to the right. By the time our comrades get here we will make a thorough search”.

And so they went in different directions. Valet entered three dugouts and found many corpses. He pushed open the door of the fourth dugout and almost fell down upon hearing a voice in a language he did not understand. “Who is there,” called out the voice of a German soldier. “Is that you, Otto? Why have you been so long?”

“Hands up! Surrender!” hoarsely shouted Valet, and stooped down ready to fire.

The frightened German soldier slowly raised his big workers’ hands and with horror looked upon the glaring steel of Valet’s bayonet. Valet approached the German and said: “Run! Run, you German, I have nothing against you and I am not going to shoot you.”

But the German could not understand him. So Valet leaned his rifle against the wall, stepped forward and shook the German’s hand.

“I am a worker,” said Valet in a pleasant voice, “why should I want to kill you; come on now, run”. And he gently pushed the German with his right hand, pointing towards the woods, “run or our soldiers will be here soon”.

This lasted several seconds. The German’s eyes met the eyes of Valet and they trembled with a happy smile. He understood everything. He made one step forward and offered his hand to Valet. Their hands clasped in a mighty grip.

“You want me to go. Oh, now I understand. You are a Russian worker just as I am a German worker,” continued the German, speaking rapidly in his native tongue.

Valet did not know the German language but he understood what the German was saying. His big worker’s hand fell upon his chest.

“Yes, of course I am a worker, a Bolshevik. Get me? You run. . . So long, brother. Give me your hand, don’t forget we are brothers. . .”

The two soldiers understood each other, they shook hands and looked into each other’s eyes. These recent enemies had now become friends, a lanky Bavarian and a small Russian soldier.

The footsteps of the Russian soldier could be heard in the woods. The German whispered: “In the coming class struggles we will be in the same trenches. Is it not so, comrade?” The German jumped out of the trench and ran.

§ The Overthrow of Tsarism

Every day of the war brought new ruin to the workers and peasants. By this the war helped the revolutionary movement of the toilers in town and countryside. The common struggle in the time of war united the workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors and Cossacks. The workers and poor peasants were becoming more convinced that the only way out was to overthrow tsarist rule. Strikes became frequent. The working class movement at the beginning of 1917 reminded one of the days of 1905.

All that was needed was a spark to set the movement aflame. This spark was the strike of the Putilov workers, which began on February 18,

1917. The demands of the workers were not granted. The workers of other factories joined the Putilov workers.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers was again led by the Bolsheviks. On March 6 (February 23), 1917, the hungry workers, together with their wives and children, demonstrated under Bolshevik slogans.

“Give us bread!” “Down with the War.” “Down with Tsarism!” “Long live the Fraternity of the Workers of the Whole World.”

The soldiers refused to fire upon the workers. The soldiers were coming over to the side of the revolution. The Bolsheviks were conducting much propaganda among them. The Volinsky regiment was the first to come over to the side of the revolution, and to raise the red flag. It was followed by other regiments. A general strike of workers of St. Petersburg began and on the first day of the strike 250,000 workers came out.

On March 12 (February 27), the soldiers of St. Petersburg joined the workers.

The fate of the tsar had been decided. Nicholas II was compelled to give up his throne. The tsar and his ministers were arrested.

March 12 (February 27), is the day of the overthrow of tsarism. It was overthrown by the workers and the peasants under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

After the overthrow of the tsar, power was taken over by the capitalists. They established their Provisional Government. This bourgeois government consisted of many rich factory owners and landlords. The workers and soldiers of St. Petersburg organized a Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Similar soviets were organized in Moscow and in all industrial cities. Dual power was created. But the adherents and defenders of the capitalists — the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, with the help of whom the bourgeoisie was disorganizing the united front of the workers, succeeded in getting into the soviets. Being led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the soviets, instead of taking power into their own hands, supported the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government continued the war. The land remained in the hands of the landlords; the factories, mills and mines in the hands of the capitalists. The soldiers continued to die in the trenches. Starvation was more and more glaring the workers in the face.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries fully supported the Provisional Government. They maintained that the chief enemy of the toilers, tsarism, had already been conquered. They said that the Provisional Government was a friend of the toilers and that it was necessary

to continue the war for the sake of the fatherland and all the Russian people.

The Bolsheviks explained to the workers and peasants that the Provisional Government was misleading them. They exposed the fact that the Provisional Government was, in reality defending the interest of the bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks said that the workers must take over power; that the war must be finished; that the workers' and peasants' government should be established. The Bolsheviks called upon the workers and peasants to begin a new society in which there would be no exploiters, who would live at the expense of the workers' and peasants' toil.

The speeches of the Bolsheviks were meeting with growing response among the workers and soldiers.

§ 46. Lenin Arrives

The Bolshevik Party emerged from illegality, and began to grow stronger. The old warriors of the Party, who had been scattered in numerous prisons, hard-labour camps, and exile, were returning. The leader of the Party, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, also returned from exile.

News of the February Revolution found Lenin in Switzerland, where he had been living in exile for many years. As soon as Comrade Lenin heard about the Revolution, he decided to return to Russia.

"We must go to Russia. We must depart as soon as possible. Every minute is precious," Lenin told his comrades. Comrade Lenin was excited, he did not sleep; all his thoughts were centered on how to get to Russia.

It was with the greatest difficulty that Lenin made his way to the Russian border. Here he was met by Comrade Stalin, who had travelled from Petrograd for that purpose. These two great revolutionary leaders met in Byelo-Ostrov, the border station, and on their way to Petrograd, in the darkness of the railway carriage together they mapped out the plans of revolutionary struggle.

On April 17 (4), 1917, Comrade Lenin arrived in Petrograd (now Leningrad). He came during the night, but the square in front of the Finland Railway Station was brilliantly lit with searchlights and was crowded with workers and soldiers who had come to meet their leader.

The headlights of the approaching train were seen. At last the train came into the station. Knocking and whistling the train came to a standstill on the platform.

The orchestra played the "International." The crowd pushed forward to the railway cars. From the fifth car there emerged Comrade Lenin followed by Comrade Krupskaya and other Bolsheviks.

“Attention!” The order was given to the guard of honour, consisting of revolutionary soldiers and armed workers, who had lined up in front of the station. The orchestra continued playing, the guard stood at attention. . .

In an instant the crowd was silent. One could only hear the music of the orchestra. Then of a sudden a mighty “Hurrah!” sounded over the square.

Comrade Lenin heartily and joyfully greeted everybody and intended to move on further. But when he heard the mighty hurrah, he stopped and asked, as if surprised: “What is this?”

“These are revolutionary workers and soldiers greeting you,” he was told.

Endless cheers sounded throughout the square; the echo could be heard throughout the revolutionary capital. This was the workers and soldiers greeting their leaders.

“The Provisional Government is deceiving the workers and peasants,” said Lenin, rising to the tower of an armoured car.

“The people need peace, land and bread. Long live the socialist Revolution!”

Again there was a mighty round of cheers.

Lenin, standing on the armoured car, was delivering his first speech upon arriving in the revolutionary capital. On top of the armoured car he reviewed the ranks of the workers and soldiers, who showed boundless enthusiasm upon his arrival.

“Lenin is here! Our leader has arrived!” were the words of the workers.

§ 47. What Lenin Spoke about

On the night of his arrival Lenin spoke at a huge meeting of Bolsheviks, workers and soldiers. Here Vladimir Ilyich delivered his famous speech. He told the meeting how the workers should fight for power.

Lenin declared that the Provisional Government would never give the workers and peasants peace, nor bread, nor land. This government was defending the interests of the rich, and only for the sake of their profits was it sending hundreds of thousands and millions of toilers to the front.

“No support for the Provisional Government,” declared Vladimir Ilyich.

Lenin demanded that the war be stopped immediately, that all of the landlords’ land be given over to the peasants, free of charge.

“Down with this plunderous war, all land to the peasants, all power to the soviets!” continued Comrade Lenin.

Lenin said that the Bolshevik Party must carry on a struggle to win over to its ranks the proletariat and soldiers. We must fight for Bolshevik leadership in the Soviets. Then the soviets, led by the Bolsheviks, will give the workers and toiling peasants land, peace and bread.

Lenin said that the workers made this revolution not in order to put power into the hands of their exploiters, the capitalists. The workers must take power into their own hands in order to build a new life.

And for this we have to prepare the workers of the cities and the poor peasantry of the villages.

