

History of the USSR (content)



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I.V. STALIN. REMARKS ON THE DESIGN OF A TEXTBOOK ON THE HISTORY OF THE USSR

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Vanaga's group did not complete the task and did not even understand the task itself. She compiled a synopsis of Russian history, not the history of the USSR, that is, the history of Rus, but without the history of the peoples that became part of the USSR (data on the history of Ukraine, Belarus, Finland and other Baltic peoples, the North Caucasian and Transcaucasian peoples, the peoples of Central Asia are not taken into account and the Far East, as well as the Volga and northern regions - Tatars, Bashkirs, Mordovians, Chuvashs, etc.).

The summary does not emphasize the annexationist-colonial role of Russian tsarism, together with the Russian bourgeoisie and landowners ("tsarism is the prison of peoples").

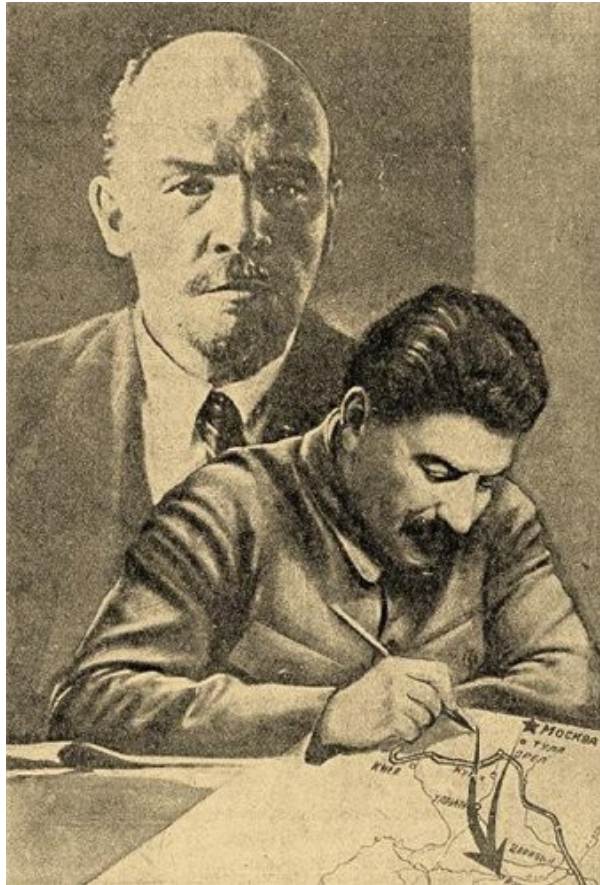
The synopsis does not emphasize the counter-revolutionary role of Russian tsarism in foreign policy from the time of Catherine II to the 50s of the 19th century and beyond ("tsarism as an international gendarme").

In the synopsis, feudalism and the pre-feudal period, when the peasants were not yet enslaved, are lumped together; the autocratic system of the state and the feudal system, when Russia was fragmented into many independent semi-states.

In the synopsis, the concepts of "reaction" and "counter-revolution", revolution "in general", bourgeois revolution and bourgeois-democratic revolution are lumped together.

The summary does not give the conditions and origins of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Russia subjugated by tsarism, and thus the October Revolution, as a revolution that liberated these peoples from national oppression, remains unmotivated, just as the creation of the USSR remains unmotivated.

The synopsis is replete with all sorts of well-worn, stereotyped definitions like "the police terror of Nicholas I", "Razinshchina" and "Pugachevshchina", "the offensive of the landlord counter-revolution in the 70s of the XIX century", "the first steps of the industrial revolution", "the first steps of tsarism and the bourgeoisie in the fight



against the revolution of 1905-1907 "and so on. The authors of the synopsis blindly copy the worn-out and completely unscientific definitions of all kinds of bourgeois historians, forgetting that they are obliged to teach our youth Marxist, scientifically based definitions.

The synopsis does not reflect the origin and influence of Western European bourgeois-revolutionary and socialist movements on the formation of the bourgeois revolutionary movement and the proletarian-socialist movement in Russia. The authors of the synopsis apparently forgot that Russian revolutionaries considered themselves disciples and followers of well-known leading figures of bourgeois-revolutionary and Marxist thought in the West.

The outline does not take into account the roots of the first imperialist war and the role of tsarism in this war as a reserve for the Western European imperialist powers, just as it does not take into account the dependent role of both Russian tsarism and Russian capitalism on Western European capital, which is why the significance of the October Revolution as the liberator of Russia from its semi-colonial position remains unmotivated.

The synopsis does not take into account the presence of a general European political crisis before the world war, which was expressed, among other things, in the decline of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, therefore the importance of the Soviets from the point of view of world history as carriers of proletarian democracy and the organs of liberation of workers and peasants from capitalism remains unmotivated.

The summary does not take into account the struggle of trends in the ruling Communist Party of the USSR and the struggle against Trotskyism as a manifestation of the petty-bourgeois counter-revolution.

And so on and so forth.

In general, it must be said that the synopsis was drawn up extremely sloppy and not quite competently from the point of view of Marxism.

We are no longer talking about the inaccurate style of the synopsis and about the game of "catchphrases" like the fact that the False Dmitry was called "Named" by

Dmitry, or like the "triumph of the old feudal lords in the 18th century" (it is not known, however, where and how the "new" feudal lords, if they existed at all at this time), etc.

We consider it necessary to radically revise the synopsis in the spirit of the above provisions, while taking into account that we are talking about creating a textbook where every word and every definition should be weighed, and not about irresponsible journal articles where you can chat about anything and how you want , distracting from the sense of responsibility.

We need a textbook on the history of the USSR, where the history of Great Russia does not break away from the history of other peoples of the USSR - this is, firstly, - and wherever the history of the peoples of the USSR does not break away from the history of European and world history in general - this is secondly.

I. STALIN
A. ZHDANOV
S. KIROV

August 8, 1934
True. January 27, 1936

Tagged [1934](#) , [1936](#) , [history of the USSR](#) , [education](#) , [Stalin](#)

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THE EVE OF REVOLUTION

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CHAPTER I

THE EVE OF REVOLUTION

❖ RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO IMPERIALISM

1. Tsarist Russia in the system of world imperialism
2. Industrial crisis of the early 900s

❖ START OF MASS POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA

1. The political awakening of the working class and the role of Iskra
2. The first political demonstrations in 1900-1901
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❖ FIGHT FOR THE CREATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. Preparation of a new type of party
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1. Bourgeois-liberal opposition
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RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO IMPERIALISM

CZAR RUSSIA IN THE SYSTEM OF WORLD IMPERIALISM

In the late XIX - early XX century, capitalism has finally grown into the highest and last stage of its development - imperialism.

Under imperialism, the concentration of production develops to the maximum, that is, production is concentrated in ever larger enterprises due to the displacement and absorption of small enterprises. The capitalists enter into agreements among themselves concerning the production and sale of goods. Capitalist free competition is replaced by the rule of monopolies.

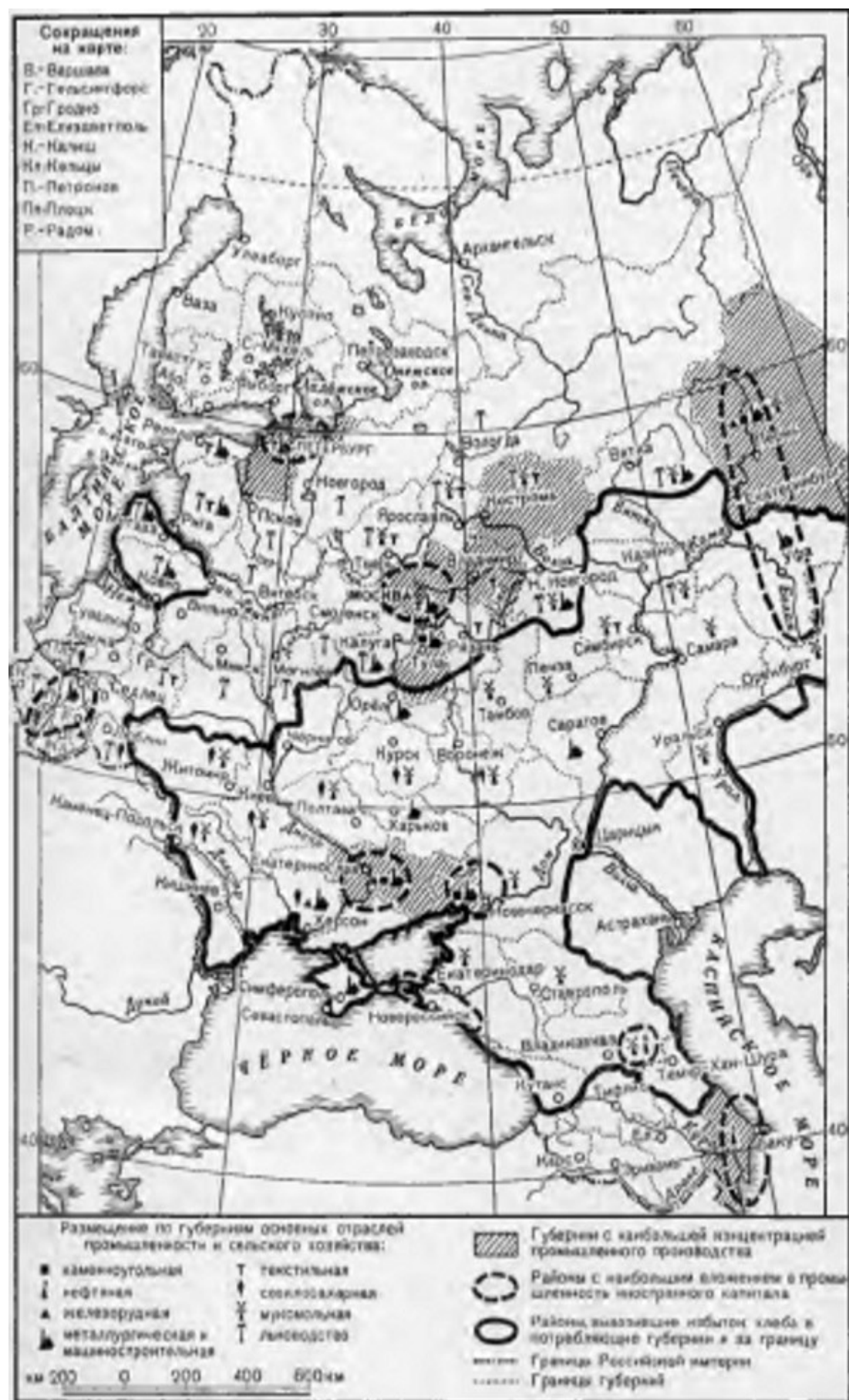
This makes it possible to set high prices for goods and receive super-profits. But

"... monopolies," wrote V. I. Lenin, "growing out of free competition, do not eliminate it, but exist above it and next to it, giving rise to a number of especially sharp and sharp contradictions, frictions, conflicts" (Lenin, Soch. , vol. 22, p. 253).

At the same time, there is a concentration of banks and a centralization of capital, that is, a significant part of capital is concentrated in a few banks. Banks from modest intermediaries in exchange turn into

omnipotent monopolists. Banks use their vast capital to seize industry: they dictate price policies and dominate markets and sources of raw materials. Banking and industrial capital is merging. VI Lenin called this new form of capital finance capital. In the content of this concept, Lenin noted three most important points:

“Concentration of production; the monopolies that grow out of it; the merger or merger of banks with industry — this is the history of the emergence of finance capital and the content of this concept ” (Lenin, Soch., vol. 22, p. 214).



Экономическая карта Европейской России в начале XX века.

Under monopoly capitalism, the export of capital prevails over the export of goods. The need to export capital is explained by the fact that in some countries "surplus" capital, not finding profitable premises within its own country, rushes to other countries. This leads to the economic and political enslavement of the backward countries, to the struggle for new sources of raw materials, for new territories. But by the XX century, the division of the world was completed. In the new era, a struggle has flared up between the imperialist powers for the redivision of the world or, ultimately, for world domination.

Describing the struggle between the imperialist alliances, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Imperialism is the export of capital to sources of raw materials, a frantic struggle for monopoly possession of these sources, a struggle for the redivision of an already divided world, a struggle waged with particular frenzy on the part of new financial groups and powers seeking" a place in the sun "against old groups and powers clinging tenaciously to what they have captured " (Stalin, Soch., vol. 6, pp. 72-73).

Lenin characterized imperialism as decaying or parasitic capitalism. The domination of monopolies retards technological progress and increases the size of the population employed in unproductive labor or living on interest on capital.

The tremendous growth of technology and the gigantic socialization of labor created the material conditions for the replacement of capitalism with a new social system — socialism. Therefore, Lenin wrote that *"imperialism is dying capitalism . "*

Imperialism brings the contradictions of capitalism to extreme limits, which can only be resolved by a proletarian revolution. The contradictions between labor and capital are becoming extremely aggravated. The exploitation takes on such a character that the working class sees the outcome only in the overthrow of the imperialist rule. The contradictions between the imperialist powers are aggravated to such an extent that they lead to imperialist wars. The contradictions between the ruling nations and the colonial and dependent peoples are sharpening to the extreme. The inhuman oppression of the population of the colonies and dependent countries forces the millions of the enslaved population to rise up to fight for independence and freedom.

Capitalism was also developing into imperialism in Russia. But in Russia imperialism was distinguished by its great originality. Lenin and Stalin called it military-feudal imperialism. Imperialism in Russia is characterized by all the features inherent in the imperialist system: an increased concentration of production, the formation of monopolies, the export of capital, the merging of banking capital with industrial capital, the struggle for the division and redivision of the world, an extreme aggravation of contradictions between classes. Military-feudal imperialism in Russia was part of the world imperialist system.

The peculiarity of imperialism in tsarist Russia lay in the fact that Russian imperialism was entangled in a dense network of feudal-serf survivals. Remnants of feudal relations persisted in industry and agriculture. They exerted their influence on the development of classes and on the entire social and state system of Russia in the 20th century.

The concentration of production in Russia was very high, but the technology of enterprises remained backward. By the degree of concentration of production, Russia by the beginning of the XX century. stood in one of the first places in the world. In 1900, the seven largest factories in the south smelted 37.6% of the total production of the iron foundry industry in Russia. The five largest firms in Baku produced 42.6% of all Russian oil. Enterprises with more than a thousand workers by the beginning of the XX century. accounted for 11% of all enterprises in Russia. These factories employed about 50% of all workers in Russia.

The high concentration of industry was facilitated by the development of banks and joint stock companies. By the beginning of the XX century. The 8 largest banks in the country held 55.7% of all banking capital in Russia. Banks controlled 50% of the capital in the metallurgical industry, 60% in the coal and 80% in the electrical industry. There was a merger of banking capital with industrial capital.

Large joint-stock companies also played an important role in industrial life. Trade and part of production were regulated by syndicates. They began to appear in Russia at the end of the 19th century. and were a typical form of monopoly associations of capitalists for it. The Sugar Syndicate has forcibly united all sugar refiners since the beginning of its formation.

Many Russian banks by the beginning of the XX century. were subordinated to Western European banks. French banks in 1901 founded the Northern Bank in Russia. The German bank, the largest in Germany, subordinated the Russian Azov-Don bank to its influence. Western European capitalists imported into Russia and invested in industry and banks about a billion rubles in gold.

In the hands of European capital, such decisive industries as metallurgy, fuel, chemistry, and also some types of transport began to be concentrated.

Cheap labor, high prices on the domestic market for industrial products, the government system of subsidies and patronage provided huge profits for Russian and foreign capital. In 1895-1904. foreign firms exported more than 830 million gold rubles of profits from Russia, which exceeded the import of capital over the same decade.

Foreign financial capital, mainly French, provided tsarism with large loans at that time. By 1903, the external debt of tsarist Russia had reached an enormous sum - 3 billion rubles in gold. The interest alone on these loans had to be paid annually 130 million rubles in gold, which fell a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people. As a result of the increased influx of foreign capital into Russia, Russian tsarism and Russian capitalism fell into semi-colonial dependence on Western European imperialism.

The capitalist monopolies in Russia were closely associated with the tsarist government. They received generous monetary donations from him, and most importantly, under his protection, Russian capitalists had the opportunity of unlimited exploitation of cheap labor. Gradually, Russian finance capital merged with tsarism. Since by that time the whole world had already been divided between the imperialist powers, Russian capitalists could get new markets only through foreign policy adventures and colonial conquests of Russian tsarism.

Therefore, representatives of finance capital in Russia actively supported tsarism, its foreign and domestic policy.

The exploitation of workers and peasants in tsarist Russia reached extreme limits. Taking advantage of the grave need of the peasantry, robbed by the reform of 1861, the landlords retained semi-serf exploitation in the countryside in the form of labor labor. Remnants of serfdom in agriculture hampered the development of the productive forces in the country. Due to the narrowness of the domestic market, Russian landowners and capitalists strove to conquer foreign markets, especially the eastern ones. They seized the best lands on the outskirts and mercilessly exploited the indigenous, non-Russian population. In the interests of Russian industrialists, most of the national outskirts were turned into raw material regions. The natural resources of these outskirts have not been exploited.

Tsarism artificially hindered the development of industry in the outskirts and maintained backward patriarchal-feudal relations.

Inciting national strife and enmity between the peoples inhabiting the outskirts of the empire, tsarism and the bourgeoisie created favorable conditions for the implementation of the policy of colonial plunder.

Describing military feudal imperialism in Russia, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"To begin with, tsarist Russia was a hotbed of all kinds of oppression — capitalist, colonial, and military — taken in its most inhuman and barbaric form. Who does not know that in Russia the omnipotence of capital merged with the despotism of tsarism, the aggressiveness of Russian nationalism with the butchery of tsarism against non-Russian peoples, the exploitation of entire regions - Turkey, Persia, China - with the capture of these regions by tsarism, with a war of conquest? Lenin was right when he said that tsarism is "military feudal imperialism." Tsarism was the focus of the most negative aspects of imperialism, squared off " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, pp. 74-75).

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS OF THE BEGINNING OF THE 900S

Started in the late XIX - early XX century. in Western Europe, the economic crisis soon spread to Russia.

Production began to decline sharply, especially in metallurgy and in the fuel industry: iron smelting, for example, fell from 1900 to 1902 by 16%. The crisis hit with special force the most capitalistically developed regions (Donbass and others), where up to 3 thousand enterprises were closed. Railway construction fell sharply. In 1895-1900. more than 3 thousand miles of railway tracks were built annually, and in 1903 only 453 miles were built.

Only the most powerful enterprises withstood the crisis.

During these years, with the leading participation of foreign finance capital, the largest organizations of monopoly capital were created in Russia. In 1902, the Prodamet syndicate was founded - a company for the sale of products from metallurgical plants, which concentrated control over 80% of the entire metallurgical industry in Russia. The oil industry was dominated by two monopoly groups - "Br. Nobel "and Rothschild. At the same time, a thread syndicate was formed of only two firms that monopolized the Russian market.

In 1904, the Prodvagon syndicate was organized, which monopolized almost the entire sale of wagons in Russia.

Foreign banks bought up the shares of Russian enterprises and banks, which had fallen significantly in price during the crisis, and thus acquired these enterprises as property. This further strengthened the dependence of Russian capitalism on West European imperialism.

During the years of the crisis, the number of workers dropped dramatically. At some factories in Donbass, more than half of the workers were laid off. Increased unemployment worsened working conditions for workers. The entrepreneurs took advantage of the crisis to take away from the workers the concessions they had wrested from the years of the industrial boom. Rates were falling everywhere and working hours were lengthening. Adults. workers were replaced by teenagers and children who were paid two to three times less for the same work. The situation of the workers also worsened as a result of the continuous influx of starving peasants into the cities, who represented cheap labor.



Забастовка. С картины худ. Дроздова.

II

THE START OF A MASS POLITICAL STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ROLE OF ISKRA

The crisis has accelerated the process of political awakening of the working class. The need and lack of rights of the workers, the unlimited arbitrariness of the entrepreneurs, who were always supported by the police, the oppression of the tsarist authorities forced the workers to think about the reasons for their difficult situation and look for a way out of it. Thanks to the agitation of the revolutionary Social Democrats, the workers began to understand that the worst enemy of the people was the autocracy, which supported and encouraged the most brutal exploitation of workers by capitalists. The all-Russian Social-Democratic newspaper Iskra, created by Lenin, played an enormous role in the political education of the working class and in organizing its struggle against the autocracy.



Lenin, while still in exile in Siberia, worked out a plan to publish a proletarian newspaper in order to build a revolutionary Social Democratic Party with its help. Without such a party, the proletariat could not fight for its emancipation. Emphasizing the role of the newspaper in organizing the party, Lenin in his article "[Where to start?](#)", published in Iskra No. 4, wrote:

"A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 10).

In tsarist Russia, it was impossible to legally publish a revolutionary newspaper. Lenin therefore decided to organize its publication abroad, where at that time there were freer conditions for the revolutionary press. In December 1900, the first issue of Iskra was published. The headline of the newspaper was the slogan: "*A spark will kindle a flame*", taken from the response of the Decembrists from hard labor to Pushkin's call to continue the struggle. This slogan was Iskra's promise to carry through to the end the revolutionary struggle of previous generations.

Lenin edited Iskra together with Plekhanov and other Social Democrats. Iskra was printed on thin tissue paper, then secretly transported to Russia and distributed among the advanced workers. For reading Iskra the workers were threatened with prison and exile, but this did not frighten them. The class-conscious workers fell in love with Iskra, which became the leader of their political struggle. Each issue of the newspaper was anticipated with impatience and was read to the holes.

"When you read it," a weaver from St. Petersburg wrote to the Iskra editorial office, *"then it is understandable why the gendarmes and the police are afraid of us, the workers, and those intellectuals whom we follow ... Before, every strike was an event, but now everyone knows that one strike is nothing, now freedom has to be achieved, it must be taken with the breast"* (Iskra, No. 7).

Workers from different cities sent correspondence to Iskra. Among the correspondents of Iskra were IV Babushkin and other progressive workers brought up by Lenin in the social democratic circles of the 1890s.

In early 1901, the first issue of Iskra reached Tiflis (now Tbilisi). At the suggestion of Comrade Stalin, the Tiflis Social-Democratic Committee declared its solidarity with Lenin's Iskra. In September 1901, under the editorship of Comrade Stalin, the first issue of the illegal newspaper Brdzola (Struggle) was published. The newspaper was published in an underground printing house in Baku, organized by Comrade Stalin's associate, Lado Ketskhoveli. Brdzola was the best Iskra newspaper in Russia. Pursuing the political line of Lenin's Iskra, it steadily defended the unity of the Georgian labor movement with the all-Russian one.



Following the Tiflis Committee, other social-democratic committees of Russia began to declare their solidarity with Iskra. Thus, Iskra became an all-Russian political newspaper, which prepared the ideological and organizational cohesion of the party.

FIRST POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS 1900-1901

Under the influence of the industrial crisis and the agitation of the revolutionary Social Democrats, the mass labor movement took a new step forward, moving from economic strikes to political strikes and demonstrations.

The first to go out into the street with red banners and slogans "Down with the autocracy!" workers and students of Kharkov May 1, 1900 The demonstration made a strong impression on workers throughout Russia. After the strike of workers in the railway workshops in Tiflis in

August 1900, Comrade Stalin, in his proclamation, called on the workers for an open revolutionary struggle. The first open revolutionary action of the Tiflis workers was a demonstration organized by Comrade Stalin in April 1901, in which up to 2 thousand workers participated.

In 1901, a wave of May Day demonstrations and strikes swept across the country. Particularly significant were the events at the Obukhovsky military plant (near St. Petersburg - now the Bolshevik plant), which received the name "Obukhovsky defense".



On May 1, 1901, as a result of the agitation of the Social Democrats, at this plant, out of 6 thousand workers, 1,200 people did not go to work. The administration fired the most active and advanced workers. The administration's order triggered a protest strike that began on 7 May. The workers insisted on recruiting the strikers and firing several hated foremen.

The assistant plant manager defiantly stated:

*"Perhaps you will still submit demands for the dismissal of ministers." -
"Not only ministers, but also the tsar!" - the workers answered.*

Police and troops were called to the plant. In order not to miss them, the workers built barricades.

A hail of stones, logs, fragments of iron fell on the soldiers from all sides. Troops and police had to take the factory dormitories by storm. Women took an active part in the defense.

The workers of the neighboring factories joined the Obukhovites. The battle lasted three hours. The military units occupied all the streets and

lanes adjacent to the territory of the plant. 800 workers were arrested, 37 were put on trial. At the trial, the workers made angry denunciations against the autocracy. Several workers were sentenced to hard labor and imprisonment, the rest were expelled from the capital. The massacre of the Obukhovites provoked protests from workers throughout Russia. Assessing the significance of Obukhov Defense as a new form of mass proletarian struggle, V. I. Lenin wrote:

"Street struggle is possible, it is not the position of the fighters that is hopeless, but the position of the government, if it has to deal with the population of not only the factory" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 17).

POLITICAL STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN 1902-1903

The mass workers' movement assumed an increasingly political character. Comrade Stalin was at the head of the political struggle of the workers of Transcaucasia. On the instructions of the Tiflis Committee, he moved to Batum (now Batumi) in 1901 and, settling in a workers' suburb, launched revolutionary work among the Batumi workers.

In Batum, Comrade Stalin organized 11 circles and created a Social Democratic organization. On the night of January 1, 1902, under the guise of greeting the new year, the first Social Democratic conference in Batum was held, which elected the Batumi Committee of the RSDLP.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, in January 1902, the first strikes at the oil refineries were organized in Batum. In early March of the same year, a fire broke out in the warehouse of the Rothschild plant. The workers extinguished it for two days, but the administration refused to pay for these days. Threatening a strike, the workers secured pay. Emboldened by their victory, workers at other factories also went on strike with economic demands.

On the night of March 8, 32 strikers were arrested by the police. On March 9, a demonstration of workers, at the call of Comrade Stalin, marched in columns to the transit barracks, where the arrested were imprisoned, and demanded their release. Soldiers with rifles at the ready barred the



И. В. Сталин в 1902 году.

demonstrators' path. Comrade Stalin addressed the workers with an ardent speech, urging them to resist. At this time, volleys were fired: 15 people were killed, 54 were wounded. The next day, the funeral of the victims of the execution turned into a grandiose political demonstration against tsarism. The police arrested 450 workers and strenuously searched for Comrade Stalin, but the workers hid him. When Comrade Stalin moved from one working apartment to another, the printing house was also transferred, in which fiery Stalinist proclamations were printed to the Batumi workers and Ajarian peasants. Sometimes Comrade Stalin arranged meetings in the cemetery, where his own man was the watchman. Soon, however, it became impossible for him to hide in Batum. Comrade Stalin and his printing house were sheltered in the village of Makhmudia (near Batum) in the attic of his house by an old Abkhazian, a peasant Hashim. Old man Hashim was imbued with deep respect for the young revolutionary and began to help him. Every morning Hashim carried away a large basket of vegetables and fruits, under which lay brochures and proclamations. Old Hashim stood at the factory gates and, wrapping vegetables and fruits in a proclamation, gave them to the workers known to him, who widely distributed leaflets. The mysterious work in Hashim's house attracted the attention of the peasant neighbors, and they came to Comrade Stalin asking what he was doing.

"I am publishing," Comrade Stalin replied, "proclamations in which I write about how hard life is for you and how you need to fix this trouble."

"Okay," the old men told him, "the work you are doing is not for us someone else's business ... Until today, only Hashim hid you ... and now

we will all hide you with your work, as far as we have the strength and skill. "

In April 1902, the police managed to track down and arrest Comrade Stalin. In November 1903, Stalin was exiled to the village of Novaya Uda, Irkutsk province, but after two months he fled from exile. In February 1904, Stalin again worked in the Caucasus, first in Batum and then in Tiflis.

The political struggle of the proletariat in 1902-1903 took on wide dimensions in other cities of Russia. In May 1902, a demonstration took place in Sormovo, near Nizhny Novgorod (now Gorky).

The demonstrators were put on trial. At the trial, the workers' standard bearer Zalomov made a passionate speech about the situation of the workers, in which he called for a struggle against the autocracy. This speech was illegally published. The demonstration in Sormovo is described in Gorky 's novel [Mother](#) , in which Zalomov is shown under the name of Pavel.

An important role in the political education of the working class was played by the strike of railway workers of the main workshops of the Vladikavkaz railway in 1902 in Rostov-on-Don, which turned into the first general strike of the city workers in Russia. The position of the railway workers was very difficult.

All workers, even those who worked for over 20 years, were considered day laborers. According to tsarist laws, they could be dismissed at any time without warning. The payment of wages, already low, was systematically delayed. At the beginning of November 1902, four thousand workers of railway workshops presented to the administration demands, drawn up by the Don Committee of the RSDLP, to establish a 9-hour working day and to raise wages by 30%. After the administration refused to comply with these demands, the workers went on strike. Workers from other enterprises joined the striking railroad workers. Up to 30,000 workers took part in the strike. Under the leadership of the Don Party Committee, rallies were organized in the balka, outside the city, at which Social Democratic orators spoke. Social-Democratic proclamations were read aloud here. For the first time in the history of Russia, the free speech of the Social Democrats about the tasks of the working class was openly distributed at meetings. The workers were staunch and orderly. When, at one of the meetings, the gendarme colonel ordered the workers to disperse, the speaker addressed the workers: "*Are we going to obey these orders?*" - "*No, we won't!*" The workers shouted in unison.

"Well, then stay where you are and we will continue our conversations . " The rally continued. The authorities, at a loss before the organized resistance of the workers, summoned the Cossacks from the nearby villages. But when the Cossacks made an attempt to disperse the meeting, the assembled workers with their wives and children lay down on the ground. The horses did not go to the lying people, and the Cossacks were forced to retreat.

A few days later, during a rally, soldiers killed and wounded several workers. Outraged by the massacre, the workers turned the funeral of

their murdered comrades into a revolutionary demonstration. Only by gathering troops from neighboring cities, the authorities strangled the strike. The police arrested and expelled many of the foremost workers from Rostov.

The Rostov strike, which grew into a political demonstration, was of tremendous importance for raising the class consciousness of the workers.

"The proletariat," wrote Lenin, *"for the first time opposes itself, as a class, to all other classes and to the tsarist government"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 119).

The workers, from their own experience, came to the conclusion that an armed struggle against tsarism was necessary.

The workers were also drawn to this conclusion by the general strike in Transcaucasia and the Ukraine in the summer of 1903. At the end of May 1903, an economic strike of oil workers broke out in Baku. They were joined by workers of mechanical enterprises and railway depots. In June, 45,000 workers took part in the strike, and it became general. Even bakeries, shoemakers and tailors' workshops went on strike, shops did not work, and newspapers did not appear.

The workers demanded an 8-hour day and higher wages. The Baku Social Democratic Committee led the strikes. At the rallies, political speeches were made and proclamations were distributed. Since there were few troops in Baku, the entrepreneurs made a maneuver and agreed to fulfill the demands of the workers. But as soon as the troops arrived, the capitalists withdrew their concessions. The Caucasian Party Committee called on the workers of Tiflis and other cities to support the demands of the Bakuvians with a solidarity strike. On July 14, a general strike began in Tiflis, which lasted 10 days. Soon it covered all the industrial centers of the Caucasus. More than 100 thousand workers went on strike. In a number of places there were clashes with the Cossacks and the police. At the Mikhailovo (now Stalinisi) station, workers who tried to stop the train were shot by a military team.

The bloody massacre of the workers provoked new protest strikes.

The general strike spread to the Ukraine - to Odessa, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav (now Dnepropetrovsk). Noting the characteristic features of the general strike of 1903, Lenin wrote:

"Strikes cover an entire region, more than a hundred thousand workers participate in them, mass political meetings are repeated during strikes in a number of cities. One feels that we are on the eve of the barricades ... "

(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 119).

The labor movement has awakened other sections of the population as well. Since 1899 student riots and strikes have been repeated every year. At meetings, students put forward political demands. The Minister of Education Bogolepov issued "provisional rules" on the surrender of participants in student unrest as soldiers.

However, despite the repression, the student movement grew. Following the example of the workers, students and the radical intelligentsia staged

a demonstration in St. Petersburg in 1901 at the Kazan Cathedral. The demonstrators were severely beaten by the police. In 1901 - 1902. a general strike in all higher educational institutions involved 30 thousand students.



“The promise of more or less broad reforms, a real readiness to carry out a tiny part of the promise and the demand for this to renounce the political struggle — this is the essence of Zubatovism,” wrote V. I. Lenin (Poln. Sobr. Soch., 5th ed., vol. 7, p. 37).



ZUBATOVSHCHINA

By repression alone, tsarism no longer hoped to cope with the working class. Frightened by the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, tsarism tried, with the help of workers' organizations set up by the police, to suspend the mass labor movement. Speculating on the economic needs of the workers, the agents of the head of the Moscow security department, Zubatov, gathered the workers and said that the tsar would support their peaceful economic demands if they did not go on strikes and abandon the political struggle.

Zubatovskie societies were opened in Moscow, Minsk and Odessa. In Moscow, the Zubatovites succeeded in 1902, on the anniversary of February 19, 1861, to organize a monarchist manifestation of workers at the monument to Alexander II. But Zubatov's provocation soon collapsed. The revolutionary Social Democrats-Leninists exposed the police character of the Zubatov organizations.

The workers, presenting economic demands to the entrepreneurs, went on strike despite the resistance of the Zubatovites. Fearing of losing influence over the workers, Zubatov, with the help of the police, forced

the manufacturers to make some concessions to the workers. This began to irritate Moscow breeders, who protested against Zubatov's activities. One of them, the Frenchman Goujon, complained to the French ambassador that Zubatov was supporting the strike at his factory. The ambassador stood up for Goujon, protesting the activities of the Zubatovites before the Russian government. The Zubatov organizations in Moscow were soon closed.

An attempt by the tsarist secret police to subjugate the workers' movement failed. The tsarist government was unable to cope with such measures with the growing labor movement. The growing revolutionary movement of the working class swept the Zubatov police organizations out of its way.

The failure of Zubatovism was especially clearly revealed during the general strike of 1903 in Odessa. Here the economic strike, prepared with the participation of the Zubatovites, turned into a political one. Even the most backward workers became convinced of the police, provocative nature of the Zubatov organizations and began to go over to the side of social democracy. Interior Minister Plehve hastened to shut down these organizations. The main reason for the liquidation of the Zubatov organizations was the growth of the labor movement, which could not be stopped by a dam in the form of Zubatovism.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN 1902

The revolutionary struggle of the workers also had an impact on the peasantry, whose discontent continued to grow. The main reason for this dissatisfaction was that the peasants, whose landowners had cut off the best part of their land during the "liberation", were forced to rent the landlord's land for "working off" or for half the harvest. As before, the largest landowners' estates - the latifundia - hindered the development of the peasant economy,

"... the essence of the matter," wrote Lenin, *" is that at one pole of Russian land tenure we have 1,072 million households (about 50 million of the population) with 75 million acres of land, and at the other pole, thirty thousand families (about 150 thousand population) from 70 million acres of land "* (Lenin, Soch., vol. 15, p. 63).

Thus, on average, there were 7 dessiatines per peasant family, and 2,333 dessiatines per noble latifundia, that is, 333 times more. Exploitation in the old form of serfdom crushed the peasants and ruined them. After the terrible famine of 1891-1892. peasants before 1900 survived three more hungry and two close to hungry years. In the autumn and winter of 1901-1902. the hunger was repeated. The kulaks used the peasants' need to enslave the poor. They seized almost half of the peasant crops into their own hands.

Due to the growth of the peasant population, the land allotment of peasants by the beginning of the 20th century. decreased by half. The

land needs of the peasants grew and forced them to rent landlord and kulak lands at very high prices. In some places, land rental prices were higher than land income, as rental prices rose and incomes, especially in lean years, fell.

The impoverishment of the bulk of the peasants grew. This affected the growth of arrears. In some counties, the peasants did not pay taxes for 3-4 years. The ruined and impoverished peasants began to fight for the abolition of landlord ownership.

Large peasant disturbances took place in the spring of 1902 in the Ukraine - in the Kharkov and Poltava provinces. In these provinces, the peasants suffered especially badly from land shortages. In Poltava region by the beginning of the XX century. the peasant allotment was reduced to one tithe, while the landowners owned up to 60% of the entire land. The industrial crisis further exacerbated the needs of the peasants, depriving them of the opportunity to find work in the cities. The rebellious peasants appeared in the landowners' economy and divided bread and cattle among themselves. The peasants killed landowners, burned buildings and other property.

Troops were sent against the peasants. After the general flogging of the rebels, many peasants were put on trial and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. The peasants were fined 800 thousand rubles in favor of the landlords. Despite the harsh reprisals against the peasants in the Ukraine, the revolutionary movement of the peasantry spread to other provinces. The most significant disturbances took place in the Saratov province. Here the peasants fought against the landowners by setting fires to estates, waste, felling, burning ripe landlord grain, etc. Peasant unrest also took place in the Tambov, Voronezh, Yekaterinoslav provinces and in the Caucasus.

The peasant movement in Guria in 1903 was especially massive and militant, where, under the influence of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks, it assumed an organized political character. The peasants refused to give the landowner half of the harvest for the land and to pay money for the maintenance of the clergy. The peasants did not pay taxes, did not recognize the tsarist officials, and in an organized way refused to work. To help the landowners of Transcaucasia, the tsarist government sent Cossacks, who cruelly dealt with the peasants, and expelled the peasants to Siberia.

But on the whole, the peasant uprising of 1902 has not yet assumed the character of an organized mass movement. Lenin explained the reasons for his failure this way:

"The peasant uprising was suppressed because it was an uprising of a dark, unconscious masses, an uprising without definite, clear political demands, that is, without a demand to change the state order. The peasant uprising was suppressed because it was unprepared. The peasant uprising was suppressed because the village proletarians did not yet have an alliance with the urban proletarians. Here are three reasons for the first peasant failure "

(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 6, pp. 385-386).

Lenin spoke about the situation of the peasantry in Russia in the pamphlet *To the Village Poor*. Lenin called on the peasants to wage a decisive struggle under the leadership of the workers against the tsar and the landlords.

III

FIGHT FOR THE CREATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT



PREPARATION OF A NEW TYPE LOT

The era of imperialism revealed the complete inability of the old social democratic parties in Western Europe to organize workers to fight for the proletarian revolution. Therefore, Lenin and his supporters began a struggle to build a party of a new type. Critically summarizing the entire cultural and ideological heritage of mankind, the great luminary of science

V. I. Lenin creatively developed Marxist theory in relation to the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat in the era of imperialism. Russia became the birthplace of the greatest liberation doctrine - Leninism, and the leader of the Russian communists, V.I.Lenin - its creator.

The new party, which was created by Lenin and Stalin with their closest associates, was armed with Marxism-Leninism - the most advanced revolutionary theory.

Lenin developed the plan for building a party of a new type in his brilliant work [What Is to Be Done?](#)... Lenin demanded that the core of the party should consist of professional revolutionaries, for whom party work would be their main profession. Under the conditions of tsarism, the party could only be strictly conspiratorial, but at the same time it should not be torn away from the working class, of which it is the vanguard. Party members must be united ideologically and organizationally. They must unanimously defend Marxist theory, defend the party's program and tactics, actively participate in the work of the party organization, and observe party discipline. Lenin pointed out that the Marxist party is faced with the task of uniting socialism with the workers' movement. Only by spreading the great teaching of Marx among the working class do Lenin and Stalin teach,

On the pages of Iskra and in What Is To Be Done? Lenin defeated the "economists" who argued that the workers should only wage the economic struggle, and the political one should be waged by the liberal bourgeoisie. Lenin showed that to renounce the political struggle against tsarism and confine oneself to only one economic struggle means disarming and betraying the working class, condemning it to eternal slavery. Lenin showed the ideological origins of opportunism (compromise with the bourgeoisie) and emphasized the enormous importance of the party as the leading force in the workers' movement. Lenin's work at Iskra prepared all the conditions necessary to create a party of a new type with a clear program, firm tactics, and a united will.

II Congress of the RSDLP

Back in 1898, the I Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) was held in Minsk. But the Central Committee elected at this congress was soon arrested. The congress failed to unite separate Marxist circles and create a party. Lenin set this task to Iskra. A close-knit organization of professional revolutionaries was formed around the newspaper Iskra. Lenin and Stalin were their leaders. Iskra's agents were N.E. Bauman, I.V. Babushkin and others. Having rallied around itself the majority of the Social Democratic committees in Russia, the Iskra organization set about preparing for the Second Party Congress. The congress took place in July - August 1903 abroad (in Brussels, then in London).

The congress adopted the party program proposed by Iskra.

“This program consisted of two parts - a maximum program and a minimum program. The maximum program spoke about the main task of the party of the working class - the socialist revolution, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The minimum program spoke about the immediate tasks of the party, carried out even before the overthrow of the capitalist system, before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy, the establishment of a democratic republic, the introduction of an 8-hour working day for the workers, the destruction of all remnants of serfdom in the countryside, the return to the peasants they have landowners of lands ("sections"),

Subsequently, the Bolsheviks replaced the demand for the return of the “cut-off areas” with the demand for the confiscation of all the landlords' land.

The program adopted at the Second Congress was the revolutionary program of the party of the working class " (History of the CPSU (B.). A Short Course", p. 40).

The opportunists came out against the program, especially against its demand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but Lenin dealt them a crushing blow. The opportunists also objected to the inclusion of demands on the peasant question in the program, but did not find support at the congress.

The sharpest disagreements at the congress developed over the wording of the first paragraph of the party rules. Lenin proposed to formulate the first clause of the charter on party membership as follows:

"Anyone who recognizes its program and supports the party both by material means and by personal participation in one of the party organizations is considered a party member."

The formulation of the opportunist Martov required only the recognition of the program and material support of the party, not considering participation in one of the party organizations obligatory. Martov's formulation, in contrast to Lenin's formulation, opened the door to the party for unstable, non-proletarian elements. Fighting against the dissolution of the party in a petty-bourgeois environment, the Leninists set tough demands on those who wanted to be a party member.

The congress, by a majority of 28 votes to 22, with one abstention, adopted the first paragraph of the charter in the formulation of Martov.

Evaluating the essence of the struggle that Lenin waged for the formulation of the first paragraph of the charter proposed by him, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"With their wording about party membership, the Bolsheviks wanted to create an organizational bridle against the influx of non-proletarian elements into the party."

(Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 89).

The Leninists stood for a militant revolutionary proletarian party; The Martovites are in favor of a petty-bourgeois opportunist party.

In elections to the central institutions of the party, Lenin's supporters, having received a majority, won and began to be called Bolsheviks from that time. The opportunist Martovites got a minority. They began to be called Mensheviks. The Mensheviks reflected the interests of the non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois strata.

Summing up the results of the work of the II Congress, one can come to the following conclusions:

"1) The Congress consolidated the victory of Marxism over“ Economism, ”over open opportunism;

2) The congress adopted the program and charter, created the Social Democratic Party and thus built a framework for a single party

3) The congress revealed the existence of serious organizational differences that divided the party into two parts, into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, of which the former defend the organizational principles of revolutionary Social Democracy, while the latter are rolling into the swamp of organizational vagueness, into the swamp of opportunism;

4) The congress showed that the place of the old opportunists, already defeated by the party, the place of "economists" —the new opportunists — the Mensheviks — are beginning to take over in the party;

5) The congress ... nevertheless failed not only to expose the opportunism of the Mensheviks in organizational matters and to isolate them in the party, but even to pose a similar task to the party " (History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course, pp. 42-43)

This last circumstance was one of the main reasons why the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks after the congress intensified even more.

Fighting against the attempts of the Mensheviks to return the Party to the old path of handicraft and circle politics, Lenin wrote the wonderful book [One Step Forward, Two Steps Back](#) . In this work, Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxism, developed the doctrine of the Marxist party as the main weapon of the proletariat in its struggle for the proletarian revolution.

IV

TSARISM AND BOURGEOIS ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

BOURGEOIS-LIBERAL OPPOSITION

Mass movement of the proletariat and peasantry at the beginning of the XX century. contributed to the awakening of the political activity of bourgeois liberals and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

The strongholds of the liberal landowners were zemstvo councils, which were in charge of purely local affairs of the rural population.

The liberal landowners-Zemstvo people were associated with the liberal bourgeoisie and almost merged with them, because they themselves began to conduct capitalist agriculture. In Russia, political groups of the liberal bourgeoisie began to emerge, united in January 1904 into the "Union of Liberation". Osvobozhdeniye believed that the goal of their organization was the achievement of a constitutional-monarchical system in the country. The workers and peasants who fought for their economic and political liberation were reproached by the liberals for "class egoism." They explained the poverty of the peasantry and the agrarian movement by the "ignorance of the peasants". Opposing the revolution, the bourgeois liberals wanted to achieve a monarchist constitution by peaceful means.

In the pages of Iskra, Lenin tirelessly castigated the betrayal and cowardice of the bourgeois-liberal opposition.

At the beginning of the XX century. Under the influence of the peasant movement, Narodnik organizations began to revive among a part of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. In 1902, these groups united into the party of socialist-revolutionaries - for abbreviated Socialist Revolutionaries (SR). The Socialist-Revolutionary Party resumed individual terror against the tsarist ministers. In April 1902, the Minister of the Interior Sipyagin was killed. The new Minister of the Interior was the extreme reactionary Plehve, who had been in charge of the secret political police for many years. The terror of the SRs, especially in the context of the unfolding mass struggle, brought enormous harm to the revolutionary movement. At the head of the militant organization of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party was Azef, as it turned out later, a provocateur who subordinated all the terrorist activities of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party to the instructions and interests of the tsarist secret police.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party called itself a socialist party and claimed to defend the interests of a single "working people", not separating the

poor from the kulaks in the peasantry. The SRs were not really socialists, but the left wing of bourgeois democracy. The bourgeois liberals secretly supported the terrorist activities of the Social Revolutionaries and supplied them with funds.

In 1902, Lenin wrote about the Socialist-Revolutionary Party as a party of "revolutionary adventurism" that stood apart from the workers' movement. Lenin further pointed out that

"Without a working people, all sorts of bombs are obviously powerless." Everything that was erroneous in the theory and practice of the former populists was taken up by the Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP, in its resolution on the Social Revolutionaries, wrote that "it considers their activity harmful not only for the political development of the proletariat, but also for the general democratic struggle against absolutism."

Tsarism in the fight against the national liberation movement

Under the influence of the development of capitalism and the class struggle of the proletariat in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, oppressed nationalities, constituting 57% of the total population of Russia, began to awaken to an active political life.

Tsarism brutally suppressed the rising national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Russia: by the beginning of the 20th century, national oppression intensified even more, the remnants of cultural institutions were destroyed, teaching in the native language was prohibited in schools, and national organizations of non-Russian peoples were persecuted.



Describing the colonial policy of tsarism, Comrade Stalin writes:

"Tsarism deliberately cultivated patriarchal-feudal oppression on the outskirts in order to keep the masses in slavery and ignorance. Tsarism deliberately populated the best corners of the outskirts with colonialist elements in order to push the local national masses into the worst regions and intensify ethnic strife. Tsarism embarrassed and sometimes simply abolished the local school, theater, educational institutions in order to keep the masses in the dark. Tsarism suppressed any initiative of the best people of the local population. Finally, tsarism killed all activity of the popular masses of the outskirts "

(Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 356).

In all ethnic regions, the tsarist government pursued a policy of forced Russification. This policy manifested itself especially clearly in the field of public education. In the Caucasus at the end of the XIX century. there was one school for 300 Russians, 4,800 Georgians, 5,400 Armenians, and 17,300 Azerbaijanis. Primary school teaching was conducted only in Russian. There were villages where the entire population was illiterate. There were no higher educational institutions in the Caucasus. In order to suppress the national liberation movement, tsarism pitted one people against another. In Transcaucasia, the tsarist police systematically incited ethnic strife between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Plehve, the Minister of the Interior, was the direct inspiration for the bloody Jewish pogroms. In April 1903, the police organized a terrible Jewish pogrom in Chisinau. This crime of tsarism provoked a sharp protest from all progressive mankind.

Autonomy was destroyed in Finland. According to the law of 1901, the Finnish national military units were abolished. Russian officials were appointed to all positions, pursuing a policy of Russification. In the struggle against the national liberation movement of the Finnish people, tsarism relied on local landowners-feudal lords - the Finns and Swedes.

The Bolsheviks led the revolutionary struggle of the working masses of all the oppressed peoples of Tsarist Russia and demanded the complete destruction of all national oppression. They put forward the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, up to separation from tsarist Russia, up to the formation of an independent state.

The Bolsheviks tirelessly pointed out that real national liberation of the oppressed peoples could be achieved only as a result of the overthrow of tsarism and the abolition of the rule of the landowners and capitalists. Therefore, they called upon the working people of all the peoples of Russia to unite their forces around the Russian proletariat as the vanguard fighter and leader of the revolutionary struggle of all multinational Russia. Lenin and Stalin exposed the attempts of the nationalist parties to divert the working people of the oppressed nationalities from the joint struggle with the Russian people for democracy and socialism.

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RUSSIAN-JAPANESE WAR AND FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1904-1907)

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Chapter II

RUSSIAN-JAPANESE WAR AND FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1904-1907)

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RUSSIAN-JAPANESE WAR

PREPARATIONS FOR THE RUSSIAN-JAPANESE WAR



The development of imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries caused a sharp exacerbation of the struggle between the imperialist states for the redivision of the world. The struggle for domination in the Pacific Ocean and for the partition of China, whose territory had not yet been seized by the imperialists, became especially acute. Russian tsarism, which collided with Japanese imperialism in Manchuria, also took part in this struggle. The construction of the Siberian railway, which would significantly strengthen Russia's position in the Far East, prompted Japanese imperialism to hasten to carry out its long-planned armed seizures at the expense of China.

In the Japanese-Chinese War of 1894-1895, China was defeated. Japan imposed on him in 1895 the Shimonoseki Peace Treaty, which obliges him to pay a huge indemnity, transfer to Japan's ownership the entire southern coast of Manchuria, with the Liaodong Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Korea. At the same time, Japan seized the island of Formosa (Taiwan) from China.

Japanese imperialism posed an immediate threat to Russia's Far Eastern possessions. Therefore, with the support of Germany and France, she forced Japan to

change these enslaving conditions of peace with China. Under the new conditions, the Manchu territory with the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur, as well as Korea, remained in the same position - under the rule of China. In 1896, the tsarist minister Witte concluded an agreement with China for the construction of the Sino-Eastern railway through Northern Manchuria to shorten the route to Vladivostok.

In 1898, tsarist Russia acquired the Liaodong Peninsula with Port Arthur on lease and, as a result, received access to the Chinese Sea. A hasty construction of a railway began from Harbin through southern Manchuria to Port Arthur.

The imperialists have intensified their aggression against China. Germany occupied the port of Qiao Chao. England occupied the port of Wei-Hi-Wei with its military forces. France at the expense of China has rounded up its Indo-Chinese possessions. The United States of America demanded "open doors" (that is, equal rights to freedom of exploitation) in China for all capitalist countries.

The systematic plundering of China by the imperialist states provoked a massive popular uprising against foreign invaders in 1900, known as the "boxing" or "*big fist*" uprising The united troops of the imperialists, including the tsarist ones, took up arms against the insurgents, captured Beijing and defeated it. When the boxing uprising was suppressed, the tsarist troops occupied all of Manchuria under the pretext of guarding the Sino-East Railway. Adventurers from the inner circle of Nicholas II founded a forest concession on the Korean Yalu River, bordering with Manchuria. Interested in their concession enterprises in the Far East, the reactionary circles of tsarist Russia opposed the evacuation of Russian troops from Manchuria and considered a war with Japan desirable. Port Arthur was turned into a naval fortress for the Pacific Fleet, for the construction of which 90 million rubles were allocated in 1899.

For Russian tsarism, war was also a means to divert the attention of workers and peasants from their true enemies - the landlords and capitalists.

"A small victorious war is needed to prevent a revolution in Russia ," Plehve said.

At the same time, Japan was actively preparing for war, which concluded in 1902 a military alliance with Britain against Russia. Imperialist Japan sought not only to oust Tsarist Russia from Korea and Manchuria, but also to seize Sakhalin and the entire Russian Far East.

THE BEGINNING AND PROGRESS OF THE WAR

Tsarist Russia was not prepared for a war with Japan. The construction of the Siberian railway was not completed. Vladivostok and Port Arthur were poorly fortified. The bases for the Pacific Fleet were not equipped. Japan decided to take advantage of Russia's unpreparedness for war and strike it with a surprise blow. The spies delivered to the Japanese command an exact plan for the location of the Russian warships in Port Arthur. On the night of January 27, 1904, when the entire command staff of the Russian fleet was at the birthday of the wife of the commander of the fleet, Admiral Stark, the Japanese destroyers, without declaring war, thieves, with extinguished fires, attacked the squadron on the outer roadstead of Port Arthur and blew up three of the best Russian warships: battleships Retvizan and Tsarevich and the cruiser Pallada.

On the morning of January 27, the Japanese bombarded Port Arthur from the sea and damaged four more warships. On the same day, a Japanese cruising squadron damaged two Russian warships trying to break through from the Korean harbor of

Chemulpo into the open sea. Despite heavy damage, both ships - the cruiser Varyag and the gunboat Koreets - entered into an unequal battle with the Japanese squadron. In view of the obvious superiority of the forces of the Japanese squadron, the teams of the Varyag and Koreets, after a heroic struggle, sank their ships themselves.

By weakening the Russian fleet with a treacherous attack, Japan secured supremacy at sea.

Japan is well prepared for the war. She received loans from the United States and England. German instructors helped train the Japanese army. The Japanese army was armed with machine guns and rifles of the German type, as well as field and mountain artillery and siege weapons of large calibers.

Military operations on land did not begin immediately. The main task of Japan was the destruction of the Russian fleet and the complete mastery of sea routes. Therefore, she sought to separate the Vladivostok and Port Arthur squadrons and to a complete blockade of Port Arthur. The Russian command at this time was slowly gathering forces in Manchuria. It was long and difficult to transfer troops, ammunition and food for many thousands of kilometers along the Great Siberian Route. At Lake Baikal, the railway line was interrupted, goods and people had to be transferred by boats or icebreakers. Russian four-wheeled carriages got stuck on the poor roads of Manchuria.

The army was not supplied with mountain guns and grenades, there was a shortage of machine guns, rifles, and shells. Telegraph and telephone communications were not established.

From the very beginning of the war, tsarist Russia began to suffer one defeat after another. The commander of the land army, General Kuropatkin, was an indecisive and not very active person. Instead of taking up the preparation of offensive actions, he brought several carriages of small icons to the front, which he distributed to the soldiers "to cheer up." At the same time, there were not enough shells for waging war. The commander of one of the armies, General Grippenbergh, after an unsuccessful battle fled from the army to St. Petersburg. Other generals only cared about their own welfare. General Stackelberg at the front mainly thought about his comfort, he drove a cow in a separate carriage to drink morning coffee with fresh cream. The officers were no better, about which Commander-in-Chief Kuropatkin wrote:

"The mass of officers is burdened by the war, and many, even in high ranks, try to pretend to be sick and go to the rear."

Speaking of soldiers, Kuropatkin was forced to admit that "war is alien to them." In the army, embezzlement, theft, corruption flourished. All this made the war extremely unpopular.

After the first battles, the Russian Ekadra was locked in Port Arthur's harbor, as Japanese warships blocked it from the sea. Another small cruising squadron was at this time in Vladivostok and was cut off from Port Arthur.

Vice-Admiral S.O. Makarov was appointed Commander of the Pacific Fleet. He was a talented and educated naval commander. The son of a sailor, Makarov has advanced thanks to his outstanding military ability, knowledge and energy. Makarov personally led the defense of Port Arthur and began to prepare the squadron for a decisive battle with the Japanese. But on March 31, 1904, at the very beginning of the battle, he died on his flagship battleship "Petropavlovsk", having stumbled upon a mine. The famous battle-painter V.V. Vereshchagin also died at Petropavlovsk.

In April 1904, in a battle on the river. A detachment of 20 thousand men was defeated near Yalu near Tyurenchen, blocking the Japanese access to Manchuria. In May, the Japanese cut off communications between Port Arthur and Manchuria. Port Arthur was blocked by land and sea. An 80,000-strong Japanese army acted against Port Arthur. Another Japanese army was advancing north into Manchuria. In July

1904, the Russian fleet, locked in Port Arthur, left the blockaded fortress and engaged the Japanese fleet in an attempt to break through to Vladivostok. At first, the battle went in favor of the Russians, but due to the large superiority of the Japanese forces, some of the ships returned to Port Arthur, and those who broke through went to neutral ports.

In August 1904, battles took place near Liaoyang for several days. The soldiers repelled all the furious Japanese attacks on the main Liaoyang position. The Japanese command was already preparing to retreat south. At this time, Kuropatkin, who received a false report that the Japanese were outflanking the Russian left flank, began to retreat himself, although he had two fresh corps in reserve, and the Japanese had already exhausted all their reserves.

In September - October 1904, the second major battle took place - at the Shahe River, which lasted about two weeks. Russian soldiers held positions in their hands, but this time the command did not use the situation for victory.

Port Arthur resisted for 11 months. The defenders of Port Arthur inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese during the siege of the fortress - about 130 thousand people killed and wounded. The Japanese fleet also suffered considerable losses from the fire of the Russian coastal artillery and from mines.

And during this war, Russian soldiers and sailors showed heroism and high fighting qualities. For example, the fact is known when the Russian destroyer "Guarding" in February 1904 fought against the four Japanese destroyers and cruisers that surrounded it and sank one enemy ship. The crew of the "Guarding" refused the offer to surrender. When the Japanese tried to seize the destroyer by force, two sailors, whose names remained unknown, ran into the hold and, opening the kingstones, sank the ship so that the enemy would not get it. A monument was erected to these two heroes-sailors of the "Guarding" later in St. Petersburg. Soldiers and sailors performed many feats in the battle at Shahe, in the battles at Liaoyang and Mukden, in the defense of Port Arthur. But the mediocre command nullified the heroic efforts of the army and navy. December 20, 1904



VALUE OF FALLING PORT ARTHUR

The fall of Port Arthur was the largest military defeat of tsarism, as a result of which tsarist Russia lost its Pacific fleet. In the rear and in the army, Japanese spies and saboteurs were operating.

In the article "The Fall of Port Arthur", published on January 1, 1905, Lenin summed up the military and political collapse of tsarism:

"The fleet, the fortress, the field fortifications, and the land army turned out to be backward and useless.

The connection between the military organization of the country and its entire economic and cultural stand has never been as close as at the present time " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 36).

Lenin concluded that the military collapse of Russia should be the beginning of a revolutionary crisis in the country, that

"... the capitulation of Port Arthur is the prologue to the capitulation of tsarism." Lenin put the further development of the revolution in direct connection with the defeat of tsarism. "The cause of Russian freedom and the struggle of the Russian (and world) proletariat for socialism depends very much on the military defeats of the autocracy" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 37).

Lenin called on the revolutionary proletariat to fight tirelessly against the war.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks stood for the defeat of the tsarist government in this predatory and shameful war, since they believed that defeat would facilitate the victory of the revolution over tsarism.

In one of his proclamations against the war, Comrade Stalin wrote about the need for defeat:

"We wish this war for the Russian autocracy was more deplorable than the Crimean War ... Then serfdom fell, but now, as a result of this war, we will bury the native child of serfdom - the autocracy with its stinking secret police and gendarmes!" (Beria, On the question of the history of Bolshevik organizations in Transcaucasia, ed. 8, p. 59).

TSUSIMA

Even before the fall of Port Arthur, the Baltic Fleet was sent to the Far East by a long way, skirting Africa.

"The Great Armada," Lenin wrote in his article "The Defeat," "is just as huge, just as cumbersome, absurd, powerless, monstrous as the entire Russian Empire," set off on its way, spending enormous money on coal, on maintenance, causing general ridicule Europe ... " (Lenin, Works, vol. 8, p. 448).



The "Great Armada" was destroyed by the Japanese fleet on May 14, 1905 (on the anniversary of the coronation of Nicholas II) in a battle near Tsushima Island, in the Tsushima Strait.

In the unequal battle of Tsushima, similar to the massacre, the sailors fought bravely and courageously. The outdated cruiser "Dmitry Donskoy" staunchly fought off ten of the newest Japanese cruisers attacking it and knocked out two of them. On the offer to surrender, the Russian cruiser refused and, showered the enemies with shells, proudly died in the depths of the sea. The defeat at Tsushima meant a military catastrophe for tsarism.

REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN THE COUNTRY BEFORE 1905

The Russo-Japanese War sharply worsened the economic situation in Russia. The war required enormous funds, the source of which was enslaving foreign loans and increased indirect taxes. Therefore, life became very expensive. The mobilization of reserve soldiers in the army hit the peasant economy, taking away its labor force.

The crisis has intensified, especially in the textile industry.

The capitalists cut wages. Strikes became more frequent. The growth of the workers' movement and the defeat of tsarism in the Far East revived the opposition sentiments of the liberal bourgeoisie, who, moreover, feared that the government would not cope with the growing workers and peasants' movement. In 1904, Finnish nationalists killed the Finnish dictator Bobrikov.

In July of the same year Plehve was killed by the Social Revolutionaries. After the defeat at Liaoyang, tsarism tried to win over moderate liberals, especially the

Zemstvo people, to its side. The government allowed to convene a zemstvo congress in November 1904, but soon canceled the permission. Instead of the congress, a "private meeting" of the Zemstvo people took place. The majority of the participants in the meeting spoke in favor of the legislative rights of the future Russian parliament, a minority - for the legislative ones. The zemtsy hoped that the tsar would convene representatives of the zemstvos and city councils, who would make up the parliament.

The Zemstvo liberals and the bourgeois intelligentsia began to arrange banquets at which, over a glass of champagne, they expressed timid wishes for political rights. The Mensheviks supported these political banquets, while the Bolsheviks exposed the betrayal of the liberals and the compromise of the Mensheviks. Lenin, in his pamphlet *The Zems kaya Campaign and the Iskra Plan*, pointed out that the main task of the proletariat is not to influence the liberals, but to prepare a decisive battle against tsarism. Lenin called on the workers to arm themselves and prepare for an uprising.

In November - December 1904, the Bolsheviks organized street demonstrations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov and other cities under the slogans: "*Down with autocracy!*", "*Down with war!*" ...

At this time, the Bolsheviks of Transcaucasia, headed by Comrade Stalin, launched a great deal of work. In December 1904, Comrade Stalin and Dzhaparidze led a gigantic strike of oil workers in Baku. The strike began on December 13, 1904 and continued until the end of the month. It covered 8,300 workers at 21 enterprises. The Baku proletarians formulated demands, which at the beginning of 1905 became the combat program of all the revolutionary workers of Russia. In the first place were the demands for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of an 8-hour working day. During the strike, the workers repeatedly demonstrated under the slogans: "*Down with the autocracy!*", "*Down with the war!*"

The police tried to disrupt the strike, fomenting ethnic hatred between the Azeri and Armenian workers, but they failed.

The Baku strike ended with a brilliant victory for the workers. For the first time in the history of Russia, the workers forced the capitalists to conclude a collective agreement on the employment of workers. According to the agreement, a 9-hour working day was established (on the eve of holidays - 8-hour).

"The Baku strike," wrote Comrade Stalin, *"served as a signal for the glorious January-February demonstrations throughout Russia"* (History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course, p. 54).

At the end of 1904, the government, promising to make small concessions by decree of December 12, announced that it would not allow any change in the autocratic state system. But tsarism was unable to prevent the revolution.

II

JANUARY 9, 1905 - THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION



"BLOODY SUNDAY"

The approaching revolution forced the tsarist government to seek any means to divert the workers from participation in the political struggle. An attempt to repeat Zubatovism was made, on behalf of the secret police, by the provocateur priest Gapon, who in 1904 founded the "Assembly of Russian Factory Workers". Lectures of monarchical content, performances, concerts were arranged for the workers . On January 3, 1905, the administration of the Putilov factory fired four workers. In solidarity with those dismissed, 12,000 Putilovites went on strike the next day. The workers of other enterprises of St. Petersburg joined the striking Putilovites.



On January 7, the strike became general, involving 150 thousand workers. To keep the workers from the revolutionary struggle, priest Gapon put forward a provocative plan - to draw up a petition to the tsar on behalf of the Petersburg workers and to submit it to all go together to the tsar's palace. The plan was known to the secret police and approved by it. The government decided to organize the execution of the workers and drown the growing revolutionary movement in their blood. The petition said:

"We, the workers of St. Petersburg, our wives, children and helpless elders-parents, have come to you, sir, to seek truth and protection. We have become impoverished, we are oppressed, burdened with unbearable work, they will abuse us, they do not recognize us as people ... We endured, but they push us further and further into the maelstrom of poverty, lawlessness and ignorance, we are strangled by despotism and arbitrariness ... The limit has come to patience. For us, that terrible moment has come when death is better than the continuation of unbearable torment ... "

This was followed by a statement of the economic and political demands of the workers, chief among which was the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

Initially, there were no political demands in the petition.

At the suggestion of the Bolsheviks who attended the workers' meetings, the workers introduced general democratic demands to the petition: freedom of the press and speech, freedom of workers' unions, the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and others. At the same time, the Bolsheviks urged the workers to refuse to march to the tsar, pointing out that freedom is not obtained by asking the monarch. But a significant part of the workers still believed in the tsar.

"Let's try, the king cannot deny us our just demands," they said.

Early in the morning on Sunday 9 (22) January 1905, workers with portraits of the tsar, flags, icons went to the Winter Palace. More than 140 thousand people gathered in total. During the procession, the workers sang prayers.

The tsarist government decided to meet the workers with lead and bayonets. The whole city was divided into military sectors, police, Cossacks and troops were deployed everywhere. The troops began shooting at the outposts at the workers, not allowing them to enter the city. Nevertheless, a significant part of the workers approached the Winter Palace. A lot of children were housed in the trees of the Alexander Garden. The brutal tsarist executioners not only shot the peaceful workers who approached the palace, but also the children who climbed the trees. On this day, more than a thousand workers were killed and more than five thousand injured. The Bolsheviks walked along with the workers. Many of the Bolsheviks were killed and wounded.



The workers called the day of January 9 "Bloody Sunday"

On this day, faith in the tsar was destroyed even among the backward workers. *"We have no king,"* the old workers said and destroyed the royal portraits that had previously hung in their rooms.

The Bolsheviks called in proclamations: *"To arms, comrades!"*, and workers seized weapons in shops and workshops. In the afternoon of January 9, the first barricades were built on Vasilievsky Island. The workers said: *"The tsar poured it on us - well, we will pour it on him!"* On the streets there were clashes with the police, exclamations were heard: *"Down with the autocracy!"* ...

The working class learned on January 9 the great lesson of the civil war,

"... the revolutionary education of the proletariat," wrote Lenin, *"in one day stepped forward in a way that it could not have stepped into the months and years of a dull, everyday, downtrodden life"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 77).

Lenin learned about "Bloody Sunday" in Geneva, where he was living in exile at that time. In his article "The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia" Lenin assessed the events of January 9 as follows:

"The proletariat of all Russia is now looking with feverish impatience by the proletariat of the whole world. The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, heroically begun by our working class, will be a turning point in the history of all countries ... " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 8, p. 80).

Lenin called on the party and the working class to begin immediate preparations for an armed uprising.



I. Vladimirov. Execution of workers at the Winter Palace



Serov.

"Soldiers, bravo guys. where is your glory .. ". 1905



Sorokin. Bloody Sunday



The sculptor M.G. Manizer, architect. V.A. Vitman. St. Petersburg, cemetery "Victims of January 9", Ave. Alexandrovskaya Ferma, 66a Opened on January 22, 1932

46. МЫ МИРНО СТОЯЛИ ПРЕД ЗИМНИМ ДВОРЦОМ

Умеренно (9 января 1905 года)



Мы мирно сто-я-ли пред Зим-ним двор-цом, ца-
-ря с нетер-пе-нием жда-ли, как вдруг пе-ред на-ми в
царс-ким крыль-цом на ру-жьях шты-ки за-бли-ста-ли

We stood peacefully before the Winter Palace, we waited impatiently for the Tsar: Like children loved by a tender father, Bring him our sorrows ...

PROTEST STRIKES IN THE COUNTRY

The tsar's bloody atrocity triggered strikes of protest throughout Russia. In January alone, 440,000 workers were involved in strikes, while in all 10 previous years in Russia only 430,000 workers went on strike,

"... In this awakening of colossal popular masses to political consciousness and to revolutionary struggle," wrote Lenin, "lies the historical significance of January 22, 1905" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, pp. 229-230).

On January 11, strikes began in Moscow. From Moscow they spread to the textile districts - Podmoskovny and Ivanovsky.







Bu

urning of royal portraits and eagles

Protest strikes also invaded Poland, Finland, Ukraine, the Caucasus and Siberia. In one of the proclamations at the beginning of 1905, Comrade Stalin wrote that as soon as the signal came from Petersburg, the workers of all nationalities,

"... as if having agreed, they responded with unanimous fraternal greetings to the call of the St. Petersburg workers and threw down a bold challenge to the autocracy" (Beria, *On the history of Bolshevik organizations in Transcaucasia*, ed. 8, p. 92).

On January 18, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, a general strike of the Tiflis workers began. Bolshevik agitators distributed among the strikers proclamations in Georgian, Armenian and Russian, calling for the preparation of an armed uprising. The workers of Baku, Batum, Chiatur and other industrial centers of Transcaucasia also went on strike at the call of the Caucasian Committee of the Party. Rallies and demonstrations took place everywhere, accompanied by clashes with the police and troops.

The metalworkers were at the head of the revolutionary movement. They were followed by textile workers and other groups of workers. By declaring a protest strike, the workers simultaneously raised economic demands. The interweaving of economic and political demands gave the strikes great strength.

The shooting of workers on January 9 provoked outrage among workers in Western Europe. The workers of Paris, London, Vienna, Brussels staged demonstrations in front of the buildings of the tsarist embassies under the slogan *"Down with*

tsarism! Down with the killers! Long live the revolution!". The workers of France and Italy sent fraternal greetings to the Russian workers and promised them their help.



General railroad strike. 1905 year

TSARISM AND BOURGEOIS AFTER JANUARY 9

To fight the outbreak of the revolution, the tsar appointed the former chief of the Moscow police, Trepov, as governor-general of St. Petersburg, who became in fact a military dictator. Petersburg was declared martial law.

The tsar accepted a deputation of "workers", specially selected by the police, and told them that he believed in the "unshakable loyalty of the workers," and therefore "forgave them their guilt." The cynical speech of the assassin king aroused the indignation of even the most backward workers.

Tsarism also tried to deter the workers from revolution by outright deception. In January 1905, under the chairmanship of Senator Shydlovsky, a commission was created to clarify the reasons for the "discontent of the workers of the capital."

In addition to officials and capitalists, it was planned to send several workers' representatives to the commission. The Mensheviks were ready to take part in this tsarist commission. But the workers, at the suggestion of the Bolsheviks, carried out a boycott of the election of delegates. The Bolsheviks took part only in the first stage of the elections in order to make political demands. After the revolutionary actions of the workers who refused to participate in the commission, the government stopped its work.

Trying to split the ranks of the revolutionary workers, tsarism strenuously incited national strife. The result was the terrible massacre of Armenians and Azerbaijanis on February 7, 1905 in Baku. The class-conscious workers under the leadership of

the Bolsheviks stopped the pogrom. In February, the police, with the help of the bandits bribed by them, staged a Jewish pogrom in Feodosia. In Kursk, in order to intimidate young people, police beat high school students. But the pogroms and beatings only aroused even greater hatred of tsarism.

In February 1905 tsarism suffered a military defeat in the battle of Mukden. And this time the tsarist command failed to use a number of individual successes of the Russian troops in the battle. The Russian army lost 120,000 soldiers (out of 300,000) killed, wounded and captured. The war with Japan was finally lost by tsarism. In fear of the constantly growing revolution, losing supporters even among the possessing classes who did not believe in the autocracy's ability to cope with the revolution, the autocracy tried to enter into a deal with the bourgeoisie, making small political concessions. In February 1905, a rescript (written appeal) of the tsar to the Minister of Internal Affairs Bulygin was published with a proposal to create a meeting to develop a draft legislative council.

The liberal bourgeoisie willingly entered into a bargain with the government, presenting its very moderate draft constitution. The constitutional projects of the Osvobozhdeniye and Zemstvo Congress (March 25-28, 1905) left the monarchical form of government inviolable and demanded the creation of a bicameral system with an upper house of representatives of the propertied classes. The liberals were ready to abandon universal suffrage. At the Zemstvo Congress, 54 out of 120 delegates voted against universal suffrage.

Lenin exposed the "constitutional bazaar", as he called the bargaining of liberals with tsarism, again and again urging the workers to prepare for an armed uprising.

III

GENERAL OCTOBER STRIKE



A meeting of workers and students in the courtyard of Moscow State University. 1905

BULYGINSKAYA DUMA

The upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the country forced tsarism, without stopping the policy of repression, to resort to maneuvering and to take a step towards the bourgeoisie, which was seeking an alliance with it, to come to an agreement with the bourgeoisie. To this end, on August 6, 1905, the tsarist government issued a law on the convocation of the State Duma. According to this law, the State Duma was planned as a legislative one: it was given the right only to express its opinion on government bills, and not to approve or reject them. Thus, the law of August 6 kept the autocratic system completely intact. By the name of the author of the law, Minister Bulygin, this Duma was named Bulygin. The landowners, who constituted an insignificant minority in the country, received 85% of all deputy seats in the Bulygin Duma. The workers were completely deprived of voting rights. The bourgeoisie welcomed the project of the Bulygin Duma and called on the population to actively participate in the elections. The Mensheviks supported the liberals.

Only the Bolsheviks called on the population to boycott the Duma elections. The further revolutionary struggle of the proletariat under the leadership of the Bolsheviks disrupted the convocation of the Bulygin Duma by tsarism.

PORTSMOUTH WORLD

After the defeat of the tsarist fleet at Tsushima, the international bourgeoisie, fearing the further development of the revolution in Russia, insistently demanded that the tsarist government conclude peace. Peace with Japan, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, could facilitate the establishment of "internal peace" in Russia. For this, tsarism had to make moderate constitutional concessions to the masses. At the same time, the United States of America feared the strengthening of Japan and therefore advised the Japanese government to moderate its demands on Russia.

Strongly exhausted and weakened by the war, Japan itself was interested in the speedy conclusion of peace.

At the request of Japan, US President Theodore Roosevelt acted as a mediator in the negotiations between Russia and Japan.

To discuss the current situation, the tsarist government convened a military conference on May 24, 1905, chaired by the tsar. Most of the meeting participants spoke in favor of peace.

"Our inner well-being is more important to us than victory.

We live in an abnormal state: it is necessary to return the inner peace to Russia,"they said.

The government agreed to start peace negotiations and appointed a peace delegation headed by B and Tte, who enjoyed the confidence of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. Peace talks began in the town of Portsmouth (USA).

Japan has presented very difficult peace conditions. She demanded the Liaodong Peninsula, the South Manchu road to the city of Harbin, the transfer of Sakhalin to her and complete domination in Korea. In addition, Japan hoped to receive a large contribution from Russia.

The Russian delegation had instructions not to cede an inch of land to the Japanese and not to pay them any indemnity. The negotiation of the peace treaty was extremely delayed. On August 23 (September 5), 1905, the peace treaty was signed. Tsarist Russia recognized Japan's predominant economic, military and political interests in Korea, and ceded to Japan its rights to lease Port Arthur and Dalny. Russia has pledged to operate the Sino-Eastern Railway exclusively for commercial interests. The southern part of Sakhalin with all the adjacent islands was ceded to Japan. In addition, a fishing agreement that was unfavorable for Russia was concluded with Japan:

"As you know, in the war with Japan, Russia was then defeated," said Comrade Stalin in his address to the people on September 2, 1945. - *Japan, on the other hand, took advantage of the defeat of tsarist Russia in order to seize southern Sakhalin from Russia, establish itself on the Kuril Islands and, thus, lock all the exits to the ocean for our country in the East - therefore, also all exits to the ports of Soviet Kamchatka and Soviet Chukotka. It was clear that Japan set itself the task of tearing away from Russia all of its Far East "* (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, p. 204).

The defeat of tsarist Russia in 1904-1905, as comrade Stalin noted in the same speech,

"... Fell on our country as a black spot. Our people believed and expected that the day would come when Japan would be defeated and the stain would be eliminated. "

The war with Japan cost the Russian people dearly: about 400 thousand people were killed, wounded and taken prisoner; over 3 billion rubles were spent on the war. The conclusion of peace with Japan greatly helped tsarism in its further struggle against the revolution. But the revolution could no longer be halted. In the autumn and winter of 1905, the revolutionary movement in the country reached its peak.

ALL-RUSSIAN POLITICAL STRIKE

On September 19, 1905, a general strike of printers began in Moscow. They were joined by bakers, tobacco workers and workers of other trades. Cossacks and gendarmes dispersed revolutionary demonstrations. The workers fired revolvers at the police and wounded many of them. On September 25, a real battle took place on Tverskaya Street (now Gorky Street) near Filippov's bakery.

A detachment of Cossacks attacked the crowd that blocked the street. Then the workers entered the premises of the bakery, climbed onto the roof of a multi-storey building and from there showered stones at the soldiers. The bakery building was surrounded on all sides. The siege of the house by troops began. Two companies of infantry entered the house from behind, where the workers were not guarding the entrance. 192 baker workers were arrested, two workers were killed, eight were wounded.

The September strikes in Moscow raised the struggle to a higher level. Lenin pointed out that the events in Moscow were the beginning of the uprising.

"The outbreak of the uprising was once again suppressed. Once again: long live the uprising! " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 9, p. 313).

On October 7, the Moscow-Kazan railway went on strike, on October 8, all Russian railways (except for the Nikolaev one) joined it. From October 13, the strike became general, all-Russian - workers from all industries took part in it. The workers were also joined by the intelligentsia - teachers, employees, lawyers, engineers, students. The strikers put forward a demand for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. The tsarist government tried to suppress the strike by military force. The St. Petersburg Governor-General Trepov - in fact the dictator of Russia - issued an order on October 14: "Do not fire blank volleys, do not spare cartridges." But the government was already powerless to stop the strike.

The October political strike engulfed about a million industrial workers, not counting the railway workers, as well as several hundred thousand office workers. The whole life of the country stopped.

Trains and steamers stopped running. Factories, post office and telegraph office did not work. Newspapers and magazines were not published. In cities, public transport stopped, shops and canteens were closed. Classes in higher and secondary educational institutions have ceased. Continuing to work, by order of the strike committees, only water supply, sewerage, hospitals. Only those military trains that carried demobilized soldiers hurrying home from Manchuria moved along the railways.

The October strike paralyzed the strength of the government, showing at the same time the strength of the proletariat as a vanguard fighter and organizer of the national struggle against the autocracy. In a number of places, the general strike began to develop into an armed uprising.

In Kharkov, barricades were erected around the university, and up to 1,000 armed workers gathered to defend them. There were clashes with the troops in the streets. Artillery was called in. During the seizure of barricades and street skirmishes, 147 workers were killed.

In Yekaterinoslav, the entire population of the working-class outskirts of Chechelevka took part in the construction of barricades: they knocked down telegraph poles and set up barbed wire. The barricades were destroyed by the troops. The same clashes with troops took place in Odessa, Saratov, Rostov and other cities.

In the autumn and early winter of 1905, the wave of strikes (the fourth in a year) reached its greatest strength. In October it covered about a million workers, in December - several hundred thousand.

ROYAL MANIFESTO OCTOBER 17

Frightened by the general strike, the tsar on October 17 issued a manifesto prepared by Count Witte, who had recently been appointed chairman of the council of ministers. The manifesto promised freedom of speech, press, association and assembly, expansion of suffrage, and so on. The State Duma was declared a legislative body. But the manifesto was a deception of the masses. With his help, tsarism sought to gain time in order to gather strength and defeat the revolution. Evaluating the tsarist manifesto and warning against exaggerating its significance, Lenin wrote:

"The concession of the tsar is indeed the greatest victory of the revolution, but this victory by no means decides the fate of the whole cause of freedom. The tsar had

not yet surrendered. Autocracy has not yet ceased to exist. It only retreated ...
" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 9, p. 396).

The Manifesto of October 17 completely satisfied the bourgeoisie, which, frightened by the all-Russian strike and the uprisings that were beginning, began to openly oppose the revolutionary masses. The big industrial and commercial bourgeoisie created the "Union of October 17" (Octobrists), which included the right-wing Zemstvo people and all kinds of commercial and industrial "parties" formed in 1905. At the height of the October strike (12-18 October 1905), the Zemstvo liberals and members of the Liberal Bourgeois Union, Osvobozhdenie, convened a Constituent Assembly to create a united party of bourgeois liberalism. The new bourgeois party called itself "Constitutional Democratic" (Cadets), and later - "the party of people's freedom." This name was intended to cover up the monarchist, anti-democratic character of the Cadet party.

The main nucleus of this party was, on the one hand, the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the liberal landlords. The majority of the bourgeois intelligentsia also belonged to the Cadet Party. It was a counter-revolutionary, compromising party that pursued a policy of invariable agreement between the bourgeoisie and the monarchy against the working class and the toiling peasantry. Lenin described the class face of another party, the Octobrist party, as the face of a big bourgeois who

"... rejects all ... claims to 'democracy' (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 11, p. 202).

After the publication of the tsarist manifesto, the Cadets declared the revolution complete and considered it necessary to work together with the Witte government. The Mensheviks also accepted the manifesto on October 17 with great satisfaction. In Tiflis, the leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks even declared at rallies:

"From now on there is no autocracy, the autocracy has died. Russia is included in the ranks of constitutional monarchical states.

The Bolsheviks called on the masses not to believe the tsarist manifesto and to prepare for an armed uprising.

Comrade Stalin decisively exposed this Menshevik deception. On the day the manifesto was announced on October 17, Comrade Stalin said at a rally in Tiflis:

"What do we need to really win? This requires three things: the first thing we need is weapons, the second is weapons, the third is more and more weapons. "

Immediately after the manifesto of October 17, revolutionary demonstrations began throughout Russia. Rallies took place in the streets, and heated revolutionary speeches were made.

To fight the revolution, the government created a gangster organization "Union of the Russian People", which began to unite in its ranks the corrupt "black hundreds" that had arisen in many places since the beginning of 1905.

The Black Hundreds, together with the police, at the direct orders of the tsar and the gendarmes, organized beatings and murders of revolutionaries throughout the country, and Jewish pogroms. The pogrom proclamations were secretly printed in the printing house of the police department.



In Tomsk, with the blessing of the bishop and in the presence of the governor, the Black Hundreds cordoned off and set fire to the building of the railway administration, where a meeting of workers took place. Many protesters died in a burning building. Only thanks to the heroic efforts of S.M. Kirov some of the revolutionaries were saved. In Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the Black Hundreds brutally murdered a revolutionary worker, leader of a textile workers' strike, Fyodor Afanasyev ("Father"). In Moscow, the Black Hundreds organized the murder from around the corner of one of the prominent Bolsheviks, N.E. Bauman, who had just been released from the Taganskaya prison.

Bauman's funeral turned into a huge revolutionary demonstration, in which several hundred thousand people took part. The arrests, pogroms and murders of revolutionaries were thus a clear example of what the masses could expect from the manifesto of October 17. The people have formed a song about this manifesto:

The tsar got scared, issued a manifesto: The dead - freedom, the living - under arrest.

TIPS OF WORKING DEPUTIES

During the stormy days of the October general strike, the working class created a new revolutionary organization that played a major role in the revolution — the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. During the strike, the workers of St. Petersburg on October 13 elected their representatives to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in the factories and plants to lead the strike. Having emerged as a united strike committee, the St. Petersburg Soviet quickly began to turn into the embryo of a new, revolutionary power.

Thus, in November, the Soviet announced the introduction of an 8-hour working day in factories and plants, and published its own newspaper Izvestia in large St. Petersburg printing houses, which was published without the permission of the tsarist authorities. The council began to interfere with the orders of the tsarist administration. During the strike of the postal and telegraph workers, telegrams from the government were transmitted only with the permission of the Council. The population of St. Petersburg turned to the Council for a variety of matters as a body of power. But the Petersburg Soviet did not take the lead in the revolution, did not lead it. The reason for this was that the Mensheviks made their way to the leadership of the Soviet, taking advantage of the absence in St. Petersburg of Lenin, who was in exile. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, in every possible way hindered the transformation of the Soviet into an organ of revolutionary power and especially thwarted the preparations for an armed uprising.

Following the example of St. Petersburg, in October - December 1905 Soviets of Workers' Deputies were formed in all major cities of Russia. In Moscow, the Bolsheviks led the Soviet, so here it became an organ for preparing an armed uprising. In the Caucasus and Latvia, as well as in some places in Central Russia (in the Tver and Moscow provinces), the Soviets included representatives of soldiers, that is, peasants dressed in soldier's greatcoats.

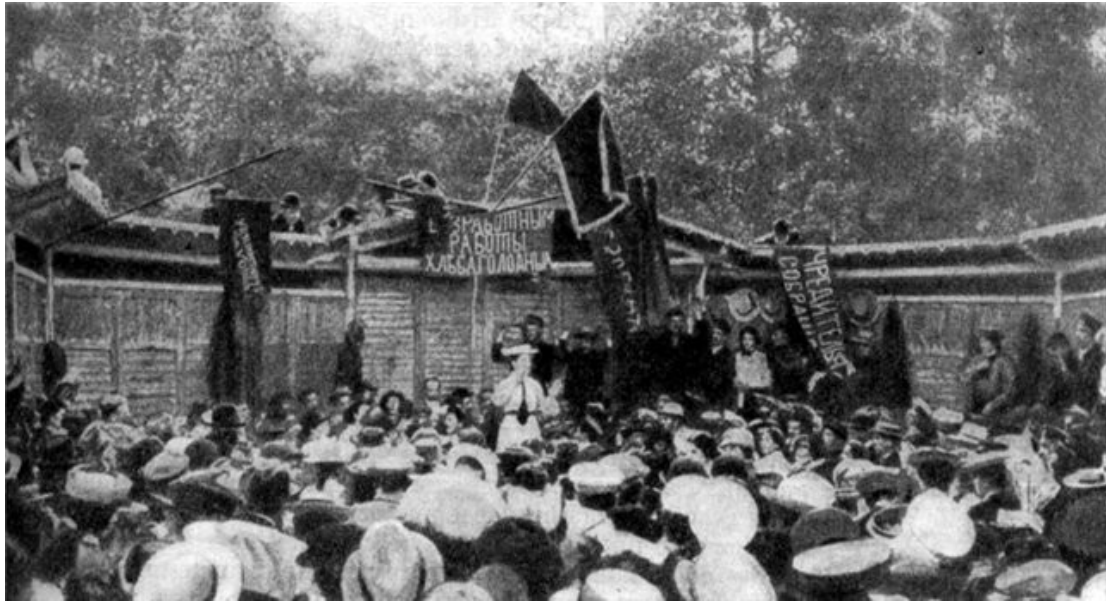
When Lenin returned from emigration and became familiar with the activities of the Petersburg Soviet, he drew the party's attention to the world-historical significance of the Soviets as the embryo of a new, revolutionary people's power. But in order for the Soviets to play their revolutionary role, it was necessary to prepare for the overthrow of the tsarist regime by organizing an armed uprising. At the same time, in the person of the Soviets, the proletariat of Russia, in the course of the 1905 revolution, created a form of organization new in the history of the revolutionary movement, which was the prototype of Soviet power, the embryonic form of the proletarian socialist state, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets were a step forward from the Paris Commune of 1871.

Comrade Stalin highly appreciates the historical significance of the Soviets in the 1905 revolution:

"... the movement for Soviets of Workers' Deputies, started in 1905 by Leningrad and Moscow workers, ultimately led to the defeat of capitalism and the victory of socialism in one-sixth of the world" (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 497).

IV

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA IN 1905



Meeting in Terijoki. 1905 g.

FINLAND'S FIGHT FOR AUTONOMY

Under the pressure of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, tsarism was forced to make certain concessions on the national question as well. After "Bloody Sunday" (January 9), the struggle against tsarism developed especially widely in the national regions. The workers in the capital of Finland, Helsingfors, were among the first to organize a general strike of protest against the massacre of workers by Nicholas II. Along with the general proletarian demands, the Finnish workers also put forward slogans of a national liberation nature. The Finnish bourgeoisie tried to negotiate with the tsarist regime on the restoration of the constitution in Finland.

The October political strike in Russia was supported by Finnish workers who declared a general strike in Finland. Finnish workers organized the Red Guard and prepared for an uprising.

The all-Russian strike of the working class forced tsarism to yield on the Finnish question. On October 22, 1905, Nicholas II issued a manifesto on the restoration of the constitution in Finland.

The Finnish bourgeoisie considered their demands fulfilled and began to prepare for the election of a new Diet. The Finnish Mensheviks, supporting the bourgeoisie in everything, sowed constitutional illusions among the masses and called on the workers and peasants to stop the armed struggle against tsarism.

FIGHT IN POLAND FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

After January 9, continuous strikes took place in Poland. Numerous rallies were held in cities and villages, adopting resolutions demanding the autonomy of Poland. The peasants refused to pay taxes, to serve military service, and expelled tsarist officials. In the fall, the national movement in Poland took on a large scale. After the October general strike, the revolutionary struggle of the Polish people came close to an

armed uprising. This frightened the Polish bourgeoisie, and it betrayed the movement by entering into an agreement with the Russian liberals. In the fall of 1905, tsarism declared Poland to be under martial law. But the November political strike of St. Petersburg workers forced the government to lift martial law. This showed the Polish people that only the Russian proletariat is their loyal ally.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN UKRAINE AND IN BELARUS

The revolutionary struggle of the workers of the Ukraine and Byelorussia in 1905 developed in complete unity with the struggle of the Russian proletariat.

Using the weakening of the autocracy as a result of the revolutionary movement, the Ukrainians achieved the possibility of publishing books and newspapers in the Ukrainian language. Some of the Ukrainian petty-bourgeois nationalists, who formed the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP), sought the autonomy of Ukraine and the transfer of power to the autonomous Ukrainian Seim.

The Rupovites' program, which did not differ from the Cadet program, required the transfer of land to the peasants for ransom. In addition to the RUE, in 1905 the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union, the Spilka (union) of the Menshevik trend and the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party operated in Ukraine.

The nationalist slogans of these organizations were unsuccessful among the Ukrainian workers and peasants, who sought to overthrow Russian tsarism in fraternal alliance with the Russian workers.

In Belarus, as well as in Ukraine, the national movement aspired to head the "*Belarusian socialist community*", which relied on the kulak elements of the Belarusian peasantry.

In January 1906, its congress took place in Minsk, which demanded the autonomy of Belarus and the creation of a federation within Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia and Ukraine with a common Sejm in the city of Vilno. The "Belarusian community" demanded the allotment of land to the peasants and ransom it from the landlords. The teachers who created their own "*split*" and "*enlightenment*" (cultural and educational societies) played an important role in the national movement both in Ukraine and Belarus. "Prosvits" distributed literature in the Ukrainian and Belarusian languages, opened rural libraries, reading rooms, staged performances, concerts and literary evenings. The main task of "enlighten" was the propaganda of education in the native language.

But all these parties and groups could not lead the broad national liberation movement: they renounced the revolutionary struggle and the militant alliance with the revolutionary Russian proletariat, they did not link the tasks of the national movement with the struggle of the peasantry for land. Putting forward the slogans of the national movement, they concealed from the masses that the main enemy of the people was the tsarist autocracy, the overthrow of which could be carried out only by the joint efforts of workers and peasants of all nationalities.

THE REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE CAUCASUS

The national movement in 1905 in Transcaucasia assumed a more definite class and revolutionary character than in other national regions. Thanks to the leadership of the Social Democrats, educated by Comrade Stalin, the workers 'and peasants' movement in Georgia, especially in Guria, achieved a significant rise. Not only in the cities, but also in the villages, there was an open preparation for an uprising against tsarism.

Throughout 1905, there were mass strikes, demonstrations and rallies, money was collected for revolutionary purposes, "Red Hundreds" and peasant committees were formed in the villages. The peasants rose up against the landlords and drove them out of their estates. The landlords, with the assistance of the authorities, organized their own armed detachments ("black hundreds").

In many places in Georgia, the population refused to recognize the tsarist court and the police.

Attempts by Georgian nationalists, including the Georgian Mensheviks, to seize the leadership of the movement failed. The workers and peasants of Georgia in 1905 followed the Bolsheviks.

In Azerbaijan, the national liberation movement was led by the Baku Bolsheviks, who created a special organization "Gummet" ("*Energy*") for this purpose . *It launched a lot of work among the most backward and downtrodden part of the Baku workers-Azerbaijanis. As a result of the explanatory work of the Bolsheviks, class-conscious Azerbaijani workers, together with Russian workers, achieved an end to the Armenian-Azerbaijani massacre in February 1905. For the first time, the majority of Azeri workers took part in the August strike of oil workers, who were beginning to understand the need for a united class movement. The landowners and the nascent local bourgeoisie tried to distract the Azerbaijani workers and peasants from participating in the revolutionary struggle. Intense religious-nationalist agitation was going on in the city and countryside "Pan-Islamists" who preached the unification of all Muslims into an independent Muslim state under the leadership of the bourgeois-feudal elite and the clergy. Pan-Islamist agitation was supported from Turkey. "Gummet" tirelessly exposed the reactionary plans of the exploiters of the Azerbaijani people, covered by a religious flag.*

The Bolsheviks in the 1905 revolution fought for a Leninist program on the national question. Comrade Stalin formulated it as follows:

"... Complete democratization of the country, as the basis and condition for solving the national question... the right of self-determination, as a necessary point in solving the national question... regional autonomy, the autonomy of such determined units as Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine, the Caucasus, etc.... So, national equality in all its forms (language, schools, etc.), as a necessary point in solving the national question " (Stalin, Soch., vol. 2, pp. 360-361, 363).

V

DECEMBER ARMED UPRISING



OVERGROWING STRIKE INTO UPRISING

The workers have become convinced by experience that by striking alone, without an armed uprising, they cannot achieve victory over tsarism. The first to take up arms after the October strike were the Kronstadt sailors and artillerymen. For two days - October 26 and 27 - Kronstadt was in the hands of the rebels. But the sailors' movement was disorganized and lacked a plan and a clear task of struggle. Already on October 28 the uprising was defeated. 1,500 sailors and several hundred soldiers were brought to court-martial.



Грандіозныя похороны жертвъ революціи.

Шествіе у Гостиного двора.

On November 2, 1905, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies declared a general political strike. The strikers demanded the lifting of martial law in Poland and the release of the Kronstadters. Under pressure from the Petersburg workers, the tsarist government was forced to abolish both the martial law in Poland and the field trial of the Kronstadt sailors, which threatened them with the death penalty. About 200 participants in the uprising were subjected to a naval trial, 9 sailors were sentenced to hard labor, 123 to imprisonment, and some were even acquitted.

The November general strike of the Petersburg workers, which saved the lives of the insurgent Kronstadt sailors, had tremendous political significance: it showed the sailors and soldiers with their own eyes that only the working class is their loyal defender and leader of their struggle. The Mensheviks were against a new general strike. Instead of fraternizing with soldiers and revolutionary propaganda in the tsarist army to win it over to the side of the insurgent people, the Mensheviks put forward a counter-revolutionary plan for the withdrawal of the garrison from St. Petersburg. This would tear the soldiers away from the Petersburg proletariat and place them under the undivided influence of the officers.

SEVASTOPOL MATROS UPRISING

After the suppression of the uprising on the battleship Potemkin, the Bolsheviks continued to prepare for an armed uprising in the Black Sea Fleet. On November 13, the uprising was launched by the cruiser Ochakov. On November 15, six thousand sailors from other ships and workers from the Sevastopol fortress joined him. The battleship Potemkin, which was renamed to Panteleimon after the uprising, raised the red flag again. Lieutenant Schmidt became the head of the Sevastopol uprising. A bourgeois democrat by conviction, Schmidt, instead of organizing a vigorous offensive against the tsarist troops, did not take active action, waiting for the entire fleet to join the Ochakov. Naively counting on the tsar's concessions, Schmidt even sent telegrams to Nicholas II demanding political freedoms. But despite his confused political views, Schmidt was a man devoted to the revolution. On November 15, on the destroyer "Ferocious" he went round all the warships, and on many of them the sailors raised the red flag. However, Schmidt was unable to organize them for joint and rapid combat operations.

The confused authorities managed to come to their senses and pulled troops to Sevastopol. By the evening of November 15, shelling of the Ochakov and other revolutionary ships began with artillery from coastal batteries and ships loyal to the government. The shooting continued throughout the night.

The cruiser "Ochakov" was set on fire by shells. Sailors swimming and in boats tried to get out of the fire and water. They were shot with machine guns from the shore. Schmidt and other leaders of the uprising were captured and executed by a military court.

The Sevastopol uprising raised new forces in the army and navy to fight, but it showed the insufficiency of isolated actions and the need to unite them.

Noting the weakness of military uprisings, Lenin pointed out that the soldiers and sailors lacked

"... a sufficient understanding that only the most energetic continuation of the armed struggle, only victory over all military and civilian authorities, only the overthrow of the government and the seizure of power in the entire state is the only guarantee of the success of the revolution" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, p. 237).

PEASANT REVOLUTIONS

In November - December 1905, the struggle of the peasants against the landlords intensified. Peasant unrest engulfed 170 counties - more than a third of the counties of European Russia. In November, there were up to 800 cases of seizure of landlord estates by peasants. Peasant uprisings were especially significant in the Saratov, Kursk, and Tambov provinces and in the Ukraine - in the Kharkov and Chernigov provinces, where the peasants destroyed 272 landlord estates. In Latvia, the peasants organized several hundred revolutionary committees. In Guria, the peasant "Red Hundreds" drove out all the tsarist officials and established revolutionary power. The struggle of the peasants and the preparation of an armed uprising in Transcaucasia was directly led by Comrade Stalin.

PREPARATIONS FOR AN ARMED UPRISING

In November 1905, Lenin returned from emigration to Russia. He headed the party leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and set about preparing an armed uprising. Carrying out colossal work to reorganize the party in connection with the changed conditions, Lenin simultaneously edited the first legal Bolshevik newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn*, publishing articles on the main issues of the revolution, tactics and organization of the party.

According to Lenin's instructions, the party organizations procured weapons, created combat squads from the workers, and organized their combat training. The Bolsheviks also waged widespread revolutionary agitation among the troops.

In December 1905 in Finland, in Tammerfors, a Bolshevik party conference was held. It was there that Lenin and Stalin met personally for the first time. The conference discussed the question of an armed uprising. During the conference, the news of the beginning of the uprising in Moscow arrived. At the suggestion of Lenin, the members of the conference dispersed to their places to lead the leadership of the uprising.

By the beginning of December, the position of tsarism had strengthened. At this time, he managed to transport the most reliable cadre military units from Manchuria to European Russia. Fearing to lose their capital in Russia and fearing that the victory of the Russian revolution would ignite the fire of the socialist revolution in Europe, foreign bankers rushed to the rescue of tsarism. They helped him pay the urgent interest on loans and promised a large new loan to crush the revolution.

The liberals, frightened by the sweep of the revolution, supported tsarism in its struggle against the workers and peasants. The Mensheviks continued their treacherous tactics, disrupting the uprising where it was being prepared or had already begun.

On December 2, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies adopted the so-called financial manifesto, urging the population to demand the issuance of gold deposits from savings banks and wages. The next day the government arrested the Petersburg Soviet. The Petersburg proletariat could not respond to the challenge of the autocracy with an uprising, since it turned out to be unprepared for it because of the treacherous policy of the Menshevik-Trotskyist leaders of the Soviet.

MOSCOW ARMED UPRISING

The Moscow Soviet, led by the Bolsheviks, from the first days of its existence began to actively prepare for an armed uprising. Under the influence of the Bolshevik agitation, unrest began in the regiments of the Moscow garrison. The first to revolt on December 2 was the Rostov regiment, whose soldiers arrested the officers and elected a soldiers' committee to manage the regiment. The uprising of the Rostov regiment, however, was not supported by other parts of the Moscow garrison and was suppressed by the evening of December 4.



On December 5, the Moscow Conference of the Bolsheviks decided to propose to the Moscow Soviet to declare a general strike in order to further transform it into an armed uprising.

On the morning of December 7, a general political strike began in Moscow. Cold weapons were forged at factories, as there was a shortage of firearms. About a thousand workers (more than half of them were Bolsheviks) joined the fighting squads. Street demonstrations, rallies and clashes with the police took place in workers' districts. The Astrakhan regiment came to the aid of the rebels in full combat readiness, but it was intercepted by the Cossacks, surrounded by a solid wall and forced to return to the barracks. The rest of the regiments were also locked up in the barracks, as they turned out to be "unreliable". The Moscow garrison hesitated. Of the 15,000-strong garrison, only 1,390 dragoons were on the side of tsarism.

The Moscow governor-general insistently demanded the sending of new troops. The revolutionaries lost time, and the government managed to cope with the unrest in the military units of Moscow.

The Nikolaev railway (now Oktyabrskaya) did not strike, and tsarism used it, transferring the Semyonov Guards regiment from Petersburg and artillery from Tver (now Kalinin) to Moscow to suppress the uprising. The police arrested the leaders of the uprising, nominated by the Moscow Committee, and armed force broke up a large rally held in the Aquarium garden.

On the evening of December 9, the troops surrounded the Fiedler school, where the vigilantes had gathered, and subjected him to shelling. The defeat of the school aroused the indignation of the masses. At the call of the vigilantes and often on their own, the population spontaneously built barricades of telegraph poles, sledges, boxes, barrels, boards, etc. On December 10, Moscow was covered with barricades. After the arrival of troops from St. Petersburg on December 15, the barricades began to fire from guns. Machine guns were installed on the bell towers of Moscow churches and monasteries. In front of artillery and machine guns, the vigilantes could not resist and retreated in battle, heroically defending every inch of the earth. Moscow's guards focused on Presnya (now Krasnaya Presnya). The headquarters of the uprising was located in a large textile factory, the Trekhgornaya Manufactory. But the leading organ of the uprising - the Moscow Party Committee - was arrested on the eve of the uprising. The movement, devoid of centralized leadership, turned into unrelated uprisings in separate areas. The workers waged a partisan war with the troops and did not dare to move to the center, limiting themselves to defense. This was the main source of the weakness of the Moscow uprising.

Nevertheless, for ten days the tsarist troops, armed with cannons, machine guns and rifles, could not take Presnya. She was subjected to continuous bombardment. Houses burned and collapsed, but the workers stood firm. Fighting squads from industrial centers of the Moscow region hurried to help Moscow. MV Frunze arrived from Ivanovo-Voznesensk with a workers' squad. The peasants brought bread to the vigilantes. The entire population of Presnya helped the vigilantes. However, the workers of other cities, and in particular St. Petersburg, were unable to support the armed uprising in Moscow.

Taking into account the situation that had arisen, the Moscow Party Committee and the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies decided to end the armed uprising on the night of December 18-19. Obeying the order, the vigilantes stopped fighting at Presnya. Although all the railways were already occupied by the tsarist troops, the machinist Ukhtomsky undertook to lead the train with the vigilantes along the Kazan road. With great speed, showered with fire from machine guns and rifles, the hero-driver took the train out of Moscow and rescued the vigilantes.