§ 48. The July Days

The Bolsheviks constantly exposed the treachery of the Provisional Government.

The workers and peasants more and more became convinced that the Bolsheviks were right. The soldiers who had suffered the deprivations of war were waiting for peace. Starvation in the country was growing daily. The land remained in the hands of the landlords. The masses of workers, soldiers and peasants were more and more rallying around the Bolshevik Party and its leader Lenin. Workers' demonstrations began. The Petrograd workers and soldiers on many occasions came out in masses under Bolshevik leadership, demanding peace, land, bread, and that power be handed over to the Soviets. In the countryside the peasants were taking over the land from the landlords.

The bourgeoisie tried to send the best revolutionary regiments from Petrograd to the front in order to break the forces of the revolution. All this called forth a new wave of protest on the part of the workers.

On July 3, 1917, the armed workers and soldiers of Petrograd once more went out to demonstrate.

"Down with the War!" "Down with the Capitalist Ministers!" "All Land to the Peasants!" "All Power to the Soviets!" demanded the workers and soldiers.

But the Bolshevik Party knew that all its forces were not yet ready for decisive action. The army at the front was not prepared for the fight against the capitalists. All of the workers, soldiers and peasants, did not yet understand the situation. A rebellion at this stage could easily be defeated. Therefore the Party took all steps to keep the revolutionary forces from being crushed by the bourgeoisie. The Party called upon the workers to organize a peaceful demonstration under the slogan, "All Power to the Soviets."

The Provisional Government gave the order to crush with firearms this demonstration of the workers and soldiers. The most faithful troops

were brought by the government from the front and began to shoot their brothers.

Immediately a wave of terror against the Bolsheviks began. Bolsheviks and revolutionary workers were arrested and thrust into prison.

The Bolshevik paper, *Pravda*, was raided. The bourgeoisie began a campaign of slander against Comrade Lenin. Two hundred thousand rubles reward was promised for his head.

§ 49. Lenin in Hiding

The bourgeoisie was looking for Lenin in order to kill him. By decision of the Central Committee of the Party Lenin went into hiding. The worker Yemelyanov hid Lenin in his house in Sestroretsk, in the neighbourhood of Petrograd. Vladimir Ilyich lived in the attic, but it was dangerous to stay there long, because many police agents and spies were watching the house.

It had become necessary to find a new hiding place.

One day Yemelyanov said: "It is now time for haymaking. Comrade Lenin, suppose you hide in the hayfield, where almost no one goes. You will be a mower".

Lenin agreed to this idea. And next day he built himself a hut near the small lake "Rasliv", among the meadows and woods. This hut was built of branches and covered with hay. The comrades also arranged a primitive kitchen — two sticks with a kettle hanging over a fire.

Very soon Lenin's shelter became the "headquarters of the revolution". Lenin did a great deal of work here. Comrades would come to him from Petrograd to receive instructions. Lenin taught the comrades how to prepare and carry out the armed revolt in such a way that the victory of the workers would be assured.

The detectives were bewildered. Fifty officers of the crack squad swore that they "would find Lenin or die in the attempt". The newspapers spread all sorts of stories about Lenin hiding in a submarine or flying off in an aeroplane. Lenin called these newspaper writers "jackasses", and laughed at the stories of the bourgeois press.

Towards the autumn, rainy days came on. It was impossible to remain any longer in the hut. Therefore Yemelyanov procured for Lenin a passport made out in the name of a worker, Constantin Petrovich Ivanov.

The comrades found a wig for Lenin and dressed him in workers' clothes. In this disguise. Lenin looked exactly like the real Constantin Ivanov, whose photograph was attached to the passport.

Lenin was fixed up as a fireman, assisting a trusted engine-driver. In this way Lenin travelled to Finland, where he remained in hiding almost until the October Revolution.

From here Lenin continued to direct the Party's activity. Under his leadership Comrades Stalin, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and other Bolsheviks were preparing for armed revolt.

The last days of the power of the bourgeoisie were nearing.

§ 50. Preparing for October

Within a month after the July events in Petrograd the Congress of the Bolshevik Party took place. This congress took place without Lenin; it was led by Comrade Stalin. Stalin was in constant contact with Lenin and received from him instructions concerning the Party's activities.

The congress, in accordance with the directions of Comrades Lenin and Stalin, decided to begin preparations for an armed struggle.

The Bolsheviks were distributing leaflets among the workers and soldiers, and talking to them about the necessity of bringing this war to an end, of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and landlords. The Party was everywhere organizing Red Guard detachments. In the cities revolutionary workers joined these detachments and in the villages poor peasants.

"You should not kill each other," wrote the Bolsheviks in their leaflets, addressed to the workers, soldiers and peasants. "Your enemies are the rich capitalists, landlords, factory owners and all others who are on their side. Raise your weapons against them!"

The bourgeoisie were also preparing. It was concentrating its forces, the military students and officers, and was preparing to send away the revolutionary regiments from Petrograd. Kerensky, who was head of the Provisional Government, was preparing a march of soldiers from the front against revolutionary Petrograd, in order to crush the revolution.

The July events very plainly proved to the workers and peasants whose interests were being defended by the Provisional Government. The workers and peasants followed the Bolsheviks. The peasants in the villages captured landlords' estates and often killed the landlords. The soldiers were leaving the trenches and going home, for they no longer wanted to fight in the interests of the profiteers.

In September 1917, the Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow came over to the Bolsheviks. The majority of deputies were on the side of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin wrote from Finland: "The majority of workers and soldiers are with us. Victory is assured. We must soon begin the revolt".

The proletarian revolution was ripening. The Bolshevik Party, headed by Comrade Lenin, led the workers and peasants towards revolution.

§ 51. The Bolsheviks Must Take Power

On October 10, 1917, in a small room, the Central Committee of the Party met secretly. Comrade Lenin was present at this meeting, but it was impossible to recognize him. He had shaved off his beard and was wearing a wig.



Lenin in Smolny

Lenin said: "The workers are for the Bolsheviks. The soldiers are for the Bolsheviks. The poor peasants in the villages are for the Bolsheviks. Our victory is assured. The Bolsheviks must take power into their hands. We cannot afford to hesitate!"

Lenin showed that it was necessary to collect the forces in the two capitals, Petrograd and Moscow, simultaneously, and to take the enemy by surprise, to choose a time when the enemy forces were scattered.

We must isolate Petrograd and capture it by an attack of the fleet, Red Guard and soldiers.

Then Comrade Stalin spoke; with great force he supported the proposal of Lenin. The Central Committee decided to begin the armed revolt.

The Party began boldly to prepare the workers for the coming revolt. The Central Committee of the Party, on Oct. 13, appointed a military revolutionary committee to lead the revolt. This committee consisted of Comrades Stalin, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky. The centre was leading the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

The Military Revolutionary Committee sent its commissars to all army detachments. Kerensky issued an order for the arrest of the commissars of the committee. But by this time no one listened to Kerensky. The soldiers decided to obey only the orders of the revolutionary committee.

On October 26 (November 8, new calendar) the All-Russian Congress of Soviets was to open. "We must hand over to this congress the power after we seize it. Under no circumstances should we leave power in the hands of Kerensky up to October 25. The question must be necessarily settled this evening or tonight. We must at all costs arrest the government, disarm the military students and officers this evening or tonight", wrote Lenin on October 24.

On the evening of October 24 Comrade Lenin moved into Smolny Institute, where the Central Committee of the Party and the Military Revolutionary Committee had its headquarters, in order to lead the revolt.

§ 52. The Victory of the October Revolution

On November 5 (October 23), 1917, the garnison of the Peter and Paul fortress and the Petrograd arsenal, which contained 100,000 rifles, went over to the side of the Military Revolutionary Committee. The rifles were given to the Red Guard and soldiers who had joined the Military Revolutionary Committee.

On November 6 (October 24), the Military Revolutionary Committee concentrated its forces around Smolny and began active operations. Sailors were sent from Helsingfors to support the military operations of the revolutionary troops.

Comrade Lenin was directing the revolutionary army.

On the night of November 7 (October 25) the revolutionary troops captured the railway stations and bridges. At 7 o'clock in the evening the Central Telegraph and Telephone Office was captured.

The success of the revolt in Petrograd was assured. All power was practically in the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee.

At 2.30 a. m. the Military Revolutionary Committee called a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Lenin spoke at this meeting.