The tsarist punishers unleashed the most severe repressions on the civilian population, on workers and their families. Hundreds of workers were shot without

trial or investigation. During the suppression of the uprising, over 1,000 workers died. On the Moscow-Kazan railway, a punitive expedition killed hundreds of workers according to the lists prepared in advance by the gendarmes. The machinist Ukhtomsky was also shot, after whom the station of the Moscow-Kazan railway and the adjacent district of the Moscow region were named in the Soviet years.

UPRISSES IN OTHER CITIES

In a number of places in Russia, the workers also revolted to overthrow the tsarist government. The oppressed peoples of Russia also rose. In Ukraine, the insurgent railroad workers, miners and metalworkers of the Donbass seized the most important Catherine (now Stalin) railway.

In the center of the uprising, Yekaterinoslav, on December 8, a general political strike began. The Combat Strike Committee declared itself the sole authority in the city. The workers' district of Chechelevka was in the hands of the workers. In the villages of Donbass, Soviets of Workers' Deputies were created. In Gorlovka the tsarist authorities were overthrown and replaced by representatives of the workers. The rebels were armed with homemade sabers, daggers and a small number of revolvers. Despite the poor weapons, 4 thousand warriors heroically withstood the five-hour battle with the Cossacks, losing 300 killed. Fights with the police and troops took place throughout the Donbass. In Lugansk, K-E. Voroshilov created combat squads and led the strike here. In the summer of 1905 the gendarmes arrested him, but in December thousands of workers moved to the prison and freed their "red general"

In Novorossiysk, power was seized by the local Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The governor and the authorities fled. People's judges were elected, to whom the entire population addressed. The entire burden of taxes was transferred to the possessing classes. The Novorossiysk Soviet was led by the Bolsheviks.

In Sochi, the insurgent people took prisoner a military unit and the tsarist administration. In the villages of the Sochi District, power passed into the hands of the people. Soviets were organized everywhere.

The Gurians sent their Red Hundreds to help the Sochi people.

An Ossetian division rebelled in Vladikavkaz in December 1905. Only with the help of the Cossacks was the uprising of the national Ossetian unit suppressed.

In Guria, in many areas, power passed into the hands of the insurgent people. The seizure of land and power was led by the Caucasian Bolsheviks led by Comrade Stalin.

In Tiflis, the Mensheviks, in agreement with the tsarist governor, took upon themselves the protection of "order" against an armed uprising. The governor gave the Georgian Mensheviks 500 rifles and cartridges for their police service.

In Siberia, in Krasnoyarsk and Chita, soldiers joined the insurgent workers. Therefore, soldiers' deputies also sat in the Soviets of Krasnoyarsk and Chita. In Krasnoyarsk, the soldiers together with the workers withstood the whole battle in the building of the railway workshops, barricading themselves in one of the workshops and bravely repelling the onslaught of the troops sent to quell the uprising.

The uprising on the Siberian Railway was brutally suppressed by two punitive expeditions. One expedition, under the command of General Meller-Zakomelsky, moved from European Russia. Another, under the command of General Rennenkampf, walked towards her from Harbin. Executions without trial or investigation marked the path of these punitive expeditions. On the personal order of Meller-Zakomelsky, an old Bolshevik, Lenin's student, I.V. Babushkin, was executed, captured with a transport of weapons.

Punitive expeditions in the center of Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Transcaucasia, Siberia acted mercilessly. "Arrest less - shoot more", "leave your convictions, use fire" - such orders were written by the ministers-executioners and the tsar. Thousands of people were executed, tens of thousands were arrested and sent to penal servitude and settlement. The peasants were subjected to general flogging.

The bourgeoisie welcomed the suppression of the uprising. The Mensheviks condemned the insurgent workers. Plekhanov wrote: *"There was no need to take up arms . "* Lenin replied:

"On the contrary, it was necessary to take up arms more decisively, energetically and aggressively ;

The December uprising ended in defeat. The reasons for the defeat were as follows. The peasantry did not timely support the uprising. Most of the army was still on the side of tsarism. The uprising was not sufficiently organized and did not take place in different places at the same time. The rebels had too few weapons. The rebels took the path of defense, not attack. The Mensheviks and Trotsky, together with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, thwarted the uprising and hindered it in every possible way. In the Caucasus, in Tiflis, the Mensheviks even directly helped tsarism to suppress the uprising.

The December uprising was the highest point of the rise of the revolution. After his defeat, the revolution gradually subsided.

VI

RETREATING THE REVOLUTION

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT IN 1906

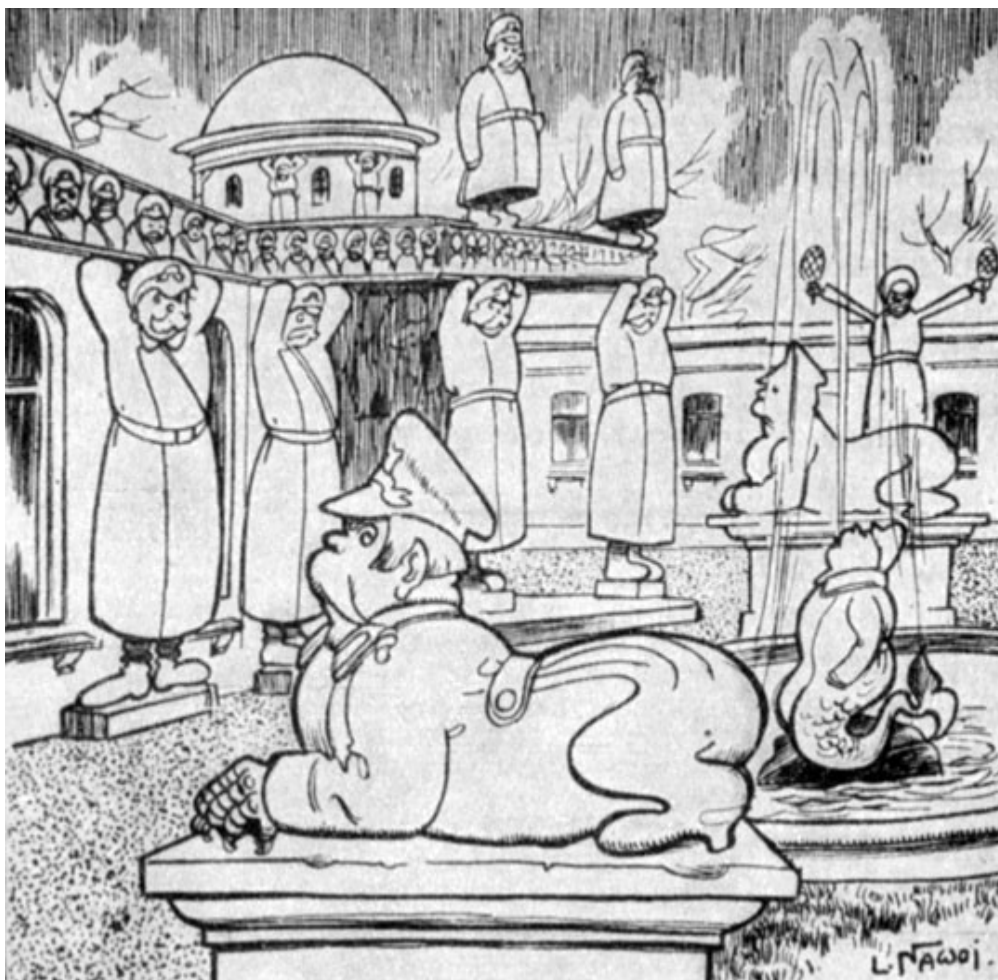
After the defeat of the December uprising, the second period of the first Russian revolution began. The workers and revolutionary peasants retreated slowly, fighting. In 1906, new layers of workers were drawn into the struggle.

These were workers of unskilled professions in industrial centers and workers of small industrial areas, who in 1905 took little part in the struggle. The number of strikers in 1906 exceeded one million, in 1907 it reached 740,000. The strike movement of 1906-1907. was weaker than in 1905, but still stood at a much higher level than before 1905.

The strike struggle of agricultural workers who boycotted the landlords was revolutionary. The peasant movement spread widely, encompassing many new counties. Often the peasants in revolt expelled the landlords from their estates.

In the spring of 1906, unrest among the troops also became more frequent, capturing even the tsarist guard. Along with the peasant movement in 1906, the national liberation movement continued to develop. In the Baltics and Transcaucasia, real battles between peasants and representatives of the tsarist government took place.

ELECTIONS TO THE I STATE DUMA



The draft of the new Duma. Caricature from the Polish magazine "Nowy wiat". 1906 g.

During the December armed uprising (December 11, 1905), a law was published on the electoral system for elections to the State Duma. The tsarism needed this law to deceive the people. The December 11 law granted suffrage mainly to the possessing classes - the landowners and capitalists. Under this law, workers and peasants received electoral rights with great restrictions. The elections were not general. Farm laborers, day laborers and many other groups of workers did not have the right to vote. Women, soldiers and sailors who were in active military service, students and persons under the age of 25 were also not eligible to participate in elections. The elections were not equal. City voters had to have a high property qualification, that is, to receive large incomes from homes or commercial and industrial enterprises. All voters were divided into 4 curiae (electoral groups) - landowners (landowners), urban (bourgeoisie), peasants and workers. Different curiae had different rights. The landowning curia sent one elector from 2 thousand people, the city - from 4 thousand, the peasant - from 30 thousand and the worker - from 90 thousand. The elections were not direct, multi-stage. For the peasants, for example, four-stage elections were established: the peasants at village meetings first elected the elective to the volost gathering, which sent two delegates to the district meeting. District assemblies elected electors to the provincial electoral meeting, which elected a deputy to the Duma. In fact, the elections to the Duma were not secret. The

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Witte hoped to convene a monarchist State Duma with the help of peasants who had not yet overcome their tsarist illusions. Therefore, the law he passed gave the peasant electors 40% of all seats. In February 1906, the government issued the "Statute on elections to the State Duma", which even more than the law on December 11, curtailed the electoral rights of workers and urban democratic voters. Elections to the State Duma took place in March - April 1906 under conditions of the most severe police terror. The Bolsheviks put into practice the decision of the united Central Committee of the party to boycott the elections to the 1st State Duma. At pre-election meetings, the Bolsheviks exposed the tsarist deception and the treacherous role of the liberals, campaigning for a boycott of the Duma and preparation of an armed uprising. Organized class-conscious workers did not participate in the elections. The Mensheviks in the Caucasus thwarted the party's decision to boycott and brought their leaders to the 1st State Duma. In the only large industrial center of the Caucasus - Baku - the Bolsheviks boycotted the elections.

IV Congress of the RSDLP

Under Lenin's direct leadership, the St. Petersburg Party Committee increased its influence on the workers every day. But the split in the party prevented the creation of workers' unity.

Therefore, the Bolsheviks supported the workers' demand for the unification of the party. Under the pressure of the working masses, the Mensheviks were also forced to agree to unification. For this purpose, the IV (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP was convened in Stockholm in April 1906. At the congress, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks formally united, maintaining their independent organizational existence in the form of two factions within the party. Bolshevik organizations were defeated after the December uprising. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, increased their ranks, accepting many representatives of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, who had nothing in common with the proletariat. Therefore, the Mensheviks won a majority at the congress.

The Bolsheviks defended at the congress Lenin's agrarian program for the confiscation of landlord estates and the nationalization of the entire land. The

Mensheviks, on the other hand, put forward an agrarian program for the "municipalization of land", calculated on a compromise with tsarism (transfer of land to zemstvos for distribution on lease).

Taking advantage of their random majority, the Mensheviks carried out their agrarian program at the congress.

I STATE DUMA

Despite the defeat of the December uprising, the tsarist government was forced to convene the State Duma. But tsarism sought to curtail her rights in every possible way. So, three days before the beginning of the work of the Duma, at the end of April 1906, the "Basic State Laws" were hastily issued, which stated that "the All-Russian Emperor belongs to the supreme autocratic state power." The tsar retained the right to change the basic laws and issue a number of especially important laws removed from the discussion of the Duma. In addition, the State Council received the same rights as the State Duma, which was transformed and henceforth was to consist of half of the high officials appointed by the tsar, half of elected representatives from the nobles, zemstvos, universities and clergy. Laws, after discussion and approval in the Duma, passed to the State Council for consideration, and only if adopted, were they presented to the tsar, who finally approved or rejected them. Thus, the legislative rights of the Duma, promised by the manifesto on October 17, were reduced to almost nothing. Witte, whose name was associated with the manifesto of October 17, was no longer suitable for a new, openly reactionary course. He was dismissed. Goremykin, a representative of the reactionary bureaucracy, was appointed chairman of the council of ministers. But the composition of the Duma turned out to be unfavorable for the tsarist government. 478 deputies were elected to the Duma. Of these: 179 Cadets, 105 non-party members, 97 Trudoviks, 63 autonomists, 18 Social Democrats, and 16 Octobrists. who finally approved or rejected them. Thus, the legislative rights of the Duma, promised by the manifesto on October 17, were reduced to almost nothing. Witte, whose name was associated with the manifesto of October 17, was no longer suitable for a new, openly reactionary course. He was dismissed. Goremykin, a representative of the reactionary bureaucracy, was appointed chairman of the council of ministers. But the composition of the Duma turned out to be unfavorable for the tsarist government. 478 deputies were elected to the Duma. Of these: 179 Cadets, 105 non-party members, 97 Trudoviks, 63 autonomists, 18 Social Democrats, and 16 Octobrists. an openly reactionary course was no longer suitable. He was dismissed. Goremykin, a representative of the reactionary bureaucracy, was appointed chairman of the council of ministers. But the composition of the Duma turned out to be unfavorable for the tsarist government. 478 deputies were elected to the Duma. Of these: 179 Cadets, 105 non-party members, 97 Trudoviks, 63 autonomists, 18 Social Democrats, and 16 Octobrists. an openly reactionary course was no longer suitable. He was dismissed. Goremykin, a representative of the reactionary bureaucracy, was appointed chairman of the council of ministers. But the composition of the Duma

turned out to be unfavorable for the tsarist government. 478 deputies were elected to the Duma. Of these: 179 Cadets, 105 non-party members, 97 Trudoviks, 63 autonomists, 18 Social Democrats, and 16 Octobrists.

Almost 25% of the members of the Duma were non-party peasants. But these were not at all the peasants on whom Count Witte had counted. Oppositional peasant deputies formed a "labor group" in the Duma. The most numerous party in the First State Duma were the Cadets (179 deputies), who, in pursuit of peasant votes before the elections, renamed themselves the *"people's freedom" party*.

When electing their deputies, the peasants believed that through the Duma they would receive land in a peaceful way. These constitutional illusions were spread by the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Cadets offered to give the peasants only a part of the landlord's land, and then according to a "fair assessment." The peasants knew from personal experience that the landlord's "fair assessment" was two to three times higher than the established prices for land. As the peasants understood the attitude of the government and the Cadets, as the leading party in the Duma, to the most urgent demands of the peasants about land, their constitutional illusions were destroyed. The relentless propaganda of the Bolsheviks, who helped the workers' deputies in the Duma to take the correct class position on a number of issues, also contributed to the clarification of the class consciousness of the peasant deputies.

Unmasking the Cadets as enemies of the working peasantry, Lenin and Stalin called on the peasants to act together with the workers, to create and strengthen the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry. Only such an alliance could lead the peasants to victory in the struggle for land and freedom. The Trudoviks submitted their draft land law to the Duma, according to which all landowners' land tenure was subject to compulsory alienation on the basis of equal land tenure. When the discussion of the agrarian question began in the State Duma, the passionate speeches of the peasant deputies about the land found a warm response throughout the country. In May - August 1906, peasant unrest covered 50% of all counties. The strengthening of revolutionary peasant uprisings greatly alarmed the tsarist government. It addressed the peasants with an official message, that the government will never agree to the compulsory alienation of the landowners' lands; it promised to buy land voluntarily sold by the owners at the expense of the state and sell them to the peasants at affordable prices. In response to this statement by the government, the Trudoviks tried to get an appeal to the people through the Duma, but it was failed by the Cadets.

The government was frightened by the discussion of the land question and decided to disperse the Duma. On July 8, 1906, the tsarist government announced the dissolution of the Duma, arguing that the peasantry "in a number of provinces went over to open robbery, theft of other people's property, disobedience to the law and legal authorities."

After the dispersal of the First State Duma, Minister of Internal Affairs Stolypin was appointed chairman of the council of ministers instead of Goremykin, who, from the point of view of tsarism, was not capable of decisively fighting the revolution. Lenin gave his political biography in the following few words:

"The landowner and leader of the nobility became governor in 1902, under Plehva, - glorifies himself in the eyes of the tsar and his Black Hundred camarilla with the brutal reprisals against the peasants, torturing them (in the Saratov province), - organizes Black Hundred gangs and pogroms in 1905. (Balashevsky pogrom), - became the Minister of Internal Affairs in 1906 and the chairman of the Council of Ministers since the dispersal of the State. thoughts " (Lenin, Soch., vol. 17, p. 218).

The situation in the country continued to be revolutionary. In the summer of 1906, large uprisings of soldiers and sailors broke out in Sveaborg and Kronstadt. But the uprisings occurred prematurely, before the preparations for them were

over. Warships and artillery were sent against the insurgent sailors. The uprisings were defeated. Their participants were brought to court-martial and executed. In August 1906, Stolypin passed a law on courts-martial in order to crack down on the revolutionaries. The death penalty by hanging has become commonplace. In an effort to split the peasantry, which during the revolution fought together for land, Stolypin between the 1st and 2nd Duma passed a decree on November 9, 1906, giving the peasants the right to leave the community and secure their land plots as property.

II STATE DUMA

By the fall of 1906, the revolutionary wave began to subside. The changed situation demanded a revision of Duma tactics. The Bolsheviks abandoned the tactics of boycotting the elections to the Second State Duma and took part in the election campaign in order to use the Duma rostrum to propagate the ideas of the revolution. The participation of left-wing parties in the elections contributed to the fact that the Second Duma was more to the left of the first in its composition. The number of cadets in it almost halved (98 versus 179). The Trudoviks, together with the SRs, had 157 seats instead of 97. The Social Democrats increased their representation from 18 to 65 deputies. Lenin directed the activities of the Bolshevik deputies. He made theses for the speeches of the deputies, directing them along the revolutionary path. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, strove for peaceful legislative work in the Duma in alliance with the liberals under the government of Stolypin the Hangman.

At the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP (April-May 1907, London), the Bolsheviks launched a fierce struggle against the treacherous tactics of the Mensheviks. The congress adopted a Bolshevik resolution demanding the systematic exposure of the counter-revolutionary tactics of the liberals.

The elections to the Second State Duma showed that on the basis of the existing electoral law, although it greatly curtailed the electoral rights of the working people, it was impossible to achieve a composition of the Duma acceptable to the tsarist government. Therefore, the tsarist government began to prepare for the dissolution of the II State Duma and changes in the electoral law.

At a meeting of the Duma on March 6, 1907, Stolypin, on behalf of the government, read out a declaration demanding the restoration of "order and tranquility" in the country. This speech meant the declaration of war on the people by tsarism.

The Cadets strove in every possible way to cooperate with the government and put forward the treacherous slogan: "Protect the Duma." The main question in the Second Duma, as in the first, was the agrarian question. The Cadets in the Second Duma brought their agrarian bill closer to that of Stolypin's. Tsarism and the bourgeoisie hoped to tear the peasantry away from the revolution, but they failed. The peasant deputies, as before, demanded that all the land be taken from the landlords, albeit for a ransom by the government. To disperse the Duma, the tsarist government staged a direct provocation, presenting a deliberately false accusation, fabricated by the secret police, of preparing a "state conspiracy" against the Social Democratic faction of the Second State Duma. On June 1, 1907, Stolypin demanded that the Social Democratic deputies be extradited to the court. The cadets agreed to fulfill the government's demand. June 3, 1907

This day is usually called the third June coup d'état, since the tsarist government violated its own manifesto of October 17, 1905, according to which the government could issue new laws only with the consent of the Duma. The Social Democrats, deputies of the Second Duma, were convicted by the tsarist court and sent to hard labor and exile.

Reasons for the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution. The coup of June 3, 1907 meant the temporary defeat of the revolution; the Bolsheviks then determined the reasons for the defeat of the first Russian revolution. The revolution has not yet formed a solid alliance of workers and peasants.

"This alliance," wrote Lenin, " was spontaneous, unformed, often unconscious" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 15, p. 305).

The peasants still did not understand well enough that the tsar and the landlords were one gang of the worst enemies of the people, that in order to overthrow the landowners, the tsar must also be overthrown. They have not yet realized, either, that the working class is the only true ally of the peasants and their leader. Therefore, a significant part of the peasantry did not support the workers' armed struggle against tsarism. Even the peasants who fought against the landlords and tsarism did not act consciously and well enough in an organized manner.

The army, which consisted mostly of peasants and reflected the lack of consciousness of the peasantry, had not yet gone over to the side of the rebels and for the most part helped tsarism to suppress the revolution.

The workers also acted insufficiently. The largest strike wave occurred in 1905. But the intensity of the strike movement in different regions was very different. In such industrial regions as Petersburg, Baku, Riga and others, every worker in 1905 went on strike at least 4-5 times, in the regions of the Moscow province every worker went on strike only once, and in a number of small-industrial provinces not even all of them went on strike. workers.

In 1906, in the most industrial provinces, a decrease in the number of strikers was observed, and, conversely, in the provinces of the least industrial, the most provincial (in Lenin's words), the number of strikers increased. But by this time the vanguard of the working class had already been weakened.

In 1905-1907. among the working class there was still no unity necessary for the victory of the revolution. The party was first split into two factions, and then formally united.

The Bolsheviks pursued a consistent revolutionary line, but the Mensheviks still enjoyed influence among a certain section of the workers and hindered the development of the revolution.

Thus, in the first Russian revolution, its three main forces had not yet merged into one stream: workers, peasants and soldiers.

The tsarist government was helped by foreign imperialists, who feared for the fate of their investments in Russia and feared a revolution in Western Europe.

In the spring of 1906, French bankers gave the tsar a billion-dollar loan. Wilhelm II prepared an entire army to intervene in Russia to help tsarism. Peace with Japan also seriously helped tsarism, strengthening the position of the tsarist government. At the same time, the tsar could use the military force that was liberated in Manchuria to suppress the revolution.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 1905-1907 REVOLUTION

Revolution of 1905-1907 was for the workers and peasants of Russia a great school of political struggle. It awakened millions of working people to political life and made clear for them the relations of all classes. The masses have accumulated tremendous experience in the use of the general strike and armed uprising, which they used in further struggle. The working class created the Soviets of Workers' Deputies - the embryonic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This experience helped the

workers and peasants win 12 years later, in October 1917. That is why the revolution of 1905 is a dress rehearsal for the Great October Socialist Revolution. The international significance of the 1905 revolution is also very great. The first Russian revolution took place 35 years after the suppression of the Paris Commune. It took place in the era of imperialism.

"The revolution against tsarism was drawing closer, thus, and had to develop into a revolution against imperialism, into a proletarian revolution" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, p. 76).

Under the direct influence of the Russian revolution, political struggles unfolded in Austria (in October 1905), in Germany (in January 1906), in France (in May 1906) and in Asia (revolutions in Persia, Turkey, and China). Millions of workers and peasants throughout the world studied and are learning from the experience of the first Russian revolution of 1905.



***Слава великим идеям,
Слава бесстрашным борцам!***

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STOLYPINSKAYA REACTION (1908-1912)

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JUNE THIRD MONARCHY



INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION 1904-1908

By the time the first Russian revolution was defeated, the capitalist world entered a period of a new economic crisis (1907-1909).

In tsarist Russia, the crisis of the 900s dragged on for a much longer period than the usual periodic crises in Europe, and in 1904 turned into depression (stagnation).

An unsuccessful war with Japan, a reduction in government orders and railway construction, a number of crop failures that narrowed the already narrow domestic market - all these conditions had a great impact on the protracted nature of the industrial crisis of the 900s. The new global economic crisis deepened the industrial depression in Russia.

The course of the crisis can be shown by the example of pig iron production during this period. If the level of pig iron production in 1900 is taken as 100, then in 1903 it drops to 84; in connection with the needs of the outbreak of war with Japan, it rises in 1904 to 102, but already in 1905-1906. again drops to 93, and in the years of depression, 1907-1909, does not exceed 97% of the level of 1900 and only after a decade of crisis, in 1910, for the first time exceeds the level of production at the beginning of the century.

All major industries, including the oil industry, were in a state of stagnation. Only the coal industry of Donbass has suffered less from the crisis and depression. The textile industry, which rose somewhat by 1907, remained at the same level during the depression years.

After the 1905 revolution, significant changes took place in industry. The concentration of industry has increased.

The associations of capitalists — trusts and syndicates — grew rapidly. During the industrial depression, the role of large banks increased. Banks were directly involved in the reorganization of industry, strengthening and expanding some enterprises, closing others, uniting and rebuilding others. To finance Russian industry, at the suggestion of the French bankers, a union of banks, the Russian-French Financial Society, was created. Capitalism in Russia became more and more monopoly, imperialist capitalism.

Often, entrepreneurs temporarily closed their enterprises in order to introduce new machines, reorganize the management of enterprises, and unite with other enterprises. The unemployment caused by the crisis has taken on a spasmodic character. This created complete uncertainty for the workers in the future. In mass calculations, male labor was then replaced by cheaper female and child labor. The material situation of the workers deteriorated sharply. Entrepreneurs sought to return workers to working conditions that existed before the 1905 revolution. The working day was extended to 10-12 hours. Prices for all types of work were reduced. Penalties have become a system again. The cost of living grew steadily.

Created in 1906-1907. in St. Petersburg and Moscow the largest unions of entrepreneurs - the societies of manufacturers and factory owners - opposed the workers in a united front with tsarism. Business organizations laid off the most class-conscious and militant workers. Such workers were blacklisted and could not get a job anywhere. Manufacturers often announced mass layoffs of workers.

RUNNING COUNTER-REVOLUTION

After three revolutionary years, Russia has experienced bloody years of rampant counter-revolution. Lenin describes them as years

"... the black Duma, rampant violence and lawlessness, the onslaught of the capitalists on the workers, the seizure of those gains that the workers have made" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 16, p. 325).

The tsarist government, landowners and capitalists took revenge on the workers and peasants for the revolution.

In Siberia, in the Caucasus, in the Baltic provinces, punitive expeditions continued to rage. They burned and destroyed dozens of villages, executed or killed thousands of workers and peasants without trial, beat and flogged women and children with rods. The tsarist government was afraid for a long time to return the troops sent to fight the revolution to their places of permanent deployment. The number of troops in the central provinces was increased at the expense of the border areas, since the "internal enemy" seemed to tsarism more dangerous than the external one.

The whole country was covered with gallows. By the name of the head of the tsarist government, Stolypin, the gallows were popularly called "Stolypin's ties." Lenin wrote:

"Never before has there been such an outburst of persecution by tsarism in Russia. The gallows have broken the record of three centuries of Russian history during these five years "(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 17, p. 453).

Hundreds of thousands of people have been imprisoned. Revolutionaries in prisons were tortured and beaten. For participation in strikes or revolutionary demonstrations, workers were sentenced to years of hard labor. After the June 3rd coup, the black hundreds, organized by the "Union of the Russian People", also intensified their pogrom activities.

The Odessa Black Hundreds were especially violent. They organized bandit detachments that roamed the city with rubber truncheons and revolvers and beat passers-by.

Not a year passed without the Black Hundred gangs organizing a bloody Jewish pogrom. Robbery attacks by police and gendarmes on workers' organizations have become more frequent throughout the country. In 1907, 159 trade unions were closed, in 1908 - over 100, in 1909 - 96. Workers' newspapers and magazines were prohibited. The surviving cultural and educational workers' organizations eked out a miserable existence.

Tsarism acted as the worst enemy of the people. Giving a general description of the June third monarchy, Lenin wrote:

"... the tsarist monarchy is the focus of that gang of Black Hundred landowners (the first of them is Romanov), which made Russia a bogeyman not only for Europe, but now also for Asia, - a gang that has now brought arbitrariness, robberies and embezzlement of officials, systematic violence over the "common people", torture and torture in relation to political opponents, etc., to the extent of completely exceptional "(Lenin, Soch., vol. 17, p. 249).

III THE STATE DUMA



Caricature for the elections to the III State Duma

The third June coup meant the transition of tsarism to the offensive against the conquests of the revolutionary masses. But tsarism could no longer return entirely to the pre-revolutionary order. The revolutionary struggle of the working people during the 1905 revolution, although it was defeated, made it impossible for tsarism to rule by the old methods. Having dispersed two thoughts, Nicholas II was nevertheless forced to convene a III thought. The need for the existence of at least some semblance of a representative institution in Russia, in addition, was caused by the growth of capitalism, the strengthening of the Russian bourgeoisie and the fragile international position of tsarism, which had to maneuver and create for Europe the appearance of a constitutional system in Russia. Most importantly, in the person of the Duma, tsarism strove to create a new class support for itself by establishing a bloc with the counter-revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie.

In an effort to "retain power and income" for the ruling class of feudal landowners, tsarism after the 1905 revolution took the second (after 1861) step towards the

bourgeois monarchy, strengthening the bloc with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The political formation and consolidation of the June third bloc of landowners and the bourgeoisie was the State Duma, convened by the electoral law of June 3, 1907.

Compared to the electoral law of December 11, 1905, the law of June 3, 1917 increased the number of electors from landowners almost 5 times, from the bourgeoisie - 7 times, and the number of electors from workers and peasants more than halved. The electoral rights of the peoples of Russia were also limited. The peoples of Central Asia were completely deprived of representation in the Duma. Poland, instead of 35 deputies, could send only 12, of which two were necessarily Russians - from Warsaw and Kholmshchyna. While European Russia had 403 seats in the Duma, the "outskirts" - only 39.

Thus, the new electoral law ensured the landlord-bourgeois composition of the Third State Duma, that is, it created not so much a Duma chosen as it was specially in the interests of tsarism. 202 landowners were elected to the Duma (46% of the total membership of the Duma).

The party composition of the Duma deputies shows with the same convincingness its bourgeois-landlord character. The right-wing parties had 40% of the deputies in the Duma, the Octobrists - 25%, the Cadets - 23%, and the left parties - slightly more than 7%. The rest declared themselves non-partisan. Not a single party, taken separately, had an absolute majority in the Duma.

Such a composition of the Duma made it possible for the tsarist government to maneuver and alternately rely on the Black Hundred-Octobrist, then the Octobrist-Cadet majority, without fear of serious opposition from one side or the other.

The Octobrists obedient to the government voted for all the government's proposals, sometimes in alliance with the right-wing Black Hundreds, sometimes in alliance with the Cadets.

The head of the government of the June third bloc was Stolypin, the chairman of the council of ministers. He was one of the most prominent representatives of the class of landowners, united in a counter-revolutionary organization - "Council of the United Nobility". With the support of the Octobrists and Cadets, Stolypin launched a campaign against the workers and peasants, against the working people of the national regions. The slogan of Stolypin's entire domestic policy was: *"First, calming down - then reforms."*

Stolypin achieved *"calming down"* with the most brutal terror. At the same time, fearing a new explosion of revolution, Stolypin was forced to take up the agrarian reform.

II

STOLYPIN'S AGRARIAN REFORM



Stolypin carriage

AGRICULTURE SITUATION

The land, or agrarian, question was, as Lenin put it, the highlight of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its essence consisted in the need to destroy the huge landlord latifundia as the basis of medieval bondage, in which the peasant was still found, and as the main brake on the development of capitalism. After the 1905 revolution, as before, 30 thousand of the largest landowners continued to own 70 million acres of land, and almost the same amount of land was owned by 10 ' / 2 million of the poorest peasant households.

This distribution of the land area led to the extreme backwardness of agriculture.

It was more profitable for the landowners to lease their land to the peasants than to start their own cultural economy. The peasants cultivated both allotment and lease land with their pitiful implements. As a result, the general level of agriculture in Russia in the XX century. was as low as before.

In terms of grain yield, Russia was in one of the last places in the world: in 1909-1913. the average yield in Russia was 45 poods per tithe, in France - 90, in Germany - 152, in Denmark - 195 poods. Agricultural mechanization also lagged far behind the advanced countries. Most of the peasant fields were plowed, sowing and threshing of grain was done by hand. In 1910, 3 million wooden plows were used in the agriculture of the empire. 8 million wooden plows, 6 million wooden harrows and only 27 thousand steam threshers.

After the 1905 revolution, the question of a sharp breakdown of the old medieval land tenure in Russia became especially urgent. Even sharper than in 1861, the struggle developed over one of two possible paths for the development of capitalism in agriculture — Prussian or American. In 1907, Lenin wrote that two perspectives are possible:

“Or the evolution of the Prussian type: the feudal landlord becomes a junker. Landlord Power Strengthened for 10 Years c. state. Monarchy. "Military despotism sheathed in parliamentary forms" instead of democracy. The greatest inequality in the rural and in the rest of the population. Or American-style evolution. Destruction of the landlord economy. The peasant becomes a free farmer. Democracy. The bourgeois democratic system. The greatest equality among the rural population, as the starting point and condition for free capitalism ”(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 12, p. 317).

The peasant uprisings during the years of the revolution showed that the peasantry, who no longer wanted to put up with their position, demanded a revolutionary

breakdown of the old land tenure and was essentially taking the American path of development of capitalism in agriculture.

The tsarist government, the landowners and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie strove to lead the development of capitalism in agriculture in the interests of the landowners, along the Prussian path. The tsarist government decided to try, by ruining the countryside, to split the peasantry and separate from it a layer of the most well-to-do landowners - "*new landowners*" who would themselves become defenders of the inviolability of private ownership of land and the inviolability of the tsarist autocracy.

Therefore, the tsarist government abandoned the previous policy of preserving the community and the medieval forms of land use associated with it (attachment to the community, mutual responsibility, etc.). By destroying the community, tsarism wanted to strengthen the kulak, to transform the rest of the peasants into a huge reserve army of labor, thereby providing large-scale industry and landlord economy with cheap labor.

If the "reform" of 1861 presented an opportunity to plunder the peasant lands of the landowners, now this opportunity was open to the kulaks.

BREAKING THE COMMUNITY

Stolypin outlined three groups of measures with the help of which he hoped to avoid an agrarian revolution and strengthen the power of tsarism: 1) the destruction of the community, 2) the planting of farm and bran farming in the village, and 3) the resettlement of peasants.

The Stolypin decree on November 9, 1906, which began the destruction of the community, turned after it was passed through the State Duma into a law on June 14, 1910, which was supposed to complete this destruction. The decree of November 9, 1906 provided the peasants with the opportunity to leave the community; June 14, 1910 established the obligatory nature of this exit.

According to the Stolypin land law, communal use of land was destroyed. A peasant could stand out from the community and sell his allotment, which he had no right to do before. The rich peasant kulaks were able to buy up land from the ruined peasant poor at a cheap price. Those leaving the community could secure allotment plots for themselves, staying to live in the village, and bring the allotted land into one plot - the cut. But they could transfer their house and economy to a dedicated plot outside the village, and then a farm was created.

Allotments for farms and cuts required funds for the organization of the economy. The government issued loans to the kulaks for the purchase of land and the establishment of farms. It demanded that the best communal lands be provided for the allotment to the kulaks-farmers. The planting of farms and cuts was often carried out forcibly, with the help of zemstvo chiefs. The tsarist government sent a whole army of guards to the village, and gave the governors the right to send troops to the village to suppress the resistance of the peasants to the detachment from the community.

Khutoryan-kulaks were in the minority. Another category of farmers prevailed - beggars, ruined peasants who had nowhere to go from want. "Nowhere, so even to the farms," they said. But such farmers could not establish a farm and sold their plots to kulaks. Kulak farms and cuts were transformed into real estates with widespread use of hired farm laborers. The stratification of the peasantry intensified. Some of the landless peasants went to work in the city and turned into proletarians.

For 10 years of the Stolypin law, more than two million householders (with a land area of 18 million hectares) left the community and secured the land as personal property. Of this amount, 54.7% were allocated per farms and cuts, but then three-thirds of those who separated sold their plots.

The Peasant Bank was the intermediary in the sale of land. From 1906 to 1910, the peasants acquired only 6 million hectares of land through the bank. The bank planted exclusively farms and cuts. For the decade 1906-1916, the activity of the Peasant Bank was expressed in the creation of about 200 thousand farms and cuts. The peasant bank acted in the interests of the nobles and kulaks. Allotment land, in comparison with the landlord's, was bought by the bank for a pittance. Where a hectare of landlord's land cost 121 rubles, allotment was valued at 79 rubles, while the bank sold it for 140-150 rubles. When selling land in installments, the bank took a large percentage.

Often, a peasant who had separated from the community for a farm was not able to pay the bank on time the loan and interest. Then his property was sold under the hammer, and the peasant himself had to go to work in the city.



Stolypin also launched a widespread resettlement policy. He strove to create more "strong" and "strong" peasant-owners in the center of Russia, and to expel the dissatisfied poor and middle peasants further away - to Siberia and to other outskirts. For 1906 - 1910 was relocated to Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and other outskirts of 2.5 million peasants.

Pursuing political goals, the Stolypin government did not take into account either the interests of the settlers or the rights of the local population.

The resettlement business was entrusted to land management commissions, zemstvo chiefs and governors. Land surveying commissions sent the poor and middle peasants in whole lots in cattle wagons with the inscription: "40 people, 8 horses."

Immigrants with wives and children, healthy and sick, traveled to their destination for months; here in the carriages they cooked food, washed the clothes; they were landed at their destination directly under the open sky, despite rain or snow. The settlers were housed in hastily dug dugouts and began their endless ordeals in order to obtain land as a loan for economic establishment. Most of the plots were allocated in remote and inconvenient places, without water, without mowing, without pastures. The size of the loan was insufficient for running the household. What disasters the settlers suffered, left to fend for themselves in the distant outskirts, can

be seen, for example, from the report of the Lvov mud, who traveled on behalf of the zemstvos to the Far East:

"The isolation from the world, as on an uninhabited island, among the bog bogs of the deep taiga, swampy valleys and mountains, the completely wild conditions of life, work and food, naturally, suppress the faint of heart and the impoverished migrant. He falls into apathy, having depleted his small supply of energy at the very beginning of the struggle with the harsh nature, making himself a miserable home. Scurvy and typhus take over the depleted body and carry it to the cemetery. In many settlements in 1907, the mortality rate is directly incredible - 25 and 30 percent. There are as many courtyards as there are crosses in them, and many villages are doomed to continuous transfer to new sites or cemeteries. "

Many settlers, in despair, left their newly acquired land plots and, completely ruined, returned to their old places. The recent middle peasants-settlers turned into farm laborers or urban workers.

Migration brought ruin to the local population of the outskirts. The colonization land fund was created through direct robbery of local peasants. There was a massive displacement of the Kyrgyz population from winter pastures. The highlanders of the Caucasus were pushed back from fertile lands into rocky gorges.

In Central Asia, beautiful gardens were destroyed if they fell into the strip of land allocated for the crops of settlers.

The devastated and impoverished population of the outskirts was revolutionized and joined the ranks of the fighters against tsarism.

RESULTS OF THE STOLYPIN AGRARIAN REFORM

Starting his agrarian reform, Stolypin declared that he was striving to wrest the peasantry from the hands of the revolution, and from the kulak elite he intended to create "little landowners" - a solid support of the autocracy to fight the revolution. "Give me 20 years of peace, and I will reform Russia," Stolypin said.

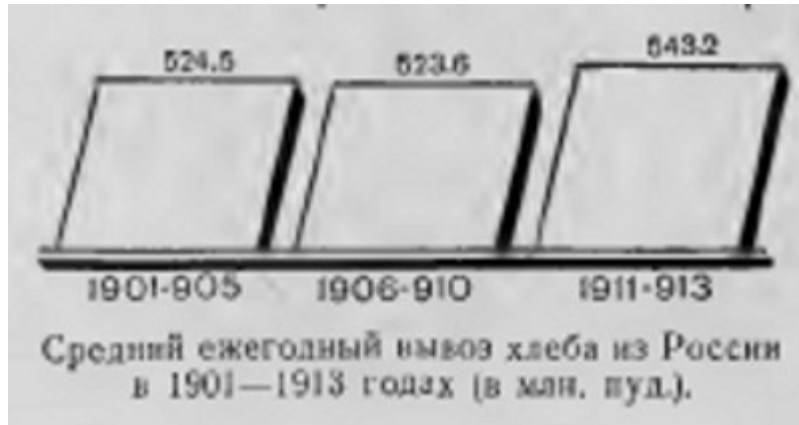
In his article ["The Last Valve"](#) Lenin showed that as a result of Stolypin's agrarian policy, neither "reform" nor "rest" came about.

A new crop failure in 1911 and the famine of 30 million peasants showed that the Stolypin reform did not destroy the root causes of the backwardness of agriculture in the countryside. In areas affected by poor harvest, hungry typhus and other epidemic diseases raged.

In 1910, a cholera epidemic killed 100,000 people in southern Russia. A plague epidemic began in the Astrakhan steppes. Ruin, poverty, famine caused great anger and revolutionized the peasants.

Stolypin's reform did not break medieval land tenure. Over 160 million hectares of the best and most fertile lands remained in the hands of the landowners, the royal family and the monasteries. As before, the landowners enslaved the peasants, forced them with peasant nags and with primitive tools to cultivate the landowners' land.

"This is not capitalism," Lenin wrote about the landlord and peasant economy as a result of the Stolypin reform. "This is not the European way of farming ... This is the old Chinese way. This is Turkish. This is serfdom "(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 19, p. 168).



The reform did not even eliminate the stripes and other remnants of serfdom, which reduced the productivity of peasant labor. The peasants called the Stolypin land management "land management" with bitter mockery.

The Stolypin reform gave ONLY a respite to the dying serfdom. Average annual export of grain from Russia, not allowing the deepest in 1901-1913 (in a million poods.), contradictions that formed the basis of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution. It further intensified the stratification of the peasantry and exacerbated the class struggle in the countryside.

The agrarian question as the main issue of the Russian revolution could be resolved only through the liquidation of the landlord latifundia and the transfer of all landowners' land - free of charge from landlords to peasants. But only revolution could lead to this.

WORKING MOVEMENT IN THE YEARS OF REACTION



In the winter of 1907, the Stolypin government issued an order for the arrest of Lenin. Tsarist detectives were intensely looking for the leader of the revolution. At the suggestion of the party, Lenin, who lived in Finland, had to go abroad. In order to quietly board a steamer, Lenin, accompanied by two Finnish peasants, went at night across the ice to the nearest island. December ice was fragile, and Lenin nearly drowned, falling into the hole and only with difficulty getting out of it. Finally, he safely boarded a steamer and left Finland abroad. Lenin's second emigration lasted almost ten years.

Abroad (Switzerland) Lenin already in February 1908 resumed the publication of the Bolshevik newspaper Proletary, with the help of which he began to prepare the party and the working class for a new revolution.

Comrade Stalin moved from Tiflis to Baku in 1907, where he led the revolutionary struggle of the Baku proletariat.

Under the blows of reaction, the strike movement in Russia continued to decline. In 1908, 176 thousand workers went on strike, in 1909 — 64 thousand, in 1910 — only 46 thousand workers. The strikes were defensive in nature. In Baku, the workers' movement, led by Comrade Stalin, had a pronounced political character. To distract the workers from the revolutionary struggle, the oil owners proposed to hold a conference of representatives from factories and fields with entrepreneurs to discuss the terms of the collective agreement. The Bolsheviks called for a boycott of the conference.

At the end of 1907, when reaction was raging throughout the country, a kind of workers' parliament sat in Baku for about two weeks, in which the Baku workers worked out demands for the oil owners. When these demands were rejected, the Bolsheviks called on the workers for a general strike. During the preparations for the strike, a 22-year-old Azerbaijani worker Khanlar, a fiery orator who knew how to lead the masses, was treacherously killed from around the corner. Khanlar's funeral turned into a powerful political demonstration. At the grave of the fallen fighter, Comrade Stalin, urging the Azerbaijani workers to continue the struggle, said that Khanlar was the first victim of the Azerbaijani people to the Russian revolution.

Assessing the militant character of the Baku strikes, Lenin wrote:

"In 1908, the provinces with a significant number of strikers were headed by Bakinskaya, with 47,000 strikers. The last Mohicans of a mass political strike!" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 16, p. 368).

In March 1908, the gendarmes arrested Comrade Stalin. But he continued to lead the movement even from prison, sending articles for the Gudok newspaper. Once a group of Bolsheviks was sent from prison to hard labor. Seeing them from the window of the cell, Comrade Stalin shouted to them goodbye: "Take care of the shackles, they will be useful to us for the tsarist government."

In the fall of 1908, Comrade Stalin was exiled for two years to Solvychevodsk, from where he fled in the summer of 1909. After his escape, Comrade Stalin returned to Baku to work illegally.

IDEAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF INTELLIGENCE

Describing the political life of Russia during the Stolypin reactionary period as "an abomination of desolation," Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The constraint of social thought, general fatigue and apathy, need and despair among the workers, downtrodden and intimidated peasants amid the general revelry of the police-landlord-capitalist pack - these are the characteristic features of Stolypin's" appeasement "(Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 129).

The defeat of the revolution caused disintegration and decay among the intelligentsia. Part of the bourgeois fellow travelers of the revolution went to the camp of open enemies of the revolution. Another section, having settled in legal workers' organizations, condemned all revolutionary activities and called on the workers to adapt to reaction and get along with tsarism. This part of the intelligentsia believed that the Stolypin reforms had already placed Russia among the bourgeois states and made the revolution unnecessary. The most hostile to the revolution was the bourgeois (Cadet) intelligentsia, united around the literary collection Vekhi, published in 1909. It was compiled by prominent representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia, former legal Marxists and Cadets. They declared war on Marxism, abandoned the struggle for democracy, and called for reconciliation with tsarism. Vekhi defended Orthodoxy,

The petty-bourgeois parties (Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and others) experienced ideological confusion and collapse with particular force, within which numerous factions, groups and small groups appeared.

The Mensheviks believed that the revolution was over and that Stolypin led Russia along the path of bourgeois development. They tried to adapt to the Stolypin regime and proposed to liquidate the old militant Social Democratic Party, driven underground by tsarism. The Mensheviks were therefore called liquidators. Lenin called the liquidators "the Stolypin workers' party" because they had become servants and assistants of the June Third monarchy.

The Socialist-Revolutionary Party split. Back in 1906, the Right Socialist Revolutionaries created a semi-Kadet "Labor People's Socialist Party". *The "People's Socialists"* recognized the need for a ransom for the landlords' land alienated for the peasants and entered into a bloc with the Cadets. The "left" wing of the Social Revolutionaries formed a semi-anarchist group of maximalist Social Revolutionaries. They put forward the main means of struggle economic and political terror and soon degenerated into an unscrupulous group of expropriators.

During the years of reaction, under the conditions of police terror, betrayal and provocation developed greatly. Provocateurs infiltrated party organizations. On the instructions of the secret police, they organized political assassinations, which then brought dozens of innocent people to the gallows. The provocateur Azef, who had been at the head of the "military organization" of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, since 1903, gained great fame. After the Azef affair, the terrorist tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries were finally exposed as a tactic useful to the secret police and harmful to the masses.





House in Prague, where the VI All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP took place in 1912

BOLSHEVIK'S FIGHT FOR THE PARTY

Only the Bolsheviks were able to retreat in perfect order. The Bolsheviks knew that the victory of tsarism was temporary and fragile, and continued to fight to prepare forces for a new revolution. The tsarist government fiercely persecuted the Bolshevik Party, for belonging to which they were exiled to hard labor. But the Bolsheviks, having gone underground, continued to carry on tireless revolutionary work, creating their own cells at the enterprises. Combining legal and illegal forms of work, the Bolsheviks used the slightest legal opportunities to communicate with the masses: trade unions, workers' clubs, Sunday schools, cooperatives. In the State Duma, Bolshevik deputies used the Duma tribune in the interests of the revolution. The goal of the Bolsheviks was, as in 1905, to overthrow tsarism, to bring the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the end, then to carry out the transition to the socialist revolution. The Bolsheviks continued to defend the slogans: democratic republic, confiscation of landlord's land, 8-hour working day.

In the difficult conditions of the Stolypin reaction, the Bolsheviks fought on two fronts - against the Menshevik liquidators and against the otzovists. Some of the former Bolsheviks who demanded the recall of workers' deputies from the State Duma and the termination of all work in legal organizations began to be called otzovists. Lenin called the otzovists "liquidators inside out," since they pushed the party to break away from the masses and, consequently, led to the liquidation of the revolutionary party. The Bolsheviks therefore expelled the otzovists from the Bolshevik organization.

Trotsky and the Trotskyists defended a liquidationist position on all questions. Lenin said that Trotsky is meaner and more harmful than open liquidators, since Trotsky

deceived the workers with assurances that he was "outside the factions", but in fact supported the Menshevik liquidators. It was during these years that Lenin called him "Judas-Trotsky". In 1912 Trotsky was the organizer of the so-called "August bloc", a bloc of all anti-Party elements united in the struggle against Bolshevism.

Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov supported Trotsky against Lenin. As covert allies of Trotsky, they secured the closure of the Bolshevik newspaper Proletary and support for Trotsky's newspaper. Kamenev entered the editorial office of Trotsky's newspaper and sought to turn it into an organ of the Central Committee of the Party.

Decline and disbelief also affected some of the intellectuals who considered themselves Marxists, but never firmly held the positions of Marxism. They launched a "criticism" of the theoretical foundations of Marxism. Some of the intellectuals who abandoned Marxism even began to preach the need to create a new religion (the so-called "God-seekers" and "God-builders").

Lenin, in his famous book Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, published in 1909, rebuffed these degenerates in the field of the theory of Marxism and defended the theoretical foundations of the Marxist party.

REGISTRATION OF THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE INDEPENDENT MARXIST PARTY

The struggle against the liquidators, otzovists, and Trotskyists posed the task of the Bolsheviks to rally all the Bolsheviks and form them into an independent Marxist party. This was necessary in order to prepare the working class for a new revolutionary upsurge.



The VI Prague Conference of the RSDLP was held here in 1912

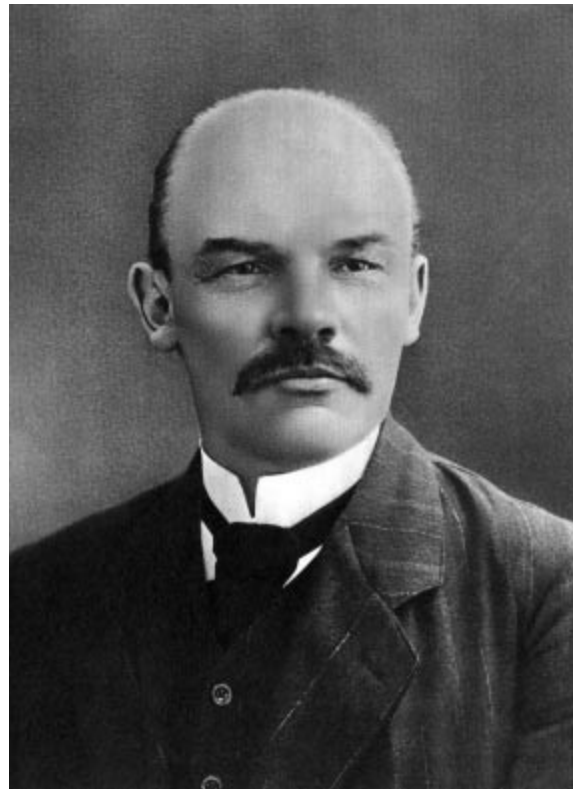
To form an independent Bolshevnik party, the VI All-Russian Party Conference was convened in Prague in January 1912. It mattered at the party congress. The Prague Conference elected a Bolshevnik Party Central Committee headed by Lenin. JV Stalin and Ya. M. Sverdlov, then in exile, were elected to the Central Committee in absentia.