Lenin said: "Comrades! The workers' and peasants' revolution, about which the Bolsheviks have been talking all the time, has conquered. This revolution will lead the workers and peasants to the victory of socialism. Long Live the World Proletarian Revolution!"

Towards evening the revolutionary troops had captured all the government buildings.

Suddenly a distant explosion was heard. The glass in the windows shook. Everyone understood what this was. It was the sailors of the *Aurora*, firing on the Winter Palace. The attack had begun.

The Red Guards, sailors and soldiers had surrounded the Winter Palace and were attacking it. In the dark of night, like mysterious shadows, the ranks of workers, sailors and soldiers marched closer to the palace walls.

Armoured cars, automobile trucks loaded with soldiers, as well as mounted soldiers were approaching the palace.

"Long live the proletarian revolution!" shouted the troops who attacked the palace.

The first to reach the palace square was a detachment of Red Guards under the command of Krivenko, a worker from the Putilov factory. They were met by a volley of rifle fire from the officers who were in the palace.

But nothing could stop the onslaught of the revolutionary troops.

Thrusting aside the firewood stacked in the palace yard the revolutionary troops and sailors dashed for the palace gates. They were followed by soldiers who filled the streets and the squares.

The officers gave way. Like animals caught in a trap they retreated to the palace rooms.

"Forward, comrades!" shouted the Red commanders. "Down with the enemy."

Inside the palace, in the corridors and on the stairways the last battle took place. Every room was captured after a fight.

Then, amidst the noise of the fight the Red Guards, sailors and soldiers heard the voice of their commander. They stepped aside and made way for Comrade Antonov-Ovseyenko.

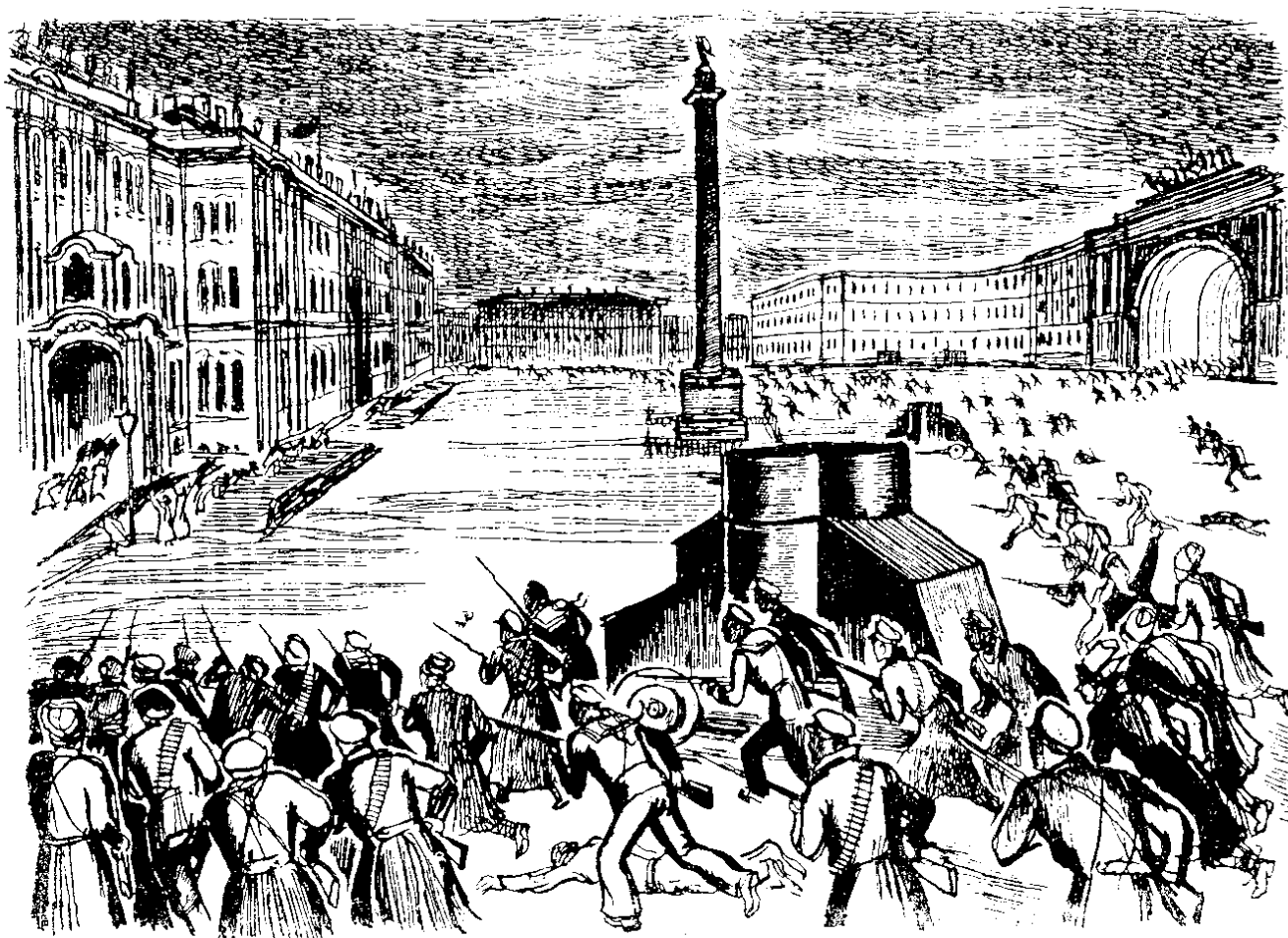
Comrade Ovseyenko approached the officers and said: "That will do, it is useless to resist. Give up your firearms. Where is the Provisional Government?"

One of the officers opened the door leading into the office where the helpless ministers of the Provisional Government sat. "The Provisional Government begs to state that it surrenders to power," said the officers.

Antonov-Ovseyenko arrested the ministers and within half an hour he was in Smolny.

The Congress greeted the news about the arrest of the Provisional Government with loud cheers.

Thus, on November 7 (October 25), 1917, the power of the capitalists and landlords was overthrown in Russia. The Congress of Soviets declared Russia a Soviet Socialist Republic.



The Capture of the Winter Palace

At the head of this republic the Congress placed a Council of People's Commissars, of which Lenin was elected president.

For the first time in history the working class became the ruler of a nation.

§ 53. The October Events in Moscow

After Petrograd the Soviet regime was established almost all over the country. Only in certain outlying districts were the enemies of the toilers, defeated in the October Revolution, able to maintain power. They were supported by officers, military students and other adherents of the bourgeoisie. A part of the soldiers and Cossacks, who were deceived by the slander spread about the Bolsheviks, for a time supported their class enemies. That is why in a number of cities, as in Petrograd, the power of the proletariat was established only after fierce struggles between the toilers and the bourgeoisie.

Particularly stubborn was the resistance of the bourgeoisie in Moscow.

The October fights in Moscow were led by the Military Revolutionary Committee. Its headquarters were located in the centre of the city in the house on Gorky Street where the Moscow Soviet is now located.

But the rest of central Moscow was in the hands of followers of the Provisional Government. Their groups were entrenched in the Kremlin, whose high walls afforded very good protection.

The Military Revolutionary Committee demanded the surrender of the Kerensky troops in the Kremlin. They replied by refusing, and the battle began.

From working class districts detachments of Red Guards and soldiers marched to the centre, fighting every inch of the way. From the high buildings and from the Kremlin walls they were met by volley after volley of machine gun fire.

Many revolutionary workers were shot down in the Red Square. But the workers and soldiers, faithful to the end to the cause of the revolution, marched steadily forward. The iron ring of proletarian soldiers was coming closer and closer to the walls of the Kremlin.

On November 1, the Military Revolutionary Committee ordered the artillery to fire on the Kremlin. On the following day the Kremlin surrendered. The Power of the Soviets was established in Moscow

§ 54. The First Laws of the Soviet Power

On the day after the October Revolution, November 8 (October 26), there took place the second meeting of the Congress of Soviets.

At this meeting Comrade Lenin spoke. He was met with great enthusiasm. The entire audience stood up and warmly greeted its leader.

When the cheers were over Lenin said: "Now let us get down to the business of socialist construction."

These words were greeted with thunderous applause.

"In the first place we must take steps to end the war. The Workers' and Peasants' Government proposes to all people participating in the war and to their governments, to commence immediate negotiations with the aim of concluding a fair peace.