Having defeated the Mensheviks ideologically and organizationally, expelling them, like the otzovists, from the party, the Bolshevniks retained the old name of the party, the RSDLP. The Prague conference laid the foundation for a new type of party, the party of Leninism, the Bolshevnik party.

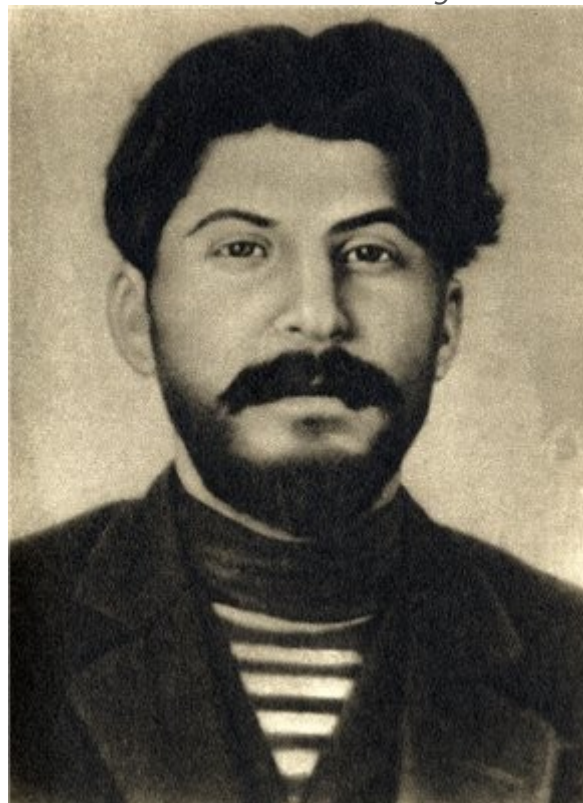
The Prague Conference in its decisions pointed to the inevitability of a new revolutionary upsurge and the need for intensified work among the masses. To guide the revolutionary work in Russia, a practical center was created - the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Stalin. On Lenin's instructions, Sergo Ordzhonikidze went into exile to see Stalin to inform him of the conference's decisions and to organize his escape. In February 1912, Comrade Stalin fled exile for the fourth time. He toured a number of cities in Russia and headed the growing revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg.

BOLSHEVIK'S IRON GUARD

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, in the difficult conditions of reaction, many leaders of the Bolshevik underground grew into major professional revolutionaries and party leaders.



IN AND. Lenin. 1910 g.



I.V. Stalin. 1912 g.

A staunch revolutionary was Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov - "... the most minted type of professional revolutionary", according to Lenin's description. At the age of 15, he

already began to engage in illegal revolutionary work among the Nizhny Novgorod and Sormov workers. In 1902, after a political demonstration organized by him in Sormovo, Sverdlov went to prison for the first time. Since then, his whole life has been an intense and dangerous revolutionary work, repeatedly interrupted by exile and escapes. In 1905 Sverdlov launched Bolshevik work in Kazan and the Urals, where he became the favorite leader of the working masses.



*"An organizer to the marrow of his bones, an organizer by nature, by skills, by revolutionary education, by instinct, an organizer with all his vigorous activity ...
Such is the figure of Ya.M. Sverdlov, "- I.V. Stalin.*

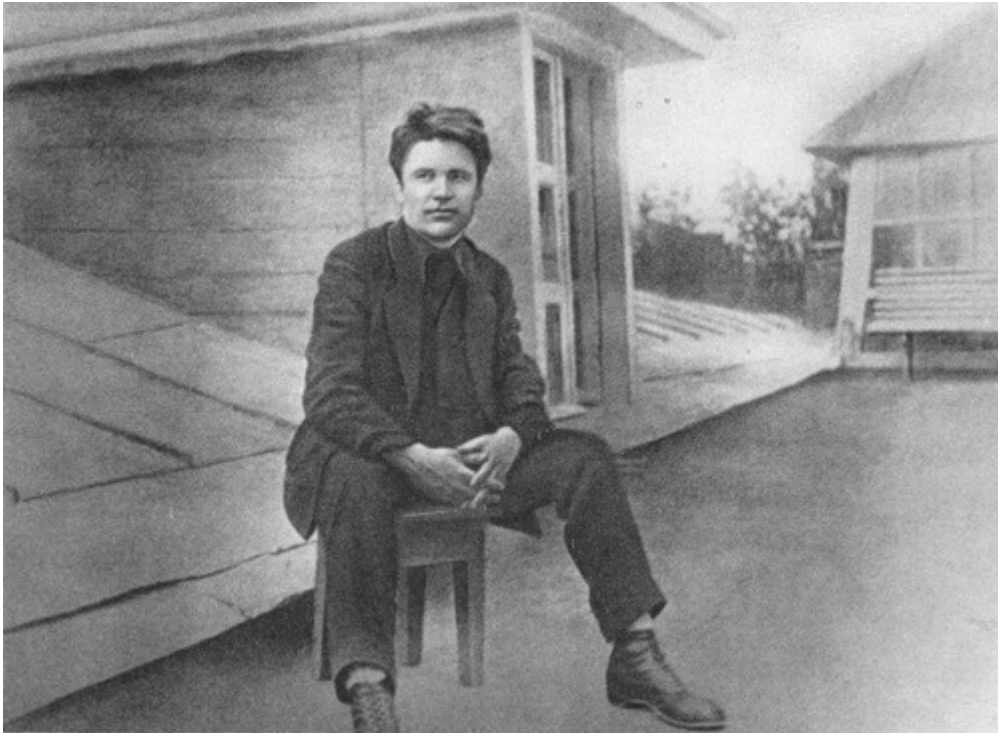
After the defeat of the revolution, Sverdlov was imprisoned in a fortress for two years. Having been released from prison during the years of reaction, he was soon arrested again and exiled to the Narym region. Five times he tried to escape from the deaf Maksimkin Yar, where even the mail came only twice a year. In the fall of 1912, he tried to swim across the Yenisei in a gas chamber boat, where he almost drowned. At the end of 1912, Sverdlov reached St. Petersburg.

Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze was also an adamant Bolshevik fighter. In 1905 he led the strike of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers. In March 1907 he was arrested and imprisoned. Frunze was threatened with the death penalty. "Disown your proletarians," his lawyer told him during the trial, "you will see, they will immediately pardon you." Frunze indignantly declared to the court that he refused to have such a defender. The imperial court sentenced Frunze to 10 years of hard labor.



M.V. Frunze

At the same time, Sergey Mironovich Kirov was doing a lot of party work. Kirov (Kostrikov) as an 18-year-old boy joined the Bolshevik Party in Tomsk; he took an active part in the 1905 revolution. For revolutionary work and the organization of a secret printing house, he was sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress. This was the third arrest of a young revolutionary. As soon as he was released from prison, Kirov, with his usual indefatigability, devoted himself to party work in Vladikavkaz, coining and training new cadres of Bolshevik revolutionaries.



M. Kirov. 1912 g.

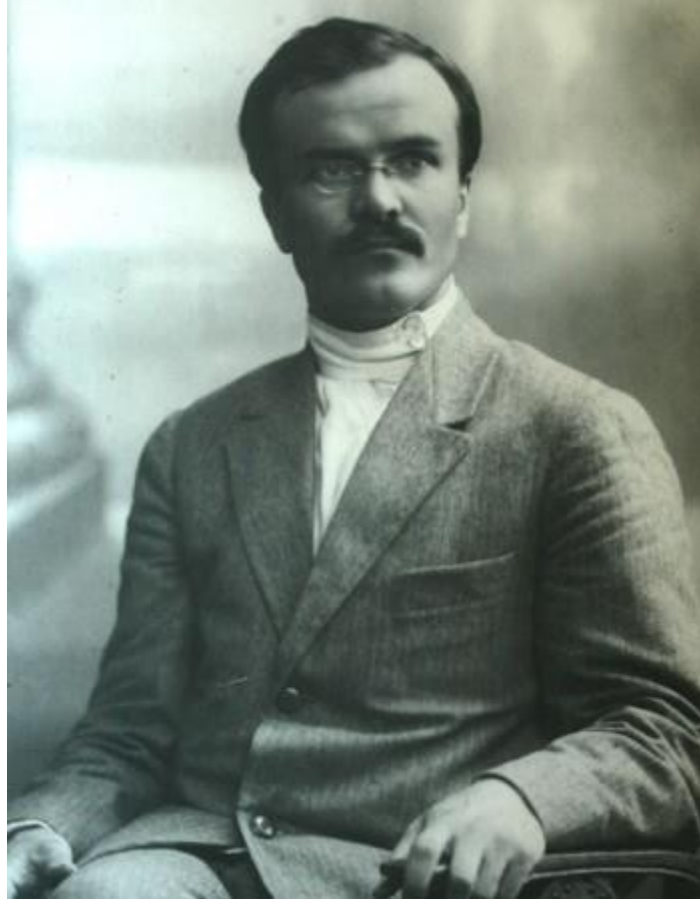
One of the same ardent young revolutionaries during these years was a student of Lenin and Stalin - Grigory Konstantinovich Ordzhonikidze (he was called in the party Sergo). The son of a Georgian peasant, he began revolutionary work at the age of 17.

In 1903 he joined the Bolshevik Party. During the first Russian revolution, he participated in the preparation of an armed uprising, but in December 1905 he was arrested while unloading the delivered weapons. He managed to escape abroad, but then he returned to Baku, and in 1909 he made his way to Persia and took part in the Persian revolution. After repeated arrests, Sergo Ordzhonikidze came to Lenin in Paris, where he studied at the party school created by Lenin. Elected a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party at the Prague Conference, Ordzhonikidze returned to underground Bolshevik work in Russia, but was soon arrested again and imprisoned for three years in the Shlisselburg Fortress.



Sergo Ordzhonikidze

At the same time, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov became a professional revolutionary, in his student years he joined the Bolshevik Party (in 1906). At the age of 16, he was already promoting Marxism among students, continuing this work in the years of reaction. Even before graduating from a real school, as a 19-year-old youth, V.M. Like other Bolsheviks, VM Molotov used the time of exile to better master the revolutionary theory and study the works of the classics of Marxism. In Vologda, he contacted the workers and did a lot of work among the railway workers.



V. M. Molotov

After exile, V.M.Molotov returned to St. Petersburg for Bolshevik underground work, actively participating in all the most important activities of the St. Petersburg organization of the Bolsheviks.

During the years of reaction, the Bolshevik workers Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin and Kliment Efremovich Voroshilov were professional police officers. A member of the St. Petersburg Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class, one of the active agents of Iskra, turner MI Kalinin, already from the 90s, led the hard life of a professional revolutionary, having spent in many prisons in Tsarist Russia. After another arrest in 1910, Kalinin entered the gun factory in St. Petersburg, and in 1911 became the head of the Bolshevik organization of the Vyborg district. At the Prague Conference, Kalinin was elected a candidate member of the Bolshevik Central Committee.



M.I. Kalinin



K.E. Voroshilov

Lugansk locksmith KE Voroshilov passed the same difficult path as a bolshevik during these years. As a 15-year-old teenager, he entered the plant and from the end of the 90s became an active participant in illegal crowd meetings and workers' demonstrations. In 1903 he joined the Bolshevik Party. During the 1905 revolution, preparing the workers of Lugansk for the uprising, he created detachments of vigilantes, took out weapons, and taught the workers to fire. At one of the meetings in 1905, Voroshilov called on the workers to learn the art of armed struggle and to train their commanders. "We are appointing you as a red general!" One of the workers shouted to him. "You've gone far," Voroshilov replied, laughing, "I don't know anything about military affairs." None of the workers and K.E. Voroshilov himself then suspected that the appointed workers in 1905

After the 1905 revolution, KE Voroshilov was arrested and in 1907 exiled for three years. Three months later he fled to Baku and, together with Comrade Stalin, participated in the struggle of the Baku workers. Arrested again and exiled to the Arkhangelsk province, KE Voroshilov fled again and with great difficulty made his way in 1912 to his native Donbass.

Other leaders of the Bolshevik underground were also engaged in selfless heroic work in the most difficult conditions of tsarist reaction, preparing the working class for a new revolutionary upsurge.



Bas-relief in Prague dedicated to the Prague Conference

IV

FOREIGN POLICY OF THE STOLYPIN GOVERNMENT

ENGLISH-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

The defeat of tsarism in the Russo-Japanese War led to a further decline in its international weight and importance. After the conclusion of the Portsmouth Peace Treaty with Japan, the autocracy could muster up strength only when it received a foreign loan.



Franz Joseph and Ferdinand seize Turkish lands from a helpless sultan. 1908 g.
A billion-dollar loan (2/2 billion francs) was granted to the autocracy in 1906 by England and France, and thus saved it from financial bankruptcy. The imperialists of England and France, fearing the spread of the revolution in Europe and the colonial countries, were interested in suppressing the Russian revolution. Therefore, they went to a rapprochement with tsarism and helped him to regulate relations with Japan. The latter continued to make unacceptable demands on Russia and threatened to resume the war. But after the recent losses and after the demobilization of the Russian army in the Far East, the war with Japan would have been completely unbearable for tsarist Russia. The British and French governments put pressure on Japan, which needed an overseas loan, and forced it to conclude an agreement with Russia in the summer of 1907 guaranteeing the security of its Far Eastern borders. From my side, The tsarist government pledged to support France against Germany in its struggle for Morocco and agreed to delineate the spheres of influence between England and Russia in the Middle East (in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet). Thus, simultaneously with the Russian-Japanese agreement, a political agreement between Russia and Britain was signed. According to the 1907 treaty, northern Persia, the most populated, was recognized as a sphere of Russian

influence; southern Persia, with its military ports, oil riches, strategically covering the approaches to India, was declared a sphere of British influence. Central Persia was considered a neutral zone. simultaneously with the Russian-Japanese agreement, a political agreement between Russia and Britain was signed. According to the 1907 treaty, northern Persia, the most populated, was recognized as a sphere of Russian influence; southern Persia, with its military ports, oil riches, strategically covering the approaches to India, was declared a sphere of British influence. Central Persia was considered a neutral zone. simultaneously with the Russian-Japanese agreement, a political agreement between Russia and Britain was signed. According to the 1907 treaty, northern Persia, the most populated, was recognized as a sphere of Russian influence; southern Persia, with its military ports, oil riches, strategically covering the approaches to India, was declared a sphere of British influence. Central Persia was considered a neutral zone.

The significance of the Anglo-Russian agreement was that it (in the presence of the Franco-Russian treaty of 1893 and the Anglo-French agreement of 1904) completed the creation of the Anglo-French-Russian "Consent". This is how the Triple Agreement (or the Entente) was formalized, directed against the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy).

BOSNIAN CRISIS

After both coalitions were finally formed, a pan-European war became a close prospect.

The first and best armed Germany and its ally Austria-Hungary were striving to accelerate the pan-European war. The multinational Austria-Hungary, in a state of internal disintegration, hoped to strengthen its position by advancing to the Balkan Peninsula.

In the fall of 1908, a meeting of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian foreign ministers took place, who agreed that the tsarist government would not object to the annexation (forcible annexation) of Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied by Austria-Hungary since the Berlin Congress of 1878. Austria-Hungary, in turn, promised to support the tsarist government's demand for the free passage of Russian warships through the Turkish straits.

However, the claims of tsarism in the Balkans met with determined resistance from England. Austria-Hungary, not caring about fulfilling its promise, hastened to declare the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by Serbs. This caused an explosion of national indignation in Serbia. Tsarist Russia demanded that the issue of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the straits be discussed at a European conference. But in March 1909 Germany intervened in the conflict and demanded from Russia and Serbia the formal recognition of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnian crisis of 1908-1909 almost led to an armed clash of powers. Tsarism was not ready for a new war. Therefore, he capitulated himself and forced Serbia to capitulate. Right-wing deputies in the Third Duma called this failure of tsarist diplomacy "*diplomatic Tsushima*".

POLITICS OF TSARISM IN THE EAST

In Persia, Turkey and China, tsarism played the role of "... *an ally and watchdog of Western imperialism*" (Stalin).

The revolution of 1905-1907, as the first bourgeois-democratic revolution of the era of imperialism, found a wide response among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples oppressed by imperialism, primarily among the peoples of the East neighboring Russia. In 1906, the bourgeois revolution began in Persia. England and Russia subjected revolutionary Persia to a financial blockade. In December 1911, the Persian reactionaries, with the support of the British imperialists and Russian tsarism, staged a counter-revolutionary coup. The Persian Revolution was strangled. By agreement with England, tsarism left its occupying troops in northern Persia.

The largest revolution in the East was the Chinese revolution of 1911, directed against the Chinese feudal lords and foreign imperialists.

Russian tsarism participated in a bloc of six powers (England, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, USA), which subjected revolutionary China to a financial boycott and helped the counter-revolutionary President Yuan Shih-kai suppress the revolution.

TSARISM - THE RESERVE OF WESTERN IMPERIALISM

Although Russian tsarism had its own independent imperialist goals in the prepared world war, its subordinate and dependent position in the triple Entente determined its position as a military reserve of Western imperialism.

In a future war, the actions of the tsarist army were determined by the military interests of England and France. At a meeting of the chiefs of staff in 1911, the representative of France said: "*The goal that the Russian troops must pursue is to force Germany to detain as many forces as possible on the eastern border.*" The Russian army pledged to launch an offensive against Germany simultaneously with the Anglo-French offensive.

At a meeting of the chiefs of staff in 1912, France put forward a demand that at least 800,000 Russian soldiers should be concentrated on the Austro-German border, in accordance with the Franco-Russian military convention of 1892. It was required to advance, regardless of the position on the Anglo-French front, on the 16th day of Russian mobilization.

To transfer troops to the German border, tsarist Russia had to build new strategic railways. Another French loan was issued to the tsarist government on condition that it was used exclusively for this purpose.

All this testified to the fact that tsarism was gradually losing independence even in purely military matters.

Emphasizing Russia's dependence on the West European imperialists, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Tsarist Russia was the greatest reserve of Western imperialism, not only in the sense that it gave free access to foreign capital, which held in its hands such decisive sectors of the Russian economy as fuel and metallurgy, but also in the sense that it could put in favor of Western imperialists, millions of soldiers" (Stalin, Soch., vol. 6, p. 75).

STRENGTHENING OF NATIONAL-COLONIAL Oppression IN THE YEARS OF THE STOLYPIN REACTION



Black

Hundreds on the streets of Odessa

THE NATIONAL POLICY OF TSARISM IN THE YEARS OF REACTION

The law of June 3, 1907 severely curtailed the electoral rights of a number of nationalities. The Third State Duma passed a number of laws that further restricted the elementary rights of the nationalities that were part of the tsarist empire. The Stolypin government decided, first of all, to limit the rights of the majority of the "outskirts", where the national liberation movement was then the strongest - in Finland, Poland, in the Caucasus.

At the suggestion of Stolypin III, the State Duma in 1910 passed a law according to which all the main issues concerning Finland were to be discussed in the Duma and approved by the tsarist government. Thus, the Finnish Sejm was transformed into only a legislative body.

The Polish nationalist parties formed in the Third State Duma a special "Polish color" made up of Polish bourgeois nationalists. With his passive resistance in the Duma, a project was discussed for the creation of zemstvo institutions in the western provinces, in which the Great Russian landowners were assigned a leading role.

The defeat in Finland and Poland of the freedoms obtained thanks to the heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat in 1905 was explained by the treacherous position of the Finnish and Polish bourgeoisie, who united their hatred of revolution with tsarism.

“The experience of the 1905 revolution showed,” Lenin wrote on this occasion, “that even in these two nations the ruling classes, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, renounce the revolutionary struggle for freedom and seek rapprochement with the ruling classes in Russia and with the tsarist monarchy out of fear of the revolutionary the proletariat of Finland and Poland ”(Lenin, Soch., vol. 19, p. 214).

The Third State Duma also discussed a bill on the redemption of peasant duties in the Caucasus. According to this law, the provision of 1881 on the obligatory transfer of all temporarily obligated peasants to ransom was extended to the Caucasus.

Thus, it was only in 1912 that serfdom in the Caucasus was actually abolished, and its remnants remained until the 1917 revolution.

The Black Hundreds achieved in the Duma depriving Ukrainians, Belarusians and Jews of the right to have a school in their native language. In Ukraine, all "enlightenment" were closed, concerts and performances in Ukrainian were prohibited. Professors and teachers from higher and secondary schools were fired for the Ukrainian way of thinking. Singing Ukrainian folk songs by kobzars was not allowed at fairs. The Stolypin government especially cruelly persecuted Jews, inciting anti-Semitism among the backward part of the population. Six million of the Jewish population suffocated in the "Jewish Pale". Meanwhile, in the Third Duma, the Black Hundreds raised a campaign about "the inadmissibility of the equality of Jews" and demanded further restrictions on the rights of the Jewish population in Russia. The thugs from among the highest tsarist officials created the so-called "Beilis case" - an anti-Jewish trial.

In 1911, a Russian boy was killed by a gang of thieves in Kiev. Tsarist officials used the murder to intensify the persecution of the Jews. The prosecutor and the bribed experts tried to prove in court that the murderer was the Jew Beilis, who allegedly committed the crime for "religious purposes." The process aroused indignation among the entire advanced population of Russia and abroad. Beiliss (1913) was acquitted by a jury.

Explaining why tsarism resorted to organizing Jewish pogroms and to savage persecution of Jews, Lenin wrote:

“The monarchy could not but defend itself against the revolution, and the semi-Asian, feudal, Russian monarchy of the Romanovs could not defend itself by other means than the dirtiest, most disgusting, meanly cruel means: not highly moral condemnations, but all-round and selfless assistance to the revolution, organizing a revolution to overthrow such a monarchy is the only method worthy of, the only reasonable for every socialist and for every democrat to combat pogroms ”(Lenin, Soch., vol. 17, p. 219).

XX

YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY RISE (1912-1914)

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CHAPTER IV

YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY RISE (1912-1914)

❖ A NEW REVOLUTIONARY RISE

1. The growth of monopoly capitalism in Russia
2. The economic backwardness of Russian industry
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4. Mass revolutionary movement during the boom years
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YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY RISE (1912-1914)

I

A NEW REVOLUTIONARY RISE



THE GROWTH OF MONOPOLISTIC CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

In 1910, a prolonged depression in Russia gave way to an industrial revival. The basis of the new upsurge was the significant accumulation of own capital in the country and the growth of the domestic market, which was partly facilitated by Stolypin's agrarian reform. The kulak elite, which became stronger after the Stolypin reform, increased the demand for iron, building materials, leather, fabrics, sugar, etc. Beginning in 1909, a number of relatively fruitful years followed. The growth of peasant deposits increased. Savings banks for 14 years (by 1914) increased their savings by more than one billion rubles.

By 1912, the country entered a period of industrial growth, which continued until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

The growth of the military industry, especially shipbuilding, provided heavy industry with large government orders.

For 1905-1913, military orders reached 2.5 billion rubles.

In two years of development, over 3.5 thousand km of new railways were built with an appropriate number of rolling stock.

The upsurge was also facilitated by the general economic recovery in the Western capitalist countries in those years, largely associated with the arms race and the growth of military orders.

During the period of upsurge, monopoly organizations — trusts and syndicates — continued to grow and strengthen. The predominant form in Russia was syndicates. Over the decade (1900-1910), most of the mining and metallurgical industries were syndicated in Russia. Prodamet, which united 12-15 largest factories, took over two-thirds of sales. The "Produgol" syndicate (as the name of the "Russian Society for Trade in Mineral Fuel of the Donetsk Basin", which emerged in 1904), united about 45% of the production of the Donetsk Basin. The Prodorud syndicate, created in 1908, concentrated four-fifths of ore production in southern Russia. Slower and weaker syndication went on in the light industry. In 1908 a syndicate called the Society of Cotton Manufacturers (in Moscow) united 47 enterprises.

Banks became the actual owners of enterprises more and more. Small and medium-sized banks merged into powerful associations. So, for example, in 1908 the United Bank was organized from the former Petersburg-Azov, Oryol and Yuzhno-Russian banks. In 1910 the Northern Bank merged with the Russian-Chinese and Russian-Asian.

More than half of all banking capital in Russia was concentrated in the 7 largest banks.

Along with the concentration of industry and banks, there was an accelerated merging of banking capital with industrial capital. Banks financed joint-stock companies and helped, especially during the crisis, their reorganization. The biggest tycoons in the industrial and financial world were both the chairmen of the bank boards and the directors of the syndicates. The well-known owner of numerous metallurgical enterprises that were part of Prodamet, Putilov, was the chairman of the board of the largest Russian-Azov bank and at the same time the head of a large industrial syndicate. In the textile industry, a group of financial capital magnates (Ryabushinsky, Prokhorov, Morozov, etc.) had a huge influence.

During these years, there was a rapid merger of finance capital with the state apparatus. The financial aces had their own people in the ministries of finance, industry and trade. The most prominent officials of the tsarist ministers and even members of the tsarist family were shareholders of banks and industrial enterprises. Leaving the ministerial office, many retired ministers became directors of banks and joint-stock enterprises, of which they were shareholders.

After the revolution of 1905-1907, the influence of foreign capital in Russian banks and industry increased. By 1914, of the fixed capital of 18 major joint-stock banks in the amount of 435.5 million rubles, foreign capital owned 185.5 million rubles, or 42.6%, with Germany accounting for 17%, France for 21.9%, England - 3%. Foreign capital took over the industry by corporatisation through the Russians, and

sometimes directly through foreign banks. Foreign capital seized almost the entire fuel industry and all metallurgy into its own hands.

ECONOMIC LACK OF RUSSIAN INDUSTRY

Although large-scale capitalist industry in Russia made a big step forward during the years of recovery, it nevertheless continued to lag behind Western European industry. In terms of pig iron production, Russia ranked fifth in the world, in terms of production technology, and especially in terms of per capita consumption, it was one of the last places.

Lenin wrote, characterizing the backwardness of Russia:

"For half a century after the emancipation of the peasants, the consumption of iron in Russia has increased fivefold, and yet Russia remains incredibly, an unprecedentedly backward country, poor and half-savage, equipped with modern instruments of production four times worse than England, five times worse than Germany, ten times worse than America" (Lenin, Soch., vol. 19, p. 261).

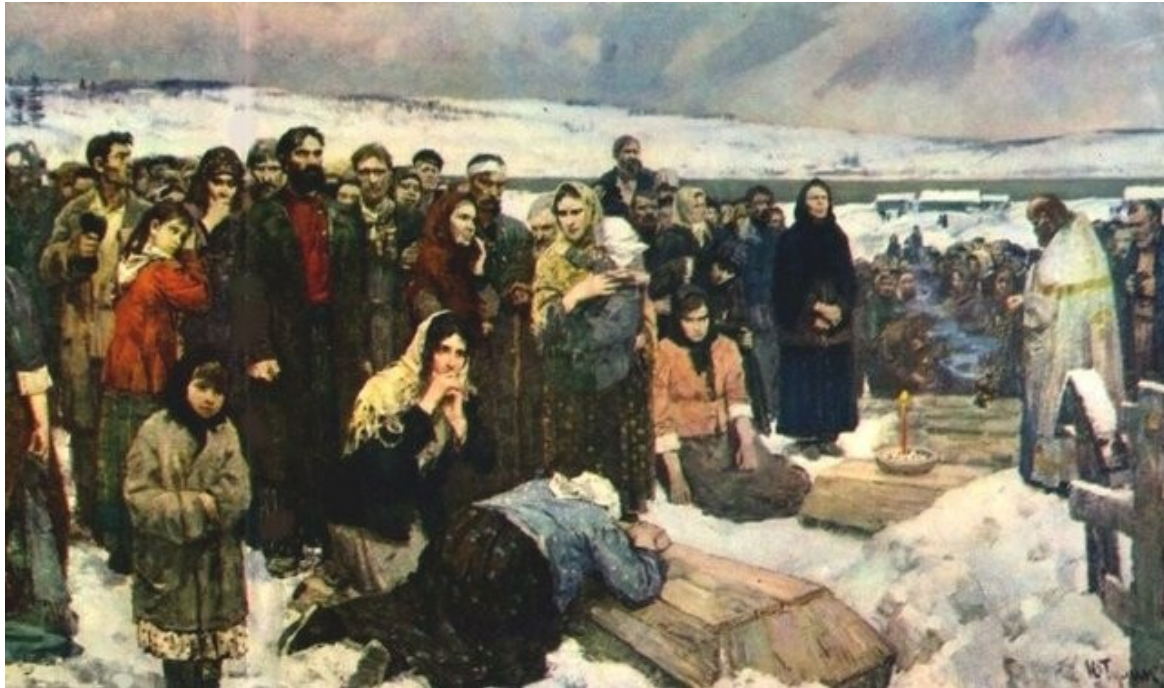
One of the indicators of the technical and economic backwardness of tsarist Russia was the state of its railway transport. The total length of railways in Russia in 1913 was about 65 thousand km. Of these, the treasury owned 43.5 thousand, and private companies - over 19 thousand km. In terms of the saturation of the railway network, Russia occupied one of the last places.

Stolypin and Finance Minister Kokovtsev practiced loans from Parisian bankers and hospitably opened the doors to foreign capital. With the help of French and English gold, they hoped to defend landlordism and tsarist power in a country in which capitalism was rapidly developing. To pay interest on loans, tsarism annually squeezed hundreds of millions of rubles out of the population. The pre-war state debt reached 8,800 million rubles. France was the main creditor of tsarist Russia before the war.

Tsarist Russia did not have a number of leading industries at all, there was no production of electrical equipment, turbine building, machine tool building, large machine building, automobile, chemical, potash industries, etc.

The foreign capital operating in the oil industry was predatory towards the richest reserves of Russian oil, wastefully exploited ready-made "fountains", did not carry out deep drilling, did not set up extensive exploration of new areas, etc.

LENSKY SHOT



The industrial upsurge was accompanied by the growth of the Russian proletariat and labor movement.

The impetus for the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat was the events in the distant gold mines of the Lena gold mining partnership in Siberia. In the joint-stock company Lena-Goldfields, created in 1908, three-quarters of the shares belonged to British capitalists, the rest to large Russian capitalists and prominent tsarist officials. The shareholders included such capitalists as Putilov, representatives of banks such as Vyshnegradsky, and a number of St. Petersburg dignitaries. British shareholders and Russian partners of the Lena partnership received more than 7 million rubles of profit annually. The brutal exploitation of workers in the mines was combined with their complete lack of rights.

The mines were located in the deep taiga, 1700 km from the railway. It was possible to get out of them only during navigation on the Lena River. The working conditions of the workers were determined by an onerous contract. Workers could not quit their jobs until the end of their employment, but they could be fired at any time. Salaries were not handed out until full payment was made. On account of their earnings, workers were given products of the lowest quality. According to the contract, the working day was determined at 10-11 and a half hours, but at the discretion of the administration it was often lengthened. The workers were in complete control of the mining administration. At her service was the police, who were kept by the gold miners. The Lena partnership behaved in the taiga as a feudal owner. The manager of the fields of the Lena partnership, Belozerov, was called the uncrowned king of the taiga. In 1912,

The hard labor conditions, the administration delayed the money earned, the sale of substandard products at exorbitant prices, the violence and arbitrariness of the administration and the police provoked repeated unrest in the mines.

At the end of February 1912, a strike broke out in one of the mines, where the situation of the workers was especially difficult. It was beneficial for the administration to close the mine, but for this it was necessary to violate the contract, which expired only in September.

The administration began to provoke the workers in order to force the workers themselves to violate the agreement. The reason for the strike was the distribution of spoiled horse meat to the workers.

Outraged workers went on strike and sent their deputies to other mines. On March 1, the strike spread to a number of mines.

A strike committee was chosen with the aim of turning the strike into a general strike. Strike committees were elected in all the mines, and elders in the barracks. The Central Strike Committee began negotiations with the administration. District engineer Tulchinsky received the delegation with great courtesy and persuaded the Menshevik delegates to end the strike.

Bolshevik-minded members of the strike committee launched agitation among the masses against the termination of the strike.

It was decided to arrange a secret ballot for the workers themselves.

On the morning of March 25, at one of the mines, two sugar barrels were taken out, on which labels were glued: "I will go to work" and "I will not go to work." The workers put both hands into the barrels, one of which contained a pebble. Soon the barrel with the words "I won't go to work" was filled to the brim. Only 17 stones were thrown into the barrel with the inscription "I will go to work".

On March 27 the strike became general. More than 6 thousand workers took part in it. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik-minded workers, the strike went on in a friendly and organized manner. Despite the peaceful nature of the strike, a significant detachment of soldiers was sent to the mines, at the request of the government. Gendarme captain Treshchenkov with a provocative purpose arrested the members of the strike committee and ordered the troops not to stop before "using force" against the workers if they wanted to rescue their comrades. On April 4, 3 thousand workers signed a statement that they went on strike deliberately, without any incitement, and went with this statement to the prosecutor in the Nadezhdinsky mine.

On a frosty morning on April 4, long lines of workers stretched from different mines to Nadezhdinskoye, merging near him into one long black ribbon, stretching for 3-4 km. On one side of the road there was a cliff into the Bodaibo River, on the other - piles of folded wood. Soldiers called in advance were lined up across the road in full combat readiness. Engineer Tulchinsky came out to the workers, persuading them to disperse. The front rows stopped moving. But the crowd of three thousand, stretching along the narrow road, continued to push. Volleys were fired: more than 500 workers were killed and wounded.





The new bloody crime of the tsarist autocracy aroused the unanimous indignation of the workers. Protest strikes broke out across the country. Revolutionary demonstrations took place in the cities. The State Duma, at the request of the Social Democratic deputies, was forced to discuss the events on the Lena. Minister of Internal Affairs Makarov gave his "explanation" to the Duma. *"It was so, it will be so,"* he said.

The huge mass political movement of the working class was a response to the Lena execution and to the insolent statement of the tsarist minister.

"The Lena execution," wrote Lenin, "... was the most accurate reflection of the WHOLE regime of the June 3 monarchy."

Lenin pointed out that it is not the struggle for individual rights, but the general lack of rights that pushes the workers into a decisive struggle against tsarism.

"It is this general lack of rights of Russian life, precisely the hopelessness and impossibility of fighting for separate RIGHTS, it is this incorrigibility of the tsarist monarchy and its entire regime that emerged from the Lena events so clearly that they set the masses on fire with a REVOLUTIONARY fire" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 18, p. . 67).

Emphasizing the historical significance of the Lena events, Comrade Stalin also wrote in 1912 in the Bolshevik newspaper Zvezda:

"The Lena shots broke the ice of silence, and the river of the people's movement began to move. It started! ..

Everything that was evil and pernicious in the modern regime, everything that long-suffering Russia was sick with - all this was gathered in one fact, in the events on Lena.

That is why it was the Lena shots that served as a signal for strikes and demonstrations "(Stalin, Soch., Vol. 2, p. 238).

MASS REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN YEARS OF RISE

Political strikes of protest against the shooting of workers on the Lena River swept the whole country with extreme speed. Hundreds of thousands of workers were on strike. The strikes in St. Petersburg were accompanied by street demonstrations. Comrade Stalin led the struggle of the Petersburg workers, but he was soon arrested again. The strikes of protest against the Lena execution merged with the powerful May Day movement. The Lena events showed that tremendous revolutionary energy had accumulated in the working class. More than 300,000 workers took part in the April strikes of 1912, and about 400,000 workers took part in the May Day strike. The movement expanded, engulfing the most backward sections of the workers. Strikes took place in all parts of the country. The revolutionary proletariat of St. Petersburg marched in front, followed by the workers of the Baltic states, Moscow, Ukraine and the Caucasus.

In total, in 1912, according to official data, 725 thousand people went on strike, and in 1913 - 887 thousand people. In fact, the number of strikers was much higher. Economic and political strikes were intertwined. Lenin called such mass strikes revolutionary strikes. They were directed against the autocracy and met with the sympathy of the majority of the working population. They roused the peasantry to fight the landlords and tsarism. The manufacturers responded to the strikes with lockouts. The police and the secret police intensified the persecution of the strikers. The strikes took place under the Bolshevik slogans: 8-hour working day, confiscation of the landlord's land, a democratic republic.

These slogans were designed to rouse not only workers, but also peasants and soldiers to fight against tsarism.

The peasant movement, which subsided after 1907, began to flare up again. In the countryside, after the Stolypin reform, there was a strong stratification. The situation of the rural poor especially worsened after the famine of 1911, which affected up to 30 million peasants. The peasant movement against the landlords and kulaks took militant forms: arson, injury, logging, refusal to pay taxes, etc. Clashes between peasants and kulaks-farmers became more frequent.

Revolutionary actions began among the troops. In 1912 there was an uprising among the troops stationed in Turkestan.

Merciless reprisals were perpetrated over the participants in the uprising. In June 1913, a naval trial was held in Kronstadt over 52 sailors of the Baltic Fleet accused of preparing an uprising. The strikes of protest against the trial of the revolutionary sailors showed that the conscious labor movement in tsarist Russia was an enormous political force.

Mass revolutionary strikes testified that "... the greatest popular revolution arose in Russia, led by the most revolutionary proletariat in the world, which had at its disposal such a serious ally as the revolutionary peasantry of Russia" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, p. 76).



1913 - a strike of lumberjacks and rafters on the river. Luze. In order to make them work, they had to call a soldier from Ust-Sysolsk

BOLSHEVISTKAYA "TRUTH"



The titles of Pravda, which came out under different names. 1912-1914

The struggle of the proletariat took place under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and under the Bolshevik slogans. In the conditions of the revolutionary upsurge, a daily political newspaper, intended for the widest masses, was especially needed. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, who had fled from Vologda exile, the preparation of the publication of the daily mass newspaper Pravda was carried out.

Beginning in January 1912, workers made contributions to publish their newspaper. The collection took place in all parts of Russia.

“... the creation of Pravda,” wrote Lenin, “remains an outstanding proof of the consciousness, energy and solidarity of the Russian workers” (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 18, p. 166).

The first issue of Pravda, prepared by Comrade Stalin, came out on April 22 (May 5, OST) 1912. Therefore, May 5 is celebrated here as a holiday of the workers' press. Lenin directed the work of Pravda from abroad. Its first editor was Comrade Stalin. VM Molotov, the first secretary of its editorial board, devoted a lot of time and

effort to Pravda. KE Voroshilov, MI Kalinin, Ya-M. Sverdlov worked in the newspaper. AM Gorky helped Pravda.

Pravda was the organizer of the revolutionary masses. She led all the mass campaigns organized by the Bolsheviks.

The insurance campaign was very important. In June 1912, a law was passed on insurance of workers against illness and accidents and on the establishment of sickness funds with the participation of workers.

Despite the major shortcomings of this law, Pravda urged workers to take an active part in the elections to the sickness funds. The elections were successful. The insurance campaign was of great importance, organizing the broadest masses for the revolutionary struggle.

Pravda educated a whole generation of Bolshevik workers who, during the years of the revolutionary upsurge, helped Lenin and Stalin to work on rebuilding a mass Bolshevik party.

"... the old Pravda," wrote Comrade Stalin, "was undoubtedly a harbinger of the future glorious victories of the Russian proletariat" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 133).

The police constantly harassed Pravda. 40 times in the first year of its existence, police broke into the printing house and destroyed the newspaper. Therefore, the advanced workers came to the printing house from the night and carried away freshly printed newspapers with them until the police arrived. Pravda had to change its name frequently. In July 1914, before the war, it was defeated and its workers were arrested.



Security escorts Bolshevik Deputy G.I. Petrovsky out of the conference room of the IV State Duma

II

IV STATE DUMA

ELECTIONS TO THE IV STATE DUMA

In 1912, the tsarist government dissolved the Third State Duma in connection with the end of its term of office and appointed elections to the Fourth Duma. The elections took place in an atmosphere of repression and persecution, especially intensified in connection with the assassination of Stolypin in 1911.

The Bolsheviks decided to use the elections for a new mass campaign against tsarism.

To be closer to Russia and to lead the election campaign, Lenin arrived in the summer of 1912 from Paris to Krakow.

In Russia, the election campaign was directly led by Comrade Stalin. In September 1912 he made a new escape from exile and returned to St. Petersburg. The editorial board of Pravda temporarily became the headquarters for preparing the working class for the election campaign. The Bolsheviks came out with the "Order of the Petersburg workers to their workers' deputy," written by Comrade Stalin. The "order" called on the workers to a revolutionary struggle.

The Bolsheviks conducted their election campaign under the slogans: democratic republic, eight-hour working day, confiscation of the landlord's land.

At pre-election meetings, the Bolsheviks fiercely rebuffed the liquidators. The police came to the aid of the liquidators, often forbidding meetings of delegates from workers. The workers were elected to the Duma separately from the rest of the population, according to the workers' curia. Five Bolsheviks (Badayev, Petrovsky, Muranov, Samoilov, Shagov) passed from the workers (across the Petersburg, Moscow, Vladimir, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav and Kostroma provinces) to the State Duma. The sixth deputy on the Bolshevik list (Malinovsky) turned out to be, as it turned out later, an agent provocateur. Seven Mensheviks were elected from the provinces where there were no workers' curiae.

The IV State Duma, which met at the end of 1912, was as Black-Hundred and reactionary in composition as the III Duma. Of the 410 deputies, 170 were right-wing. The "Octobrists" (about 100 people) joined the right. The Octobrists were a government party. The Cadets had 50 deputies in the Fourth Duma. They differed from the Octobrists only in "left" phrases. In the Fourth Duma, the Cadets spoke together with the Octobrists. The petty bourgeoisie was represented by 10 Trudoviks and 7 Mensheviks.

BOLSHEVIKS IN THE IV STATE DUMA

The Bolsheviks in the IV State Duma were initially part of the same faction with the Mensheviks. Using a majority of one vote, the seven Mensheviks systematically prevented the Bolsheviks from speaking in the Duma. Fulfilling the decision of the Central Committee, the Bolshevik deputies withdrew from the united faction and organized an independent Bolshevik faction. The Bolshevik faction was closely connected with the mass of the workers and carried out a great deal of work among the workers. Bolshevik deputies received many letters, statements, resolutions, orders and greetings from all over Russia. One of the best ways to use the Duma rostrum were inquiries about cases of lawlessness and arbitrariness addressed to the government.

The Bolshevik deputies worked under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Lenin, receiving directives from it. The deputies several times went to conferences with Lenin abroad.

While in Petersburg, Comrade Stalin directly supervised the activities of the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma.

WORKS OF LENIN AND STALIN ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The growth of chauvinism among bourgeois and petty bourgeois national parties in connection with the strengthening of national oppression during the years of reaction posed the task of explaining to the masses the essence of the national question and its role in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the Bolshevik Party.

In 1913, the following classic works were published: VI Lenin's "[Critical Notes on the National Question](#)" and JV Stalin's "[Marxism and the National Question](#)". These works provided the proletariat with a theoretical basis for the Bolshevik program on the national-colonial question.

In the fall of 1913, Lenin convened a Central Committee meeting in the town of Poronino (Galicia), where he lived, at which a resolution on the national question, written by Lenin, was adopted. The conference confirmed the slogan grounded in the works of Lenin and Stalin - the right of nations to self-determination, up to secession. At the same time, the conference emphasized that the preservation of a militant, monolithic party of the proletariat, not fragmented by national barriers, is the most important condition for victory in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

PREPARATIONS FOR WORLD WAR

In the era of imperialism, great changes have taken place in the relations between the capitalist countries. Germany, Japan and the USA by the beginning of the XX century. overtook France and England industrially. The imperialist countries made intense preparations for a world war. The Pan-German League, created by the German imperialists, considered England to be the main obstacle to German rule, especially on the sea routes.

In turn, imperialist Britain set as its main task the crushing of German power with the help of France, with which she agreed on the same in 19.04.

Thus, in the first place was the clash of interests between British and German imperialism.

In second place was the clash of interests between imperialist Germany and tsarist Russia.

German imperialism rushed to the Middle East - to Turkey. German banks took over the construction of a railroad linking Germany with Turkey. German military instructors directed the organization of the Turkish military forces, preparing them for the war against Russia and England.

The economic and political strengthening of Germany in the Turkish Empire made German capital the master of the Black Sea straits.

In the ruling circles of Russia they thought more and more about the fact that "the road to Constantinople lay through Berlin," that is, through the defeat of the German Empire.

Calling England, Germany and tsarist Russia "three great robbers on the high road" and the main figures in the world war, and the rest of the countries only "dependent allies", Lenin emphasized that the war for the redivision of the world affected the interests of all imperialist powers. Germany played the role of the instigator of the war during this period.

In the struggle for the redivision of the world, the predatory plans of all the participants in the world massacre took shape.

The plans of the German imperialists included - to create a great German empire, covering the so-called "Middle Europe", to take possession of the Baltics and Poland, to split Russia, to tear away Ukraine from it, to subjugate the Balkan Peninsula and Turkey, to wrest Egypt and India from England, to push France away from the Channel and etc.

The plans of Germany's Austrian allies included - with the help of Germany, crushing Serbia, annexing the Russian part of Poland, subjugating Ukraine and the Balkan Peninsula.

England's plans included - to defeat its main rival, Germany, to destroy its military and merchant fleet, to seize the German colonies, as well as to seize Mesopotamia and Palestine from Turkey and finally annex Egypt.

France's plans included reconquering Alsace-Lorraine and seizing the left bank of the Rhine, crushing the military might of Germany, dividing the German colonies with England, and taking part in the division of the Turkish Empire.

The plans of tsarist Russia included - to assert its dominance in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits and on the Balkan Peninsula, to annex Galicia, which was part of Austria-Hungary.

Japan's plans included - to use the war in Europe to capture China, and in the event of Russia's defeat - to capture the Russian Far East.

Describing the meaning and meaning of the First World War, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin wrote:

"The seizure of lands and the conquest of foreign nations, the ruin of a rival nation, the plunder of its wealth, the diversion of the attention of the working masses from the internal political crises of Russia, Germany, England and other countries, the disunity and nationalist fool of the workers and the extermination of their vanguard in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat — such is the only real content, meaning and meaning of modern war "(Lenin, Soch., vol. 21, p. 11).

BALKAN WARS (1912-1913)

After the Bosnian crisis, the tsarist government sought to unite Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece into the Balkan League (union) and direct it against Turkey. Allies of Russia, especially France, hoping to turn the "million bayonets" of this league into a reserve of the Entente, supported the unification of the Balkan states. Germany and Austria-Hungary, seeking to subjugate Turkey and the entire Balkan Peninsula, supported her in the outbreak of the war with the Balkan League.

The first Balkan War began in the fall of 1912. Taking advantage of the fact that Turkey had been at war with Italy since 1911, the Balkan League opened military operations against Turkey. In a short time the Turks were defeated. But as disagreements began in the victor's camp, the second Balkan War began in the summer of 1913. Bulgaria started a war against Serbia. Then a coalition was formed against Bulgaria, which was also joined by the recently defeated Turkey. Bulgaria was defeated. The Second Balkan War ended with the Bucharest Peace Treaty (August 1913), which significantly cut the territory of Bulgaria in favor of its neighbors and returned Adrianople, occupied by the troops of Bulgaria, to Turkey.

Serbia occupied Albania during the hostilities, but under the threat of war with Austria-Hungary, it had to clear its territory. Although Russia was on the side of Serbia, this time too, it retreated in the face of the threat of war. The Balkan Wars, which completed the liberation of the Balkan Slavs from Turkish oppression, were used in their own interests by the major imperialist powers fighting for the redistribution of "spheres of influence" in the Balkan Peninsula. In particular, there was a struggle for the Balkan railways, in which French and German capital were invested. These roads formed part of the great Berlin-Baghdad railroad. Being one of the most important knots of contradictions of world imperialism, the Balkans became Europe's powder magazine.

GROWTH OF WEAPONS

The struggle for the redivision of the world caused a feverish increase in armaments. The military budget grew especially rapidly in all countries. In Russia, it grew in 1914 to 975 million rubles.

From 1907 to 1913 the tsarist government spent about 4 billion rubles on armaments. III and IV State Dumas voted for the military spending of tsarism, without limiting them in any way.

The naval arms race has reached enormous proportions throughout the world. In 1906 England built a giant battleship called "Dreadnought" ("Undaunted"). The same dreadnoughts were immediately built by Germany and other imperialist states (the name "Dreadnought" became a household name).

Tsarist Russia also outlined a large program for building a naval fleet with the help of French capital.

However, the construction of the Russian naval fleet proceeded slowly, and by the beginning of the war in 1914, none of the new battleships and cruisers was ready to sail.

Russia was the birthplace of the science of aeronautics, created by Professor N. Ye. Zhukovsky and K. E. Tsiolkovsky, but the Russian military industry did not produce its own airplanes, and the number of airplanes in Russia was negligible. Already the first Russian pilots were striking in their fearlessness. One of the most remarkable pilots P.N. Nesterov in 1913 for the first time in the history of aviation made aerobatics - a loop, earning worldwide fame. Nesterov's feat was not only not appreciated by the ignorant military authorities, but they even reprimanded Nesterov for "unauthorized actions" and fined him for a small device lost during a figured flight.

REVOLUTIONARY STRIKES ON THE EVE OF THE WAR

In November 1912, outlining the first speech of the Social Democratic workers' deputies in the Fourth State Duma, Lenin noted that the current situation throughout the world is characterized by an extreme intensification of the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie and the closeness of the realization of socialism.

In Russia, in the first half of 1914, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat reached a large scale. On the anniversary of January 9, over 250,000 people went on strike. The strikes took place under the Bolshevik slogans. The strikes of protest

against the mass poisoning of women workers in the rubber industry in St. Petersburg took on a particularly large scale and stormy character. The reason for these poisonings was the unsanitary conditions of production and the extreme exhaustion of the body of the workers. The manufacturers blamed the workers for everything, who, allegedly, got poisoned because they "fast and eat rotten fish." In response to the strikes, the St. Petersburg Society of Manufacturers and Breeders announced a lockout, closing the largest factories and throwing up to 70,000 workers into the streets. In April the number of strikers increased, and on May 1 more than half a million workers were on strike. The number of strikers in the first half of 1914 (including early July) reached one and a half million. The percentage of political strikes was higher than in 1905 (67%).

A grandiose strike took place in the summer of 1914 in the Baku oil fields. The strike, led by the Bolsheviks, was distinguished by great organization, duration and tenacity. The strikers made economic and political demands (8-hour working day, official recognition of May 1 as a holiday, etc.). The multinational Baku proletariat unanimously came out to fight against entrepreneurs.

Despite the fierce repression of the police and gendarmerie, the Bakuvians, supported by the Petersburg workers and proletarians of other industrial centers, withstood the struggle for two months.

As a sign of solidarity with the Baku workers, at the call of the Bolsheviks, 90 thousand workers went on strike in St. Petersburg, and on July 11 there were already 200 thousand people on strike. Meetings under the slogans: "Comrades Bakuvians, we are with you!", "The victory of the Bakuvians is our victory!" etc. One of such revolutionary demonstrations ended with the execution of workers at the Putilov factory.

In response to the execution of the Putilovites, the entire working Petersburg rose. The workers of all the largest factories quit their jobs and went to a revolutionary demonstration. On the streets of St. Petersburg there were clashes between workers and troops, turning into barricade battles. The capital was turned into a military camp. The newspaper Pravda was closed.

Just at the time of the July events, the President of the French Republic Poincaré came to St. Petersburg for negotiations with the tsar about the beginning of the upcoming war. The war that broke out soon was used by the tsarist government to suppress the revolutionary uprisings of the masses.

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CZAR RUSSIA IN THE YEARS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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Chapter V

CZAR RUSSIA IN THE YEARS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914 - March 1917)

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I

PARTICIPATION OF RUSSIA IN THE WORLD WAR



THE START OF WORLD WAR

In July 1914, the world imperialist war broke out. Two groups of imperialist states took part in the war: one, led by Germany, constituted the "Quadruple Alliance" (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey); the other, led by the Anglo-French imperialists, constituted the "Triple Accord", or the Entente (England, France and Russia, as well as Serbia and Belgium). The "Triple Accord" was joined by: Japan (in

1914), Italy (in 1915), the United States of America (in 1917). In total, 33 countries participated in the world war. 74 million people were mobilized into the army. The war killed 30 million human lives and cost about 300 billion rubles. In terms of the coverage of the countries of the globe, it was a world war, and in terms of its goals, it was an imperialist war, a war for the violent repartition of the world.

“The real essence of this war,” wrote Lenin, “is not national, but imperialist. ... The war is going on between two groups of oppressors, between two robbers over how to divide the booty, who should rob Turkey and the colonies ”(Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, p. 22).

This predatory war for the redivision of the world had been prepared for decades and affected the interests of all imperialist countries. It was directly caused by the predatory plan of Austria-Hungary, which sought to strangle Serbia. This plan was supported by Germany, which was counting on the redivision of the world in its favor as a result of the transformation of the Austro-Serbian war into a world war.

The pretext for the world war was the assassination of the Austrian heir Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo (the main city of Bosnia). The murder was committed on July 15, 1914 by 19-year-old student Gavrila Princip on the instructions of the Serbian officers' organization.

Austria-Hungary, directed by Germany, presented Serbia with an ultimatum, drawn up in such a way that the Serbian government could not accept it. The Serbian government, on the advice of Tsarist Russia, agreed to satisfy almost all the demands of the ultimatum. Nevertheless, the Austro-Hungarian envoy, who had prepared in advance for his departure, left Belgrade. The Austro-Hungarian government declared war on Serbia. The tsarist government intervened in the conflict after receiving an assurance from the President of the French Republic, Poincare, that France was ready to support Russia and Serbia.

Having declared its solidarity with Serbia, Russia began to mobilize. Germany demanded that the tsarist government stop mobilization. Having been refused, Germany declared war on Russia on July 19 (August 1, New Style); France began mobilization. On July 21, Germany declared war on France, and on the same day German troops crossed the Belgian border. The British government issued an ultimatum to Germany the next morning, demanding that Belgian territory be cleared.

Without waiting for a German response, the British government on July 22 announced the mobilization of the British army in the afternoon, and at 12 o'clock in the morning declared war on Germany. This is how the world imperialist war of 1914-1918 began.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONT

At the very beginning of August, three fronts were created in belligerent Europe. The western front stretched from the North Sea to Switzerland. Eastern, or Russian, front - from the Baltic Sea to Romania. The Russian front was divided into two almost independent operational sectors - the Northwestern and Southwestern. The northwestern front ran from the Baltic Sea to the lower reaches of the Bug; Southwest went along the Russian-Austrian border to Romania. The third front - the Balkan - ran along the Danube. Here the Serbian army fought against the Austro-Hungarian.

Having violated the neutrality of Belgium, the German armies were rapidly moving towards Paris. The French government demanded that Russia, in order to draw off more German troops, to begin an immediate offensive on the Eastern Front. Two Russian armies were sent to East Prussia under the command of Generals Samsonov and Rennenkampf. Rennenkampf's army launched a successful offensive, winning a major victory in the battle at Gumbinen. But this victory was not used, the army of Rennenkampf did not develop an offensive and made it possible for the German command to unleash the entire blow on the army of General Samsonov.

There was no concerted action between the Russian armies. From the intercepted and decrypted telegrams from Samsonov and Rennenkampf, as well as from their spies, the German command knew about all the movements of the Russian troops. In a swampy and wooded area, individual units and formations of Samsonov's army were surrounded by the Germans and defeated. General Samsonov shot himself.

Thousands of Russian soldiers died in the Masurian Lakes.

After the defeat of Samsonov's army, the German corps were transferred against the army of Rennenkampf, which continued to remain inactive. Rennenkampf retreated to Russian territory, losing 110 thousand soldiers. But Paris was saved. By taking the blow, Russia saved its ally France from defeat.

Simultaneously with the unsuccessful offensive in East Prussia in August 1914, four Russian armies of the Southwestern Front launched an offensive against Austria-Hungary. Russian armies defeated the Austro-Hungarian armies, occupied Lvov and Galich, as well as the Przemyśl fortress. Almost all of Galicia was occupied by the tsarist army.

In mid-September, the German armies came to the aid of Austria-Hungary, launching a broad offensive from the foothills of the Carpathians. In mid-December 1914, the offensive was halted on both sides.

In the fall of 1914, a new front was formed - the Caucasus. After two German warships "Goeben" and "Breslau", making their way from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, bombarded Feodosia and Odessa, Turkey, connected by a military alliance with Germany, entered the war with Russia. In the battle of Sarikamish in December 1914, the Turkish army was defeated, and later the Russian troops on the Turkish front slowly advanced forward. But on the Austro-German front, the belligerent countries were greatly exhausted and went over to trench warfare, preparing at the same time for new decisive strikes. In late April - early May 1915, the German army under the command of Mackensen, supported on both flanks by the Austrians, broke through the Russian front between Gorlitsa and Tarnov and caused a hasty retreat of the Russian armies. Austro-Hungarian troops occupied Przemyśl and Lvov. Another German army occupied the Ivangorod fortress in July. At the end of July, German troops took Warsaw and Brest-Litovsk. Developing the offensive, the German troops occupied Grodno and Vilna. Thus, by the fall of 1915 Poland, Lithuania and part of the Baltic and Volhynia fell into the hands of Germany and Austria-Hungary. From May to October 1915, the Russian army lost over 150 thousand killed and over a million wounded and captured. By the end of September 1915, trench warfare was established on the Russian-German front. The front stretched out almost in a straight line from the Dniester to the Gulf of Riga. Thus, the first period of the world war brought tsarism serious military defeats.

Military operations in 1914-1915. on the Russian-German front ended in the defeat of the Russian armies. Already in the first period of the war, tsarist Russia was unprepared for it. The Russian army did not have enough ammunition, no heavy artillery, no air and chemical weapons of war, no equipment. There were cases when soldiers went to the front without weapons, waiting for the guns left over from their killed comrades. Sometimes there was one rifle for every three soldiers. Boots with rotten soles, overcoats that could not withstand the first rain, spoiled food, etc. were sent to the army. All sorts of crooks speculated on military orders and supplies and received fabulous profits.

Spies, dexterous swindlers, swindlers, nosy speculators, mediocre generals, and outright traitors filled military institutions, commissaries, and military industry enterprises.

Even before the war, a German-Austrian espionage organization headed by the gendarme colonel Myasoedov operated in tsarist Russia. Even the Minister of War Sukhomlinov himself was accused of espionage. From the very beginning of the war, the grave consequences of sabotage and espionage in the country affected. During the first month of the war, all combat stocks were exhausted, and new ones were not received. The Ministry of War did not provide the army with shells and cartridges. The productivity of state-owned arms factories, due to the mobilization of skilled workers, fell four times, artillery factories - two times. Treason and espionage led to the deaths of thousands of people at the front. Sometimes the most important orders were transmitted on the radio in unencrypted form, which, being intercepted by the Germans, made it possible to monitor the progress of the Russian armies. The staffs worked poorly and only created confusion and confusion by their orders. But even in these conditions, the Russian army, as always, showed excellent military qualities. Courage, endurance, heroism, initiative of individual soldiers and military units often saved the situation and helped to get out of the encirclement, which threatened complete death.

CHANGE OF THE II INTERNATIONAL

From the very first days of the war, the imperialist bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries strove to deceive the masses and present the matter as if this war was caused by an enemy attack and was a defensive war. The parties of the Second International, which betrayed internationalism and socialism, helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses. Using the natural love of the people for their fatherland, they strove to draw the masses into the imperialist war, hiding its nature and preaching the need to *"defend the fatherland . "*

On August 4, 1914, the German Social Democrats, contrary to the resolutions of the international congresses of the Second International, voted in the Reichstag together with the German bourgeoisie for credit for starting the war. On the same day, loans for the war were approved by the French socialists. "We are being attacked, we are defending ourselves," they assured the workers and peasants. In a number of countries (France, Belgium, England), the leaders of the socialist parties became members of the imperialist governments. Thus, as Lenin wrote,

"The Second International died defeated by opportunism" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 21, p. 24).

It broke up into separate social-chauvinist parties fighting with each other. By the time of the war, the opportunists had degenerated into social chauvinists.

Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries - Conductors of Chauvinism in Russia

In Russia, the chauvinist intoxication among the petty bourgeoisie at the beginning of the war was as strong as in other countries. In Petrograd (at the beginning of the war, Petersburg was renamed Petrograd), students called up to the army organized processions to the Winter Palace with kneeling before the tsar. The Cadet bourgeoisie called for the postponement of "internal disputes" for the duration of the war. The Social Revolutionaries and Trudoviks at the very first meeting of the State Duma after the outbreak of the war joined the solemn declaration of the chairman of the Duma, the Octobrist Rodzianko, who called for "the unification of the tsar with the people loyal to him." Disguised as the flag of socialism, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks helped the bourgeoisie deceive the people, preaching the need to defend the "fatherland" (hence the nickname of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries - defencists). When in the fall of 1914 The Belgian socialist minister Vandervelde sent a telegram to the Russian socialists with an appeal to help the war, the Mensheviks replied: "In our activities in Russia we do not oppose the war." Thus, the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, like all the social-chauvinists of the Second International, were open conductors of chauvinism among the masses. The most dangerous for the cause of the proletariat were the latent social-chauvinists, the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, and others). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace. "In our activities in Russia, we do not oppose the war." Thus, the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, like all the social-chauvinists of the Second International, were open conductors of chauvinism among the masses. The most dangerous for the cause of the proletariat were the latent social-chauvinists, the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, and others). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace. "In our activities in Russia, we do not oppose the war." Thus, the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, like all the social-chauvinists of the Second International, were open conductors of chauvinism among the masses. The most dangerous for the cause of the proletariat were the latent social-chauvinists, the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, and others). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace. the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, etc.). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace. the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, etc.). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace. the so-called centrists (Kautsky, Martov, Trotsky, etc.). They, like open social chauvinists, stood for the defense of the bourgeois "fatherland" and demanded that the class struggle against the bourgeoisie be abandoned during the war, deceiving the masses about the true culprits of the war and covering up their betrayal of the proletarian cause with "left" phrases about the struggle for peace.



Caricature A. Denis: Right-wing leaders of the Social Democracy help the bourgeoisie to mobilize workers for the war

THE FIGHT OF BOLSHEVIKS AGAINST WAR AND SOCIAL CHAUVINISTS

The only party in the entire International that saved the honor of the international proletariat was the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Stalin. From the first days of the war, the Bolsheviks exposed the imperialist character of the war and the treacherous behavior of the Second International.

The war found Lenin in Austria-Hungary (in Galicia). The Austrian imperialists hastened to arrest the leader of the world proletariat and then expelled him from the borders of Austria-Hungary. Lenin left for Switzerland and here launched a struggle to expose the predatory, imperialist nature of the war, as well as to expose international social-chauvinism.

“The **Bolsheviks believed that there are two kinds of war:**

a) a just, non-conquering, liberation war, aimed at either protecting the people from external attacks and attempts to enslave them, or freeing the people from the slavery of capitalism, or, finally, liberating the colonies and dependent countries from the oppression of the imperialists, and

b) the war is unjust, aggressive, with the aim of seizing and enslaving foreign countries, foreign peoples” (“History of the CPSU (b), Short Course”, p. 161).

Lenin considered the 1914 world war an unjust, aggressive war and called for a decisive struggle against it, up to the overthrow of the imperialist governments through revolution. Lenin put forward the slogan of transforming the imperialist war

into a civil war and called on the proletarians of each country to a revolutionary struggle to defeat "their" government. The Bolsheviks' slogan "for the defeat of the tsarist government" meant not only the fulfillment of the internationalist duty of the socialists. The struggle of the Bolsheviks for their slogans was a struggle to save the homeland, to preserve its independence, which could only be ensured by the victory of the workers and peasants over tsarism and over imperialism. Russian social-chauvinists and centrists headed by Trotsky opposed the Leninist slogan of the defeat of tsarism. Struggling with them, Lenin pointed out that

"... It is precisely to justify participation in the imperialist war, to put the slogan 'against defeat' in this war, means to be not only an anti-socialist, but an anti-national politician" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 21, p. 245).

From the first days of the war, Lenin set the task of creating a new, Third International to replace the Second International, which suffered a shameful collapse.

The Leninist position of a complete break with the imperialists and a decisive struggle against social-chauvinists and centrists was vigorously pursued in Russia by the Bolshevik Duma faction. This was the only legal group left by the Bolsheviks that had the opportunity to openly appeal to the masses. From the beginning of the war, the entire Bolshevik press was closed. The most prominent party workers were arrested and exiled. The workers' organizations were crushed, the most class-conscious and advanced workers were mobilized to the front. Five Bolshevik deputies traveled throughout the country, visited factories and plants, talked with the workers and explained to them the predatory, predatory nature of the war.

In the Duma itself, the faction openly declared its attitude to the war and refused to vote for loans for the war.



The guards are escorting Bolshevik Deputy GI Petrovsky out of the conference room of the IV State Duma.

In November 1914, all members of the Duma faction were arrested by the police at an illegal meeting with party workers, and in February 1915 they were put on trial. The Bolshevik deputies behaved at the trial as staunch fighters for the cause of the proletariat. Only Kamenev, who was arrested together with the deputies, behaved like a renegade at the trial. He declared that on the question of the war he resolutely disagreed with the Bolsheviks and was in solidarity with the defencists. Upon learning of the trial, Lenin approved the behavior of the workers' deputies and condemned Kamenev's shameful, cowardly and vile behavior.

Convicted by the tsarist court, five Bolshevik deputies were exiled to an eternal settlement in Siberia.

The Bolsheviks continued to fight against war and social chauvinism even in exile. Comrade Stalin, exiled (for the sixth time) in 1913 to the distant Turukhansk region and cut off from Lenin and the party centers, took a Leninist position on the issues of war, peace and revolution.

Newspapers rarely arrived at the Kureik's station, which was 200 km from the nearest village of Monastyrskoye, the mail arrived once every 2-3 months, letters from comrades were delivered with great difficulty. Nevertheless, at the end of 1914, Lenin's theses on the Bolsheviks' approach to war were delivered to Comrade Stalin. In the summer of 1915, Comrade Stalin convened a conference of exiled Bolsheviks in the village of Monastyrskoye. The conference condemned Kamenev's cowardly and treacherous behavior at the trial with shame. In 1916, having received the Bolshevik magazine Questions of Insurance, Comrade Stalin sent a greeting to the editorial office, in which he emphasized that he saw the main task of the Bolshevik press in ideally insuring the working class of Russia against the corrupting anti-proletarian chauvinist preaching of the defencist Mensheviks.

Ya. M. Sverdlov, who was in exile with Comrade Stalin, GK Ordzhonikidze, and other Bolsheviks showed the same example of an irreconcilable attitude towards all opportunism.



И. В. Сталин выступает на совещании смельных большевиков в селе Монастырском, Туруханского края (1915 год)

THE MILITARY-STRATEGIC SITUATION AT THE BEGINNING OF 1916

Germany's calculations for lightning war failed. The war dragged on. Germany had much less chance of winning a protracted war than the Entente, which had abundant human and material resources. The German command sent in 1915 its main forces

to the Eastern Front. It sought to defeat the Russian armies and force Russia to a separate peace, in order to get rid of the second front in the East and concentrate its forces for the fight in the West. But despite the fact that the Germans managed to capture a significant Russian territory, the Russian armies were not defeated, and the second front was not eliminated.

This led to the fact that in the fall of 1915 the German command considered it pointless to continue active operations against Russia and began preparations for decisive operations on the Western Front. The leading circles of the Entente also understood that the respite obtained in 1915 at the expense of Russia was over, and began to prepare for the upcoming offensive of the German armies on the Western Front. The military situation forced the Allies to decide to defeat their opponents in the Western and Eastern theaters of war with new decisive strikes, which were to follow one after another.

At the beginning of 1916, tsarist Russia intensified military operations on the Caucasian front. In the incredibly difficult conditions of the mountain campaign, the Caucasian army stormed Erzurum in February 1916 and Trebizond in April. Another Russian army launched an offensive in the direction of Persia. But further offensive operations of Russia against Turkey were suspended, since the allies did not want the complete defeat of Turkey by Russian troops.

The strategic situation for the Entente countries at the beginning of 1916 improved significantly. Their military-technical strength has increased.



The French and British armies had excellent artillery weapons, significant reserves of shells, and well-organized mass production of them. The fortress of Verdun, which covered the way to Paris, was especially well armed. In February 1916, German troops concentrated their attack against this fortress, hoping to achieve a decisive success here by breaking through the fortifications. The Germans did not have sufficient forces to attack other sectors. In a short time, the Germans threw more than two million shells against the Verdun fortifications.

At the request of the allies, the Russian armies, in order to draw off part of the German armies from Verdun, had to go on the offensive on the Russian-German front. The offensive of the Russian army on the Austrian front was supposed to prevent the defeat of Italy, against which at that time the Austro-German command was preparing a blow in Trentino.

THE OFFENSIVE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY ON THE SOUTH-WEST FRONT

In the summer of 1916, the Russian armies located on the Southwestern Front launched a broad and successful offensive against the Austro-German forces.

The offensive of the Russian troops began at dawn on June 4, 1916. After a strong artillery preparation, the infantry rushed to storm the Austro-German positions. In 10

days of hostilities, the Russian armies broke through the enemy's defensive system at a front up to 90 kilometers and captured the city of Lutsk. Within a few days, Russian troops captured the whole of Bukovina, part of Southern Galicia and reached the mountain passes of the Carpathians. The successful Russian offensive required the enemy to transfer reserves from the Italian and French fronts to the Eastern Front, and the German command carried out this transfer.

The breakthrough of the Russian troops on the Southwestern Front saved the Italians from defeat and greatly eased the position of the French at Verdun. The entire front of the Austro-Germans from Polesie to the Romanian border was disorganized. Thus, the preconditions were created for the decisive defeat of the Austro-German coalition. However, the successes of the Russian troops were not used in time by the allies or by the Russian command. At this critical moment for the German army, the Anglo-French troops did not go over to the offensive and made it possible for the German command to transfer significant forces from the Western Front to the Eastern. After heavy fighting in the swampy area near the Stokhod River, which cost a lot of human casualties, the Russian offensive, not supported by other armies, was suspended. Lack of consistency in allied offensive actions was one of the reasons

RISING REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS



ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION IN THE COUNTRY

Despite the successes of the Russian armies on the Turkish and Southwestern fronts, the military defeat of Tsarist Russia in the world war has already been determined. The main reason for the defeat of tsarism was the technical and economic backwardness of Russia. The technically backward military industry was unable to supply the army with ammunition. Economic chaos reigned in the

rear; although the number of workers in industry almost doubled, labor productivity fell steadily.

The lack of fuel led to a reduction in production in factories and plants. In 1916, 36 blast furnaces went out. The factories provided only half of the metal needed for the war industry.

The railways were unable to cope with transportation. Transport was undermined by continuous military evacuations, and a wave of refugees rushing from the German-occupied areas deep into Russia. In a hasty retreat, entire trains were left to the enemy. Failed carriages and steam locomotives cluttered the tracks. In order to move the newly arrived trains, the previously arrived ones were sometimes thrown from the embankment. Due to the lack of transport, even urgent military cargo was not transported on time.

Complete devastation in transport exacerbated the food crisis. More than a billion pounds of grain from past harvests were rotting at remote stations. Meanwhile, the cities sat on a meager bread ration. The army received only half of its food ration. Bread prices increased by more than one and a half times. In the fall of 1916, fixed prices for bread were introduced, but the landlords and kulaks did not take these prices into account. Bread speculation grew. Long lines of hungry people crowded outside the bakeries.

During the war years, agricultural productivity dropped sharply. About 14 million, or 47%, of the adult male population were conscripted into the army. The most efficient part of the population was taken to the front from the villages. Agriculture was destroyed by the continuous requisition of horses and livestock. The number of horses during the war years decreased by 5 million heads.

The sown area in 1916 was reduced to 85% in comparison with 1909. The landlord economy, deprived of cheap farm laborers and peasants, fell into decay. The labor of the prisoners of war, which still supported the landlords' economy, was extremely unproductive.

The disorder in monetary circulation was especially great.

The colossal costs of the war were covered by the issue of paper money. The value of the ruble was falling, the high cost grew steadily. To cover the costs of the war, the tsarist government issued internal loans, and again and again applied for loans to the allies. To pay for military orders abroad, it received from England, France and the United States 7,769 million rubles.

Military defeats and economic devastation aroused the alarm of the bourgeoisie. During the war, the bourgeoisie received unheard-of profits from military orders and supplies. Since tsarism was unable to organize a victorious war, the Russian bourgeoisie tried to take the organization of the war into its own hands and achieved great influence on state affairs.

In the summer of 1915, a united bourgeois organization of representatives of zemstvos and cities ("Zemgor") was created, which demanded its participation in supplying the army. In mid-1915, military-industrial committees were organized, which took over the fulfillment of part of the military orders. Under the slogan *"Everything for the war, everything for the war,"* the bourgeoisie launched a campaign to increase labor productivity in enterprises.

The leading center of the bourgeois opposition during the war years was the so-called "progressive bloc" created in the State Duma in August 1915. It consisted of almost all bourgeois parties: Octobrists, progressives, Cadets, and some of the nationalists. The "Progressive Bloc" enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Mensheviks and the labor group. He put forward the demand for the creation of a "ministry of confidence," that is, for the appointment of ministers enjoying the confidence of the bourgeoisie. But the tsarist government did not make any concessions and in September 1915 issued a decree on the dissolution of the Duma for a "vacation".

During the war years, Russia's economic dependence on Anglo-French capital increased greatly. For the provision of a loan to tsarist Russia in 3 billion rubles,

England demanded to London, as a guarantee of loans for military orders, a part of Russia's gold reserves. At the same time, the allies demanded more and more replenishments from Russia. In April 1916, the French "socialists" Albert Thomas and Viviani were sent to Russia, offering to send 400 thousand Russian soldiers to France. Only the proletarian revolution could save Russia from its complete transformation into a colony of foreign imperialism.

REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

Since the end of 1915, a revolutionary situation has emerged in the country. The war and economic devastation aroused acute discontent among the working masses, on whose shoulders the entire burden of the war fell. The position of the working class worsened greatly during the war. The negligible increase in wages did not cover the growing costs. The high cost, lack of food, constant queues especially exhausted women workers, whose husbands were at the front. Up to 40% of the workers were mobilized to the front; workers from villages, women and teenagers were recruited to replace those mobilized. To force workers to work better and develop defensive attitudes in them, "working groups" were created under the military-industrial committees. But at a meeting of authorized Petrograd factories and plants at the end of September 1915 g. the Bolsheviks passed a resolution against the election of a "working group" at the Central Military-Industrial Committee. Only an insignificant part of the workers took part in the elections of representatives of the "working group" in November. Preaching "civil peace" between the workers and the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks supported the "working group", headed by the ardent defensive Menshevik Kuzma Gvozdyov.

In the spring of 1915, the strike movement assumed wide dimensions.

Strikes were especially vigorous in the Central Industrial Region. At the Novo-Kostroma Linen Manufactory, workers demanding higher wages staged a demonstration in order to present their demands to the manufacturers. They were met by troops who killed and injured dozens of people. The commander of the gendarme corps sent a telegram to the governor of Kostroma:

"I approve of your actions. Find out the instigators. Deliver them to military court. "

The troops and the police also dealt with the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, who went with their demands to the building of the city дума. The massacre of workers in Kostroma and Ivanovo-Voznesensk provoked a wave of protest strikes. The strike of the workers of the Putilov factory, which worked for defense, assumed a militant character.

New workers also took part in the strike, among whom the factory Bolsheviks were working hard. The struggle of the Putilovites was supported by the entire Petrograd proletariat. Since the fall, mass strikes have spread throughout the country.

The workers celebrated January 9, 1916 with a political strike. Political strikes reached their peak in October 1916. They were accompanied by demonstrations under the revolutionary slogans: "Down with the war!", "Down with the autocracy!"

The labor movement also raised the peasants to fight. The imperialist war ended the withdrawal of the peasantry from the bourgeoisie, showing the peasants all the deceitfulness of their former hopes of obtaining land and peace from the tsar and his bourgeois allies. The impoverishment and devastation of the countryside caused by the war fueled anti-war sentiments in the darkest corners of the countryside.

The police department recorded the growing agitation of peasants against new recruits of soldiers for the war.

"Our sovereign," said one of these village agitators, "drives people to war in the same way that a reckless cook throws firewood into the stove."

The news of the collapse of the peasant economy penetrated into the army. Exhausted by the protracted war and embittered by the collapse of the economy in the village, the soldiers refused to go on the offensive, surrendered, shot themselves in the arms and legs, and deserted in droves. In 1916, there were over one and a half million deserters in Russia.

THE WORK OF THE BOLSHEVIKS DURING THE WAR

The Bolsheviks launched a lot of work in the army and navy. They created illegal military organizations in army units, printed and distributed revolutionary appeals. The Bolsheviks called for fraternization between the soldiers of the belligerent armies, emphasizing that their common enemy is the imperialist bourgeoisie and that the war can only be ended by directing weapons against the bourgeoisie and its governments.

Fraternization began on the fronts in the autumn of 1915. Russian soldiers went out of the trenches to meet the enemy soldiers. The soldiers of both sides treated each other to cigarettes and understood each other well, even without knowing the language. Fraternization strengthened the international unity of the workers on both sides of the trenches.

By the end of 1916, soldiers' letters from the front reflected an ever-growing hatred of war and tsarism:

"Now the soldier is not what he was in the Japanese war," wrote one of the front-line soldiers, "under the guise of slavish obedience there is a terrible malice. Just light a small match and the whole mass will catch fire. "

The mobilized workers, among whom were many participants in the 1905 revolution, campaigned for a new revolution.

A number of the largest Bolsheviks worked in the army. Under the name of Mikhailov, he entered the service of the Zemsky Union of MV Frunze, who escaped from prison in 1915. He created an underground Bolshevik organization in Minsk and established close ties with the soldiers of the Western Front. A. A. Zhdanov, who had been mobilized into the army, carried out tireless Bolshevik work among the soldiers. In Samara (at the Pipe Plant) V.V.Kuibyshev worked, in the Caucasus - S.M.Kirov, who raised the most downtrodden and backward masses of the Caucasian mountaineers to fight tsarism. In Kiev, and then in Yekaterinoslav, L. M. Kaganovich began work among the workers and soldiers. In the spring of 1915, V. M. Molotov arrived in Moscow to organize a Bolshevik conference. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia, but soon fled and headed the preparation of a new revolution in Petrograd.

The work of a Bolshevik underground policeman has never been so dangerous as during the years of the imperialist war, when a military trial and execution were threatened for revolutionary agitation. But the Bolsheviks were not afraid of the dangers. They knew how to be with the masses in any conditions, at the head of the masses.

In an effort to gather all the revolutionary forces for the struggle against the imperialist war, the Bolsheviks carried out intensive work among the young and working women, who replaced men who had been taken to the front in production.

Lenin's new works on imperialism were of tremendous theoretical and practical importance for the activities of the Bolsheviks during the war years. In 1916, Lenin

wrote his brilliant work "[Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism](#)", in which he showed that imperialism is the last step in the development of capitalism, that it is the eve of the proletarian revolution.

In this book and in the articles of 1915-1916. Lenin showed that imperialist wars weaken the forces of imperialism and make it possible to break through the chain of imperialism where it is weakest. In his works "[On the slogan of the United States of Europe](#)" and "[The military program of the proletarian revolution](#)" Lenin showed that it is quite possible for the proletariat to break the chain of imperialism somewhere in one place, that socialism cannot win simultaneously in all countries, that it will win first in several or even in one, separately taken country, and the rest of the countries will remain for some time bourgeois countries. It was a new, complete theory of the socialist revolution, the foundations of which were outlined by Lenin back in 1905. This theory gave the proletarians of individual countries a revolutionary perspective, taught them to use the war situation for a revolutionary onslaught on their bourgeoisie, and strengthened their faith in the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

II

RISE OF THE PEOPLES IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1916



THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE YEARS OF WAR

The bourgeoisie in all countries has declared imperialist war a war in defense of weak nations. In fact, the oppressed nationalities during the war years fell into even

greater dependence on the imperialist bourgeoisie. Colonial peoples were a source of cannon fodder replenishment of the belligerent armies.

During the war years, the national liberation movement was rapidly developing into a revolutionary uprising against imperialism. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that the national liberation revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples is the reserve of the proletarian revolution. The Bolsheviks resolutely opposed national oppression in Russia and in other countries, upholding the right of nations to self-determination, preaching the international unity of the working class in its struggle for socialism.

The Bolsheviks exposed the policy of national oppression by tsarism and the imperialist bourgeoisie of other countries.

UPRISING IN CENTRAL ASIA AND KAZAKHSTAN



The war brought heavy suffering to the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia. Seeking new sources of income for waging war, tsarism imposed an additional tax on the population of the outskirts. The peoples of Central Asia were especially subjected to predatory exploitation. In the settled cotton-growing regions, the exploiters have entangled the whole region with enslaving agreements. During the war years, the area under cotton crops increased by one and a half times, but farmers could not use the product of their labor. They gave most of the harvest in payment for land lease. Another part of the harvest was sold for next to nothing, as the government rationed cotton prices to the detriment of farmers. At the same time, the prices of manufactured goods have increased tremendously. The Uzbek dekhkans, who almost never sowed grain, were threatened with famine, since due to the devastation of the railroad, grain was almost never delivered.

In the nomadic and semi-nomadic regions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the situation was even worse. The government continued to drive the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs from their lands, giving these lands to Russian settlers. In 1915, the Russian landowners, officials and kulaks were given 1,800 thousand hectares of the best land of the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. The continuous military requisitions of horses, cattle and wool completely ruined the farmers. Oppression and extortion by local authorities exacerbated the lack of rights of the population.

The reason for the wide uprising of workers in Central Asia was the order of the tsarist government in June 1916 on the "requisition" (conscriptio) of the population from 19 to 43 years of age for digging trenches and other front-line work, although

according to tsarist laws the local non-Russian population was freed from military duty.

At the same time, the uprising was directed against the feudal Bai elite, which carried out "requisition" with the help of bribes and other abuses.

The Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Turkmens refused to obey the onerous orders issued during the working hours. The peoples of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan were the first to rise. Crowds of agitated Uzbeks in cities and villages of Tashkent and Samarkand districts began to attack the volost administrations, demanding to destroy the lists of mobilized people. By mid-July 1916, the uprising engulfed the whole of Fergana. Real battles began near Jizzakh (Samarkand region). The tsarist troops used artillery. The rebels cut off communication between Verny (now Alma-Ata) and Tashkent, repulsed a transport of weapons heading against them, armed the farmers and fought with the tsarist soldiers. Only in October, when a punitive detachment was sent against the insurgents of Semirechye, was it possible to suppress the uprising here.



The uprising of the Kazakhs of the Turgai (now Aktobe) region, which began in September 1916, was especially long and stubborn. Amangeldy Imanov was at the head of the uprising of the Kazakhs.

When the Kazakhs of the Turgai region refused to carry out the tsar's order on mobilization, the governor himself came to persuade them. Amangeldy addressed him: "Allow me, honorable chief, to ask you only one question. In our darkness, we do not understand this. Whom are we going to protect in the war? " The governor ordered the arrest of Amangeldy, but the Kazakh poor hid him. Soon, Amangeldy Imanov organized a large detachment of rebels, which entered the battle at Lake Kizyl-Kul with one of the punitive detachments. The battle lasted all day and the soldiers retreated.

At the end of October 1916, the rebels led by Amangeldy Imanov besieged the city of Turgai, but they failed to take it. Having retreated from Turgai, Amangeldy fortified himself in the village of Batbakara. Here were organized workshops of edged weapons, in which work went on day and night. Kazakhs were trained in shooting and military formation. The population provided the rebels with food and fodder. A significant punitive detachment was sent against Amangeldy, occupying Batbakara in mid-February 1917. The rebels left for the steppe. Their brave leader Amangeldy later participated in the October Revolution, joined the Bolshevik party and died a hero's death in the civil war.



III

EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN RUSSIA IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

The needs of developing capitalism, the ever-increasing economic and political relations with other European states, and finally, its own steps towards the bourgeois monarchy forced the tsarist government to increase the extremely insignificant state spending on education in Russia.

The bourgeoisie was faced with the necessity of intensified training of technical personnel, which tsarist Russia almost did not have. The number of students in technical universities in 1914 doubled in comparison with 1903.

At the expense of the zemstvos and individual capitalist patrons, technical and commercial schools, trade schools, craft courses, and agricultural schools were opened. For six years (from 1907 to 1913) the estimate of the Ministry of Public Education has tripled (from 46 to 137 million rubles). But these were scanty figures from the point of view of the actual needs of a civilized state. In tsarist Russia, on the eve of the war, about 7 million studied in educational institutions of all kinds, which was less than 50 students per thousand inhabitants. Only one fourth of children and

adolescents of school age went through school. According to official data, before the 1917 revolution in Russia, there were only 21% of the literate.

In the ethnic regions, the literacy rate was even lower: in the Transcaucasus - 12%, in Central Asia - about 5%. Of the 1,000 children of Uzbeks, Turkmens and Tajiks, only 42 were educated. That is why entire peoples - Bashkirs, Kyrgyz, Turkmens, Yakuts and many others - were almost universally illiterate.

The old school - "the school of drilling and cramming", according to Lenin, gave children nine-tenths unnecessary and one-tenth distorted knowledge. Self-education circles were prohibited among students.

After the defeat of the 1905 revolution, tsarism destroyed the universities. In connection with the death of Tolstoy, students in 1910-1911. resumed political gatherings and staged protest demonstrations. In response, the Council of Ministers issued a decree abolishing university autonomy won by the 1905 revolution and closing down all previously permitted student organizations. Mass expulsions and expulsion of students began for their participation in the student movement. The new minister of education, the Black Hundreds Kasso, appointed in 1910, completely destroyed the liberal and radical professors. For insufficient struggle with the "rebellious" students, he was dismissed from their posts by the rector of Moscow University and his assistants.

Then, in protest against the bureaucratic arbitrariness of Kasso, 125 professors and teachers of Moscow University (K.A. Timiryazev, physicist P.N. Lebedev, and others) left the university.

To combat the revolutionary movement of students in higher educational institutions, the government planted Black Hundred student organizations (Academic Union, etc.) associated with the Union of the Russian People. The position of universities determined, to a certain extent, the state of science. Departments at universities trained scientists in insufficient numbers. There were few research institutes in tsarist Russia. The president of the Academy of Sciences was the tsar's uncle, Konstantin Romanov, completely alien to science.

Real folk scholars received neither recognition nor support. The great scientist and breeder I. V. Michurin was not recognized as a researcher, although people from other countries also came to Michurin to study. Another prominent scientist, KE Tsiolkovsky, who designed an airship 10 years before the appearance of the Zeppelin and gave the principles of a jet engine, remained unrecognized as well. He was forced to remain a teacher of mathematics in Kaluga and conduct scientific work on his extremely modest means.

An outstanding mechanic, the father of Russian aviation, N.E. Zhukovsky devoted himself to the study of aerodynamics and the theory of aircraft flight, but his work found application only under Soviet rule. The first Russian pilots (Rossiyskiy, Utochkin and others) made their flights, risking their lives, on bad business planes for the entertainment of the public.

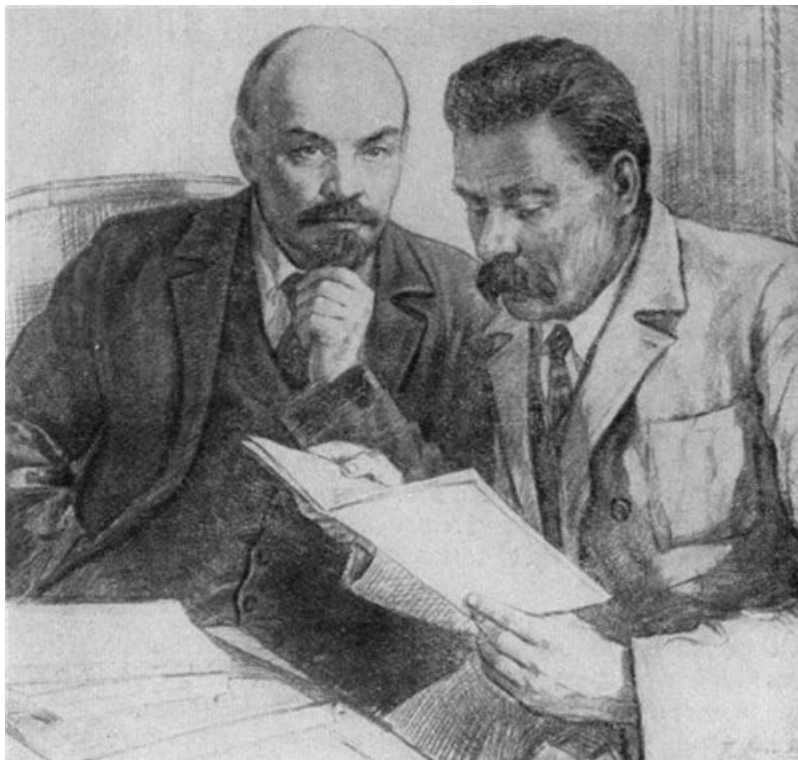
The plan of the expedition to the North Pole of the polar explorer G. Ya. Sedov in 1912 was met with ill will and ridicule. Only with great difficulty, with the help of private donations, Sedov equipped a polar expedition on the ship "St. Fock ", poorly prepared. Sedov with two sailors, leaving the ice-covered ship, tried to reach the pole on foot. But in the winter of 1914, the brave explorer died of hunger and cold, reaching only Rudolf Island (where the remains of Sedov's grave were recently discovered).

Thus, scientific discoveries, research and expeditions were met with deep indifference and sometimes ignorant disdain from the tsarist government and the bourgeoisie.

LITERATURE AND PRINTING IN THE YEARS OF THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND AFTER ITS DEFEAT

Revolution of 1905-1907 was, in the words of M. Gorky, "an act of great cultural significance." She has awakened in the masses a great thirst for knowledge. During the years of the revolution, a large number of educational societies, schools and courses for adults, libraries, public universities, etc. were opened. Works of fiction and journalism were circulated in large circulation among democratic readers. The Bolshevik press played an enormous role in the dissemination of political education and culture: the newspapers Novaya Zhizn, Volna, Vperyod, Echo, Struggle, Svetoch, Caucasian Rabochy, Proletariat Struggle and other Bolsheviks published many different collections, brochures and publications of a cheap library in the publishing house "Knowledge". This publishing house, headed by M. Gorky, published for the general reader the works of Marx, Lenin, Engels, Lafargue, Mehring, works of ancient, Russian and Western European classics. The Bolshevik press, especially the collections "Knowledge", was attended by the best writers who belonged to the revolutionary democratic trend.

Lenin in a number of articles 1905-1907. pointed out that it is necessary to strive to raise the consciousness of not only the workers, but also the broadest strata of the working people. Lenin 's article "[Party Organization and Party Literature,](#)" published in Novaya Zhizn, defined the Bolshevik principles of the development of literature. Lenin put forward the task of creating a socialist, truly free party literature.



"Literary work," he wrote, "must become a part of the general proletarian cause," a wheel and a cog "of one single, great Social Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire conscious vanguard of the entire working class" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 10, p. . 27).

Lenin's article "Party Organization and Party Literature" was of tremendous importance for the political education of the masses of workers and the revolutionary democratic intelligentsia.

The collaboration of a number of prominent Russian writers, headed by M. Gorky, in the Bolshevik press provoked malicious attacks from bourgeois newspapers. The Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, which was the first legal newspaper of the Bolshevik Party, was especially attacked. The Menshevik and Cadet publicists reproached the writers who collaborated in the Bolshevik press for allegedly betraying the ideals of the Russian intelligentsia. M. Gorky, V. V. Borovsky, M. Olminsky and other Bolshevik publicists gave a decisive rebuff to the slander of the counter-revolutionary press in their articles. In his "Notes on the philistine" M. Gorky wrote about the flight of the philistines from the battles of life "into the dark corners of mysticism, into the pretty gazebos of aesthetics." "[Notes on the bourgeoisie](#)" were imbued with revolutionary pathos and contempt for "bourgeois in politics."

Gorky's works of 1905-1907: "[Children of the Sun](#)", "[Barbarians](#)", "[Enemies](#)", "[Mother](#)" and others - in artistic images promoted the ideas of the revolution, the greatness of the tasks of the proletariat and exposed the philistine sentiments of the bourgeois intelligentsia, cut off from the people. Gorky performed as a singer of socialist democracy. In the novel *Mother*, Gorky spoke through the lips of his hero about the new generation of Russian workers: "You look at them and you see - Russia will be the brightest democracy in the world."

In 1905, the first meeting of A.M. Gorky with V.I. Lenin took place, which had a tremendous influence on the writer. The ideological closeness and friendship of M. Gorky with the leader of the proletarian revolution V. I. Lenin contributed to the ideological and artistic growth of Gorky as a great proletarian writer.

The defeat of the revolution of 1905-1907. led to an open offensive of the counter-revolution on the ideological front.

Cadet professors and philosophers - Bulgakov, Berdyaev and others - in their philosophical books intensified their campaign against Marxism and revolution, preaching idealism and mysticism.

Reactionary idealist philosophy had a great influence on the Russian petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, which often fled from reality to the world of abstract ideas and experiences.

The main character of literary works was an individualist intellectual who was disappointed in life.

Public reaction paved the way for numerous literary trends: Symbolists, Futurists, Acmeists, etc. All these warring literary movements, groups, schools and schools converged on the denial of artistic realism. In literature, the principle of formalist quests gained dominance. Literature and poetry of that time were notable for their lack of ideas and depressive moods. Leonid Andreev's work was imbued with deep pessimism and fatalism. Life for him is "madness and horror", man is "a toy in the hands of fate." Artsybashev argued that "everything is allowed to a person, since death is behind everyone's shoulders." Merezhkovsky and Zinaida Gippius preached "seeking God" and vilified the Russian revolution. Poets Balmont, Fyodor Sologub and others fenced themselves off from public life and went into extreme individualism or into the world of abstract fantasy - "from the narrow edge, into a wonderful world, to unknown beauty" (Balmont). The mood of decadence touched the work of even such advanced and talented poets as Alexander Blok and Valery Bryusov.

The Bolsheviks fought against literary decay. Amid the darkness of that era, the wonderful works of the great proletarian writer A.M. Gorky were imbued with vigorous faith and strength. "*Man - it sounds proud*," Gorky said. He believed in a new man and in his high vocation as a fighter and builder of a new life.

A. M. Gorky became the most beloved writer of the proletariat; in the works of Gorky, the proletarians drew strength for the struggle.

"... Gorky," wrote Lenin, "is by far the greatest representative of proletarian art, who has done a lot for him and can do even more" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 16, p. 186).

The poetry of the young poet Vladimir Mayakovsky was also a challenge to the old, dying world. In his poem "[A Cloud in Pants](#)" (1914), a hymn to life, love, and struggle sounded. Mayakovsky declared himself the "drummer of the revolution" and welcomed its approach.

The works of the leading writers of the peoples of Russia were also a call to the struggle for a new life. Such were the works of the Ukrainian writer Lesia Ukrainka. The flowering of her creativity falls on the darkest years of reaction. The personal fate of the writer was tragic: she was bedridden by the most severe tuberculosis. Her creativity, which grew under the beneficial influence of Pushkin's poetry, is imbued with ardent sympathy for the people rebelling against the autocracy and a call to fight the oppressors.

In 1913, an untimely death took away another major writer - M.M.Kotsyubinsky. MM Kotsyubinsky began his literary career in the 1880s and 1890s, mercilessly exposing the populist liberal intelligentsia and speaking out in defense of the working people. During the 1905 revolution, he finally took shape as the spokesman for the interests of revolutionary peasant democracy. In his most significant work, [Fata Morgana](#), the revolt of the peasants is shown with deep sympathy and the landowners and kulaks are depicted with hatred.

A powerful impetus was given by the revolution of 1905-1907. and for the development of Belarusian fiction. During the revolution, the largest and most advanced Belarusian writer Yakub Kolas began to write, all of whose poetic work is devoted to the revolution.

Its main character is a Belarusian peasant, whose hard life Yakub Kolas describes with deep sympathy.

In his works "Revolt", "Neman's Gift", "In the Polesie Wilderness" and others, the writer indicates the only way out for the Belarusian people - the revolutionary struggle.

The Russian revolution also had a tremendous influence on the formation of democratic ideas of a number of writers from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tataria and others. Among them, the leading Tatar poet Gabdulla Tukai should be especially noted. In Tatar literature, Tukai is rightly considered the singer of the 1905 revolution.

In his poetry, Tukai reflected the revolutionary democratic aspirations of the Tatar people and their hopes for liberation with the help of the great Russian people.

In 1916, the popular Jewish writer Sholem Aleichem (the pseudonym of Sholom Rabinovich) died, whom AM Gorky called "an artist of sad and serious humor." In his series of humorous stories, [Teveye the Milkman](#), [Notes of a Salesman](#), and others, the hard life of the Jewish poor is shown with great artistic realism and sincere sympathy.

XX

FEBRUARY BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

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Chapter VI

FEBRUARY BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

❖ Overthrowing Tsarism

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❖ DUALPOWER

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FEBRUARY BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

I

Overthrowing Tsarism



Two conspiracies.

The last years of the existence of tsarism in Russia were the years of its complete decay and decay. During the war, the rogue Grigory Rasputin, a Siberian peasant by birth, acquired exceptional influence at court. In his youth, Rasputin was a horse thief, then he wandered through monasteries with monks, holy fools and whoopers. Posing as a "seer," he gained great popularity among dark religious people, especially women. Rumors about him and his "miracles" reached the royal court. The king and queen were extremely superstitious. The queen, a fanatical

fanatic, called Rasputin to the court in the hope that he would heal the terminally ill heir Alexei. The clever and arrogant Rasputin had a tremendous influence on the queen, and through her, on the king. The Tsarina constantly forced Nicholas II to follow the advice of Rasputin, to whom "God reveals everything." According to Rasputin's illiterate notes, ministers were appointed and dismissed. With his assistance, dark businessmen, speculators, swindlers, foreign spies received important posts, lucrative concessions, huge subsidies, lucrative orders for military supplies.

Defeats at the fronts and the revolutionary situation in the country created panic in government circles. The king and the court gang sought to conclude a separate (separate) peace with Germany in order to suppress the growing revolution. Negotiations on a separate peace with Germany were prepared by the tsarina through her German relatives. Rasputin was also a supporter of a separate peace with Germany.

Rumors of a secretly preparing a separate peace with Germany, as well as the inability of tsarism to cope with the revolutionary movement in the country, strengthened the opposition of the bourgeoisie.

Since the end of 1915, increasingly harsh speeches criticizing the government began to be heard in the State Duma. True, as the right-wing Duma deputy Shulgin explained, this criticism of the authorities was only an attempt to translate the "boiling revolutionary energy into words," "to replace the revolution with a resolution," but still the old "trust" in the authorities in bourgeois circles was gone. Uncertain of itself, the tsarist government replaced one minister after another, making a "ministerial leapfrog". During the war, 4 chairmen of the Council of Ministers, 6 ministers of the interior, 4 ministers of war, 3 ministers of foreign affairs, 4 ministers of agriculture, 4 ministers of justice were replaced. As they said in the Duma, it was impossible even "to consider the faces of those ministers who are falling."

In November 1916, after a summer break, amid an extreme aggravation of the political situation in the country, the IV State Duma convened again. The revolutionary crisis in the country was growing at a catastrophic speed. The ruling classes could not rule in the old way, the working people did not want to live in the old way. The Police Department, in its report on the political situation in the country, had to admit that

"Now the oppositional mood has reached such exceptional proportions, to which it was far from reaching among the broad masses in the troubled period of 1905-1906."

Even the grand dukes and aristocratic leaders, sensing the approach of the complete collapse of tsarism, demanded the removal of Rasputin, considering him the main cause of all the misfortunes in the country. On the night of December 18, 1916, Rasputin was killed by conspirators, among whom were the tsar's relatives. Rasputin's body was thrown into an ice-hole on the Neva. But the assassination of Rasputin, of course, did

not change the situation in the country. The tsarist government began to prepare the dissolution of the IV State Duma for a long time and the transition to a decisive offensive against the revolutionary masses. The tsarist conspiracy boiled down to directing the main blow against the working class by concluding a separate peace and dissolving the Duma. It was planned to draw up troops, including artillery, to the capital in advance. Plants and factories working for defense were supposed to be militarized, to subordinate the workers to all the laws of wartime. The Petrograd military district was detached from the Northern Front and headed by Khabalov, one of the most reactionary generals.

The metropolitan police were transferred to martial law and supplied with machine guns. Demanding the most ferocious measures to combat the revolutionary movement, the former Minister of Internal Affairs Maklakov wrote to the tsar about the need

"Restore state order, whatever the cost, and be confident in victory over the internal enemy, which has long been becoming more dangerous, and fiercer, and bolder than the external enemy."

The tsarist conspiracy against the revolution met with another conspiracy that had matured in the circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie and generals. Desperate in their attempts to reach an agreement with tsarism, the bourgeois conspirators decided that the best way to prevent revolution would be a palace coup. It was supposed to seize the tsar's pseezd on the way from Headquarters to Tsarskoe Selo and force the tsar to abdicate in favor of his son Alexei, and before his majority, appoint the tsar's brother Michael, who sympathized with the "English order", as regent. Anglo-French imperialists, who feared a separate peace between the tsarist government and Germany, also took part in the preparation of the palace coup.

However, neither the tsarist conspiracy, nor the conspiracy of the bourgeoisie were brought to the end and could not prevent the revolution. The working class and the peasantry, dressed in soldiers' greatcoats, ruined these plans with their massive and revolutionary actions.

The uprising in Petrograd.

By the beginning of 1917, the general crisis in the country became extremely aggravated. The railways almost stopped transporting. Factories and plants, not receiving raw materials and fuel, stopped. The food issue was becoming a hot political issue. On the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, January 9, 1917, a large anti-war demonstration took place in Petrograd. The same demonstrations took place in Moscow, Baku, Nizhny Novgorod and other cities. In Moscow, two

thousand workers took to the streets with red flags and the slogan "Down with the war!" Mounted police dispersed the demonstrators. Workers' strikes broke out in a number of cities. In some cities spontaneous destruction of bakeries and bread shops began.

The confused government intensified its repression. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, seeking to retard the development of the revolution, suggested that the workers organize a demonstration in defense of the State Duma.

However, on the day of the opening of the Duma - February 14 - at the call of the Bolsheviks, most of the workers took to the streets with slogans: "Down with autocracy!", "Down with war!"

The revolutionary movement in Petrograd grew especially rapidly from the second half of February. On February 18, 30 thousand workers of the Putilov factory went on strike.

On the morning of February 23, the Putilov workers went out into the street. The demonstrators were joined by workers from other factories and women queuing for bread. February 23 (March 8 new style) - International Day of Working Women - The St. Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks called for a political strike. On this day, 90 thousand workers and women workers went on strike. The political strike began to develop into a general political demonstration against tsarism.