"A fair peace, which is being awaited by all the workers and toiling masses of all countries, we think should be a peace without annexing foreign territory and without demanding money contributions from the defeated.

“This is the peace that the Soviet Government proposes to all peoples immediately.” So spoke Comrade Lenin.

Immediately after the speech the delegates rose and sang the *International*, the proletarian hymn.

The second question considered was the decree on land. This decree said:

“Landlords’ property in land is abolished immediately.

“All land belonging to landlords, as well as the land belonging to the former tsarist family, to the monasteries, to the church, with all buildings and property, is to be transferred to the local land committees and county soviets of peasant deputies.”



The Capture of the Kremlin

All the delegates voted enthusiastically for this decree. The peasant delegates expressed their wholehearted agreement.

In the next few days following the October Revolution the Soviet Government published decrees according to which the big factories and mills, banks and railways were declared the property of the working class government.

These first laws of the soviet power were met with the greatest joy by all toilers. They could be issued because power was now in the hands of the proletariat, whose aim was the destruction of private property and the building of a new, socialist society.

§ 55. The October Revolution Is the Beginning of the World Revolution

The proletariat of Russia demonstrated to the workers and peasants of the whole world how the struggle for power should be conducted. The death blow delivered to the landlords and capitalists of Russia was a blow felt by the ruling classes in other countries.

In 1918 a revolution broke out in Germany. At the head of the German revolution stood a small group of German Communists headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

But the German Communists in those days were only a small group. They were unable to get the majority of the workers under their leadership. The bourgeoisie were victorious. After its victory the bourgeoisie dealt very severely with the leaders of the workers. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were captured and bestially murdered.

The proletarian revolution in Bavaria, one of the German states, was also crushed.

On March 21, 1919, the working class of Hungary took over power and established a Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The Hungarian capitalists called upon the neighbouring nations for help. Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia sent their troops against Soviet Hungary. The French bourgeoisie also participated in crushing the Hungarian revolution. In August 1919, after heroic resistance, the Hungarian Republic fell. Over 10,000 workers and peasants were killed by the counter-revolutionists.

At present in all these countries the Communist parties are getting stronger every day. Under the Communist banners the workers and toilers and oppressed peoples are organizing and preparing for the struggle for the world proletarian revolution.

Questions for Review

1. In whose interests was the World War fought?
2. What was the attitude of the Bolshevik Party and Lenin towards the war?
3. When and by whom was the tsarist regime overthrown?
4. What tasks for the revolutionary movement did Lenin put forth on his arrival in Russia?
5. How did Lenin direct the preparations for armed revolt?
6. When did the October Revolution take place (give the exact date)?
7. Who took part in the October Revolution and who led it?
8. Who took over power after the October Revolution?
9. What were the first laws issued by the Soviet Government?

VII. THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET POWER

§ 56. The Civil War

The bourgeoisie could not rest in peace when the Soviets took over power. They could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their riches. Immediately after the October Revolution the capitalists began an armed struggle against the workers. Tsarist generals, with money received from the bourgeoisie, and getting its support from the kulak peasants, organized rebellions in the Don, in the Kuban, the Ukraine, in Siberia, and in the Urals, as well as in other outlying sections of the Soviet Republic. They attempted to overthrow the Soviet Government, and to drown in blood the young republic of workers and peasants.

What should the workers and peasants do? Should they surrender to the mercy of the White generals? Should they turn over the factories and mills to the capitalists and the land to the landlords freely?

No! The toilers could not do this. The workers and peasants were ready to stand firm and fight in defence of their Soviet Government.

The landlords, capitalists, the generals, officers, kulaks, priests, and other enemies of the people were uniting to fight the workers and peasants.

Against these forces of counter-revolution there stood the mighty union of workers and peasants, led by the Communist Bolshevik Party.

The civil war had begun.

§ 57. The Soviet Republic Surrounded by Enemies

The first military actions of the capitalists against the young soviet republic began immediately after the October Revolution.

Generals Kaledin and Dutov organized a rebellion of the kulak Cossacks of the Don and the Urals. These rebellions were rapidly and easily crushed.

But the Russian landlords and capitalists received the aid of the foreign bourgeoisie.

In 1918 a rebellion of Czecho-Slovakian troops broke out in Siberia. The Czecho-Slovakians seized Siberia and moved further west to the Urals and the Volga. They were successful in capturing the cities of Chelyabinsk, Samara, Sizran, Simbirsk and Kazan.

The Ukraine was occupied by German troops. The Ukrainian capitalists sold their country to the German bourgeoisie, only for the purpose of destroying the Soviet power.

In the Don the Cossack leader, Krasnov, organized a big White army consisting of Cossacks and started his march against Moscow. German generals were actively supporting him. In the Caucasus the British intervened. They captured Baku and murdered 26 commissars.

In the north English and French troops invaded Russian territory. They occupied Archangel and moved southward, attempting to unite with the Czecho-Slovakian forces.

The young Soviet Republic was thus surrounded by a ring of enemies. From all sides it was faced with White armies. The rich granaries of the country—the Ukraine, Don, the Kuban, the Urals, Siberia—were cut off from Moscow. In the young republic the kulaks were organizing revolts.

In order to defend the Soviets and to crush the activities of the capitalists and landlords the Soviet Government on February 23, 1918, organized its Red Army, an army of workers and peasants. This army was joined by the Red Guard detachments. The workers and peasants were called for service in this army. Kulaks and merchants, capitalists and other class enemies of the toilers were not accepted into the fighting ranks of the Red Army.

The Party sent its best forces into the Red Army. Towards the autumn the Red Army contained over a million fighters. In September 1918, the Red Army, led by Comrade Frunze, defeated the Czecho-Slovakians and drove them beyond the Ural mountains.

The Cossack leader, Krasnov, was also defeated and rapidly retreated to the Don.

In November 1918, the German army, in connection with the revolution in Germany, left the Ukraine. Led by the Communist Party, the Red Army marched from victory to victory. It had already occupied the Ukraine and White Russia, driving the whiteguards from these districts.

§ 58. The Socialist Fatherland in Danger

The international and Russian bourgeoisie, defeated in its first attempts to overthrow the Soviets, was not yet prepared to give up. In 1919 it organized a second and more dangerous armed attack against the workers' fatherland.

In Siberia the tsarist admiral, Kolchak, with the money he received from foreign capitalists, organized an army of 300,000 men. With this army Admiral Kolchak, in March 1919, opened an attack against the Soviet Republic. He captured the Urals and threatened to send his troops against Moscow.

From the south, a large, well-equipped army under General Denikin, composed of officers, was marching against Moscow. The French capitalists supplied Denikin with money, arms, and ammunition.

At the same time, from the western borders of the new republic, from Esthonia, there came a third White army, led by General Yudenich. Yudenich set forth to capture Petrograd.

The Soviet Republic, surrounded by enemies, was left without bread, coal and oil. The railways were at a standstill. The country was gripped by starvation. Typhoid fever played havoc in the army and among the population.

1919 was the most difficult year for the Soviet Republic during all the years of civil war.

But the Party even under these difficult conditions was able to organize victory.

“The socialist fatherland is in danger” was the battlecry of the Bolshevik Party.

Having defeated the attacks of the whiteguards in the south the Party threw the chief forces of the Red Army to the eastern front, against Kolchak. In the summer of 1919 the heroic Red Army, under the leadership of the old Bolshevik, Comrade Frunze, occupied the Urals and near Ufa, delivered a decisive blow to the Kolchak troops which resulted in the retreat of the Kolchak army.

At this time behind Kolchak’s lines the poor peasants were organizing Red partisan detachments, and were rising in revolt against the yoke and oppression of the whiteguards.

Encouraged by the victories, and moved by its class hatred of the capitalists, the Red Army drove the remnants of Kolchak’s army further into Siberia. The Japanese and American troops who were sent to help Kolchak, also retreated.

In January 1920, Kolchak was captured by the Red partisans. He was shot in Irkutsk.

In the autumn of 1919 bands of officers under the command of General Yudenich came almost to the gates of Petrograd. Yudenich’s army was only 25 kilometres from the city. The whiteguard papers were already announcing that Petrograd had been captured.

The Party sent its best Bolshevik, Comrade Stalin, to this front. Comrade Stalin with firm hand took over the leadership of the struggle against the white bandits. The Red Army was strengthened by more workers forces and defeated the Yudenich bands. Yudenich shamefully retreated to Esthonia.

The Red Army achieved glorious victories over its enemies both in the East and in the West.

There remained only the army of Denikin which was rapidly approaching Moscow. And now the Party threw all its best forces into the struggle against Denikin.

§ 59. Against Denikin

“Against Denikin,” was the call of the party when Kolchak and Yudenich were defeated. Now the main forces of the Red Army were transferred to the southern front.

But Denikin had a strong cavalry. The proletariat had no cavalry. What should be done?

“Workers, organize your cavalry detachments!” was the slogan put out by the Party.

Tens of thousands of the best Communists, young Communists and workers were sent to the front.



Budenny, Frunze and Voroshilov Studying a Map in the Red Army Staff

Comrade Stalin was again selected by the Party to direct the fighting on the southern front.

With extraordinary energy, Comrade Stalin began the organization of a Red cavalry. Very quickly he organized the first cavalry army. This army was commanded by Comrades Voroshilov and Budenny.

The Denikin army had spread out in a wide front from the banks of the Caspian Sea to the Polish border. It had captured all the Ukraine, the cities of Voronezh, Orel, Kursk. Its vanguard had already reached the cities of Tula, which is only 200 kilometres from Moscow.

The bulk of Denikin's army was made up of Cossacks. The Party was conducting extensive activity among the Cossacks. The Bolshe-

vics were telling the toiling Cossacks that the Red Army was not fighting against them, that it was fighting against the landlords, capitalists and generals. In the ranks of the Budenny cavalry there were many toiling Cossacks. In the First Cavalry Army, they constituted entire regiments.

In October 1919, the Red Army, after concentrating its forces on the southern front, delivered a smashing blow to Denikin. It captured Kursk, Orel, Kharkov, and Voronezh. The First Cavalry Army drove the panic-stricken whiteguards to the south.

In March 1920, the Red cavalry captured Novorosiysk. The remnants of the whiteguards got away on boats to Crimea and Turkey. In the hands of the Red Army remained a huge amount of military supplies and many thousands of prisoners of war.

Thus, the second military attack of the bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants ended in a victory for the toilers. This time the Red Army was again victorious.

§ 60. The War with Poland

Notwithstanding the fact that the Red Army in 1919 defeated its enemies on all fronts, the civil war did not stop. The capitalists and landlords organized a third military attack against Soviet Russia.

The Polish landlords, acting under orders of French capitalists, organized an army of 100,000 men, and in April 1920, began a war against the workers' and peasants' republic.

This struggle was very difficult. The economy of the Soviet republic was destroyed. We did not have enough guns and ammunition, nor did we have enough food.

With its first, sudden attack, the Polish troops caused the Red Army to retreat. The Poles succeeded in capturing White Russia, and part of the Ukraine, including the city of Kiev.

But the Party was on the watch. Once again it mobilized the Communists, workers and peasants, and the First Cavalry Army, after defeating Denikin, devoted its attention to the Polish front.

The White Polish armies were very soon driven out of Kiev. The Red Army achieved a number of decisive victories. The White Poles retreated in panic. In August 1920, the vanguard of the Red Army was already approaching Novo-Minsk, which is only 30 kms. from Warsaw, the capital of Poland.

The brilliant success of the Red Army caused a great deal of alarm among the capitalists of all countries. The capitalists were afraid that the proletarian revolution would spread to the whole of Europe.

The bourgeoisie of the whole of Europe was terror-stricken. It spent huge sums in its efforts to stop the movement of the Red troops.

England and France supplied Poland with ammunition, aeroplanes and artillery. The White Poles were retrieved from defeat. The Red Army was compelled to retreat from Warsaw.

In October 1920, the Soviet Republic signed a peace treaty with Poland in accordance with which a part of White Russia and a part of Ukraine were to remain under Polish rule. Peace with Poland was necessary for the Soviet Republic, because in the south a new danger had arisen.

§ 61. The Defeat of Wrangel. The End of the Civil War

The remnants of the Denikin army found its way to the Crimea. At the head of these bands there stood the notorious Baron Wrangel. Wrangel took advantage of the fact that the Red Army was engaged in struggle with the Poles, and entrenched himself in the Crimea. From there, in June 1920, he began his attack on the Donetsk coalfields.

The foreign bourgeoisie once again came to the aid of the Russian capitalists and landlords. England and France supplied Wrangel with money, ammunition, tanks, aeroplanes and uniforms.

After signing the peace treaty with Poland the Party devoted all its forces to defeat Wrangel. At the head of the forces fighting against Wrangel, stood Comrade Frunze.

The Red Army very rapidly forced back the whiteguards onto the Crimean Peninsula. The last and decisive struggle was fought near Perekop. This battle stands as an example of the great heroism of the Red Army.

The Perekop forts were considered impregnable. They consisted of a number of fortifications, guarded by barbed wire and armed with many guns. Tanks and armoured cars made it almost impossible to approach the fort. But the Red Army courageously attacked Perekop.

This took place on November 7. On the very day that the Workers' and Peasants' Republic was celebrating its third anniversary, final preparations for the attack were being made at the front.

To attack Perekop from the rear it was necessary for our troops to cross the River Sivash.

During low tide the River Sivash in many places is almost dry, or in any case very low. But as soon as high tide comes the river becomes deep and it is impossible to cross it. Therefore it was decided to take advantage of the low tide, in crossing the river.

On the eve of the battle Comrade Frunze told the soldiers: "This is our last fight. Wrangel will be crushed. Our victory is assured."

The shock regiments of the Communists were the first to go into battle singing the *International*. Frunze was there to encourage the heroes who went into the fight.

The enemy's artillery did not cease fire. From time to time rockets lit up the air. Immediately following this would come the penetrating rays of the searchlights, the constant explosion of shells.

The enemy concentrated its entire artillery fire on the barbed wire entanglements against which the main Red forces had been thrown.

Suddenly a murmuring sound was heard. Then a terrible explosion, just in front of the Red lines. A huge column of dirt and stone flew into the air. Everything was covered with smoke. The Red soldiers could not be seen, many had fallen.

Then a Red Army soldier, his hand covered in blood, rises and dashes forward. By his side is an old Communist, his rifle in charging position. The Red Army is charging the fortification.

"Forward, comrades! Hurrah!"

By a bold charge the heroic Red Army soldiers have captured the first line of the enemy's fortifications. But the whiteguards put up a stubborn fight. Two charges of the Red Army, one after the other, fail to drive the Whites out of their positions.

From the River Sivash dispatches had arrived.

"Comrades, urgent and immediate measures must be taken. The enemy is trying to throw us back from the river. High tide is coming and soon it will be impossible to cross. Behind us we will have the river, in front artillery fire. What shall we do then?"

"Forward", commanded Frunze, with a voice of steel. "Begin a new attack at once; Perekop must be taken!"

And thus, the third charge against the invincible positions of Perekop began. Never for a moment did the enemy cease his artillery fire. Battery after battery was sending its messengers of steel into the ranks of the Red Army.

It was Comrade Blücher who lead the third charge. He was followed by the galloping Seventh Cavalry Division under the command of Comrade Kashirin. For a moment you could hear only the beating of the horses' hoofs, and then Kashirin's brave cavalry went into the Sivash.

But the firing from Perekop is becoming less terrific; it seems it has stopped altogether. Can it be that the third attack had been defeated?

Comrade Frunze stood in the centre of the din holding the telephone receiver. His face is radiant with joy.

“Well, well, well”, he says quietly. Then he turned to the soldiers and shouted: “I congratulate you, comrades. Wrangel is defeated. By our third charge we have captured Perekop!”

Wrangel retreated. In the middle of November the remainder of his army embarked in ships on the Black Sea. With the defeat of Wrangel the civil war came to an end. The civil war was forced upon the working class by the Russian and the international bourgeoisie. From time to time rebellions of the kulaks broke out here and there in the country, but they were rapidly crushed by the Red Army and the detachments of workers and peasants.

§ 62. Hands off Soviet Russia!

In the civil war the workers of the whole world helped us. They saw that the cause for which the Soviet workers and peasants were fighting was the common cause of the world proletariat. The toilers of the whole world could not stand aside from this great struggle. They were supporting the proletarian revolution.

The workers refused to load and ship ammunition and military supplies that the foreign capitalists sent to the Russian whiteguards.