On February 24, 200 thousand were already on strike. Revolutionary rallies took place everywhere. The police occupied the bridges across the Neva, but workers rushed across the ice to the city center.

On February 25, political strikes in the districts turned into a general political strike of the workers of all Petrograd. The commander of the troops of the Petrograd military district received an order from the tsar from Headquarters: "I command to stop the riots in the capital tomorrow." The police began firing at the demonstrators with machine guns mounted on the rooftops. The central streets and squares of the city were occupied by military units. The police filled the Petrograd prisons with arrested Bolsheviks and workers. Members of the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee were also arrested. The uprising was led in those days by the Bureau of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Molotov.

Exiled in 1915 to the Irkutsk province, VM Molotov fled from exile in 1916 and returned to Petrograd. By order of Lenin, Comrade Molotov was included in the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks, under whose leadership the preparations for the February Revolution took place. On February 25, 1917, the last leaflet of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks, edited by V.M. Molotov before the revolution, ended with a direct call for an uprising:

"There is a struggle ahead, but victory awaits us.

All under the red banner of the revolution! Down with the tsarist monarchy! "

On February 26, the Vyborg side passed into the hands of the insurgent workers. The Vyborg Committee of the Bolsheviks called on the workers to take possession of the weapons depots and, disarming the policemen, to arm themselves. At the same time, the workers intensified their agitation among the soldiers.

They penetrated the barracks and called upon the soldiers to unite with the workers. On the morning of February 26, some military units were still firing at the people, but in the daytime the soldiers were firing not at the workers, but at the detachments of the mounted policemen who were attacking the workers. An important role in attracting the soldiers to the side of the people was played by women workers, who ardently urged the soldiers to help the workers overthrow the autocracy hated by all.

On February 27, the troops in Petrograd began to go over to the side of the rebels. The soldiers of the Volyn and Lithuanian regiments united with the workers of the Vyborg region. The workers seized an arsenal of 40,000 rifles and armed themselves.

General Khabalov declared a state of siege in Petrograd. But tsarism could not stop the revolution. The Chairman of the State Duma Rodzianko these days sent one telegram after another to the headquarters (Mogilev) to the tsar, begging him to make concessions to the people and "save the homeland and the dynasty." But the tsar, considering the Duma the main seat of the revolution, signed a decree on February 26 to dissolve the Duma. The members of the Duma obeyed the Tsar's decree, but continued to remain in the Tauride Palace.

The tsar, who was at Headquarters, continued to receive reassuring telegrams from the tsarina from the capital:

"This is a hooligan movement, " she wrote, " boys and girls run and shout that they have no bread, just to create excitement. "

The tsar moved troops from the front, but the echelon of troops under the command of General Ivanov barely reached Tsarskoe Selo.

Here the troops fraternized with the revolutionary soldiers and wanted to arrest the general himself. The tsarist train that left Stavka barely reached the Dno station and was forced to turn to Pskov, where the headquarters of the Northern Front was located.

Everywhere the troops went over to the side of the revolution.



Vladimirov. On the workers' outskirts in the days of the overthrow of the autocracy. February. 1917 g.

II

DOUBLE POWER

Formation of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies.

The revolution was victorious on February 27 (March 12, New Style). Armed workers and soldiers released political prisoners from prisons. The victorious workers and soldiers moved to the Tauride Palace, where the State Duma was located, which was dissolved by the tsar. Immediately after the fighting, Comrade Molotov, a member of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, arrived at the palace. The idea of Soviets has lived in the minds of the masses since the time of the 1905 revolution, and they carried it out immediately after the overthrow of tsarism. When there was still a struggle on the streets, the first workers' deputies were already elected to the Soviet in factories and factories. Comrade Molotov dispatched Bolshevik soldiers to the garrison regiments and instructed them to organize elections of deputies to the Soviet from each military unit.

So, in contrast to 1905, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were created, in February 1917 a united Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was formed. The first meeting of the Petrograd Soviet took place on the evening of February 27.

At the head of the Petrograd Soviet and its Executive Committee were representatives of the compromising parties — the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The result of the elections to the Soviets was

influenced by the fact that most of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were still in prison and exile, while the Mensheviks were free to walk. The leaders of the Bolshevik Party were torn from the working class by tsarism: Lenin was in exile, Stalin was in distant Siberian exile. The Mensheviks, however, remained at large and, deceiving the workers and soldiers with slogans of freedom, entered the Soviets as their representatives. The very procedure for the elections made it easier for the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries to obtain a majority in the Soviet: large factories sent one deputy for every thousand workers; small enterprises with less than 1 000 workers also sent one deputy each. Thus, the largest factories

The soldiers' garrisons, in which there were many peasants dressed in greatcoats, sent mainly Socialist-Revolutionaries or their sympathizers to the Soviet.

Provisional Committee of the State Duma.

On February 27, as a result of backstage negotiations between the bourgeois Duma deputies and the leaders of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties, the Provisional Committee of the State Duma was created, headed by the chairman of the IV Duma, the monarchist Rodzianko. He entered into negotiations with the Tsarist Headquarters, seeking the consent of Nicholas II to form a government responsible to the Duma. The bourgeoisie was still trying to save the monarchy. The bourgeoisie "wanted a small revolution for a big war," as Comrade Stalin wrote, assessing the position of the bourgeoisie in the days of the February coup. The Provisional Committee of the State Duma first of all issued an order for the immediate return of soldiers to the barracks and their subordination to officers.

The representatives of the soldiers protested to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies against this order. Then, under the pressure of the soldier masses, the Soviet issued Order No. 1 on the rights of revolutionary soldiers.

This order introduced elective soldiers' committees in all parts of the Petrograd garrison, canceled the appeal to officers and generals "your honor", "your excellency", etc.

The officers were forbidden to use humiliating words to the soldiers. The order established political and civil equality between soldiers and officers. Order No. 1 was of great importance for the organization of the revolutionary forces of the army and for the final transition of the front to the side of the revolution.

The victory of the revolution in the country

Following Petrograd, the revolution triumphed throughout the country. On February 27, the Moscow organization of the Bolsheviks called on the workers and soldiers to support the revolution in Petrograd.

On the morning of February 28, the workers of the largest factories went on strike and took to the streets. They were joined by the soldiers of the Moscow garrison. On the evening of March 1, the workers released the Bolsheviks from their prisons. F.E.Dzerzhinsky was among those released. The victory of the revolution in Peciugrad was a signal for an uprising against tsarism in other cities as well. The workers of the Sormovo plant and other enterprises began a general strike, freed political prisoners from prisons, disarmed the policemen and, moving to the barracks, fraternized with the soldiers.

In Tula, on March 2, the workers of the cartridge and arms factories began an uprising. The workers organized Soviets and arrested representatives of the tsarist government. The same picture was presented by the February-March revolution throughout the rest of Russia. Drenched in blood and mud, the cart of the Romanov monarchy, in the figurative expression of Lenin, overturned immediately.

Provisional government

The revolution was carried out by workers and peasants in soldiers' greatcoats. But they did not get the fruits of victory. On the night of March 2, secretly from the Bolsheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks confronted the Duma members about creating a new, bourgeois government. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks believed that the revolution had already ended and that the main task was to create

"Normal" bourgeois government. On the morning of March 2, the composition of the Provisional Government was announced under the chairmanship of a large landowner, Prince Lvov. The government included: the leader of the Cadet Party, Professor of History Miliukov - Minister of Foreign Affairs; the leader of the Octobrist Party, the head of the military-industrial committees, the manufacturer and banker Guchkov - the Minister of War and the Navy; the progressive, textile manufacturer Konovalov - the Minister of Trade and Industry; sugar refinery, millionaire Tereshchenko - Minister of Finance. Of the 11 ministers, only 1 was a "socialist": the people's socialist (later Socialist Revolutionary) lawyer Kerensky received the least important post — Minister of Justice. This government "... is not an accidental gathering of persons," Lenin characterized it in his first "Letter from Afar".

"These are representatives of a new class that has risen to political power in Russia, the class of capitalist landowners and the bourgeoisie, which

has long ruled our country economically ..." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, p. 297).

The new bourgeois government directed its first steps towards the preservation of the monarchy. On behalf of the Provisional Government, Guchkov and Shulgin secretly from the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies went to Pskov to the deposed tsar to persuade him to abdicate and hand over power to their son Alexei. The tsar agreed to abdicate in favor of his brother Michael. The bourgeoisie was ready to accept this new tsar too.

Returning from Pskov to Petrograd, Guchkov spoke at a meeting of railway workers, read them a manifesto on the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and ended his speech with the exclamation: "Long live Emperor Michael!" The outraged workers demanded that Guchkov be arrested immediately, saying: "Horseradish is no sweeter than a radish."

Seeing that it was impossible to save the monarchy, the Provisional Government sent a delegation to Mikhail Romanov with a request to abdicate and transfer power to the Provisional Government. On March 3, Mikhail Romanov signed the abdication.

The class essence of dual power.

In the country from the very first days of the revolution, a dual power was created. Two powers existed simultaneously: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (the Provisional Government) and the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry (Soviets of Deputies). After the victory over tsarism, Soviets of Workers' Deputies were created in all cities of Russia and even in the most remote and remote corners of the country. Somewhat later, in the second half of March, Soviets of Peasant Deputies began to emerge. The All-Russian center of the Soviets was originally the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies. The Soviets were actually a second government. The armed forces of the revolution were in the hands of the Soviets. Armed workers formed the detachments of the Red Guard.

The army and the working people trusted the Soviets and supported them as possible organs of people's power. However, the Soviets, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, voluntarily transferred all state power to the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government.

"The class source of this dual power," wrote Lenin, " and its class significance lies in the fact that the Russian revolution of March 1917 not only swept away the entire tsarist monarchy, not only transferred all

power to the bourgeoisie, but also came close to the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. It is precisely such a dictatorship (that is, a power based not on the law, but on the direct strength of the armed masses of the population) and precisely these classes are the Petrograd and other, local, Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 24, page 40).

The dual power in Russia in 1917 was explained by the fact that Russia was a petty-bourgeois country. During the revolution, millions of people who were not sophisticated in politics awakened to political life. This petty-bourgeois wave brought to the surface the political life of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties, who agreed to an agreement with the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie as a class was better organized than the workers and peasants, who did not have the same legal capacity to organize as the bourgeoisie. After 1905, and especially during the war, the capitalist class managed to prepare for itself an apparatus of future power and could easily use it at the time of the revolution.

The petty-bourgeois stratum also increased among the proletariat during the war years, since many small proprietors, handicraftsmen, shopkeepers and kulaks got into enterprises with the aim of hiding from mobilization. This petty-bourgeois stratum of workers and a small group of "labor aristocracy" (the most highly paid workers) in Russia were the main support of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The politically most mature and class-conscious part of the proletariat, which belonged to the Bolshevik Party, was mostly in prisons, in exile, at the front during the war years.

The millions of workers, soldiers and peasants, who had previously been downtrodden by the oppression of tsarism, displayed an unconsciously trusting attitude towards the Provisional Government, considering it a government created by the revolution.

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P REPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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CHAPTER VII

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

I

THE BEGINNING OF THE CRISIS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT



The imperialist policy of the Provisional Government.

The working masses expected from the government, which came to power as a result of the revolution, an end to the war, the transfer of land to the peasantry, the introduction of an 8-hour working day, and the fight against hunger and devastation. But, as Lenin wrote, the Provisional Government could not give

"... neither the peoples of Russia (nor the nations with which the war tied us), nor peace, nor bread, nor complete freedom ..." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, p. 283).

The Provisional Government, which consisted of representatives of landowners and capitalists interested in the war, did not think about ending the war. On the contrary, it tried to use the revolution to intensify hostilities and implement imperialist plans.

The Anglo-French allies of Russia also demanded that the Provisional Government wage war "to the bitter end." The British government recognized the Provisional Government on condition that it "abide by the obligations assumed by its predecessors." The French government wished the Provisional Government success in its intention to bring the war "honestly and tirelessly to a victorious end," without mentioning formal recognition in its note.

With the help of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Provisional Government deceived the masses, assuring that after the overthrow of tsarism the war ceased to be imperialist, that the war was now being waged for a free, democratic Russia. Bourgeois, landlord and Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary newspapers shouted in different ways that "there can be no freedom without victory at the front."

Since the workers, soldiers, peasants nevertheless insistently demanded an end to the hated war, the Petrograd Soviet on March 14 adopted an appeal to the peoples of Europe calling for the conclusion of a "just democratic peace without annexations and indemnities." The appeal did not indicate concrete measures in the struggle for peace, but only supported the illusion that the imperialist war could end in a "just peace" without overthrowing the imperialist governments. But even this conciliatory appeal of the Council provoked protests from the governments of the Entente countries.

The Provisional Government hastened to assure the Allies of its readiness to wage the war to a victorious end. To continue the war, it issued a "Freedom Loan" in the amount of 6 billion rubles. The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries supported this event.

The bourgeois Provisional Government also strove after the revolution to preserve the old order: the land remained with the landlords, the factories and plants - with the capitalists. Defending the interests of entrepreneurs, the Provisional Government refused to issue a law on the 8-hour working day. The workers carried it out in the factories on a private basis. Protecting landlord ownership of land, the government already in March sent military detachments to the Kursk, Mogilev and Perm provinces to suppress the peasant movement that had begun there. In April, it sent out an order to the provincial commissars demanding to suppress the revolutionary actions of the peasants "by all means, up to the summons of military commands." At the same time, a law was issued on the protection of crops, which provided landlords with compensation for losses "in the event of popular unrest." Ministry of Agriculture, led by cadet Shingarev, established "conciliation chambers" of peasants and landowners to settle conflicts between them "voluntary agreement". Thus, the Provisional Government did not carry out any reforms,

postponing them "until the Constituent Assembly", with the convocation of which it, however, was in no hurry.

The Provisional Government left the entire old administrative apparatus intact. Instead of governors, provincial commissars were appointed from the chairmen of provincial and district zemstvo councils - most of them landowners and ardent monarchists. The Minister of Justice, Socialist-Revolutionary Kerensky, left all the prosecutors of the tsarist era in their places. Tsarist ministers and dignitaries received huge pensions. Neither titles (princes, earls, barons) nor royal orders were canceled. The nobility was left with all its estate and property rights and privileges. The Provisional Government even tried to save the royal family, intending to send it to England. Only the decisive intervention of the workers and soldiers forced the government to abandon this plan and arrest the tsar. The imperialist Provisional Government could not and did not want to give the people neither peace, nor land, nor bread, nor freedom. But part of the workers and a significant part of the soldiers and peasants still believed the compromising parties - the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who called for the support of the Provisional Government. Lenin called such misguided people "conscientious defencists" in contrast to the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary leaders, who were conscious supporters of the continuation of the imperialist war.

Lenin's April Theses.



Lenin reads the "April Theses" from the rostrum of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies

Until recently, the most powerless country, Russia, as a result of the victory of the revolution, became a free country in comparison with others. The popular masses made full use of the democratic rights and freedom of speech, press, unions, demonstrations, meetings and rallies they had won.

Everywhere workers created factory committees and trade unions. The peasants began to organize land committees. The soldiers, in accordance with Order No. 1, carried out the democratization of the army. In the interests of the further development of the revolution, it was necessary to guide this activity of the broadest masses who first awakened to political life. It was necessary to help the masses understand the situation

that had arisen in the country. This is the task that the Bolshevik Party set itself after the victory of the February Revolution.

On March 12, Comrade Stalin returned to Petrograd from exile in Turukhan, and already on March 14, Pravda published his first article on the Soviets. Comrade Stalin called for the strengthening of the Soviets in every possible way as organs of the people's revolutionary power.

The whole party was eagerly awaiting the return to Russia of the leader of the revolution, V.I. Lenin.

The news of the second Russian revolution found Lenin in exile in Switzerland. He wanted to leave immediately for Russia, but the bourgeois Provisional Government by all means delayed his arrival. During this crucial period, Comrade Stalin rallied the party, organizing it to fight for the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. Together with Comrade Molotov, Comrade Stalin directed the activities of the Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee of the Bolsheviks. Lenin from emigration closely followed the development of events and in letters to comrades, in articles in Pravda (Letters from Afar), he pointed out to the party the main tasks of the proletariat in the revolution.

Only on April 3, 1917, Lenin managed to return to Russia with great difficulties. Not far from Petrograd, in Belo-Ostrov, Stalin met Lenin. At the Finland Station, many thousands of workers, soldiers and sailors were waiting for the arrival of the beloved leader of the revolution. On the square in front of the station and in the neighboring streets, filled with people, dozens of red banners with the inscription: "Hello Lenin!" Fluttered brightly in the light of torches.

Met with a thunderous ovation, Lenin, standing on an armored car, made a short welcoming speech. He ended his speech with the exclamation: "Long live the socialist revolution!"

On the morning of April 4, at a meeting of the Bolsheviks, Lenin outlined his theses "On the tasks of the proletariat in the present revolution." These were Lenin's famous April Theses.

The theses emphasized that

"The peculiarity of the current moment in Russia consists in the transition from the first stage of the revolution, which gave power to the bourgeoisie ... to its second stage, which should give power into the hands of the proletariat and the poorest strata of the peasantry" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 24, p. 4) ...



I.V. Stalin in 1917

The Bolshevik Party came to a new stage with the plan developed by Lenin back in 1905 for the development of a bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one. The Bolsheviks began the struggle for a new stage of the revolution, relying on Lenin's teachings about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country taken separately. Previously, the Social Democrats considered a parliamentary democratic republic to be the best political form of transition to socialism. Now Lenin proposed replacing the demand for a democratic republic with the demand for a republic of Soviets. In his theses, Lenin revealed the imperialist character of the war and determined the tactics of the Bolsheviks in relation to the war and "revolutionary defencism." In relation to the Provisional Government, Lenin put forward the slogan:

"No support for the Provisional Government."

Lenin's theses put forward demands for the confiscation of the landowners' lands and the nationalization of all the land, the immediate merger of all banks into one national bank and the introduction of control over it by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The theses also put forward the demand for an immediate transition to control by the Soviets over social production and distribution of products.

Lenin proposed replacing the old name of the Social Democratic Party, vulgarized and disgraced by the opportunists who betrayed socialism. Lenin proposed to call the Bolshevik Party communist, as Marx and Engels called the proletarian party. With this name, the party emphasized that its ultimate goal is to build communism.

Lenin also set the task of creating a new, Third Communist International.

Together with the Mensheviks, Kamenev, Rykov and other opportunists who resisted the transition to the socialist revolution opposed Lenin's theses. However, the entire party unanimously accepted Lenin's theses, which outlined a brilliant plan for the party's struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist one.

The April theses formed the basis of all decisions of the VII All-Russian Conference of Bolsheviks, which met in April 1917. Kamenev, Rykov and Zinoviev spoke out against Lenin's plan for the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. Following the Mensheviks, they repeated that Russia was not ripe for a socialist revolution, that only bourgeois power was possible in Russia. The conference supported Lenin's theses and condemned the enemies of socialism.

The conference adopted a resolution on the confiscation of the landowners' lands and handing them over to the peasant committees.

In a report on the national question, Comrade Stalin substantiated the demand of the Bolshevik program on the right of nations to self-determination, including secession and the formation of independent states. The right of nations to self-determination was opposed by Pyatakov, who, even during the years of the imperialist war, together with Bukharin, stood on national chauvinist positions.

The conference, headed by Lenin and Stalin, also rebuffed this attempt at an opportunist revision of the party program on the national question.

Lenin put forward the slogan:

"All power to the Soviets!"

The advancement of this slogan meant that the party set itself the task of eliminating the dual power and transferring all power into the hands of the Soviets. This slogan did not mean a call for the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government, which enjoyed the confidence of the Soviets. But, putting forward it, the Bolsheviks hoped to get from the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary Soviets a decision to take power and form a Soviet government, in order to then achieve a majority in the Soviets and change the composition of the Soviet government in order to peacefully develop the revolution.

The April conference was of tremendous importance in the history of the Bolshevik party. She directed the party to fight for the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one, to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

April crisis

The Bolsheviks strove with patient explanatory work to show the masses the imperialist character of the Provisional Government and the betrayal of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries on the most important issue of war. Events soon confirmed the conclusion drawn by the Bolsheviks that peace cannot be achieved without replacing the Provisional Bourgeois Government with a government of the Soviets.

On April 18, when powerful demonstrations were taking place in the country under the slogan of universal peace, Foreign Minister Milyukov addressed the allies with a note in which, on behalf of the Provisional Government, he pledged to "bring the war to a decisive victory" and promised that the Provisional Government would fully comply with the obligations adopted in relation to the allies.

On April 19, Milyukov's note became known to the workers and soldiers.

It caused general indignation among them. On April 20, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called on the working people to protest against the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government. On the morning of the same day, the Finnish regiment issued the slogan: "Down with the aggressive policy!" The regiment went to the Mariinsky Palace, where the Provisional Government sat. Towards evening came to the palace and columns of workers. They carried banners on which it was written: "All power to the Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies!", "Down with the war!"

On April 20-21, 100,000 people took part in a demonstration of protest against the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government. The bourgeoisie, in turn, staged a demonstration of armed officers, junkers, students and shopkeepers, marching with the slogan: "Trust the Provisional Government!" The commander of the troops of the Petrograd military district, General Kornilov, gave the order to shoot the demonstration of workers.

But the troops refused to carry out the order of the counter-revolutionary general.

The April demonstration showed that the confidence of the masses in the Provisional Government and in the compromising parties had begun to waver, but that it was too early to set the task of immediately overthrowing the Provisional Government.

The April uprising of the masses meant a crisis for the bourgeois Provisional Government. The bourgeoisie, seeing that it would not achieve autocracy through the hands of the Cadet and Octobrist ministers, went for a maneuver: it removed from the government the ministers most hated by the people and agreed to appoint several

representatives of the compromising parties as ministers .

On May 2, Milyukov and Guchkov were removed from the Provisional Government. The new government, along with representatives of the bourgeoisie, included the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

The head of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party Chernov became the Minister of Agriculture, the Menshevik Tsereteli became the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, and the Menshevik Skobelev became the Minister of Labor. This is how the first coalition Provisional Government was formed. The entry of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries into the coalition government was a direct transition of the Compromisers to the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Using the compromisers,

"... the bourgeoisie," wrote Lenin, "began to rake in the heat with their hands, began to do through them what it could never have done without them" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 45).

The policy of the coalition government did not differ in any way from the policy of the government of Milyukov and Guchkov. The "socialist" ministers acted at the behest of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The War Minister, SR Kerensky, who replaced Guchkov, at the request of the Entente, set about preparing an offensive at the front. The Minister of Agriculture, Socialist-Revolutionary Chernov, intensified the struggle against the seizure of the landowners' land by the peasants. "The Menshevik Labor Minister Skobelev, helping the capitalists, called on the workers to " limit themselves "and reproached them for receiving" too high wages ". The Minister of Food, People's Socialist Peshekhonov, patronized the landowners and kulaks who speculated in bread in every possible way. He did not dare to implement the law on the grain monopoly, published in March. The insolent landlords and kulaks did not even allow the organization of grain accounting. Bread speculation assumed enormous proportions.



June demonstration in Helsingfors

II JUNE CRISIS

June demonstration.

The anti-popular policy of the coalition government showed that the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries became the most serious social support of imperialism in Russia. Therefore, exposing and isolating the Compromisers was the main task in the work of the Bolsheviks.

“Naturally,” comrade Stalin pointed out, “that the main blows of the Bolsheviks were then directed against these parties, for without the isolation of these parties it was impossible to count on a break of the working masses with imperialism, without ensuring this break it was impossible to count on the victory of the Soviet revolution” (Stalin, Vol. 6, p. 385).

On the basis of the decisions of the April Conference, the Bolshevik Party launched an enormous amount of work to explain the Bolshevik slogans and to expose the policies of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. As a result, the workers began to carry out the re-election of the Soviets, expelling the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary deputies from there and sending the Bolsheviks in their places.

In the trade unions and especially in their lower organizations - factory committees - the Bolsheviks also ousted the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. On May 30, the first

conference of factory committees was held in Petrograd. Three quarters of the delegates to this conference voted for the Bolsheviks.

The increasing influence of the Bolsheviks on the masses was indicated in letters to Lenin and to Pravda from villages, factories and trenches:

"Comrade, friend Lenin," the soldiers wrote to Lenin, "remember that we soldiers are all as one ready to follow you everywhere and that your idea is really an expression of the will of the peasants and workers."

The political consciousness of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd grew especially rapidly.

In the provinces, the emancipation of the masses from the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries proceeded more slowly. This was evidenced by the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which met in June 1917. Of the 1,000 delegates at the congress, there were only 105 Bolsheviks. But even being in the minority, the Bolsheviks successfully exposed the compromise of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.



"There is such a party"

The main issue on the agenda of the congress was the question of the attitude towards the coalition Provisional Government. The Menshevik Tsereteli, frightening that the revolution would allegedly perish if a coalition with the bourgeoisie was not carried out, declared:

"At the moment in Russia there is no political party that would say: give us power, leave, we will take your place . "

Lenin, who was present at the congress, shouted from his seat:

"There is such a party." "I answer:" there is! " - Lenin confirmed, coming to the rostrum: - ***"... our party does not refuse this: every minute it is ready to take power entirely"*** (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 6).

Lenin sharply exposed the compromising position of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who were dragging out the war and helping the bourgeoisie in everything, and ended his speech with a call for the transfer of all power to the Soviets. During the Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks were preparing a demonstration of the Petrograd workers and soldiers under the slogans: "All power to the Soviets!", "Down with ten capitalist ministers!", "Bread, peace, freedom!" The Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary leadership of the congress, fearing the growing influence of the Bolsheviks, got from the congress to prohibit all demonstrations for three days.

At the same time, the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet appointed a general demonstration for June 18, hoping to hold it under the slogan "Confidence in the Provisional Government!"

The Compromisers believed that the demonstration they had appointed would result in a patriotic demonstration on the occasion of the beginning of the offensive at the front. The Bolsheviks called on the workers and soldiers to take part in the demonstration appointed by the Soviet, but they proposed to put up Bolshevik slogans on the banners. More than 400 thousand workers and soldiers took part in the demonstration.

"A clear, sunny day. An endless ribbon of demonstrators, - Comrade Stalin described the June demonstration in Pravda. - The procession goes to the Field of Mars from morning to evening.

An endless forest of banners ...

A striking feature: not a single plant, not a single factory, not a single regiment put up the slogan "Trust in the Provisional Government." Even the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries forgot (rather, did not dare!) To put forward this slogan ... Only three groups dared to put forward the slogan of confidence, but those too had to repent.

This is a group of Cossacks, a group of Bund and a group of Plekhanov's "Unity". "The Holy Trinity" - joked the workers on the Champ de Mars. Two of them were forced by workers and soldiers to roll up the banner (Bund and Unity) while shouting "Down with". The Cossacks, who did not agree to fold the banner, tore / span the last. And one nameless banner with "confidence", stretched out "in the air" across the entrance to the Field of Mars, was destroyed by a group of soldiers and workers with the approving remarks of the public: "Trust in the Provisional Government hung in the air" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 3, p. 100, 102).

Thus, the demonstration on June 18 turned into a demonstration of distrust of the Provisional Government. It showed the growing revolutionary spirit of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, their readiness to fight for the Bolshevik slogans. It was the failure of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties who supported the Provisional Government.

Front offensive

At the request of the Anglo-French imperialists, the Provisional Government was preparing an offensive at the front. In April 1917, the United States of America entered the world war. But the transfer of troops from across the ocean required a lot of time. The governments of the United States and the Entente countries wanted to keep the Russian front at all costs, so as not to give Germany the opportunity to transfer troops to the Western Front. The Allies threatened to deprive the Provisional Government of loans and subsidies if it did not immediately launch an offensive and thereby pull the German troops away from the Western Front.



On the offensive. Caricature by an unknown artist

Moreover, the offensive was seen by the Russian bourgeoisie as the only way to end the revolution. She hoped that if the offensive failed, she would be able to shift the blame onto the Soviets and the Bolsheviks and crush them.

Minister of War Kerensky began work on preparing the offensive. Echelons with new replenishments, with equipment and ammunition stretched to the front. Kerensky himself traveled around the fronts and persuaded the soldiers to go on the offensive, which is why the soldiers called him *"the main persuader . "*

The offensive of the Russian army, which began on June 18, was initially successful. Particularly significant was the success of the VIII Army, which broke through the front of the Austrian troops and moved its divisions into the breakthrough. But after a few days the forces of the attackers dried up. Reinforcements approached slowly, the command was unable to use the first successes, and the offensive stopped.

Austro-German forces soon launched a counteroffensive. After the defeat at Tarnopol, the Russian army began to quickly roll back. In ten days of the army's offensive

The Southwestern Front lost about 60 thousand people. The fatigue and anger of the soldiers who yearned for peace, their mistrust and direct hostility to the counter-revolutionary command staff contributed to the failure of the offensive.



Demonstration of Estonians in Petrograd in March 1917

III

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA AFTER THE OVERCOMING OF TSARISM



The imperialist bourgeoisie, having come to power, pursued in the national regions the same great-power policy of national oppression as tsarism. The Russian bourgeoisie saw the preservation of power over the national borderlands as one of the foundations of its economic and political domination. With the support of the petty-bourgeois parties, the Provisional Government put forward the old tsarist slogan "one, indivisible Russia", covering it with the flag of "revolutionary democracy."

The Provisional Government met with hostility any attempt of nations to self-determination, inviting all the oppressed peoples of Russia to await the decision of their fate by the Constituent Assembly. Only in relation to Poland, it adopted an official resolution on its independence. But Poland had been occupied by German troops since 1915.

The national liberation movement in the former tsarist colonies in 1917 intensified even more.

"Elimination of national oppression" - that was the slogan of the movement. The outskirts of Russia were instantly covered with "national" institutions. The movement was led by the national, bourgeois-democratic intelligentsia. "National Councils" in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the North Caucasus, Kyrgyzstan and the Middle Volga region; "Rada" in Ukraine and Belarus; "Sfatul-Cerium" in Bessarabia; Kurultay in Crimea and Bashkiria; "Autonomous government" in Turkestan — these are the

"national" institutions around which the national bourgeoisie rallied its forces, "wrote Comrade Stalin (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, p. 156).

The bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia tried to lead the unfolding national movement and use the February Revolution to form "their" national state.

The national bourgeoisie of the borderlands demanded national autonomy, seeking to come to terms with the Provisional Bourgeois Government.

Conflict of the Provisional Government with Finland

In early March 1917, the Provisional Government issued a decree to restore the tsarist constitution in Finland. Soon a coalition senate was approved - a government of six Social Democrats and six representatives of the bourgeoisie. The Sejm, elected back in 1916, was also convened. But neither the Seimas nor the Senate received actual power. The Provisional Government appointed its representative to Finland and refused to recognize its independence.

The Finnish military clique began negotiations with Wilhelm II with the aim of separating Finland from Russia. Relying on the German imperialists, the Finnish bourgeoisie prepared not only for secession from Russia, but also for a civil war with its workers. Under the guise of sports societies, the bourgeoisie formed reactionary "squads of order".

The Finnish proletariat was a resolute opponent of an alliance with German imperialism against Russia, which had overthrown tsarism; he fervently supported the Russian revolution.

Seeking independence, the Finnish Sejm adopted in July a law on the supreme rights of the Sejm. In response to this resolution, the Provisional Government, following the example of tsarism, dissolved the Finnish Sejm.

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Stalin, exposed the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government and demanded that Finland recognize its right to self-determination up to secession.

Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia after the February Revolution

By the beginning of 1917, most of Lithuania was occupied by German troops. At a conference of representatives of the Lithuanian kulaks, landowners and bourgeoisie convened in Vilna, the so-called "tariba" (national council) was formed. The German authorities sought to turn the tariba into an organ obedient to their will. Wishing to gain a foothold in Lithuania, they flirted with the Lithuanian bourgeoisie, promising to recognize Lithuania's independence if it formally separated from Russia.

A significant part of Latvia during the World War II was also occupied by German troops. Latvia was the most capitalistically developed of the Baltic countries. The war brought her great disaster. The line of the Northern Front passed through Latvia. More than half of its land was dug up by trenches and covered by military operations. The crops were destroyed.

Cattle breeding fell. Commercial and economic life almost stopped. The industry was badly destroyed. At the beginning of the war, part of the enterprises and the workers employed in them were evacuated deep into Russia, and after the occupation of Latvia by the Germans, the rest of the enterprises were ruined or taken to Germany. In occupied Latvia, the position of the working people was extremely difficult. Relying on the local barons, the German imperialists strove to turn Latvia into a German duchy. But

even in the unoccupied part of Latvia, Latvian workers and peasants suffered enormously from the war and from exploitation by the tsarist authorities and local landowners and capitalists.

The February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia was therefore greeted in Latvia with great joy.

A national liberation movement unfolded in the country.

But the Latvian bourgeoisie, dependent on the Russian market and fearing the development of the revolution, made a compromise with the Russian bourgeoisie and limited itself to demanding autonomy for Latvia.

At the beginning of the revolution, a kulak party was created in Latvia, calling itself the "Peasant Union". In mid-March 1917, the "Peasants' Union" convened a zemstvo assembly, which passed a decision demanding Latvian autonomy within Russia. The Provisional Government was hostile to even such a modest demand.

The anti-people policy of the Provisional Government aroused the discontent of the Latvian working masses. The Conference of Latvian Riflemen adopted a Bolshevik resolution against the policy of the Provisional Government and against the imperialist war. At the same time, the congress of landless peasants spoke out in favor of the confiscation of landlord and church lands. The masses demanded the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

Estonia, located close to revolutionary Petrograd, achieved recognition of its autonomy earlier than the other Baltic countries with the support of the Russian proletariat.

The Provisional Government issued in April 1917 a law granting self-government to Estonia. But in spite of this law, the Provisional Government pursued the old Russification policy in Estonia. In the summer of 1917, a national assembly was convened in Reval, consisting of representatives of the Estonian bourgeoisie, landowners and kulaks. Having achieved some political rights for the Estonian bourgeoisie, the national assembly agreed to an agreement with the Provisional Government. Dissatisfied with the compromising policy of the possessing classes, the working masses of Estonia began to go over to the side of the Bolsheviks and demand the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

Ukrainian Central Rada and Provisional Government

The Provisional Government also waged a stubborn struggle against the national liberation movement in Ukraine. Ukrainian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties organized in Kiev in early April 1917 the Ukrainian Central Rada. The most numerous and influential party in the Central Rada was the party of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries. The kulak strata of the village followed the Rada. The most prominent leaders were Hrushevsky, Vinnichenko and Petliura. In early June, the Central Rada adopted the first universal - an appeal to the Ukrainian people declaring Ukraine's autonomy. The petty-bourgeois Central Rada did not dare to break with the Provisional Government, fearing to be left alone in Ukraine with the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants. She sought an agreement with the Russian bourgeoisie. Needing the support of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie during the offensive,

As a result of negotiations in the summer of 1917 in Kiev, a new governing body was organized from representatives of the central council - the general secretariat, which acted in agreement with the representative of the Provisional Government in Ukraine as a representative of the supreme power. The question of the final political structure of Ukraine was postponed until the Constituent Assembly.

Lenin considered the demand for Ukraine's autonomy to be "the most modest and most legitimate". The Bolsheviks exposed the great-power policy of the imperialist Provisional Government and the compromise of the central Rada with it. The Bolsheviks called on the Ukrainian workers and peasants to fight together with the Russian workers and peasants against the imperialist bourgeoisie for a proletarian dictatorship.

Belarusian Central Rada

In mid-March 1917, Minsk hosted the first congress of Belarusian nationalist parties and organizations, united in the Belarusian National Committee headed by the landowner Skirmunt. The Belarusian National Committee convened in June 1917 a congress of representatives from the Belarusian bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties. At this congress, the Belarusian Central Rada was organized. Hiding behind the national flag, the Belarusian nationalists tried to distract the Belarusian workers and peasants from the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, they declared their readiness to organize the administration of Belarus "in contact with the Provisional Government." The bourgeois nationalists of Belarus, as elsewhere, formed an alliance with the great-power Russian bourgeoisie to fight the revolutionary movement.

The Bolsheviks of Belarus led a decisive struggle against the Belarusian Central Rada. MV Frunze, who headed the Executive Committee of the Council of Peasants' Deputies, played a particularly important role in the struggle against bourgeois nationalists. At the 1st congress of peasant deputies of the Minsk and Vilna provinces, MV Frunze exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of the Belarusian nationalists. Strengthening their ties and influence at the front and in the Belarusian countryside, the Bolsheviks of Belarus raised the Belarusian workers, peasants and soldiers to fight under the slogans of the self-determination of nations and the transfer of land to the people's property.

Transcaucasian Committee and "National Councils"

In Transcaucasia, after the February Revolution, the Georgian Mensheviks occupied a leading position. Together with the bourgeoisie and landowners, they strove to preserve the bourgeois order. Having received the news of the overthrow of tsarism, the leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks hid it from the masses and hastened to express their loyal feelings to the governor in the Caucasus, Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich. The old administrative apparatus was kept intact. To govern Transcaucasia, the Provisional Government created a Special Transcaucasian Committee (Ozak), which consisted of local bourgeois nationalists and Mensheviks. The leading position in it was taken by the Georgian Mensheviks.

Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani nationalists suggested that the peasants refrain from "unauthorized actions" and await the decision of the land issue by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. To organize its forces and to fight for power, the national bourgeoisie of Transcaucasia began to create its own national councils, which fought against the transformation of the national liberation movement of the peoples of Transcaucasia into a revolutionary struggle of the masses against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Only the Bolsheviks fought for the complete elimination of national oppression in the Transcaucasus and demanded a decisive break with the imperialist policy of the Provisional Government.

Policy of the Provisional Government in Central Asia

On March 2, 1917, the Tashkent railway workers, having learned about the overthrow of the tsar, elected the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. But the Tsar's Governor-General Kuropatkin still remained in power. At the end of March, at the request of the workers and soldiers, Kuropatkin was removed.

Only by mid-April were the representatives of the tsarist government replaced by the Turkestan Committee, an organ of the bourgeois Provisional Government.

In Khiva and Bukhara, the old feudal power of the khan and the emir remained after the February revolution. A commissar of the Provisional Government was sent to Khiva, who acted in concert with the khan. The working people of Bukhara demanded that the power of the emir be limited.

Fearing a popular uprising, the representative of the Provisional Government proposed to the emir to declare a manifesto promising reforms. But after a while, with the knowledge of the Provisional Government, the emir arrested and executed supporters of reforms.

As a result of the February Revolution, the oppressed peoples of Central Asia received neither social nor national liberation.

JULY CRISIS

July demonstration on July 3-5.



The shooting of the July demonstration in Petrograd

The war cost the country 40 million rubles a day. To cover the expenses, the government issued a huge amount of paper money. Their value fell, and the cost grew. There was a shortage of raw materials and fuel for enterprises and grain for workers. Transport was paralyzed. Factories and factories were closed. In May, 108 factories with 8,700 workers were closed across the country, in June 125 factories with 38,455 workers, and in July 206 factories with 47,754 workers. Metallurgical production decreased by 40%, textile production by 20%. Unemployment grew. The strike movement intensified. The workers demanded the introduction of an 8-hour working day and an increase in wages. An

agrarian revolution arose in the country. By July, 43 out of 69 provinces were already seized with peasant unrest. The peasants seized the landowners' land and burned the manors' estates.

The soldiers threatened to abandon the trenches and go home. The masses of the people became more and more convinced that the Provisional Government was deceiving them. The news of the beginning of the offensive at the front, and then of its failure, caused a storm of indignation among the workers and soldiers of Petrograd.

At the end of June, an extremely tense situation arose in Petrograd. In this situation, the bourgeois parties demanded that the Provisional Government take decisive measures against the revolutionary workers and soldiers of Petrograd. The government decided to free itself from the revolutionary garrison of Petrograd. Therefore, it increased the dispatch of marching companies to the front from the Petrograd garrison under the pretext of the need to replenish the front units. With the aim of putting pressure on the Compromisers and forcing them, at last, to agree to the creation of a "solid government", on July 2 the Cadets left the government and thus created a government crisis.

The news of the failure of the offensive at the front and of the government crisis, the provocative speeches of the bourgeois parties and organizations overwhelmed the patience of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd. On July 3, demonstrations of individual regiments and factories began. They soon grew into a general armed demonstration under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

The Bolshevik Party considered the seizure of power premature. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that the Bolsheviks can easily seize power in Petrograd, but they cannot retain it, since they do not yet have a majority in the Soviets of the entire country. However, despite these instructions from the Bolsheviks, on July 3, the 1st machine-gun regiment marched out in full battle formation and headed towards the premises of the Bolshevik organization. The machine gunners were joined by other regiments, as well as detachments of the working Red Guard.

At 11 o'clock in the morning the Putilov workers went out into the street. The performance took on a massive character. When it became clear that it was no longer possible to prevent the uprising, the Bolsheviks decided to lead the spontaneous movement that had begun in order to give it a peaceful and organized character and prevent the bourgeoisie from provoking the premature action of the workers and soldiers with the aim of crushing them.

On the morning of July 4, at least 500,000 people took part in the demonstration. Factories and factories went on strike. 90 delegates from all enterprises and regiments came to the Tauride Palace for a meeting of the Central Executive Committee, elected by the 1st Congress of Soviets, and demanded that it announce the transfer of power into the hands of the Soviets.

At this time the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries feverishly gathered troops to suppress the demonstration. Cossack units were called from the front. On the evening of July 4, detachments of junkers and Cossacks began to shoot at the demonstrators. On July 5, shootings of demonstrators continued. Having suppressed the workers' and soldiers' demonstrations, the counter-revolution attacked the Bolshevik Party. The premises of the Pravda editorial office were destroyed, and all Bolshevik newspapers were closed. The cadets arrived at Lenin's apartment, intending to arrest him, and searched it. Foreseeing this, Comrade Stalin timely organized Lenin's departure from Petrograd. Lenin shaved off his mustache and beard, changed into the clothes of a Finnish peasant, and safely reached the Razliv station (along the Sestroretskaya railway). Here behind the lake, in a hut, Lenin lived for several weeks, hiding from the spies of the Provisional Government.



Разгром юнкерани редакции „Правды“
в июльские дни.

By the fall, when it got colder, Lenin with the passport of the Sestroretsk worker Ivanov moved to Helsingfors (Finland).

The bourgeoisie has set itself the goal of crushing the growing proletarian revolution. A number of prominent Bolsheviks were arrested, and the printing house where the Party's publications were printed was destroyed. The Bolshevik Party became semi-legal. The government decided to bring Lenin to trial for "high treason" and the organization of an armed uprising. The hidden enemies of the revolution - Rykov, Kamenev and Trotsky - demanded that Lenin appear for trial. Stalin decisively opposed this provocative demand, arguing that Lenin "the cadet will not be taken to prison, they will be killed on the way." Later it became clear how right Comrade Stalin was. The cadets had instructions to kill Lenin, allegedly "while trying to escape." Comrade Stalin saved the life of the great leader of the working people for mankind.

The events of July 3-5 were already the third political crisis in the country. As in the first two - April and June - the source of the crisis was, as Lenin pointed out,

"... the overflowing discontent of the masses, their agitation against the bourgeoisie and its government" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 151).

The July events marked a turning point in the development of the bourgeois revolution into a socialist one. In the days of July, the leaders of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, together with the monarchist generals, organized the shooting of the workers 'and soldiers' demonstrations. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee, led by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, authorized the Socialist-Revolutionaries Gotz and Avksentiev to assist General Polovtsev in the matter of "restoring order". After the July days, the political situation in the country changed. The dual power was replaced by the autocracy of the bourgeoisie. Assessing the situation in the country, Lenin wrote:

"Now the peaceful development of the revolution in Russia is no longer possible, and history has posed the question as follows: either the complete victory of the counter-revolution, or a new revolution" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 196).

Under these conditions, the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" it was necessary to temporarily withdraw, for the Soviets, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, acted as accomplices of the counter-revolution. The Party was faced with a new task — to win the majority in the Soviets and turn them into organs of insurrection.



V. Serov. V.I. Lenin at the II All-Russian Congress of Soviets

The transition of the bourgeois counter-revolution to the offensive with the support of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries shook the confidence of the workers and peasants in these parties. At the front, the rancor of the mass of soldiers grew. Military reports reported-:

"The mass is gloomy. Nedobrozhela ments to the former officers. The mass of soldiers do not want to fight.

There are frequent cases of refusals to carry out combat orders. " In the villages, the peasants rose to the landlords. "

The "Red Rooster" (arson) walked around the manor houses. In March, the peasant movement covered 34 counties, and in July, 325 counties. Workers went on strike in factories and plants. Workers removed hated directors and managers and established workers' control in factories.

VI Congress of the Bolshevik Party.

On July 26, the VI Congress of the Bolshevik Party began its work in Petrograd. The congress was held illegally.

Lenin, who was underground, could not attend the congress. Comrade Stalin, who informed Lenin about the course of the congress and received instructions from him, directly supervised the work of the congress.

In his report on the political situation, Comrade Stalin stressed that the revolution "began to assume the character of a socialist workers' revolution" and that the only way to the victory of the socialist revolution is to prepare and conduct an armed uprising.

The Bukharinites and Trotskyists came out against the course of the socialist revolution at the congress. Exposing their treacherous line, Comrade Stalin said:

"The possibility is not excluded that it is Russia that will be the country paving the way to socialism. ... We must reject the obsolete idea that only Europe can show us the way " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 3, pp. 186-187).

The congress adopted a resolution proposed by Comrade Stalin and approved the economic platform of the Bolsheviks (confiscation of landlords' land, nationalization of banks and large-scale industry, workers' control over production and distribution). A resolution was also adopted on youth unions, which were regarded as the party's reserve. The Socialist Youth Union was organized in July 1917. Youth unions were everywhere led by the Bolshevik Party. The Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party entrusted the organization of youth and the care of them with a special commission headed by N.K. Krupskaya.

The Sixth Congress was a congress of preparations for an armed uprising against the bourgeoisie. The congress directed the party towards an armed uprising.



A hut near the Razliv station, in which V.I. Lenin

IV

THE DEATH OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY RISE OF GENERAL KORNILOV

Conspiracy of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

After the July demonstration, the bourgeoisie stepped up the mobilization of its forces to defeat the revolution. The petty-bourgeois parties that led the Soviets obediently carried out the program of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

On July 8, 1917, the "little Bonapartist", "the braggart Kerensky," as Lenin called him, became the head of the government. Kerensky introduced the death penalty at the front and notified the allies that at the front he had taken all measures to restore the army's combat effectiveness. At the request of the allies, General Kornilov, known for his irreconcilable hostility to the revolution, was appointed supreme commander. Kornilov issued an order prohibiting meetings in the army. At the front, field courts raged. Kornilov demanded the introduction of the death penalty in the rear as well.

After the appointment of Kornilov, a second coalition Provisional Government was formed under the chairmanship of Kerensky, which included the Cadets.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie was preparing for the establishment of a military dictatorship and organized for this purpose a military-monarchist conspiracy. The conspiracy was headed by the Cadet party.

"The Cadet Party," wrote Lenin, *"is the main political force of the bourgeois counter-revolution in Russia"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 234).

The center of the conspiracy was the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief Kornilov, who was preparing the troops for the campaign against Petrograd.

On August 12, 1917, Kerensky convened a State Conference in Moscow, which was a general review of the forces of counterrevolution. Describing this meeting, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“Convene a conference of merchants and industrialists, landlords and bankers, members of the tsarist Duma and the already tamed Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, so that, having declared this conference a “ national council ”, obtain from it the approval of the policy of imperialism and counterrevolution, shifting the burdens of the war onto the shoulders of the workers and peasants — that is where the “exit” for the counter-revolution is ” (Stalin, Soch., vol. 3, p. 194).

The leaders of the counter-revolution assumed that a military dictatorship would be proclaimed at this conference. However, events did not unfold as the counter-revolutionaries wanted.

On the opening day of the conference in Moscow, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party organized a general protest strike.

400 thousand workers went on strike. The State Conference was held without electric lights; trams did not run.

The next day, August 13, Kornilov arrived in Moscow, to whom the bourgeoisie arranged a solemn meeting. The bosses of the State Conference did not dare to openly proclaim a counter-revolutionary dictatorship. The situation in Moscow was extremely unfavorable for this. Kornilov left for his Headquarters in Mogilev to continue preparations for a counter-revolutionary coup. Kornilov's plan consisted in the seizure of Petrograd by the troops of the counter-revolution that had previously been drawn to it and in the establishment of a military dictatorship in the country.

The Anglo-French and American imperialists, on whom the Provisional Bourgeois Government was even more dependent than tsarism, also took part in the conspiracy against the revolution.

“At the moment,” wrote Comrade Stalin in his article American Billions, “ when the Russian revolution is straining its forces to defend its gains, and imperialism is trying to finish it off, American capital is supplying billions to the Kerensky-Milyukov-Tsereteli coalition in order to curb completely the Russian revolution, to undermine the growing revolutionary movement in the West ” (Stalin, Soch., vol. 3, pp. 234-235).

On August 21, Kornilov treacherously surrendered Riga, opening the road to Petrograd for the German troops. The surrender of Riga was a new pretext for going over to the offensive against the revolutionary masses.

Kornilov was preparing a counter-revolutionary coup with the knowledge and assistance of Kerensky, who ordered the sending of the revolutionary Petrograd garrison to the front in order to facilitate the seizure of the capital for the counter-revolution. The leaders of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries actively helped Kerensky and Kornilov in preparing the coup. When Kornilov demanded the transfer of all military and civil power exclusively into his hands, Kerensky, fearing the indignation of the masses, who could, along with Kornilov, sweep away the bourgeois government of Kerensky, declared Kornilov a treason and issued an order to remove him from the post of supreme commander-in-chief.

Kornilov did not obey the order and on 25 August 1917 moved the 3rd Cavalry Corps under the command of General Krymov to Petrograd.

Mobilization of the forces of the revolution.

The Bolsheviks took the lead in the struggle against Kornilov. Calling for the rout of the rebellious general, the Bolshevik Party exposed the Provisional Government, which consisted of hidden Kornilovites, whose entire policy strengthened the counter-revolution.

The proletariat unanimously rose to the defense of revolutionary Petrograd. Within three days, 25 thousand workers signed up for the Red Guard. The military organization of the

Bolsheviks attracted 700 military instructors to train the Red Guards. The factories hastily made shells, assembled armored vehicles. The Putilovites, working 16 hours a day, collected about two hundred new guns in two days. The railwaymen drove trains with Kornilov's troops into dead ends, cluttered stations with empty trains, dismantled tracks, destroyed railway bridges, and removed the most important parts from steam locomotives. Thousands of workers strengthened their positions on the approaches to Petrograd.

Hundreds of Bolshevik agitators worked among the Kornilov troops, explaining to the soldiers the purpose of the general's revolt.

A great influence on the Kornilov soldiers of the so-called "wild division", formed from the highlanders of the Caucasus, was exerted by the delegation of the highlanders summoned at the direction of S. M. Kirov to explain to the soldiers of this division the true plans of counter-revolution.

The soldiers and Cossacks of the Kornilov detachments began to go over to the side of the workers.

The Kornilov adventure failed. Krymov shot himself.

Kornilov, Denikin and other generals were arrested. But the "imprisonment" of the monarchist generals was of an extremely strange character: Kornilov and his associates were placed in a gymnasium turned into a "prison". The guard of this "prison" was carried by the Tekinsky regiment, formed by Kornilov himself and personally devoted to him. In fact, Kerensky protected the rebellious generals from popular anger and judgment.

The civil war, started by the generals and the bourgeoisie, dramatically changed the balance of power in the country.

"The Kornilov uprising," wrote Comrade Stalin, *"only opened the valve for the accumulated revolutionary indignation; it only unleashed the bound revolution, spurring and pushing it forward"* (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 3, p. 281).