In England the revolutionary workers succeeded in stopping ships loaded with ammunition for the enemies of the Soviet Republic. In 1920, at the height of the war with the White Polish armies, the workers of London led by Harry Pollitt and other British Communists, stopped the ship *Jolly George* from leaving port with a cargo of munition for the whiteguards.

The foreign soldiers and sailors who were being compelled to fight against us, often organized revolutionary action against the capitalists of their countries. They refused to fight, to shoot their brothers in the Red Army.

An outstanding example of this took place on the French battleship *Protei*.

This happened at the end of 1919. The French battleships had come to Odessa. They trained their guns on the working class sections of the city.

“Death to the Bolsheviks!” was the slogan of the French soldiers and officers.

On the battleship *Protei* was a mechanic, André Marty. He was a Bolshevik. André Marty gathered the French sailors and said to them: “A revolution is taking place in Russia. The workers must conquer. We are workers and peasants the same as they. We must help them. What will you fellows do if you are ordered to fire against workers?”

“We will fire on General Bartello”, replied the sailors.

At this time the Red troops were approaching Odessa. The French sailors refused to fire on their class brothers. Odessa became a Soviet city.

“The damn Bolsheviks”, swore the French generals. “Let’s try our luck at Sevastopol”. And they ranged their heavy artillery against that city.

But André Marty had not worked in vain; the French sailors again refused to fire on the Bolsheviks. Red flags were hoisted to the mast-head of the French battleships. The sailors sang the *International*. They manned the boats and went ashore.

“Long live the revolution! Long live the Bolsheviks!” shouted the French sailors. Many foreign workers went over to the ranks of the Red Army to fight against the whiteguards.

The French government was compelled to issue an order for the return of its navy to France. Very soon after this England withdrew her troops from Archangel.

Throughout the whole world the workers were protesting against capitalist intervention in the affairs of Soviet Russia. They organized a movement called “Hands off Soviet Russia”.

§ 63. Communists and their Leaders—in the Forefront

The Communist Party led the struggle of the Red Army. The Communists were always in the front ranks, in the most dangerous and difficult sections of the front. The Communists were the most conscientious fighters, and they always marched at the head of the Red Army soldiers.

The Red Army was led by Comrade Lenin, who was helped in this by Stalin, Frunze and Voroshilov.

During the civil war Lenin’s office was like the general staff army headquarters. Lenin personally stood at the head of the defence council of the republic. He demanded that every Party and soviet organization should first of all take good care of the Red Army.

The best lieutenant of Comrade Lenin was Comrade Stalin. The Central Committee of the Party sent Comrade Stalin from one front to another. He was to be found in all dangerous spots.

Wherever Comrade Stalin went our enemies suffered defeat after defeat.

Under the leadership of Stalin the Red Army defeated the Krasnov bands in the vicinity of Tsaritsin.

“I remember at the beginning of August 1918”, writes Comrade Voroshilov, “the Krasnov Cossack troops were advancing towards

Tsaritsin trying to push the Red troops back to the Volga. In the course of several days the Red troops led by the Communist division consisting of Donbas miners held out against the attacks of the cossacks. These were very tense days.

“You should have seen Stalin in those days. He was always calm and concentrated upon his plans. He did not sleep for days on end, always visiting the front lines and the army headquarters. The situation at the front was approaching a catastrophe. The Krasnov Cossacks were launching attack after attack against our worn out troops, causing heavy losses.

“The enemy’s lines were coming closer and closer to the city. All roads of retreat were cut off. But Stalin did not think about retreat. He had only one thought — to conquer, to crush the enemy at any price. This unbreakable will of Comrade Stalin helped us on, and notwithstanding the almost hopeless situation we were all sure of victory”.

“A real Bolshevik leader”, the Red Army soldiers and workers called Stalin.

The name of Comrade Stalin was a most terrifying one for our enemies. But the Red Army soldiers pronounced this name with love and enthusiasm.

The army looked upon Voroshilov as its own.

“With Voroshilov, we shall never lose”, was the general opinion of the Red army soldiers.

The energy and bravery of this strong man was always a guarantee to Voroshilov’s soldiers of victory over the White Army. There are many instances of heroism connected with the name of Comrade Voroshilov. Here is one of them.

The Whites were attacking. Voroshilov, as was his habit, did not stay in the city. During the night, after issuing his orders, he went to the front, to check up on the fulfilment of orders. Within a few kilometres of Tsaritsin, at the small station of Voroponovo, he sat in a railway carriage studying a map. Through the window he could see the freight trains filled with refugees from the Don, and soldiers just arrived from the front.

Suddenly a wild yell was heard somewhere near the railway car. Somebody shouted: “The Cossacks are coming”.

Immediately, with cries and moans, the children of the refugees, their mothers and fathers, began to run from the freight trains. The wounded, who had just arrived, were leaving their cars. Several of them, with arms and legs bandaged, were trying to load their rifles.

Voroshilov and the other comrades who accompanied him jumped out of the car and looked in the direction of the refugees.

Voroshilov calmly took the rifle from his shoulder and pointed to the south. From the south a column of white cavalry was rapidly advancing.

At the station there were no forces to resist the onslaught of the enemy. In about five minutes the enemies cavalry would be upon them and everyone would be killed.



Voroshilov Speaking to Red Sailors.

Somebody said softly to Voroshilov, "You have a good horse, perhaps if you leave now you will be able to get away". Voroshilov looked at this person sharply. At the same time he saw that near the station building there was a machine gun, which apparently had been placed there for the guard but which had now been deserted.

Voroshilov dashed to the machine gun, dragged it out and placed it into position. He turned it to face the enemy, put in the ribbon and took aim. In a few seconds the machine gun was firing off furiously, mowing down the enemies' horsemen. All the others ran to help Voroshilov. As if from nowhere the Red Army soldiers dragged out a second machine-gun.

But there was no need for help now, because the horsemen of the enemy were already retreating. Panic-stricken, they were galloping into the woods without daring to look back.

§ 64. Socialist Construction

The civil war completely destroyed the backward industry and agriculture of Soviet Russia. The entire country was in ruins. Factories and mills were at a standstill. The peasants' fields were not tilled. The railways looked like a graveyard for broken-down engines and cars. The mines were filled with water.

And to make things worse, a terrible famine had stricken the country. The entire Volga district was in the grip of starvation. Thousands and scores of thousands of men, women and children were dying the slow and torturous death of hunger. Typhoid and cholera took their toll of human lives.

After its victory over the landlords and capitalists, the Party now shifted its forces to reconstruct the broken-down mills and factories.

Once again the Communists were in the forefront. Once again the Party was able to lead the workers and peasants and all toilers into the struggle against destruction and hunger.

The factories and mills began to work. The machines were again set in motion. Old machines were hurriedly repaired. Factory buildings were overhauled. New machines were introduced. The mines were beginning to open. Once more coal and oil appeared. The cars and engines as well as the railways proper were put into shape, and the bridges were repaired. The economic life of the country was being revived.

We have already revived our industry and agriculture destroyed by the imperialist and civil wars. Many new factories and mills have been built in our country. Giant after giant has grown up in the immense territory of the Land of Soviets. No other country in the world has grown so rapidly as ours.

Our agriculture today looks nothing at all like the agriculture of old Russia. Instead of the scattered tiny peasant farms we have organized 200,000 collective and 5,000 Soviet farms.

The activities of the workers and peasants in the building of a new and better life are led by the Communist Party. This Party is the fighting staff, which works out a general plan of action for all the toilers of our land.

The Party has always and everywhere led the masses. The Communists are the best shock workers and organizers of socialist competition among the workers and toilers.

The Party demands that every Communist fight for the Party's aims.

All members and candidates of the Communist Party, who work in factory or institution, in city or village, are organized into a Party nucleus.

The Party nuclei in the factories, in the mills, collective farms and state farms organize the workers and peasants, and direct the work of the respective institutions or factories.

All the work of building up our country is directed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This committee is elected at the All-Union Congress of our Party. The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is Comrade Stalin, the leader of the Communist Party and the world proletariat.

Questions for Review

1. Why did the capitalists and landlords begin the civil war?
2. Why did the foreign bourgeoisie come to the aid of the Russian bourgeoisie and landlords?
3. Under whose leadership did the workers fight against the counter revolution? Who were their allies?
4. In what year and month was the law about the organization of the Red Army passed?
5. What armies attacked Soviet Russia in 1918, in 1919 and 1920?
6. How does the Party lead the work of building up our country?