The defeat of the Kornilovism showed the hopelessness of the cause of the bourgeoisie and its echoes — the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Their influence among the masses was finally undermined. The Bolsheviks exposed the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who with their entire policy helped the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of Kornilov.

The defeat of the Kornilovism also showed that the Bolshevik Party had grown into a decisive force in the revolution. The masses saw that the Bolsheviks were the only real force capable of crushing the counter-revolution. In factories and factories, the influence of the Bolsheviks after the Kornilov era became undivided. In the countryside and at the front, the influence of the Bolsheviks has grown more than ever.

The soldiers demanded a decisive reprisal against the counter-revolutionaries:

"You, dear comrades," wrote soldiers from the front about the trial of Kornilov, *"don't judge for a long time, they betrayed us, shed our blood. You do this judgment: in 24 hours, as they did to us."*

The defeat of the Kornilovism showed, at last, that the Soviets, freed from the policy of compromise, are beginning to revive and turn into the greatest revolutionary force. After the Kornilov era, the period of Bolshevization of the Soviets began. On August 31, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies voted for the Bolshevik policy by a majority vote. On September 5, the Moscow Soviet went over to the side of the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks conquered Soviets in capitals and in decisive industrial centers.

As a result of the Bolshevization of the Soviets, the party in September again put forward the slogan "All power to the Soviets!", Withdrawn after the events of July 3-5.

"The slogan "All power to the Soviets!" again stood in line, - wrote Comrade Stalin. - But now this slogan no longer meant what at the first stage. Its content has changed radically. Now this slogan meant a complete break with imperialism and the transfer of power to the Bolsheviks, for the Soviets in their majority were already Bolsheviks. Now this slogan signified a direct approach of the revolution to the dictatorship of the proletariat through an uprising. Moreover, now this slogan meant the organization and state formation of the dictatorship of the proletariat " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, p. 389).

The slogan "All power to the Soviets!" meant a call for an uprising against the Provisional Government to transfer all power to the Soviets, led by the Bolsheviks.

Frightened by the revolution, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries opposed the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" convocation of the Democratic Conference with the aim of diverting the revolutionary movement into a channel acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The Democratic Conference convened in September from representatives of compromise parties, Soviets, trade unions, zemstvos, commercial and industrial circles, army organizations, and cooperatives failed the coalition with the Cadets. Then the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks proposed separating the Pre-Parliament (Provisional Council of the Republic) from the Democratic Conference. According to the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary leaders, this body was supposed to control the activities of the government. In reality, they only wanted to create a new screen for the coalition with the bourgeoisie. During the Democratic Conference, Kerensky agreed with the cadets Kishkin, Buryshkin, Konovalov and others about their entry into the government. The Pre-Parliament remained a pitiful parliamentary exercise. The workers contemptuously called the Pre-parliament a "dressing room."

The Bolshevik Central Committee decided to boycott the Pre-parliament. But Kamenev, Zinoviev and their like-minded people stubbornly insisted on participation in the Pre-parliament, trying to distract the party from preparing the uprising. Comrade Stalin resolutely spoke out at the Bolshevik faction of the Democratic Conference against participation in the Pre-parliament and exposed the maneuver of the Compromisers.

V

ORGANIZATION OF THE STORM

The growing revolutionary crisis



September - October 1917 Comrade Stalin called the period of preparation for the assault on the power of the bourgeoisie.

"A characteristic feature of this period," wrote Comrade Stalin, " must be considered the rapid growth of the crisis, the complete confusion of the ruling circles, the isolation of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and the massive deportation of the vacillating elements to the side of the Bolsheviks" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, p. 342) ...

The growing revolutionary crisis in the country took place in the context of the ongoing imperialist war. The war intensified the economic devastation, which took on catastrophic proportions in the fall of 1917.

The capitalists and landlords deliberately undermined the national economy. Between August and September entrepreneurs in Petrograd alone closed up to 230 enterprises with 61 thousand workers.

In the Donbass, in the Urals, in Moscow, all over the country, the capitalists arranged lockouts and threw hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets. The food situation has become especially aggravated. The landlords and kulaks broke the grain monopoly, although the government doubled the "fixed prices" for grain to please them. Bread speculators - "tradesmen" overloaded the already disorganized transport. The workers received less than 200 grams of bread per day. The hunger was getting stronger every day. The capitalist Ryabushinsky, one of the organizers of the famine and devastation, openly declared that the revolution would be suppressed only if "the bony hand of hunger, the people's poverty, grabbed the throat of the false friends of the people — the democratic councils and committees."

In his work "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It", written at the beginning of September 1917, Lenin showed that devastation and famine are the result of the policy of the Provisional Government, fulfilling the will of the capitalists. Lenin gave in this work the economic platform of the Bolsheviks, which outlined the first steps towards socialism.

"The revolution," wrote Lenin, " did what in a few months Russia, in its political order, caught up with the advanced countries.

But this is not enough. The war is relentless, it raises the question with merciless harshness: either perish, or catch up with the advanced countries and overtake them also economically " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 338).

In August - September 1917, Lenin finished his book [State and Revolution](#) , in which he developed the main theses of Marx and Engels on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and developed the doctrine of the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries made another attempt to halt the revolution and at the end of September 1917 formed a new coalition government. It included

"Six ministers-capitalists, as the core of the" cabinet ", and ten ministers-" socialists "in their service, as conductors of their will" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 3, p. 309).

Kerensky remained the minister-chairman.

The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie began to secretly prepare a new conspiracy.

Large counter-revolutionary forces were concentrated around the capital. Shock battalions were created from specially selected soldiers who entered the regiment only on the recommendation of the command staff. These battalions were formed from the kulak sons and bourgeois youth. More than 10 such battalions were located on the Northern and Western Fronts, closer to Petrograd and Moscow. From the front, those Cossack and cavalry regiments that seemed especially "reliable" were transferred to the rear.

From the Polish soldiers who served in the Russian army in Belarus, a special Polish corps was formed under the command of General Dovbor-Musnitsky. He had to cut off the Western Front from Petrograd and capture all the junction stations leading to Petrograd. The same corps in Ukraine was formed from Czechs and Slovaks prisoners of war. If necessary, he could cut off the Southwestern and Romanian fronts from the revolutionary capital.

Bolshevization of the masses

In September - October 1917. the political influence of the party of Lenin - Stalin grew every day. The number of party members also increased. So, in April 1917 the Bolshevik party had only 80 thousand members, in mid-August it had about 240 thousand.

The strike struggle of the proletariat developed under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. 100,000 Moscow tanners went on strike for 2 ' / a month. More than 300 thousand workers took part in the strike of the Ivanovo and Kineshma textile workers. Printers' strikes swept almost the entire country. A stubborn and long struggle for a collective agreement was waged by the Baku workers. The very forms of the strike struggle have changed. The workers not only went on strike, but drove out the capitalists and the administration and took production into their own hands. A struggle for workers' control over production unfolded throughout the country. This led the workers to struggle for power.

The overwhelming majority of the proletariat throughout the country followed the Bolsheviks.

At the same time, the influence of the Bolsheviks in the countryside and in the army increased. Delegations of soldiers came to Petrograd. They demanded from the Petrograd Soviet an immediate struggle for peace.

The only organization that was believed and now followed by the exhausted soldier masses was the Bolshevik Party.

"Comrades workers and soldiers! - wrote front-line soldiers in the Bolshevik army newspaper, - take care of your weapons, let's go to Petrograd bourgeoisie, beat the coalition administration. The trench agony of a soldier brought out of patience . "

In regiments and divisions, commanders were driven out, committees were re-elected, and in a number of places even the most hated officers were killed.

In their letters to the countryside, frontline soldiers advised the peasants to drive the landlords away and take the land into the hands of the peasant committees.

In the countryside, the relatively peaceful forms of struggle against the landowners (refusal to pay rent, seizure of meadows and pastures) were replaced by the seizure of landowners' lands. Freed from the influence of the Social Revolutionaries, the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies in the localities adopted resolutions on the transfer to the peasants of all the land and all the landlord's implements. Poor people seized monastic and church lands. The peasant movement developed into a peasant uprising.

The Provisional Government sent punitive expeditions to the countryside to combat peasant uprisings. If in March - June there were 17 cases of armed suppression of peasant uprisings, in July - August 39, then in September - October there were already 105.

Throughout Russia, there were mass arrests of members of land committees, who were put on trial for the seizure of landowners' lands. These massacres aroused even greater indignation among the peasant masses.

"It goes without saying," Lenin wrote about this, *" that if in a peasant country, after seven months of a democratic republic, things could have reached a peasant uprising, then it irrefutably proves the nationwide collapse of the revolution, its crisis that has reached unprecedented strength, the approach of counterrevolutionary forces to the last line "* (Lenin, Soch., vol. 26, p. 57).

The peasantry began to get out of the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which, in Lenin's words, became *"an anti-people, anti-peasant, counter-revolutionary party."*

In alliance with the poorest peasantry, with the support of the main masses of the peasantry for the Bolshevik slogans, the proletariat marched towards the proletarian revolution.

The growth of the proletarian revolution caused vacillation and confusion among the petty-bourgeois parties. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party had a "left" wing that called itself "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. A group of "leftists", the so-called internationalists, also emerged among the Mensheviks. In an effort to keep the masses quickly retreating from them, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks came up with a proposal to establish a republic in Russia. Until that time, the question of the form of government was postponed by them, like all other questions of the revolution, until the Constituent Assembly.

The confusion among the compromising parties testified that the main support of the bourgeoisie — the party of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries — was being isolated from the masses. The isolation of the compromising parties brought closer the victory of the socialist revolution.

The oppressed peoples of Russia also rose to fight the imperialist bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the national liberation movement grew into a struggle for power. This was especially evident in Central Asia.

In September, a spontaneous mass protest of workers broke out in Tashkent. For two weeks the power in the city belonged to the Soviet.

The provisional government sent a punitive detachment of General Korovnichenko, who cruelly dealt with the working population of Tashkent.

In the Ukraine, the Bolsheviks conquered the masses and vigorously prepared for an armed uprising. Detachments of the Red Guard were formed in Kharkov, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav.

In Latvia, the Soviets of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies were Bolshevik. In Estonia, at the October Congress of Soviets, the Bolsheviks were in the majority. In Finland, in early September, a regional congress of Finnish Soviets was convened. The congress adopted Bolshevik resolutions.

Not only Russia was going through a revolutionary crisis, but all the countries of Western Europe, which suffered from the protracted war.

In France, workers went on strike in protest against the imperialist war. The anti-war movement also engulfed the army.

In some regiments, Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies were created. The soldiers even talked about going to Paris to deal with the capitalists and the government.

All Germany was engulfed in revolutionary fermentation.

In the fall, an armed uprising of the sailors of the four battleships broke out in the German naval fortress of Wilhelmshaven. The revolutionary proletarian organization "Spartak" launched a great deal of work among the masses.

Analyzing the events of Russian and international life, Lenin at the end of September 1917 wrote in his article "The crisis is ripe":

"There is no doubt that the end of September brought us the greatest turning point in the history of the Russian, and, apparently, also the world revolution" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 26, p. 52).

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VICTORY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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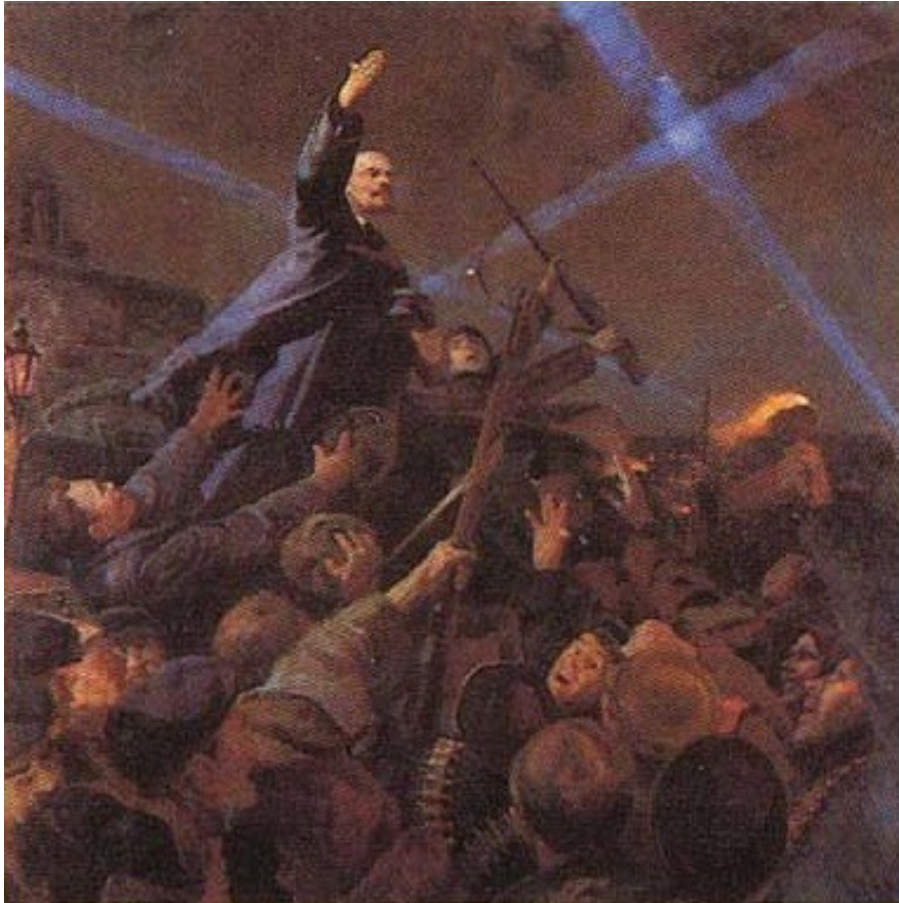
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VICTORY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

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OCTOBER ARMED UPRISING



Preparing the uprising.

In September, hiding from the hounds of the Provisional Government, Lenin lived in Helsingfors, Finland. From here Lenin closely followed the development of the revolution and sent his directives to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

Between September 12 and 14, Lenin sent two directive letters to the Party Central Committee: "[The Bolsheviks must take power](#)" and "[Marxism and the uprising](#)". In his first letter, Lenin wrote that, having received a majority in both metropolitan Soviets, the Bolsheviks can and should take state power into their own hands:

"The question is," wrote Lenin, "to make the task clear for the party: on the turn of the day to put an armed uprising in St. Petersburg and in Moscow (with the region), the conquest of power, the overthrow of the government."

In the second letter, Lenin demanded that the uprising be treated as an art, and that the conditions necessary for its successful outcome be seriously studied. Lenin outlined a general plan for organizing the uprising, demanding that decisive forces be assembled at the decisive point and without fail go over to the offensive, bearing in mind that defense is the death of an armed uprising.

On September 15, Lenin's letters were discussed at the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The traitor Kamenev spoke out against Lenin's directives about preparing an uprising. At the suggestion of Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee decided to send Lenin's letters to the largest organizations. In the second half of September, the Bolshevik Party launched a lot of work to prepare for an armed uprising. On October 7, Lenin secretly arrived in Petrograd to lead the uprising. Stalin introduced Lenin to the preparations for the uprising.



On October 10, for the first time after the July events, Lenin attended a meeting of the Central Committee, where he made a report on the preparations for the uprising, offering to use any suitable pretext to start it. In his report, Lenin stressed that the uprising was politically prepared by the entire external and internal situation, including the military one: the Provisional Government decided to withdraw the revolutionary garrison from Petrograd and surrender the capital to the Germans, the Russian bourgeoisie entered into negotiations to conclude a separate peace with the German imperialists in order to strangle the Russian revolution. Lenin raised the question of the date of the uprising and its organizational military-technical preparation.



Moravov. Lenin's speech at a meeting in 1917



Stalin, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky and other members of the Central Committee supported Lenin. Only the strikebreakers of the revolution, Zinoviev and Kamenev, opposed Lenin.

The Central Committee condemned these defenders of capitalism and adopted Lenin's resolution on the immediate organization of an armed uprising and on the subordination of all party activities to this task:

"Recognizing in this way," the resolution said, "that an armed uprising is inevitable and quite ripe, the Central Committee invites all party organizations to be guided by this and, from this point of view, discuss and resolve all practical issues (the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, the withdrawal of troops from St. Petersburg, speeches by Muscovites and Minsk residents, etc.)".

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party continued to prepare for an armed uprising. The Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet was created, which became the legal headquarters of the uprising. The mainstay of the uprising was to be the Red Guard, which by October amounted to 12,000 armed men in Petrograd. It was decided to summon the help of the revolutionary capital of the Baltic sailors from Helsingfors.

Combat troikas were organized in each district of Petrograd to lead the uprising. In most regions at this time, regional congresses of Soviets were held, which passed decisions on the transfer of all power to the Soviets. On October 16 (29), at the suggestion of Lenin, a second meeting of the Central Committee of the party was convened together with representatives of the Petrograd Bolsheviks to familiarize wider circles of the party with the plan of the uprising. This meeting confirmed the decision on an armed uprising. Kamenev and Zinoviev again demanded a postponement of the uprising. Comrade Stalin exposed the traitors in his speech:

"What Kamenev and Zinoviev are proposing," he said, "objectively leads to an opportunity for the counter-revolution to prepare and organize."

On the same day, the Party Center headed by Comrade Stalin was elected for the practical leadership of the uprising.

Having suffered defeat in the Central Committee, Zinoviev and Kamenev went on an unheard-of betrayal. On October 18, in the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, they published a statement about their disagreement with the Central Committee's decision on the uprising. It was outright treason. Lenin wrote about her: "Kamenev and Zinoviev gave Rodzianka and Kerensky the decision of the Central Committee of their party about an armed uprising and about concealing from the enemy the preparation of an armed uprising, the choice of a date for an armed uprising."

Following Kamenev and Zinoviev, Trotsky gave the enemy a date for the uprising. At a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, he announced that the Second Congress of Soviets on October 25 should take power into its own hands. This betrayal was used by Kerensky, who took a number of military measures to prevent the uprising.

The preparation of an armed uprising by the Bolsheviks proceeded at an accelerated pace. According to the plan worked out by Comrade Stalin, it was planned that the workers of the Urals would come to the aid of Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk would help Moscow, Belarus would disarm the front soldiers if they were sent against Petrograd. In preparing for the uprising, Comrade Stalin was assisted by Ya. M. Sverdlov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, V. M. Molotov, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, M. I. Kalinin, A. A. Andreev and other comrades.

The factories were in a hurry to equip and train workers. The Red Guard was quickly formed. The workers of the Sestroretsk arms factory handed over the weapons they had made to the Red Guard headquarters. The workers of the Shlisselburg Powder Factory sent a barge with grenades along the Neva to the disposal of the headquarters of the Red Guard in Petrograd. A detachment of 1,500 Red Guards was on alert at the Putilov factory.

On the ground, the preparation of an armed uprising was under the leadership of the tried students of Lenin: in the Donbass - K. E. Voroshilov, in Kharkov - Artyom (Sergeev), in the Volga region - V. V. Kuibyshev, in the Urals - A. A. Zhdanov, in Polesie - L. M. Kaganovich, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk - M. V. Frunze, in the North Caucasus - S. M. Kirov. The Bolsheviks intensified their work in the Baltic Fleet and on the Northern Front closest to the capital.

Lenin called a meeting of the leaders of the military organization and discussed with them which ships and troops to call from Kronstadt and Helsingfors. The Military Revolutionary Committee sent its commissars to all military units with the aim of preparing soldiers for the uprising.



Eve of October. Nalbandyan D.



V. Serov. In Smolny



A. Nasedkin. In the days of October



V. Serov. In Smolny

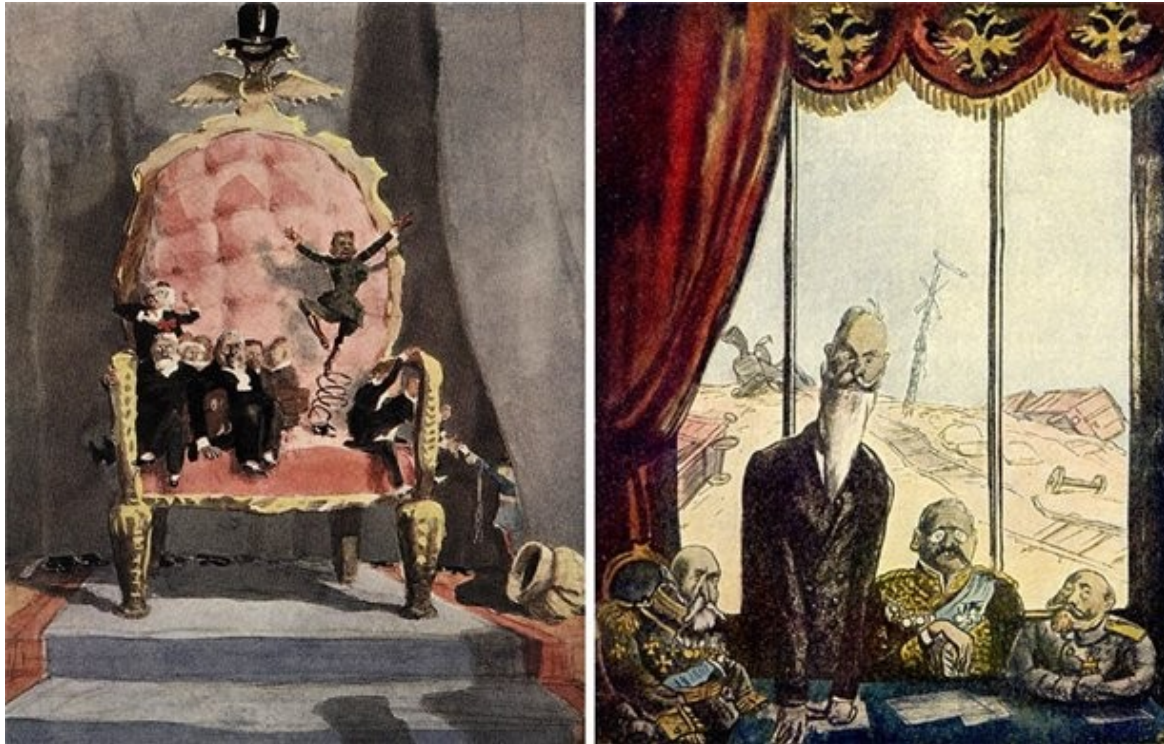


K. Filatov. October

II. The uprising in Petrograd.

The Provisional Government, warned by the traitors Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky, assumed that the uprising of the proletariat would begin on the day of the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets - October 25, 1917. On that day it was preparing to crush the uprising.

In the headquarters of the counter-revolution, a plan was hastily developed to seize Smolny, where the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party was located. The military forces were drawn to the capital, the cadet schools were put on alert. The revolutionary cruiser Aurora, which was under repair on the Neva, was proposed by the Provisional Government to immediately go to sea, as it was afraid to leave the cruiser in Petrograd. It was ordered to build bridges connecting the workers' districts with the center.



Provisional government. Kukryniksy

Early in the morning of October 24, the cadets arrived in cars at the premises of the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, Rabochy Put (as Pravda was temporarily called), with the aim of confiscating the newspaper. The workers succeeded in informing Comrade Stalin of the cadet raid. An armored car with revolutionary soldiers was sent to the printing house, and the junkers left. The Rabochy Put newspaper came out with an appeal to overthrow the Provisional Government. In the editorial "What Do We Need?" Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The moment has come when further delay threatens to ruin the entire cause of the revolution. We need to replace the current government of landlords and capitalists with a new government of workers and peasants."



*Yuon. Lenin's first appearance at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in Smolny
(behind Lenin's back: Stalin, Uritsky, Molotov)*



B. Vladimirsky. V.I. Lenin and I.V. Stalin in Smolny



Oreshnikov. At the headquarters of the defense of Petrograd. November 1917

Lenin, having learned about the onset of the counter-revolution, sent a letter to the Central Committee by the evening of October 24 demanding an immediate action:

"It is necessary, by all means, tonight, tonight, to arrest the government, disarming (defeating, if they resist) the junkers, etc. ... in no case should we leave power in the hands of Kerensky and the company until the 25th, in no way; decide the matter tonight, by all means in the evening or at night.

In order to prevent Kerensky from speaking on the opening day of the Congress of Soviets, on October 25, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party instructed the Military Revolutionary Committee to start an uprising immediately.

On the morning of October 24, the Military Revolutionary Committee ordered the military units to be put on alert, vigilantly monitor the military units approaching the capital, and strengthen the protection of bridges and stations. Combat ships and sailors of the Baltic Fleet were called in to help. The Military Revolutionary Committee gave the Central Committee of the Councils of the Baltic Fleet in Helsingfors a conditional telegram: "Send the charter." This meant: "The uprising has begun, send warships and detachments of sailors."



I. Dzidov. The sailors of the revolution



V. Serov. With Lenin

In the evening, Lenin, disguised as a worker, with his cheek tied, wearing a wig, accompanied by a comrade sent from the Central Committee, arrived at Smolny. Soldiers of the Lithuanian regiment and units of the Red Guard were summoned here. They took up guard posts at all entrances and exits, set up machine guns. More and more units of the Red Guard approached. In the afternoon, the Red Guard units received weapons from the arsenal of the Peter and Paul Fortress, which had gone over to the side of the Bolsheviks.



B. Kustodiev. Smolny in the days of the October Revolution



I. Skorobogatov. The sailor's feat

According to a pre-planned plan, detachments of workers occupied state institutions. After midnight, the telephone exchange, the state bank, the post office, railway stations, and the main institutions were occupied.

The Military Revolutionary Committee ordered the cruiser Aurora to move from the Franco-Russian factory on the Neva to the Winter Palace. The Aurora commander, under the pretext of shallow water on the Neva, refused to carry out this order. Then the sailors measured the channel of the Neva, arrested the commander and went in the indicated direction. The Aurora's guns were aimed at the last refuge of the bourgeois power - the Winter Palace.

The uprising proceeded in an orderly and orderly fashion. By 9 o'clock in the morning on October 25, seven companies of the Kexholm regiment occupied the approaches to the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government was assembled. By this time, his complete isolation became clear. Not a single military unit supported him. Kerensky escaped from the insurgent capital in a car flying the American flag.



Shegal. The flight of Kerensky from Gatchina.

At 10 o'clock in the morning, the Military Revolutionary Committee announced the overthrow of the Provisional Government. The address of the Military Revolutionary Committee, written by Lenin, said:

"The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power passed into the hands of an organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers 'and Soldiers' Deputies - the Military Revolutionary Committee, which stood at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

The cause for which the people fought: the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of landlord ownership of land, workers' control over production, the creation of a Soviet government, this is a guaranteed cause.

Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants! "

An emergency meeting of the Petrograd Soviet took place in the afternoon. The Soviet of the leader of the revolution, Lenin, met with a storm of applause.

"Comrades! - said Lenin. - The workers 'and peasants' revolution, the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have been talking about all the time, has taken place ... From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this third Russian revolution should ultimately lead to the victory of socialism.



V. Serov. Long live the October Revolution!

In the adopted resolution, the Petrograd Soviet greeted the proletarian revolution and expressed confidence that the Soviet government created by the revolution would firmly follow the path to socialism.

By the end of the day, the insurgents held the entire city in their hands, except for the Winter Palace. Lenin ordered to take the Winter Palace before the opening of the Congress of Soviets. The provisional government was required to surrender immediately, but it refused. At about 9 pm the storming of the Winter Palace began. After a signal shot from the Peter and Paul Fortress and shots from the six-inch guns of the Aurora, the Red Guards, sailors, and soldiers led by the Bolsheviks rushed to storm the Winter Palace.

Almost the entire Petrograd Union of Socialist Working Youth (the future Komsomol) joined the ranks of the Red Guard. Young proletarians accounted for more than a third of it.

Great enthusiasm and confidence in victory reigned among the broad masses of workers and soldiers. The Provisional Government besieged in the Winter Palace waited in vain for the promised assistance from the front.

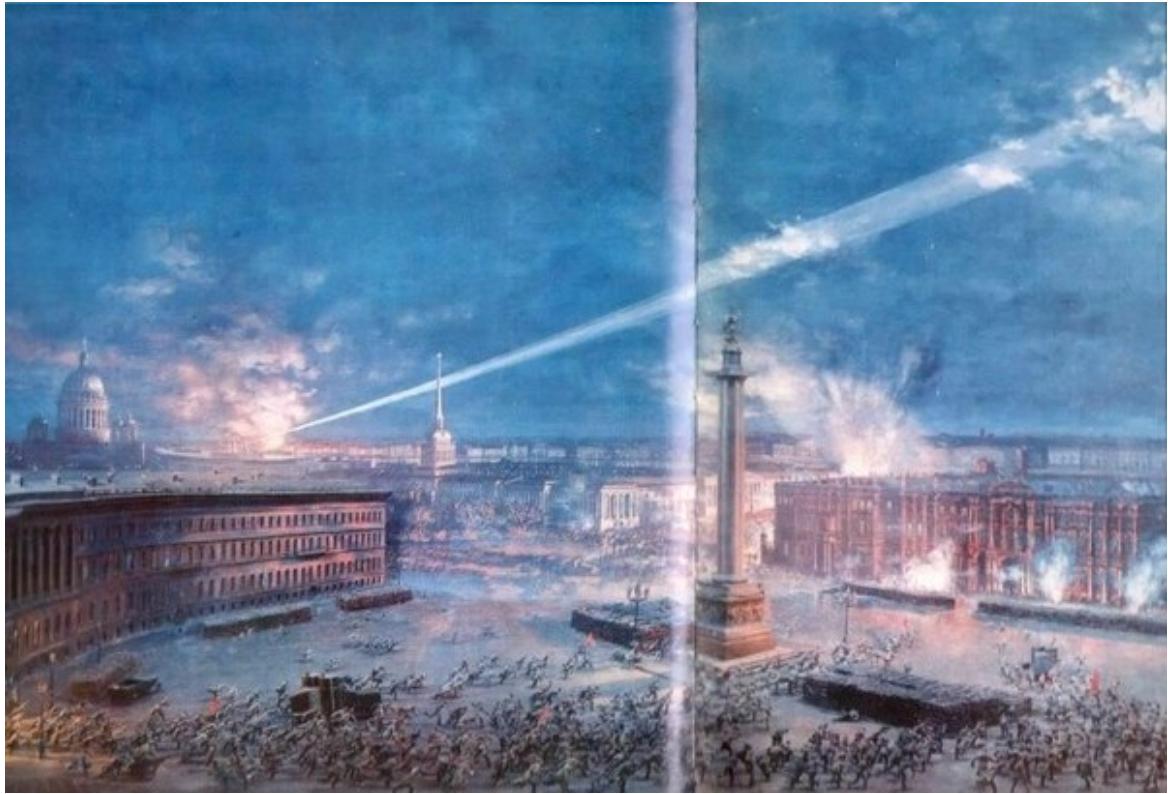


Serov. How to get to Smolny

V.



V. Serov. They are waiting for a signal. Before the assault.



Volley of the cruiser "Aurora"



Kukryniksy. Volley of "Aurora".



S. Dudnik. Aurora's volley.



V. Kuznetsov. The storming of the Winter Palace



V. Serov. The storming of the Winter Palace



A. Lopukhov. October



A. Lopukhov. Arrest of the Provisional Government



S. Lukin. It's finished!



A. Plotnov. Winter is taken





Vladimir Serov. Winter is taken

III. II Congress of Soviets.

On October 25 (November 7) in the evening, at 10:45 am, the 11th All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened in Smolny.

The storming of the Winter Palace was still going on. Many delegates took part in the uprising. Smolny resembled a military camp.



S. Guetsky. Smolny. 1917 year



V. Serov. News from the village



I. Brodsky. V.I. Lenin in Smolny

Armored cars, cars, trucks packed with armed workers, columns of Red Guards, sailors hung with machine-gun belts, with hand grenades in their belts, nurses who were busy with carts and cars with the signs of the Red Cross, moved in a continuous stream to Smolny and from Smolny.

The congress was attended by 650 delegates, 390 of them were Bolsheviks. A huge part of the non-party delegates declared themselves sympathetic to the Bolsheviks.



B. Kustodiev, October in Petrograd



A. Deineka, Left March

At the opening of the congress, the Mensheviks, Bundists and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries appealed to the soldiers and non-party delegates to leave the congress. But only an insignificant handful of Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary leaders left.

- Kornilovites! The indignant delegates shouted after them. "Deserters!"
- We need to take power into our own hands. Let them go. The army is not with them! - declared the delegate of the XII Army with the general approval of the Congress.

At 2:10 am the Winter Palace was taken. A pathetic, frightened handful of ministers of the Provisional Government were arrested and escorted to the Peter and Paul Fortress. On October 26 (November 8) at 5 o'clock in the morning, the Congress of Soviets adopted the historic decision to transfer all power to the Soviets. The congress approved an appeal to the working people, written by Lenin and announcing the transfer of power to the Soviets:

"Relying on the will of the vast majority of workers, soldiers and peasants, relying on the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison that took place in Petrograd, the congress takes power into its own hands."



V. Serov. V. I. Lenin's speech at the II Congress of Soviets

The second meeting of the Congress opened on October 26 (November 8) at 8:40 pm. Appearing amid the indescribable jubilation of the congress, Lenin announced the decree on peace. The congress proposed to all the belligerent peoples and their governments to conclude a just, democratic peace without annexations, that is, without the seizure of foreign lands, and without indemnities, on the basis of self-determination of the oppressed nations. The decree was passed unanimously.



Levitin. Peace to the peoples

Then Lenin announced the decree on land. All landowners, appanage, monastic and church lands with all living and dead implements were transferred by decree without any redemption to the disposal of the volost land committees and district Soviets of peasant deputies. In total, more than 150 million acres of land were transferred to the peasants from the hands of the Soviet government. The peasants were exempted from annual rent payments to landlords in the amount of about 500 million rubles in gold. The decree was based on the general peasant mandate, drawn up on the basis of 242 local peasant orders. The main thing in these peasant orders was that they demanded the abolition of private ownership of land and the transfer of land to the peasants free of charge through land committees and councils.

The decree on land meant, as Lenin said, that "there are no more landowners in the countryside." The confiscation of the landlord's land led to the elimination of the landowners as a class. The private ownership of land was canceled forever. All land, its bowels, forests and waters became state property. Thus, the newly created Soviet state laid the foundation for the nationalization of the land.

At 2:30 am, the decree on the formation of the first Soviet government, the Council of People's Commissars, was also approved. The Congress approved Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. At the same time, Lenin's faithful ally, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, was appointed People's Commissar for Nationalities. Control over the activities of the people's commissars was to be exercised by the Central Executive Committee, elected by the "All-Russian Congress of Soviets.



A. Segal. The first decree of the Soviet government



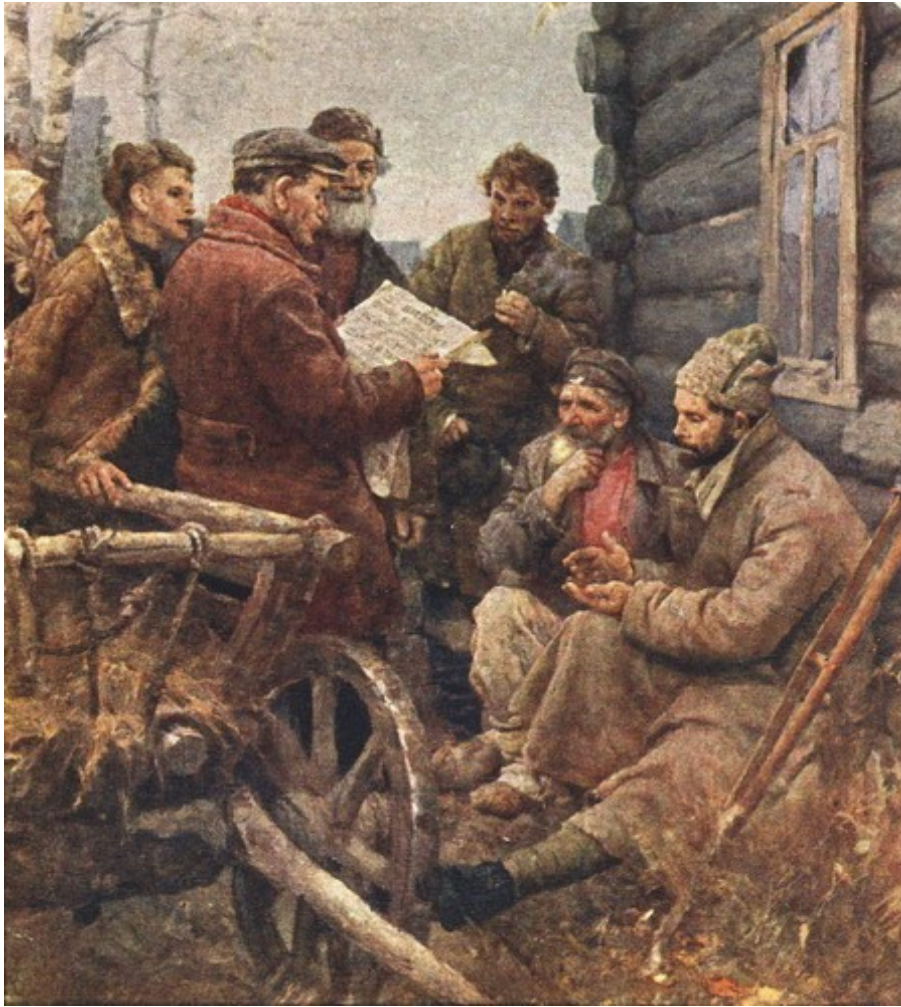
N. Osenev. The first word of the Soviet power.



Peace to the peoples. At the dawn of the revolution. Nekrasov V.



V. Serov. Peace decree



V. Serov. Land decree



A. Deineka, October Peace Slogans at the Nevskaya Zastava

Only the Bolsheviks entered the first Soviet government. Before the Second Congress of Soviets, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries had not yet broken organizationally with the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. Only after the withdrawal of the Right SRs, together with the Mensheviks from the Second Congress, did the "Left" SRs form their own party. Experiencing pressure from the entire mass of peasants, thirsty for land, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries all the time hesitated between the Bolsheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionary Menshevik bloc, demanding that the Bolsheviks agree with it. Lenin called them "fellow travelers of the proletarian revolution" and foresaw their betrayal at a critical moment. When, under the influence of the revolutionary peasants and soldiers, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries declared their support for the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks invited them to join the government.



V. Kholuev. Soldiers of the revolution



Kukryniksy. Flight of the manufacturer



G. Savitsky, First days of October

The "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, however, opposed the formation of the Soviet government and sought the creation of a "homogeneous socialist government", meaning a cabinet of ministers made up of representatives of various parties - from People's Socialists to Bolsheviks. The congress rejected this proposal, constituting the first Soviet government from the Bolsheviks alone.

At 5 a.m. on October 27, the Congress of Soviets closed with enthusiastic exclamations from the delegates and the Petrograd workers:

"Long live the revolution!" "Long live socialism!"



E. Shirokov. We are ours, we will build a new world

The significance of the October Revolution

The significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the history of mankind is enormous. It marked a radical turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world. It split the world into two opposite systems - a system of dying capitalism and a system of victorious and growing socialism.

Describing the international character of the October Revolution and its fundamental difference from all previous revolutions, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“Revolutions in the past usually ended with a change at the helm of the rule of one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, the exploitation remained. This was the case during the slave liberation movements. This was the case during the period of serf uprisings. This was the case during the period of the well-known “great” revolutions in England, France, and Germany. I am not talking about the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, but still unsuccessful attempt by the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions in principle.

It sets as its goal not to replace one form of exploitation with another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the destruction of all and all exploiting groups, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the rule of the most revolutionary class among all the oppressed that have existed until now. classes, the organization of a new classless socialist society.

That is why the victory of the October Revolution means a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical fate of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and forms of organization, in everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses of the whole world. ” (Stalin, Works, vol. 10, pp. 239-240).

For the first time in history, the Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed to the ground the old state apparatus of the exploiting classes and created in its place a state of a new type - the Soviets, as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Taking away the means of production from the bourgeoisie and landowners and turning factories, plants, land, railways, banks into the property of the whole people, the October Revolution put an end to the exploitation of the masses.

The victory of the Soviet power for the first time in history gave the people not only freedom, but also the opportunity to ensure their material well-being, to win a happy, prosperous, cultural life.

For the first time in world history, the Great October Socialist Revolution brought liberation to the oppressed peoples, turning them into free and equal builders of socialism.

Thus, she showed the enslaved colonial peoples the path of the struggle for liberation.

Before the October Revolution, our homeland was in danger of becoming a prey for imperialist predators and becoming a dependent colonial country. The

victory of the socialist revolution saved Russia from the threat of losing its state independence.

The liberated workers and peasants and the liberated nationalities inhabiting Russia became the masters of their lives.

The Soviets ensured the broadest masses of the people active participation in state life. Proletarian democracy has become firmly established, ensuring the vital interests of the majority of the people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is the greatest triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory. She showed that revolutionary theory, when it takes hold of the masses, becomes a powerful force in the development of society.



❖ ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET STATE



Defeat of the anti-Soviet rebellion of Kerensky and Krasnov

The victory of the socialist revolution in Petrograd provoked desperate resistance from the overthrown classes. The center of the counter-revolution was the Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland and the Revolution, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and supported by the Entente imperialists. The workers and soldiers called it the "Committee for the Salvation of the Counter-Revolution".

The first armed counter-revolution was organized by Kerensky and the Cossack general Krasnov. Kerensky, who had fled from Petrograd, withdrew several Cossack units from the front and, under the command of General Krasnov, sent them to suppress the proletarian revolution. On October 28 Krasnov occupied Tsarskoe Selo (now the town of Pushkin) near Petrograd.

The workers of the capital rose up to defend the revolution. They went to positions, dug trenches, erected fortifications, prepared weapons. Work in factories and plants was in full swing day and night. The Putilov factory was ordered to prepare two armored platforms.

Lenin, who was directly in charge of the defense, came to the plant to check the fulfillment of this assignment. He found the workers bent over blueprints at a large table. Lenin encouraged the workers, told about the situation at the front.

In a day, the armored platforms were ready. Lenin proposed to send torpedo boats into the Neva, which with their guns were supposed to cover the flanks of the Red troops.

Up to 10 thousand fighters ready for battle were concentrated at the Pulkovo Heights.

The counter-revolution organized a revolt of the junkers in Petrograd. On the night of October 29, the patrol detained two suspicious people. One of them wanted to discreetly throw away a piece of paper. The Red Guard raised it - it turned out to be a plan for the uprising of the cadets. By the combined efforts of the workers and soldiers, the revolt of the cadets was liquidated by 4 o'clock in the afternoon. On October 31, in the battle at Pulkovo, the Cossacks were defeated by the revolutionary workers and soldiers. After the defeat in the Cossack units, rapid decomposition began. No orders from Krasnov could already force the Cossacks to take up arms. A Soviet delegation of sailors arrived in Gatchina to the Cossacks, promising to let the Cossacks go home if they stopped fighting the Soviet regime and extradited Kerensky. The Cossacks agreed, but Kerensky, having changed into a woman's dress, managed to escape from Gatchina. Krasnov was arrested, However, Krasnov did not keep his word and fled to the Don, which later became a nest of counter-revolution.

The uprising in Moscow. Having received news of the uprising in Petrograd, the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party began on October 25 (November 7) to carry out the uprising in Moscow.

On the night of October 25-26, the military center of the Bolsheviks proposed to the Military Revolutionary Committee to bring units devoted to the revolution into the Kremlin. The leaders of the Military Revolutionary Committee did not fulfill this directive and entered into negotiations with the counter-revolutionary headquarters. On the evening of October 26, an emergency meeting of the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks took place, demanding an end to the negotiations. Meanwhile, the counter-revolution went on the offensive, on October 27 the cadets occupied all the bridges across the Moskva River. At 7 o'clock in the evening, the commander of the counter-revolutionary troops, Colonel Ryabtsev, presented an ultimatum to the Military Revolutionary Committee, demanding the dissolution of the committee.

The cadets, who deceived the Kremlin, surrounded the revolutionary soldiers and shot them with a machine gun. The reprisal of the cadets against the Kremlin garrison aroused the indignation of the Moscow workers and soldiers. The Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks called on the workers to defeat the counter-revolution in arms and to immediately seize power. The Moscow proletariat and soldiers responded in unison to the call of the Bolshevik Party. The workers sent detachments of the Red Guard to help the Soviet. The offensive proceeded in a circle from the districts to the center - to the Moscow Soviet.

Simonovskaya Sloboda (now Leninskaya) played a particularly active role in the October battles. Workers of the AMO plant (now the Stalin automobile plant), Dynamo and others seized the arsenal and armed themselves. Detachments of the Red Guard of Simonovka made their way to the Soviet and took an active part in the attack on the cadets. Workers and soldiers acted unanimously in other regions as well. So, in the

Lefortovo and Basmany districts, they captured artillery and, after two days of shelling, forced the junkies of the Alekseevsky military school to surrender. In the center, Red Guards and soldiers attacked the post office, telegraph office, telephone exchange. In the Khamovnichesky district, the Red Guards recaptured the quartermaster food warehouse from the cadets and captured the Crimean bridge and the Bryansk (Kiev) railway station. The workers of Krasnaya Presnya cleared the entire area of cadets up to Novinsky Boulevard.

Detachments of the Red Guard from the nearest cities began to arrive to help the Moscow workers. From the villages of the Moscow region, detachments of the peasant poor came with shotguns and axes. They were organized and armed by the workers of the car repair shops. Red Guards from Petrograd, sailors from Kronstadt, weavers from Ivanovo, workers with trucks and machine guns from Tula rushed to Moscow to help. On October 31 (November 13), the Red Guards took possession of the post office, the main telegraph office and railway stations, and a day later they began shelling the Kremlin.

On November 2, at 9 pm, after a six-day battle, the Whites were defeated and surrendered. All power passed into the hands of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Moscow Soviet.

October revolution at the front.

The Second Congress of Soviets appealed to the soldiers at the front with an appeal to support the workers' uprising in Petrograd, indicating that the Soviet government would make every effort to end the war. The decrees on peace and on land were immediately sent to all the soldiers' organizations. However, the army committees, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, tried to conceal from the soldiers the decisions of the Second Congress of Soviets. Front-line soldiers sent their delegates to the Petrograd Soviet, instructing them to learn the truth about the events. The soldiers, learning from the returning delegates that Soviet power had been established in Petrograd, warmly welcomed it.



The gun from which the cadets who occupied the Kremlin were fired at.



The proletarian revolution was victorious first of all on the fronts closest to Petrograd - the North and the West. The Bolsheviks did a great job here. Almost all the regimental committees were headed by the Bolsheviks, and therefore the soldiers together and unanimously went over to the side of the Soviet regime. On other fronts - Southwestern, Romanian and Caucasian, very remote from the center of the revolution, the soldiers did not immediately learn about the victory of the proletarian revolution in Petrograd. But as the truth about the events got there and the soldiers got acquainted with the Soviet decrees, they also joined the revolution.

Defeated in Petrograd and Moscow, the counter-revolution was still trying to organize itself and go on the offensive. The center of the new counter-revolutionary conspiracy was the Headquarters - the headquarters of the supreme commander in Mogilev. Representatives of the anti-Soviet parties defeated by the revolution and the military missions of the Entente countries, which refused to recognize the Soviet government, gathered there. The headquarters concealed the peace decree from the soldiers and began to form units for the campaign against Petrograd. The Soviet government proposed to the chief of staff, Dukhonin, who declared himself supreme commander after Kerensky's flight, to immediately begin negotiations on an armistice with the German command. But Dukhonin refused to obey the orders of the Soviet government. Then Lenin removed Dukhonin, and the revolutionary detachments sent to Mogilev occupied the Headquarters and liquidated this hotbed of counter-revolution.



Failure of attempts to liquidate the proletarian dictatorship.

After the armed uprising, the proletariat in Russia became the ruling class. The class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie continued in new and even sharper forms.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," wrote Lenin, *"is the most selfless and most merciless war of the new class against a more powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is tenfold by its overthrow ..."* (Lenin, Soch., 31, p. 7).

The dictatorship of the proletariat aimed to suppress the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and build a communist society.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a change of government, but a new state, with new organs of power in the center and in the localities ..." - comrade Stalin pointed out, emphasizing the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the struggle against the overthrown bourgeoisie (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, p. 113).

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries waged a struggle against the dictatorship

of the proletariat. Instead of Soviet power, they put forward the demand for the creation of a "homogeneous socialist government".

The All-Russian Executive Committee of the Union of Railway Workers (Vikzhel), led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, threatening a general railroad strike, demanded that negotiations for power be started. At this time Krasnov and Kerensky stood at the gates of the capital. Kamenev, who was then chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, began negotiations with the Vikzhel about the creation of a coalition government. He went to an unheard-of betrayal, agreeing to the demand of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to replace the leader of the proletariat, V.I.

After the defeat of the rebellion of Kerensky and Krasnov, Lenin demanded an immediate end to negotiations with the Vikzhel. In response to this, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and their few supporters announced their withdrawal from the Party Central Committee. Lenin demanded the complete removal of these deserters and strikebreakers of the revolution from all Soviet and party work:

"... you ..." Lenin wrote angrily to Zinoviev and Kamenev, " *bring hesitation into the ranks of the fighters of the still unfinished uprising ...*" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 26, p. 268).

The Central Committee of the party sent a letter "To all members of the party and to all working classes of Russia," in which it emphasized that only the Bolshevik government could now be recognized by the Soviet government.

At this time, the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee was elected a resolute Leninist, a man of extraordinary will and outstanding organizational talents, Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov.



Ya.M. Sverdlov

Ya. M. Sverdlov played an enormous role in the building of the party and Soviet power after the victory of October. His iron will, ebullient energy and efficiency, colossal memory, amazing knowledge of people, ability to find and arrange workers made him an invaluable leader and organizer of Soviet power.

Breakdown of the old state machine

The fundamental opposition between the bourgeois revolutions (including the French bourgeois revolution of 1789) and the Great October Socialist Revolution was that

"... the French (and any other) bourgeois revolution, having freed the people from the chains of feudalism and absolutism, imposed on them new chains, the chains of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, while the socialist revolution in Russia broke all and every chains and freed the people from all forms of exploitation ... " (I. Stalin, S. Kirov, A. Zhdanov, [Notes on the outline of the textbook "New history "](#)).

Having overthrown the domination of the capitalists and landlords, turning into the ruling class, the proletariat had to organize in a new way the state power it needed to suppress the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the peasantry in creating a new, socialist society.

This process of creating a new, proletarian power was complex and difficult, since it was associated with the breaking up of the old bourgeois apparatus and the creation of a new type of state power:

"... All previous revolutions have improved the state machine, but it must be smashed, broken.

This conclusion is the main thing, the main thing in the teaching of Marxism about the state," wrote Lenin (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 25, p. 378).

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first ever attempt by the proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois state machine. The Revolution of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917, which created the Soviets, not only continued the work of the Paris Commune, but took a huge new step forward in this direction.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," comrade Stalin pointed out, *"cannot arise as a result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as a result of the breakdown of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus, the bourgeois police"* (Stalin, Soch. , vol. 6, p. 116).

By decree of December 16, 1917, all power in the army was transferred to soldiers' Soviets and committees. The commissars of the Provisional Government were removed. The electiveness of the command staff was established up to the front commander.

All old ranks, titles, titles and orders were abolished. The decree of December 16 completed the democratization of the army, which meant a complete breakdown of the old army. The organization of the new army was formalized by a decree of January 15 (28), 1918 on the creation of the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army.

The Soviet government has eliminated the old apparatus of violence and oppression. On November 24, 1917, decrees were issued abolishing the old judicial system and creating a new, people's court.