VIII. THE LENINIST UNION OF COMMUNIST YOUTH

§ 65. How the Komsomol* Was Organized?

The Young Communist League was organized in October 1918 at its first congress. This congress unanimously adopted a resolution saying that the league would work and struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. The League decided to call itself the Young Communist League, and in 1924, after the death of Comrade Lenin it was renamed the Leninist Young Communist League.

At the call of the leader of the workers and peasants, Comrade Lenin, the first congress unanimously decided to mobilize one-third of the Y.C.L. organization for the Red Army.

At the end of the congress a delegation was elected to visit Comrade Lenin. This delegation was to tell him that a younger brother of the glorious Bolshevik party, the Komsomol had been born.

* Komsomol is the Russian abbreviation for Young Communist League. In English-speaking countries the Young Communist League is abbreviated Y.C.L.

One of the members of this delegation tells the following story regarding his visit to Lenin.

“When we entered Lenin’s office he arose and came over to meet us. He shook hands with all of us.

“We were very much excited. Lenin began to put questions to us. We told him that the congress decided to call our league the Young Communist League. Lenin smiled and remarked: “It is not the name that counts”. His eyes fell upon the only girl in our delegation. “How many girls were there at the congress?” asked Lenin. “About eight of them”, said Bezimensky.

“Towards the end of the talk, Lenin invited us to seek his aid at any time we needed it.

“Then Lenin sat down at his desk and wrote a short note to Comrade Sverdlov asking him to give us all possible material aid from the party funds. This short note of Lenin’s gave our Central Committee 10,000 rubles.

“We said good bye to Lenin, and everything was so simple, so friendly, that we at once knew that in Comrade Lenin the Y.C.L. had a staunch friend and reliable leader”.

Thus, on the eve of the first anniversary of the October Revolution, the revolutionary youth movement of Russia united under the banner of the Young Communist League.

§ 66. Lenin on the Tasks of the Y.C.L.

In 1920, at the third congress of the Y.C.L., Comrade Lenin spoke on the tasks of the League.

Lenin said that the first obligation of a Y.C.L.er is to study, study and again study.

Lenin said that those who are to take the place in the ranks of the Party and who are to be the builders of a new society must have a great deal of knowledge, and must therefore study. We must fight for better study.

In order to become a Communist one must be able to link up this theoretical knowledge with the struggle and the work of the working class.

“The Y.C.L. must become the shock group which in all work will show its energy and eagerness”, said Lenin.

In all social undertakings, even in the smallest activities in the factory, in the collective farm, or in school, the Y.C.L. members must be the first to show that they are really good Leninists. The Y.C.L. must fight against all our enemies who hinder socialist construction in our country.

§ 67. Under Fire in the Civil War

After the first congress of the League all the work of the Y.C.L. centered around the defence of the country from its many enemies.

Within a few days after the congress decision about the mobilization of League member for the army, the Y.C.L. sent 10,000 of its members to the front. Many of them volunteered to go.

On all fronts and in all armies Y.C.L.ers could be found fighting and dying for the cause of the revolution. In the ranks of the Red army during the civil war, over 75,000 Y.C.L.ers served. Many heroic victories are written into the pages of Y.C.L. history.

At the Eighth Congress of the Y.C.L. there was present the Y.C.L.er, Khizhnyak, who had three medals of the Red Banner, which he had received during the civil war. Why did Comrade Khizhnyak receive these three medals?

The Germans had captured the Ukraine. The 16-year old Comrade Khizhnyak organized a partisan group to fight the Germans. He was not intimidated when the Germans, irritated by the success of this young organizer, came to his native village and burned down his father's house.

In 1918, when the Red troops were approaching, Khizhnyak with a handful of brave followers captured the city of Pavlograd and disarmed 500 German soldiers.

The Reds arrived and Khizhnyak and his followers put themselves at their disposal. He no longer wanted to remain at the head of his company when he saw the armoured car which bore the name, "Victory or death".

Khizhnyak joined the crew of the armoured car. Near the station of Sinelnikova, where a stubborn battle against the Petlura detachments was going on, he put up a white flag. But when his armoured car came close to the station occupied by the Petlura troupes, Khizhnyak opened fire and killed 300 of them. The rest were routed and the station was captured.

But the Petlura troops entrenched themselves in the district of Fastov. For two weeks battles raged. Day after day the Petlura armoured cars came very near to the Red troops. Khizhnyak decided to capture one of their armoured cars which bore the name of their leader, Simyon Petlura.

Four brave soldiers led by Khizhnyak took with them a supply of bombs, and at break of day left their armoured car. In the evening they returned to their friends with the enemies' armoured car.

How did they manage it?

Simyon Petlura opened fire against our cavalry scouts who were hidden behind the railway lines amongst bushes. Khizhnyak and his brave followers dashed out and ran for the enemy's armoured car and threw several bombs. They killed most of the crew and captured the car.

Members of the Y.C.L. were not only brave fighters; they were not afraid to face death. Especially great was the heroism of the Y.C.L.er who worked illegally in the territory occupied by Denikin.

On January 6, 1920, in Odessa, Denikin's police tortured to death nine Y.C.L.ers who were accused of carrying on illegal activities. Eye-witnesses of this horrible execution relate the story of the death of these brave young Communists.

All the tortures of the whiteguards were of no avail. The Y.C.L.ers did not even let a sound escape. All of them were sentenced to death.

On the night of December 5 they were to be shot. However, the guards refused to lead them out to the firing squad. On Monday, January 6, several whiteguards, thoroughly drunk, were sent to fetch them. They tortured the young workers until they were unconscious. Then they were taken into a cellar where they were beaten or shot to death. Several of them were beaten to death by rifle butts.

The nine comrades wrote the following note, which was published the next day in the illegal paper *Odessa Communist*.

"Nine Communists sentenced to death on Jan. 4, 1920, send their last greetings to their comrades.

"We wish you, comrades, to continue the fight. In dying we greet the victorious march of the Red Army. We are confident in the final victory of Communism. Long live the Red Army! Long live the Communist International!

Signed: *Dora Lubaskaya, Ida Krasnoschekina, Yasha Reikhman, Leo Spivak, Boris Duninovsky, Vassily Petrenko, Misha Pilman, Paula Vark*".

This is how the Y.C.L.ers fought, died and conquered, always the courageous fighters for the cause of the working class.

The Young Communist League has been decorated with the Order of the Red Banner for its activities during the civil war.

§ 68. The Y.C.L. in Socialist Construction

The military front was over, but there was still the front of labour. The Y.C.L. changed the rifle for the workers' school, for the plough and book.

There began the construction of new factories and mills. The Party began to reconstruct agriculture. And everywhere in the shock brigades and shock departments the Y.C.L. is carrying on the struggle.

There were many Y.C.L. heroes in the civil war, but there are no less heroes in socialist construction. Here are a few of them.

In the Gorky automobile plant, month after month, production was behind the program. Then the Y.C.L.er, Victor Sorokin, organized a group of young people into a shock brigade. This brigade became known as the "Industrial Commune of Autostroi". The members of this commune showed striking examples in their work. Victor Sorokin, a staunch Y.C.L.er, was able to bring the fellows together. The commune became the leading unit in the whole plant. Other workers followed its example. The break was liquidated. Sorokin has been rewarded with the Order of the Banner of Labour.

The Stalingrad tractor plant was being built. It was a cold winter. Fifteen metres above the ground, the work of installing windows was going on. Because of the cold, this work was very difficult. The glazers refused to do the work. So 200 young Communists took the job. An old man, a glazer by trade, agreed to instruct them. They all went up to work. Among these 200 were 25 girls.

They began to work energetically. From time to time they stretched their hands to warm them on little bonfires, but only for a few moments, and then work continued.

The young workers injured their hands, but they continued to put the glass into the cold steel frames; 28,000 square metres of glass was installed by the Y.C.L.ers.

Such heroic examples of work and struggle are numerous.

With great success young Communists are fighting for the organization of collective and state farms in the villages.

The Leninist Y.C.L. has been decorated with the Red Labour Banner for its heroic work in socialist construction.

The Y.C.L. is the patron of the Red Navy and Red Air Fleet. The Y.C.L. is strengthening the defence of the U.S.S.R., against the onslaughts of the capitalists of all countries. The Y. C. L. conducts great work in the Red Army and Red Navy.

All members of the Y.C.L. are learning to shoot, to use gas masks.

The best Y.C.L.ers have joined the military schools, where they study to become aviators and commanders in the Red Army. On the battleships, on submarines, everywhere, you will find Y.C.L.ers.

It is not accidental that Comrade Voroshilov told the Y.C.L. Congress:

"I am convinced that all of you, without any hesitation, are willing to take up arms and courageously defend your socialist fatherland if it is attacked by enemies".

The Y.C.L. is carrying on a great deal of work in educating the children, the Pioneers. The Y.C.L. has taken patronage over general education and is carrying on a struggle for better studies at school.

The Y.C.L. is the Party's best help. Together with the Party, and under its leadership, the Y.C.L. carried on a heroic struggle in the civil war. Together with the Party the Y.C.L. is in the foremost ranks in the shock-work of socialist construction.

§ 69. The Young Communist International (Y.C.I.)

In all countries of the world the banner of the Y.C.L. is being unfurled. In all countries the ranks of the Y.C.L. organizations are growing.

The Y.C.L.'s abroad, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, are fighting against the capitalists, the enemies of the working class and toilers.

The Young Communist International unites the Communist youth fighting against capitalism throughout the whole world.

The bourgeoisie sends the revolutionary youth to prison. They persecute and exile revolutionary young workers. But notwithstanding all this the young Communists are not giving up the struggle. The Y.C.L. is training ever new forces of young workers and peasants in the struggle against capital.

The Y.C.I. and its organizations pay a great deal of attention to work among the children. Under their leadership the Communist children's movement is growing throughout the whole world.

Questions for Review

1. In what year was the Y.C.L. organized?
2. What are the main tasks of a member of the Y.C.L.?
3. What part did the Y.C.L. play in the struggle for soviet power?
4. What part did the Y.C.L.ers take in the building of socialism in our country and in strengthening its defence force?
5. What is the Y. C. I.?

IX. THE PIONEERS

§ 70. Who Are the Pioneers?

The first Pioneer groups were founded in Soviet Russia. This was in 1922. Since then the Pioneer organization has been growing year by year. On its tenth anniversary (May 1932) it had six million members.

The children's communist organizations of Young Pioneers educate the proletarian children to be Communists. The Pioneer organization has trained millions of children and has transferred thousands to the Y.C.L.

The Pioneer organization carries on a great deal of work in helping the class war prisoners abroad. The Pioneers help the children's Communist groups in capitalist countries in their struggle against their enemies.

The Pioneers help their smaller brothers, the Octobrists, in their work.

The laws of the Young Pioneers say:

"A Pioneer is loyal to the cause of the working class and the teachings of Lenin".

The Pioneer is a staunch friend and comrade to the working class and peasant children of the whole world. The Pioneer strives to study and helps others to study. The Pioneer is the younger brother and helper of the Communist and the Y.C.L.er in the struggle for Communism. *

§ 71. The Pioneers Bear the Name of Lenin

In May 1924, on the Red Square, there was a parade of Pioneers. The children were taking the pioneer oath.

The parade was reviewed by the members of the government, the Central Committee of our Party, and thousands of toilers of Moscow and other cities. On that day Moscow presented an extraordinary picture. The Red Square was bright with the rays of the May sun and with hundreds of thousands of red ties and banners. Everywhere could be heard the sounds of bugles and drums.

The orchestra played the *International*. The secretary of the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. mounted the tribune on the Lenin Mausoleum and addressed the Pioneers:

"Comrades, Young Pioneers, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, I announce to you that from today on the Young Pioneer organization is renamed the Children's Communist groups of Young Pioneers, named after Vladimir Ilyich Lenin".

At 4 o'clock the old Bolshevik, Felix Kohn, mounted the platform:

"Young comrades, I have been asked as one of the older comrades to accept from you your solemn pledge. Be Ready!"

"Always Ready!" rang through the Red Square.

Felix Kohn, his grey hair waving, read the words of the solemn pledge. Thousands of Pioneers repeated the pledge word by word.

The last words have been said. Felix Kohn once again addressed the ranks of children with red ties who fill the square.

“Young Pioneers, remember this great day of May 23, 1924, and be sure to fulfil the promise that you have given today. Be Ready!”

“Always Ready!” again rang through the Red Square.

§ 72. Raise the Banner of Communism!

The members of the Y.C.L. are preparing to become good members of the Party. The Y.C.L. must take the place of the Party. And the Young Pioneers will fill the ranks of the Y.C.L. They also must do a great deal of work in order to be better and more courageous fighters.

Therefore the Party places before all Y.C.L.ers and Pioneers the task of studying, studying and again studying. And the Party demands from the school that it gives the children more knowledge; from the Y.C.L. and Pioneers the Party demands that they pay more attention to their studies and that they help their comrades in their studies.

The Pioneers must be the best pupils in the school. They must organize work in the school. They must participate in all social undertakings in the school and must always be in the forefront and lead the other children.

In the first All-Union Pioneer rally, the old Bolshevik, Comrade Kaganovich, told the Pioneers:

“You all wear red ties. Remember that the red tie is not a holiday uniform. The red tie on your chest is covered with the blood of hundreds of thousands of fighters. Thousands of fighters were hanged and shot by the landlords and capitalists. Thousands of fighters died in tsarist prisons. And when the revolutionaries were being led to the scaffold they were told: ‘We will put a tie around your neck’.

“But we have overthrown our oppressors. And in place of those thousands of fighters who have given their lives to the cause of the working class there grew up and are growing up millions of children who will become fighters for communism. You must wear with pride this red tie. Hold with a firm hand the red banner of Communism.

“Your red tie with its three corners symbolizes the contact of three generations. I greet you on behalf of the older generation, the Communists, the Bolshevik Party.

“Remember that your red tie is the symbol of three generations, and this obliges you, young Pioneers, to fight for the cause of our great proletarian Communist Party.

“Remember that our enemies have not yet laid down their arms. The kulaks in our country and the capitalists abroad hate us and are

working class, in union with the poor peasantry, has overthrown the power of the capitalists and has established its own power — Soviet Power.

Lenin has done a great deal to strengthen this power of the Soviets. He has done a great deal to bring about a closer union between the workers and peasants.

Under the leadership of Lenin the Communist Party, followed by the workers and peasants of our country, is building a new socialist society.

Lenin organized the Communist International, under whose banner the revolutionary forces of the toilers of the world are now uniting.

Lenin died, but the cause begun by him is continued by his best pupil and follower, Comrade Stalin. Under his leadership our Communist Party is putting into effect the teachings of Marx and Lenin in the U.S.S.R. The Communist Party leads the working class and toiling peasantry of our country forward to the great struggle for socialism and is achieving victory after victory.

The toilers of the U. S. S. R. have successfully fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan.

Our victories in socialist construction proved the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our successes stand out as an example to the toilers of the whole world, an example of how to fight the capitalist enemy.

Under the banner of the Communist Parties in all countries the forces of the toilers are uniting. The Communist Parties of the whole world are preparing the workers to take over power.

Comrade Stalin is the leader of the Communist International, which unites and leads the struggle of the Communist Parties of the world.

The time is near when the toilers of all countries will overthrow the bourgeoisie and achieve their liberation.

The cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin will conquer throughout the world.

Questions for Review

1. What did Marx and Engels teach us?
 2. Who continued the teachings of Marx and Engels?
 3. Who continued the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin?
-

CONTENTS

Why we Must Know Our Past	4
I. Situation of the Peasants under Serfdom	5
II. The Struggle of the Peasants against the Landlords	12
III. Repeal of Serfdom	18
IV. The Workers and Peasants' Struggle up to 1905	24
V. Revolution of 1905	39
VI. The October Revolution	54
VII. The Communist Party in the struggle for Soviet Power	72
VIII. Leninist Union of Communist Youth	84
IX. The Pioneers	88
X. The struggle for Socialism is the Cause of the Toilers of the Whole World	92

Цена 45 к., перепл. 30 к.

М. ОВСЯННИКОВА, Б. ЛЕВИТАН, С. УШАКОВ, А. АЛЕКСАНДРОВ

ОБЩЕСТВОВЕДЕНИЕ

Ч. 1, 3-й год обучения

Учебник для детей иностранных рабочих
на английском языке