The police were dispersed by the workers in the early days of the February Revolution. Under the Provisional Government, the militia was not formed from among the workers. After the victory of the proletarian revolution, a workers' militia was created to preserve the revolutionary order, subordinate to the leadership of local Soviets.

A number of decrees were issued with the aim of destroying the old estate system. So, on November 10, 1917, a decree was adopted on the destruction of estates and civilian

ranks. The previous titles (noblemen, merchants, mishmash, etc.) were canceled; a common name for the entire population of Soviet Russia was introduced - citizens of the Russian republic.

New Soviet decrees abolished all privileges of the church.

Thus, by a decree of January 20, 1918, the church was separated from the state and the school from the church. The state refused to support priests and missionaries, exempted schoolchildren from studying the "law of God", declared religion and the church a private matter of citizens.

The Soviet state emancipated women and cleared family relations of feudal remnants. A civil marriage was established by decree of December 18, 1917. Children were taken under the protection of the proletarian state. The woman received equal rights with the man in everything.

On December 23, a new spelling was introduced to make it easier to read and write a multi-million people who had been in the dark for hundreds of years. On January 26, 1918, a decree was published introducing a new style of calendar calculation in Russia, which was adopted in all European states.

The first steps towards socialism

The victory of the October Revolution opened the first stage of socialist construction. The Great October Socialist Revolution completed, as Lenin said in passing, in passing, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and at the same time took the first steps towards socialism.

The first decrees of the Soviet government, proclaiming socialist measures, were also aimed at the complete elimination of the remnants of feudalism, serfdom, and class.

In a few weeks, the Soviet government did more in this respect than the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in the eight months of their rule.

On October 29, 1917, the decree on the 8-hour working day was published.

To combat the resistance of the capitalists in production, workers' control was introduced. "Regulations on workers' control" was adopted at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on November 14, 1917. Exercising workers' control, the workers did not allow the malicious closure of enterprises, did not allow the export of finished products and stocks of raw materials and fuel, did not allow stopping production, kept equipment. The decree on workers' control was one of the first steps towards socialism - through workers' control, workers learned to manage production and the state.

From workers' control, Soviet power gradually passed to workers' control. An example of such a transition can be the history of the first Soviet factory, the former Likinskaya Manufactory. The workers exposed the owner's malicious sabotage.

At the request of the workers, a workers' department was created in the factory. On November 17, 1917, Lenin signed a decree on the nationalization of the Likinskaya manufactory. The top officials and engineers of the Likinskaya Manufactory boycotted the workers' management and refused to work without the capitalists. The Factory Committee helped the workers' management organize work at the first enterprise nationalized by the Soviet regime.

Workers' control over the production and distribution of products played an important role in preparing the nationalization of industry, in organizing the planned regulation of the national economy.

On December 5, 1917, a decree was published on the creation of the Supreme Council of the National Economy for the leadership of industry, which was the militant organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"From workers' control we went to the creation of the Supreme Council of the National Economy. Only this measure, together with the nationalization of banks and railways, -

said V. I. Lenin, - *will enable us to start building a new socialist economy* " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 26, p. 425).

Railway transport and the merchant fleet passed into the hands of the proletarian state. The Soviet state declared a monopoly of foreign trade and canceled the loans concluded by tsarism and the Provisional Government, forever eliminating the economic dependence of Russia on Western European capital, which led our country to transformation into a colony of Anglo-French imperialism.

On December 14, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee adopted a decree on the nationalization of all private banks and on their joining the state one. The nationalization of the banks undermined one of the most serious foundations of the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and strengthened the material base of the young proletarian state.

The earlier adopted (at the Second Congress of Soviets) decree on land, which destroyed the economic basis of the rule of the landowners, opened the way for the struggle for the reorganization of petty-bourgeois peasant economy on a collective basis.

These were the most important decrees issued in the first months of Soviet power. These decrees laid the foundations for a new, Soviet socialist state system and embarked on a socialist transformation of the country's economy.



Creation of the Soviet state apparatus

The establishment of Soviet power provoked strong resistance from the bourgeois intelligentsia, who had previously been in the service of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes. Expecting to undermine the young proletarian state, officials and high-ranking officials organized sabotage. Politically, the sabotage was led by the Cadets,

Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Already on the first day of the formation of the Soviet regime, they urged officials not to obey the new government.

Officials of all 14 ministries declared a general strike, for which they received over 2 million rubles from the bourgeoisie.

Banks refused to finance those enterprises in which workers' control was introduced. Bank employees took away the keys to the cash pantries. The Food Board has relinquished responsibility for supplying the capital. The bread ration was reduced to 150 g per day. The Ministry of Social Security has stopped paying pensions to orphans, disabled people and old people. The Union of Engineers expelled those who submitted to the Soviet decree on workers' control and worked with the Bolsheviks. The Postal and Telegraph Union ordered the local communications authorities to delay all orders of the Soviet government.

Overcoming the resistance of the saboteurs, the Soviet government and the party created the apparatus of Soviet institutions. Communication was established between the central bodies of the Soviet state and local Soviets. At first, the working conditions were very difficult.

Here is what N.K.Krupskaya told about this period:

"In Smolny, work was going on not only during the day, but also at night. At first, everything was in Smolny - both party meetings and the Council of People's Commissars, the work of the People's Commissariats was going on right there, telegrams and orders were sent from here, people from everywhere flocked to Smolny. And what apparatus did the Council of People's Commissars have? In the beginning, there were four people, completely inexperienced, working without a break, doing everything that was required along the way. Ilyich quite often had to do the very rough work - to call phones, etc., etc." (Memoirs of Lenin, Part III, p. 28).

On November 15, the Council of People's Commissars decided to transfer the work of all people's commissariats to the relevant ministries and only in the evenings to gather in Smolny. This decision was prompted by the fact that in the fight against sabotage, a new, Soviet state apparatus was already beginning to be created.

Trade unions played an enormous role in organizing the Soviet apparatus. They sent workers, financed the people's commissariats that did not receive money from the banks, and so on.

New cadres of builders of Soviet power rose from the most downtrodden lower classes of the people.

Merger of Soviets of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies

The implementation of the decree on land took place in a fierce class struggle in the countryside. The newly organized People's Commissariat of Agriculture issued a regulation on the volost land committees, which began to implement the decree on land. The Social Revolutionaries tried to prevent the re-election of land committees and the creation of Soviets of Peasant Deputies. They concealed from the peasantry decrees on land and peace and other decrees of the Soviet government. The peasants learned about them from the soldiers' letters and from the workers and soldiers who came to the village. Many peasants sent their walkers to Lenin. Lenin simply and clearly told the peasants about the tasks of the new, workers 'and peasants' government and called on them to become the masters of their lives, using the new Soviet laws, strengthening the alliance with the working class.

“An alliance of the poorest peasantry with the workers is necessary, ” Lenin taught, “ and then socialism will triumph throughout the world” (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 26, p. 262).

In November 1917, the All-Russian Congress of Peasant Soviets convened in Petrograd, at which Lenin demanded that the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries renounce their compromise with the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. Taking into account the wishes of the mass of peasants, the Bolsheviks invited the "Left" SRs to join the government. Under pressure from the peasant masses, the "Left" SRs were forced to accept the conditions of the Bolsheviks and sent their representatives to the Council of People's Commissars.

For a closer alliance of workers and peasants, it was decided to unite the executive committees of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies into one common All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies.

In November 1917, at a joint meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and the Congress of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, a resolution was unanimously adopted on the unification of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

"Declaration of the rights of the peoples of Russia"

The basic principles of Soviet national policy were proclaimed by the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" signed by Lenin and Stalin on November 2, 1917. The simple, clear, strong words of the declaration found a wide echo not only among the peoples of Russia, but also among the colonial and dependent peoples abroad.

The declaration proclaimed the emancipation of all peoples of Russia as the Great October Socialist Revolution and established the following foundations of the national policy of the Soviet government:

Декларация правъ народовъ Россіи.

Октябрьская революція рабочихъ и крестьянъ началась подъ общимъ знаменемъ раскрѣпощенія.

Раскрѣпощаются КРЕСТЬЯНЕ отъ власти помещиковъ, ибо нѣтъ больше помещичьей собственности на землю — она упразднена. Раскрѣпощаются СОЛДАТЫ и МАТРОСЫ отъ власти самодержавныхъ генераловъ, ибо генералы отнынь будутъ выборными и сѣмьями. Раскрѣпощаются РАБОЧИЕ отъ капиталовъ и произвола капиталистовъ, ибо отнынь будетъ установленъ контроль рабочихъ надъ заводами и фабриками. Все живое и жизнеспособное раскрѣпощается отъ неживыхъ оковъ.

Остаются только тѣмныя и терпачи раскрѣпощенію и ступлена неведомыхъ должно быть и безповоротно. За эпоху царизма матицкой патралл. Результаты такой п на и погромъ, съ народовъ — съ другой. Этой позорной н нѣтъ и не должно, она должна быть БРОВОЛЬНАГО

доевъ Россіи. Въ періодъ революціи кадета литина нат, литинъ тру Россіи, пол прикрывающ о «свободы» зультаты т. ление націон наго доверіи. Этой мав вѣрнѣ, при быть палона быть замѣн

Только въ результатъ такого доверія можетъ сложиться честный и прочный союзъ народовъ Россіи.

Только въ результатъ такого союза могутъ быть спаяны рабочие и крестьяне народовъ Россіи въ одну революціонную силу, способную устоять противъ всякихъ покушеній со стороны империалистско-антисоціалистской буржуазіи.

Исходя изъ этихъ положеній, первый Съездъ Советовъ въ ноябрь этого года провозгласилъ право народовъ Россіи на свободное самоопредѣленіе.

Второй Съездъ Со

Но всѣмъ трудящимся мусульманамъ Россіи и Востока.

Товарищи! Братья!

Великія событія происходятъ въ Россіи. Ближайше кончится кровавая война, начатая въ за дѣлею чужака господство империалистской буржуазіи. Падеть старое злое злое. Миръ, провозглашенъ и угнетеннымъ трудящимся и освободителю этой революціи ступитъ путь. Советское правительство Россіи мѣтъ Комиссаровъ.

ка Европы, въ тѣ страны, которыя за тѣтъ подлѣтъ начавше войну грабители. Въ заявленіи, что такіе договоры заключены и заветъ Константинопольской имперіи, империалистской буржуазіи.

СОВѢТЪ НАРОДНЫХЪ КОМИССАРОВЪ О НЕЗАВИСИМОСТИ ФИНЛЯНДИИ.

Въ отвѣтъ на обращеніе финляндскаго правительства о признаніи независимости

Финляндіи. Советъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ въ отвѣтъ на обращеніе финляндскаго правительства о признаніи независимости Финляндіи, постановляетъ:

1) признать независимости Финляндіи, въ границахъ, установленныхъ въ 1917 году, и признать ее полноправнымъ членомъ Интернаціонала Труда.

2) признать, что Финляндія имѣетъ право на свободное самоопредѣленіе, постановляя:

а) признать независимости Финляндіи, въ границахъ, установленныхъ въ 1917 году, и признать ее полноправнымъ членомъ Интернаціонала Труда.

б) признать, что Финляндія имѣетъ право на свободное самоопредѣленіе, постановляя:

в) признать, что Финляндія имѣетъ право на свободное самоопредѣленіе, постановляя:

г) признать, что Финляндія имѣетъ право на свободное самоопредѣленіе, постановляя:

Привѣтъ Совета Народныхъ Комиссаровъ Совѣтской власти на Украинѣ.

Привѣтствуя образование въ Харьковѣ истинно народной Совѣтской власти на Украинѣ, видя въ этой рабочей и крестьянской Радѣ подлинное правительство Народной Украинской Республики.

Советъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ общаетъ новому правительству Братской республики полную и всебѣдную поддержку въ дѣлѣ борьбы за миръ, а также въ дѣлѣ передачи всѣхъ земель, фабрикъ, заводовъ и банковъ трудящемуся народу Украины.

Да здравствуетъ власть Рабочихъ, Крестьянскихъ и Солдатскихъ Совѣтовъ!

Да здравствуетъ братство рабочихъ, солдатъ и крестьянъ Украины и Россіи!

Советъ Народныхъ Комиссаровъ.
16-го дек. 1917 г.

- 1) equality and sovereignty (supremacy) of the peoples of Russia;
- 2) the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, up to the separation and formation of an independent state;
- 3) the abolition of all and any national and national-religious privileges and restrictions;
- 4) free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. By this policy, the Soviet state satisfied the primordial aspirations of

the oppressed peoples and thereby strengthened their alliance with the Russian proletariat, which had established its power.



Creation of the Cheka

To defend the proletarian dictatorship and protect all the gains of the revolution, on December 7, 1917, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (VChK) was created, which soon became *“the vigilant guard of the revolution, the naked sword of the proletariat”* (Stalin).



F.E. Dzerzhinsky



At the head of the Cheka, the party put the best ally of Lenin and Stalin, a firm Bolshevik, a staunch fighter of the revolution - Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky. F.E.Dzerzhinsky was one of the oldest figures in the Polish and Russian workers' movement. His whole life was a revolutionary feat: the tireless work of a professional revolutionary, and in between - prison, exile, escapes. "The limit of my struggle can be just a grave, - wrote Dzerzhinsky about himself. - Here, in prison, it can be bad, it can be scary, and nevertheless, if I had to start again, I would have started what I did. " The February revolution freed Dzerzhinsky from the convict prison, where he spent 9 years. The October Revolution entrusted him with the defense of the power of the Soviets. His crystal honesty, courage and Bolshevik insight won him great prestige and love among the broad masses, who called Dzerzhinsky "Iron Felix". "The thunderstorm of the bourgeoisie — that is what Felix Dzerzhinsky was," said Comrade Stalin about him. Soviet intelligence, led by F.E.Dzerzhinsky, was created with the help of staunch, loyal and vigilant advanced workers, with the constant support of the working people who helped the Cheka bodies to uncover conspiracies and destroy the enemies of the revolution.

THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESS OF SOVIET POWER



V. Psarev. Red commanders

P The prevalence and strengthening of the Soviet power

Soviet power quickly spread throughout the country. In industrial areas, where the Soviets had been conquered by the Bolsheviks even before the October uprising, power passed into the hands of the Soviets in most cases by peaceful means. Here military revolutionary committees were created, the Red Guards occupied the post office, telegraph office and other institutions. Relying on trade unions, the revolutionary committees began to prepare congresses of Soviets for the creation of plenipotentiary bodies of Soviet power. This was the case in many areas of the Urals, Donbass, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Shuya and other cities.

In a number of cities, the establishment of Soviet power was delayed, as coalition revolutionary committees were created locally. Here the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries thwarted the transfer of power to the Soviets in every possible way.

Lenin called the period from October 25 to February 18 (before the start of the offensive of German imperialism) the period of the triumphal march of Soviet power. The Soviets won so quickly because the masses, even under the Provisional Government, believed in Kerenskyism. The resolutions of the Second Congress of Soviets, decrees of the Soviet regime, appeals, addresses of the Bolshevik Party, speeches and articles of Lenin were accepted by the masses with great enthusiasm.

"... Soviet power , - said Lenin at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet on March 12, 1918, - has become not only the property of large cities and factory areas, it has penetrated into all remote corners" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, p. 140) ...

In the villages of industrial districts, the organizers of Soviet power were workers, and in non-industrial areas - the rural poor and Bolshevik-minded front-line soldiers. The latter brought Bolshevik newspapers, explained the tasks of the Soviet government at meetings, under their leadership the Soviets were re-elected.

At the end of December 1917, by order of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, all former bodies of local self-government were abolished and replaced by Soviets.

Defeat of Kaledin and Dutov

Even at the beginning of the October Revolution, a certain geographical demarcation between the revolution and the counter-revolution was outlined.

*"Inner Russia with its industrial and cultural-political centers - Moscow and Petrograd - with a nationally homogeneous population, mainly Russian, - has become the base of the revolution. The outskirts of Russia, mainly the southern and eastern outskirts, without important industrial and cultural-political centers, with a population highly diverse in national terms, consisting of privileged Cossack colonialists, on the one hand, and the unequal Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz (on east), Ukrainians, Chechens, Ingush and other Muslim peoples, on the other hand, turned into a base for counter-revolution,"*wrote Comrade Stalin (Stalin, Soch., vol. 4, pp. 285-286).

This delimitation was clearly reflected in the counterrevolutionary speeches of Dutov in Orenburg and Kaledin on the Don.

After capturing Orenburg, Chelyabinsk and Troitsk, Dutov planned to unite with counter-revolutionary forces in Siberia and the Urals, and through the Volga region - with the Don and Kuban. Thus, he wanted to carry out a plan of military encirclement and economic isolation of Soviet Russia, cutting it off from regions rich in bread and other products.

The workers of Orenburg sent their representatives to Lenin and Stalin asking for help. To fight Dutov, detachments of sailors were sent from Petrograd, and from the Volga region and the Southern Urals - workers' Red Guard detachments. The local population, especially the Kazakhs and Kyrgyz, actively participated in the defeat of Dutov. At the end of December 1917, Dutov's gangs were defeated by the Red Guard. In January 1918 Orenburg became Soviet.

The Cossack counter-revolution in the Don and in the Kuban suffered the same collapse. The Don has become a haven for the counter-revolution since the Kornilov revolt. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Kornilov, Denikin and other counter-revolutionary generals fled to the Don.

Having learned about the victory of the October Revolution in Petrograd, the Don Ataman Kaledin declared the Don Region independent and began to prepare for war against the Soviet regime. On the Don, counter-revolutionary officer detachments began to form, of which the White Guard Volunteer Army, headed by Kornilov and Denikin, was then

formed. Having captured Rostov in December 1917, Kaledin began to prepare for a campaign in the Donetsk basin.

The Ukrainian Central Rada rendered great assistance to Kaledin. She sent weapons, ammunition, money to the Don, ferried detachments of junkers and Cossacks, did not let the Red Guard detachments heading from the north to fight Kaledin. Foreign imperialists supported Kaledin's adventure. A special American agent was dispatched to contact him. One of the largest American banks transferred 500 thousand dollars to Kaledin. But the plans of the counter-revolution were thwarted by the courageous resistance of the Soviet people.

Red Guard detachments from Soviet Russia were sent to help the workers of Donbass in their struggle against Kaledin. With the support of the revolutionary Cossacks, the Red Guard defeated the Kaledinites.

Seeing that the situation was hopeless, Kaledin shot himself. At the end of February 1918, the Red troops occupied Rostov and Novochoerkassk. Soviet power was established on the Don. The remnants of the Whites fled to the Kuban under the command of Kornilov.

Kornilov united all the counter-revolutionary detachments under his command and led them on the offensive against Yekaterinodar. But the three-day assault on the Kornilovites was repulsed. Kornilov was killed, and the remnants of the defeated White Guards fled under Denikin's command. Soviet rule was established in the Kuban region.



Struggle for Soviet power in the North Caucasus

After the victory of the October Revolution in Petrograd, the top Cossacks of the Don and Terek entered into an alliance with the rich highlanders of Dagestan and Chechnya in order to prevent the establishment of Soviet power in the Cossack and mountainous regions of the North Caucasus. But the alliance of the Cossack top and mountain feudal lords had no support among the masses. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, local noble officers incited the mountain peoples to fight against Soviet power.

S. M. Kirov, who returned to Vladikavkaz from the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, played a huge role in the struggle for Soviet power in the North Caucasus. He traveled around the auls, explained the laws of the Soviet government and organized the mountain poor to fight the counter-revolution.

In February 1918, at the suggestion of S.M. Kirov, the People's Council of the Terek Region was created, which convened a congress of all the peoples of the region in Pyatigorsk. Despite the provocations of the counter-revolutionaries, at this congress, led by S. M. Kirov, peace was solemnly proclaimed among all the peoples of the multinational Terek region.

The congress adopted a resolution of the Bolsheviks recognizing the authority of the Council of People's Commissars and sent a telegram of greetings to Lenin.

Four days later, the regional people's congress moved from Pyatigorsk to the center of the Tersk region - Vladikavkaz - and elected the Tersk Council of People's Commissars with the Bolshevik Noy Buachidze at its head.

By the spring of 1918, Soviet power was consolidated in all regions on the Don, in the Kuban and on the Terek.

Struggle for Soviet power in Siberia. In the large centers of Siberia - Omsk, Tomsk, Novonikolaevsk (now Novosibirsk) and others - power passed into the hands of the Soviets in November - December 1917. The Soviets had to endure a stubborn struggle against the counter-revolutionary organizations of the "regionalists" (who demanded the formation of an independent Siberian region), and with SRs and fists. The "oblastniks" convened an emergency all-Siberian congress in December 1917, at which it was decided to convene the Siberian constituent assembly in March 1918, and before that - the Siberian Regional Duma.

In early February, Duma delegates began to gather in Tomsk. Here some of them were arrested by the local Council by order of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Siberia (Tsentsibir). The delegates who remained at large organized in February 1918 an underground counter-revolutionary provisional Siberian government.

In January and February, Soviet power was also established in the distant outskirts of Siberia — in most of the districts of the Trans-Baikal region and in the northern districts of the Tobolsk province.

At the end of February 1918, at the Second All-Siberian Congress of Soviets, a new composition of the Central Executive Committee (Central Siberia) was elected, led by the Bolsheviks. Soviet power spread throughout Siberia.



Dispersal of the Constituent Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly became the banner of the entire bourgeois counter-revolution, which rose to fight the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The bourgeoisie and its agents - the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries - opposed the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" slogan "All power to the Constituent Assembly."

On November 29, 1917, the Soviet government issued a decree on the arrest of members of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party as enemies of the people.

The Soviet government did not interfere with the convening of the Constituent Assembly, because the masses of the peasants needed to be given the opportunity to get rid of the illusions associated with it. The elections to the Constituent Assembly gave a majority to the Socialist-Revolutionaries: out of 715 deputies, there were 412 Socialist-Revolutionaries and only 183 Bolsheviks. The rest of the parties received an insignificant number of seats. In fact, the right-wing SR majority in the Constituent Assembly did not reflect the true balance of forces not only in the country, but also in the SR party itself. Elections to the Constituent Assembly took place in November, after the establishment of Soviet power, and the lists of candidates for the Constituent Assembly were drawn up even before her victory.

During this time, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party split. But the peasants and soldiers following the "Left" SRs had to vote for the general SR list.

On December 13, 1917, Lenin published his [Theses on the Constituent Assembly](#). They indicated that the popular masses were demanding from the Constituent Assembly the recognition of Soviet power and the basic decrees on peace, on land, on workers' control.

The Constituent Assembly on behalf of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee was opened on January 5, 1918 by Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov. He read out the "[Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People](#)" drawn up by Lenin and Stalin.

The declaration proposed to the Constituent Assembly to declare Russia a Republic of Soviets, abolished private ownership of land, and confirmed all Soviet laws.

The Constituent Assembly did not accept the declaration. Then the Bolsheviks declared that the Constituent Assembly "expresses the yesterday of the revolution", that they did not want to cover up the crimes of the enemies of the people and were leaving the Constituent Assembly. After the departure of the Bolsheviks (and after them the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries), the meeting did not last long. At 4 o'clock in the morning the sailor Zheleznyakov approached the chairman of the meeting Chernov and said: "**The guard is tired. We must finish**." The deputies left the meeting room.

On January 6, 1918, by decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved.

The workers and peasants unanimously approved the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, since they saw that the Constituent Assembly wanted to hand over power to the capitalists and landlords.

When asked about their attitude to the Constituent Assembly, the delegates of the Peasants' Congress taking place at that time wrote in their questionnaires: "I don't hope for the Constituent Assembly", "The soldiers do not give confidence to the Constituent Assembly and do not expect anything good from it", "Faith in the Constituent Assembly is shaken" and etc.

III Congress of Soviets

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia took place at the time of the escalation of the war on

Western Front. That is why the Soviet state at first received, according to Lenin, a kind of temporary independence from international relations. The forces of the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, without the support of foreign imperialists, turned out to be insignificant. During this period, as Lenin said,

"... the civil war was a continuous triumph of Soviet power, because its opponents, the exploiters, the landowners and the bourgeoisie, had no political or economic

support ... " (Lenin, Works, vol. 27, p. 148).

The general results of the triumphal march of Soviet power in the country were summed up by the III All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in January 1918. The congress adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People", written by Lenin with the participation of Stalin. This declaration said: "**Russia is declared the Republic of**

Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power in the center and in the localities belongs to these Soviets . "

The Third Congress approved all the decrees issued by the Soviet government that laid the foundations for a new, Soviet, socialist state, and confirmed that the main task of the Soviet government was to abolish all exploitation of man by man, build a socialist society in Russia and fight for the victory of socialism in all countries.

The congress proclaimed, following the report of Comrade Stalin, that **"the Soviet Russian Republic is being established on the basis of a free union of free nations as a federation of Soviet national republics . "**

The formation of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) ensured a free and voluntary (and therefore close and lasting) union of the working people of all previously oppressed nations in Russia.

The III All-Russian Congress of Soviets was of the greatest importance in the history of the Soviet state, proclaiming its socialist foundations.

IV

RELEASE BY THE SOVIET POWER OF THE Oppressed Peoples



Recognition of Finland's independence.

The bourgeois "national councils" and regional bourgeois "governments" created even before the Great October Socialist Revolution, trying to preserve the bourgeois order, declared war on the Soviet government.

The workers and peasants of the national regions, organized in the Soviets of Workers 'and Peasants' Deputies, under the leadership and with the help of the Russian workers, came out to fight for the power of the Soviets in the national regions as well.

One of the first to rise up in the struggle for power was the working class of Finland. But the traitors - the right side of the Finnish Social Democracy - surrendered power to the bourgeoisie. The Finnish Sejm approved the reactionary government of Svinhufvud. To resolve the issue of power, an emergency congress of the Social Democratic Party was convened.

On November 14, 1917, the People's Commissar for Nationality Affairs addressed the Finnish Social Democrats congress

I. V. Stalin. He greeted the workers of Finland and explained to them the program of the Soviet government on the national question. The Soviet government guaranteed the independence of Finland.

"The Finnish people, as well as other peoples of Russia, have complete freedom to arrange their lives! Voluntary and honest alliance of the Finnish people with the Russian people! No tutelage, no supervision from above over the Finnish people!" - proclaimed

Calling on the workers of Finland to follow the example of the Russian workers, JV Stalin promised them fraternal assistance of the Soviet Republic. However, the congress, led by the opportunists, did not take a decision to transfer power to the Finnish working class. With the help of the Finnish Social Democrats, the bourgeoisie consolidated its power. The bourgeois majority of the Finnish Sejm spoke in favor of secession from Russia.

In December 1917, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree recognizing the independence of the Republic of Finland. Lenin's declaration of Finland's independence was an outstanding historical act, by which the Soviet government showed that it was in fact exercising the right of nations to self-determination, right down to their state secession.



Struggle for Soviet power in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia

The October Revolution was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm by the working people of the Baltic countries. The landowners and the bourgeoisie of these countries greeted it with hatred and fear.

The Lithuanian bourgeoisie sought to separate Lithuania from Soviet Russia and prevent the establishment of Soviet power in it.

The Lithuanian National Council (tariba), whose president was the reactionary landowner Smetona, declared the independence of the Lithuanian state in December 1917. Taking advantage of the fact that during the war Lithuania was occupied by German troops, the national council turned to the German emperor for help against the Bolshevik revolution, expressing its readiness to enter with Germany into a military, economic and customs union. This is how the bourgeois Republic of Lithuania was formed with its capital in the city of Vilna. But the real masters in Lithuania remained the German military authorities, relying on the Lithuanian landowners and the bourgeoisie.



In the unoccupied part of Latvia, Soviet power was established in October 1917. The Latvian riflemen played an important role in the October days, who actively participated in the proletarian revolution. They occupied the junction railway stations of Latvia and prevented the sending of troops from the front to help Kerensky. But Soviet power in Latvia did not last long.

Frightened by the proletarian revolution, the Latvian bourgeoisie and landowners turned to the German authorities with a request to send troops to that part of Latvia where Soviet power was established, which was done by the German imperialists.



МИЛЛИОНЧИК - МИЛЛИОН.

(Письмо деникинским „добровольцам”)

(Белогвардейская газетовская газета „Народные Силы” сообщает, что миллионные купцы продавали один миллион рублей „Николаевских” только полку добровольческой армии, который первым вступил в Москву.)

Что, подслезы? Довоевались?
Почем цена продажных душ?
На чем с купцами сторговались?
За то, чтоб вы в Москву ворвались,
Какой купцы сулят вам куш?

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха, талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

Не смеет никакое яблоко
Кровавых пятен с палачей!
В поку б тысячки две нас было.
—Бери пять „котенок” на ябло
От благодарных богачей!

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха, талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

Не повезло вам, душегубы:
Пять сотен мимо проплыли.
Теперь обливайте губы:
Не взычь пять сотен почему-бы
Заместо воли и земли?

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха, талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

На добровольце—рвань, опорки,
И вдут— пять сотен молодцу.
Эх, откровен, купец, затворки!
Глядь, за полфунтика махорки
Пошам все „котенки”— к купцу!

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха, талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

Купцу поповишь на уловку,
Для добровольца-б-дурака
Осталось что? Продав винтовку,
Купишь хорошую веревку
И поискать в лесу... сука!

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха, талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

Предатель злой родного люда
Иного стоит ли конца?
Слышь, добровольная паскуда!
Иди и вешайся, Иуда,
В кулак зажавши „дар” купца!

Хе-хе, талончик,
Ха-ха талон
На миллиончик,
На миллион!

Демьян Бедный.



In Estonia, the proletarian revolution took place immediately after the victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd.

All power passed into the hands of the All-Estland Council of Workers, Peasants, Soldiers and Sailors' Deputies. Soviet power in Estonia nationalized land, factories and plants. The victory of the Soviets in Estonia was of great importance for the favorable outcome of the October battles in Petrograd. Soviet power in Estonia did not allow troops from the front to help Kerensky.

In mid-November 1917, the Estonian National Sejm was dissolved and became the center of the counter-revolution. The Estonian bourgeoisie and the Baltic barons began to prepare a coup and turned for help to the German military command, which had occupied some of the Estonian islands in September 1917, with a request to occupy Estonia. This is how the occupation of all of Estonia began.

Struggle for Soviet power in Ukraine



The Great October Socialist Revolution came across a dam in the outskirts, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, in the form of "national councils" and regional "governments" that had been formed even before October.

"The revolution, started in the center, could not remain long within its narrow territory. Having won in the center, it inevitably had to spread to the outskirts. And, indeed, the revolutionary wave from the north from the very first days of the coup spread throughout Russia, capturing border after border. But here she came across a dam in the form of the "national councils" and regional "governments" formed before October (Don, Kuban, Siberia). The fact is that these "national governments" did not even want to hear about the socialist revolution.

Bourgeois by nature, they did not want to destroy the old, bourgeois order - on the contrary, they considered it their duty to preserve and strengthen it with all their might. Essentially imperialistic, they did not at all want to break with imperialism; on the contrary, they were never averse to seizing and subjugating pieces and pieces of territories of "foreign" nationalities, if the opportunity presented itself.

It is not surprising that the "national governments" on the outskirts declared war on the socialist

the government in the center. Having declared war, they, naturally, became hotbeds of reaction that gathered around them everything counter-revolutionary in Russia " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, p. 160).

After October, the Ukrainian Central Rada became a stronghold of the bourgeois counter-revolution. Upon learning of the transfer of power in Russia into the hands of the Soviets, the Central Rada made a decision not to recognize Soviet power and to fight against attempts to organize the power of the Soviets in Ukraine. She entered into an agreement with various counter-revolutionary organizations and parties in Russia and declared her loyalty to the "allies", that is, the Entente.

The workers and peasants of the Ukraine, inspired by the news of the victory of the uprising in Petrograd, rose up to fight for Soviet power. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Andrei Ivanov, the Kiev workers created a revolutionary committee, which organized an uprising against the Provisional Government.

At the moment of the victory of the workers, the Central Rada, which covered its aid to the troops of the Provisional Government with a mask of neutrality, treacherously attacked the Kiev Soviet and seized power into its own hands. The Rada entered into an alliance with Kaledin and passed through the Ukrainian territory Cossack units from the front to the Don. At the same time, the Rada refused to let the Soviet troops that opposed Kaledin pass through its territory.

Having exhausted all peaceful means of resolving the conflict with the Rada, the Soviet government on December 4 presented her with a categorical demand to stop helping Kaledin. Ukrainian workers and poorest peasants began to rise up against the Rada in Ukraine

On December 12, 1917, the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets elected the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, which formed the first Soviet government in Ukraine. Troops from Soviet Russia were sent to help this government.

On January 16, at the call of the Bolsheviks, an armed uprising of workers against the Rada began in Kiev. The fighting continued for several days. The workers of the Kiev arsenal waged an especially heroic struggle: surrounded on all sides, without ammunition, without water and food, they did not surrender for several days. Rada cruelly dealt with the Arsenals. But Soviet troops were already approaching Kiev, and on January 27, with the support of the newly revolted Kiev workers, they occupied Kiev. Rada fled to Zhitomir.

Soviet power was established throughout Ukraine.



Struggle for Soviet power in Belarus

The revolutionary-minded masses of workers, peasants and front-line soldiers under the leadership of the Bolsheviks rose up to fight for the establishment of Soviet power in Belarus.

As soon as the first information about the October uprising in Petrograd was received, the Minsk Soviet seized power and freed from prison all the soldiers arrested by Kerensky's government for "political crimes." From the freed soldiers, the Bolsheviks formed a revolutionary regiment.

The counter-revolution tried to use the Cossacks to defeat the Minsk Soviet. But an armored train and a regiment of soldiers arrived from the front to help Minsk. The Cossacks were pushed back. The Polesie Bolsheviks, under the leadership of L. M. Kaganovich, established control over the movement of military echelons, detained and disarmed Cossack echelons.



In the second half of November 1917, the XI front-line congress was held in Minsk, which proclaimed Soviet power in Belarus.



Struggle for Soviet power in Transcaucasia

The seven million population of Transcaucasia consisted of dozens of nationalities. Inciting ethnic hatred, the enemies of the proletarian revolution tried to divert the masses from participation in the socialist revolution. The bourgeois nationalists of Transcaucasia - the Armenian Dashnaks, the Azerbaijani Mussavatists, the Georgian

Mensheviks, who lived peacefully with the Provisional Government, decided to secede from Russia as soon as Soviet power was established in it.

To this end, on November 11, 1917, they formed the Transcaucasian Commissariat, which was a bloc of all bourgeois parties to fight against Soviet power. Under the flag of the independence of the peoples of Transcaucasia, the Transcaucasian Commissariat broke with Soviet Russia and entered into an alliance with the counter-revolutionaries of the Don and Kuban. The Transcaucasian Commissariat formally united Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, but in fact each of them had its own national council. An acute interethnic struggle began between them. The Transcaucasian counter-revolution was led by the Georgian Mensheviks. They seized the Tiflis arsenal, premises and funds of the Regional Council of the Caucasian Army and began to form their own national units, seeking to use the weapons of the demobilized Caucasian army to arm these units. They sent an armored train to the Shamkhor station, which, together with the armed bands of the Musavatists, fired on the military echelons returning from the Caucasian front (January 1918). As a result of this treacherous attack, 2,000 Russian soldiers were killed. The Shamkhor shooting aroused the strongest indignation and protests of the working people of Transcaucasia. To suppress the protests, the Transcaucasian Commissariat intensified its repression: it closed workers' newspapers, arrested a number of Georgian Bolsheviks, and dispersed demonstrations.

On February 10, in the Alexander Garden in Tiflis, workers and soldiers staged a grandiose meeting of protest against the counter-revolutionary actions of the Transcaucasian Commissariat.

The detachments sent by the Mensheviks surrounded the meeting and shot the unarmed workers with machine guns. On the same day, the Transcaucasian Seim opened in Tiflis, consisting of members of the dispersed Constituent Assembly - Mensheviks, Dashnaks, Mussavatists, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and Cadets. The White Terror in Transcaucasia intensified. To suppress the peasant movement, punitive expeditions were sent, shooting thousands of peasants.

Unable to cope with the growing revolutionary movement on their own, the Transcaucasian "national governments" turned to the imperialists of the West for help against their workers and peasants.

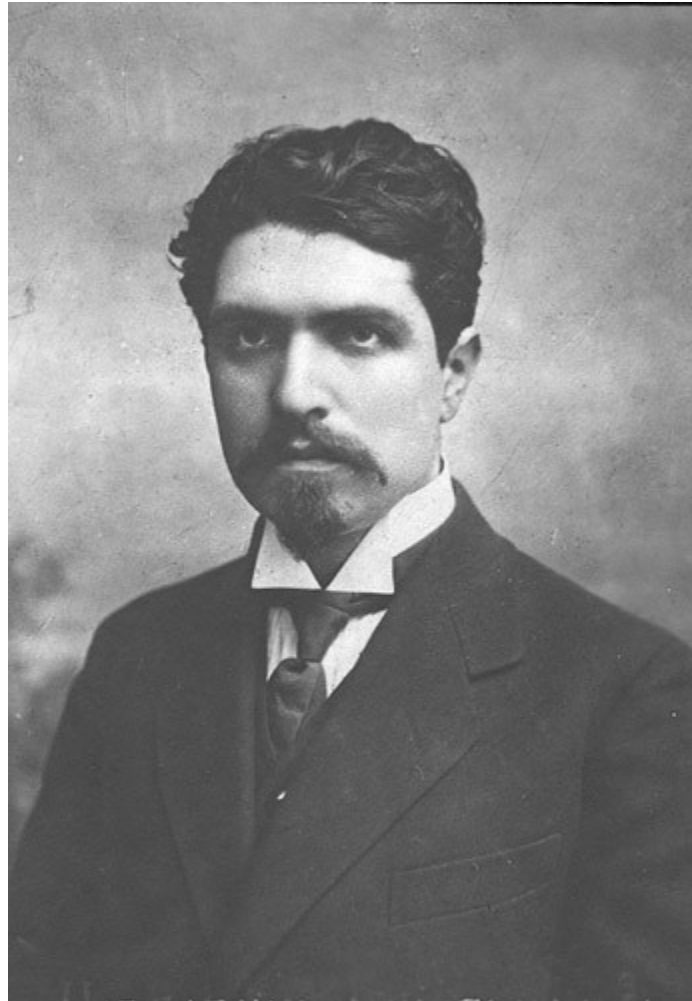
Transcaucasia and especially oil-rich Baku have long attracted West European imperialists.

The separation of Transcaucasia from Russia and the dominance of bourgeois nationalists there now made it easier for the imperialists to seize Transcaucasia.

The Transcaucasian Seim first negotiated with the Entente, but during this period it did not have the strength to expand the front. Then the Sejm decided to enter into a deal with the German coalition and began negotiations with Turkey. But the Turks, supported by the Mussavatists, thwarted these negotiations, captured Kars and Batum, and began an offensive deep into the Caucasus. With the assistance of the Mussavatists, the Dashnaks and Mensheviks entered into a deal with the German-Turkish imperialists and, at their request, proclaimed in April 1918 the "independence" of Transcaucasia.

The British imperialists also had plans for the Transcaucasus. At the beginning of 1918, they sent a military expedition through Persia, the head of which recruited Russian officers who had fled to Persia from Soviet Russia to his service, and began to prepare the capture of Baku.

The Baku Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which was dominated by the Bolsheviks, welcomed the uprising in Petrograd and did not recognize the authority of the Transcaucasian Seim. "The city of Baku must be turned into a stronghold for the struggle for Soviet power in the Transcaucasus," the Baku Council said in a resolution adopted in early March 1918. The struggle began primarily with the bourgeois-nationalist parties, Mussavatists and Dashnaks, who developed provocative activities among Azerbaijanis and Baku Armenians. On March 18, the Mussavatists opposed the Soviet regime. Under the leadership of the old Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan, the Baku workers crushed the counter-revolutionary uprising of the Mussavatists. Soviet power was consolidated in Baku and the Baku commune was formed.



S.G. Shahumyan

Struggle for Soviet power in Central Asia.

At the height of the fighting in Petrograd, the Tashkent Bolsheviks began to prepare for the seizure of power, but on October 28, 1917. Cossacks and junkers surrounded the Tashkent Soviet and arrested members of the revolutionary committee. On the alarm bell, up to 3 thousand armed workers - Russians and Uzbeks - gathered to the rescue of those arrested. The uprising began.

Cossacks and junkers occupied the Tashkent fortress and sent armored cars to the city. The workers built barricades and blocked their way.

The battle lasted almost 4 days. To the aid of the workers came from the villages toiling Uzbeks and Kyrgyz.

On October 31, 1917, after stubborn battles, power passed into the hands of the Soviet. The members of the revolutionary committee were released from prison. The Soviet government of Turkestan was formed in Tashkent.

To fight against Soviet power in Central Asia, bourgeois nationalists and Russian colonialists-White Guards, with the support of the British, created their government in November 1917 in Kokand, the so-called "Kokand autonomy", which started a civil war in Central Asia. In February 1918 the Kokand "government" was liquidated by the Turkestan Red Guard. In the Red Guard detachments of Turkestan, not only city workers - railroad and cotton workers, but also artisans and labor farmers - Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Kazakhs and Turkmens - took part.

People's Commissariat for Nationalities

In the first days after the victory of the October Revolution, the People's Commissariat for Nationalities (Narkomnats) was created to lead the struggle of oppressed nationalities for their liberation and for the practical implementation of the national policy of Soviet power. It was headed by Comrade Stalin. The People's Commissariat of Education was faced with the daunting task of guiding the political, economic and cultural development among non-Russian nationalities extremely different in language, way of life, cultural and political level, which made up 65 million of the population of former Tsarist Russia.

At the beginning of 1918, Comrade Stalin spoke on behalf of the People's Commissar with an appeal to the Soviets of Kazan, Ufa, Orenburg, Yekaterinburg and the Council of People's Commissars of the Turkestan Territory. In this address, Comrade Stalin explained the main tasks of the national policy of the Soviet government, outlined a program of action for rallying the masses around the Soviets. He proposed to implement the autonomy of the national borderlands and immediately begin work on the creation of a local school, court, government, political and educational institutions in the native language. The Soviets were supposed to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants of different nationalities and lead them to socialism.

The People's Commissariat for Nationalities launched a great deal of work on the development of national culture and trained personnel for work among the previously oppressed nationalities, publishing books and newspapers in the languages of these nationalities, creating schools and educational institutions.

The Narkomnats especially vigorously defended the interests of previously completely disenfranchised national minorities: the Yakuts, Nenets, the peoples of the Volga region, and others. On the initiative of the Narkomnats, the Council of People's Commissars adopted in the summer of 1918 a decree "to suppress the anti-Semitic movement at the root". On the draft decree, Lenin wrote:

"Pogromists and those leading pogrom agitation are ordered to be outlawed."

The Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed to the ground the prison of nations, which was Tsarist Russia.

The October Revolution created a solid foundation for the alliance of Russian workers and peasants with working people of all non-Russian nationalities and awakened the most backward peoples of Russia to political life, opening the way for them to socialism.

The national policy of the Soviet government was of tremendous international importance. Its influence on the peoples of the East was especially great.

The Soviet government announced the destruction of all unequal treaties concluded by the tsar with Turkey and Persia, and began to withdraw troops from the regions occupied during the war.

The struggle of the Soviet government for the independence of small peoples won it the confidence of the most backward and formerly oppressed peoples.

WORLD-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION



Reasons for the victory of the October Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out by the working class and the poorest peasantry. By its very nature, it was a socialist revolution. After overthrowing the exploiting classes, the working class organized a proletarian dictatorship in the form of the Soviet state. The task of the Soviet government was to build a complete socialist society in our country.

The great proletarian revolution broke the chains of imperialism relatively easily and overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Stalin notes the following main reasons that determined the relatively easy victory of the socialist revolution in Russia.

"one. The October Revolution faced such a relatively weak, poorly organized, politically little experienced enemy as the Russian bourgeoisie. Still not yet strong economically and wholly dependent on government orders, the Russian bourgeoisie had neither political independence nor sufficient initiative to find a way out of the situation. She did not have the experience of political combinations and political swindle on a large scale, as, for example, the French bourgeoisie has, nor schools large-scale fraudulent compromises such as the British bourgeoisie has. Yesterday, still looking for an agreement with the tsar who was overthrown by the February revolution, she, having come after that to power, could not think of anything better than to continue in all essentials the policy of the hated tsar. She, like the tsar, stood for "the war to the victorious end", despite the fact that the war became unbearable for the

country and exhausted the people and the army to the last degree. She, like the tsar, stood for the preservation of mainly landlord ownership of land, despite the fact that the peasantry was dying of landlessness and landlord oppression.

As for the policy towards the working class, the Russian bourgeoisie in its hatred of the working class went further than the tsar, for it tried not only to preserve and strengthen the oppression of the factory owners and manufacturers, but also to make it unbearable through the use of mass lockouts.

It is not surprising that the people did not see a significant difference between the policy of the tsar and the policy of the bourgeoisie and transferred hatred of the tsar to the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie.

As long as the compromising parties of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had a certain influence among the people, the bourgeoisie could hide behind them and retain power. But after the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries exposed themselves as agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and thereby deprived themselves of influence among the people, the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government found themselves hanging in the air.

2. At the head of the October Revolution was such a revolutionary class as the working class of Russia, a class that was hardened in battles, passed two revolutions in a short time and won the authority of the leader of the people on the eve of the third revolution in the struggle for peace, for land, for freedom, for socialism ... If it were not for such a leader of the revolution that has earned the confidence of the people as the working class of Russia, there would have been no union of workers and peasants, and without such an alliance the October Revolution could not have won.

3. The working class of Russia had such a serious ally in the revolution as the peasant poor, who constituted the vast majority of the peasant population. The experience of eight months of revolution, which can boldly * be equated with the experience of several decades of "normal" development, was not in vain for the working masses of the peasantry. During this time, they had the opportunity to test all parties in Russia in practice and make sure that neither the Cadets, nor the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks would seriously quarrel with the landlords and shed blood because of the peasants, that there is only one party in Russia that is not connected with landowners and is ready to crush the landowners in order to satisfy the peasant needs —

this is the Bolshevik Party. This circumstance served as the real basis for the alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

The presence of an alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry also determined the behavior of the middle peasants, who wavered for a long time and only before the October uprising turned, as it should, towards the revolution, joining the peasant poor.

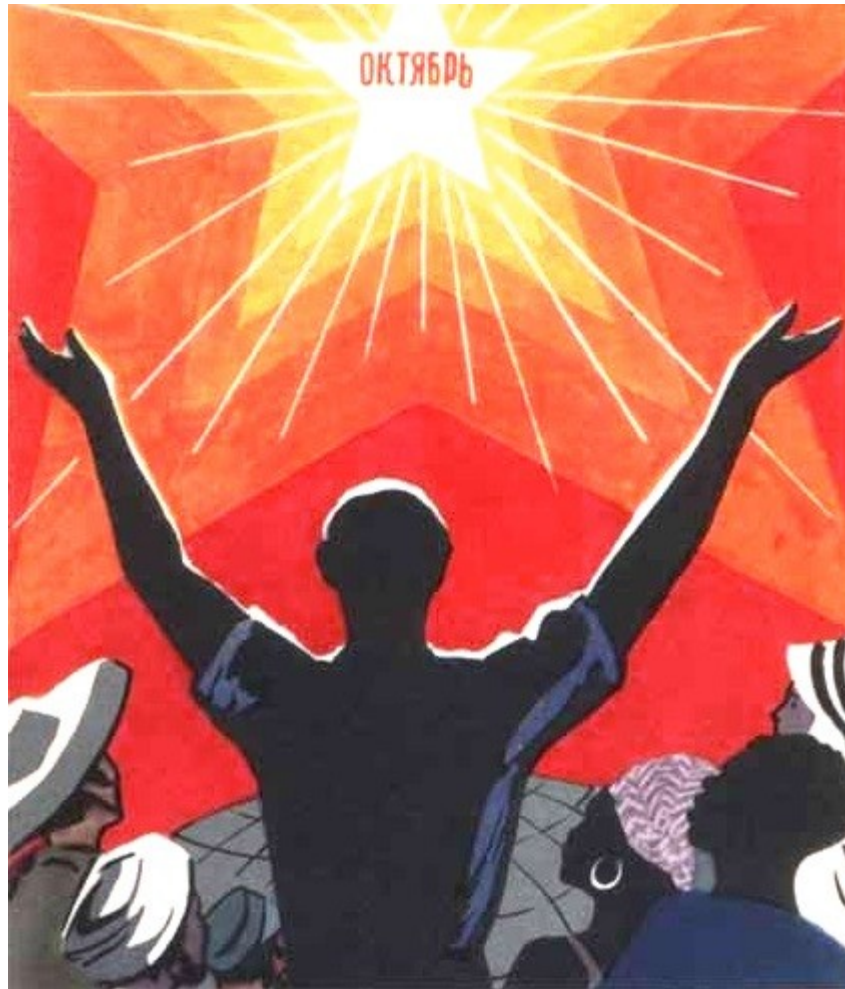
There is no need to prove that without such an alliance the October revolution could not have won.

4. At the head of the working class was such a party tested in political battles as the Bolshevik Party. Only a party like the Bolshevik Party, bold enough to lead the people into a decisive assault, and prudent enough to bypass all and every pitfalls on the way to the goal - only such a party could so skillfully combine into one common revolutionary a stream of such various revolutionary movements as the general democratic movement for peace, the peasant-democratic movement for the seizure of landlords' lands, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples for national equality and the socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is no doubt that the combination of these various revolutionary streams into one common powerful revolutionary stream decided the fate of capitalism in Russia.

5. The October Revolution began at a time when the imperialist war was still in full swing, when the main bourgeois states were split into two hostile camps, when they, being busy with war with each other and weakening each other, did not have the opportunity to seriously intervene in the "Russian deeds "and actively oppose the October Revolution.

Undoubtedly, this circumstance greatly facilitated the victory of the October Socialist Revolution " (History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course, pp. 202-204).



The significance of the October Revolution



The significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the history of mankind is enormous. It marked a radical turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world. It split the world into two opposite systems - a system of dying capitalism and a system of victorious and growing socialism.

Describing the international character of the October Revolution and its fundamental difference from all previous revolutions, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“Revolutions in the past usually ended with a change at the helm of the rule of one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, the exploitation remained. This was the case during the slave liberation movements. This was the case during the period of serf uprisings. This was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France, and Germany. I am not talking about the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, but still unsuccessful attempt by the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions in principle. It sets as its goal not to replace one form of exploitation with another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the destruction of all and all exploiting groups, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the rule of the most revolutionary class among all the oppressed that have existed until now. classes, the organization of a new classless socialist society.

That is why the victory of the October Revolution means a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical fate of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and forms of organization, in everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses of the whole world. " (Stalin, Works, vol. 10, pp. 239-240).

For the first time in history, the Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed to the ground the old state apparatus of the exploiting classes and created in its place a state of a new type - the Soviets, as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Taking away the means of production from the bourgeoisie and landowners and turning factories, plants, land, railways, banks into the property of the whole people, the October Revolution put an end to the exploitation of the masses. The victory of the Soviet power for the first time in history gave the people not only freedom, but also the opportunity to ensure their material well-being, to win a happy, prosperous, cultural life.

For the first time in world history, the Great October Socialist Revolution brought liberation to the oppressed peoples, turning them into free and equal builders of socialism. Thus, she showed the enslaved colonial peoples the path of the struggle for liberation. Before the October Revolution, our homeland was in danger of becoming a prey for imperialist predators and becoming a dependent colonial country. The victory of the socialist revolution saved Russia from the threat of losing its state independence. The liberated workers and peasants and the liberated nationalities inhabiting Russia became the masters of their lives.

The Soviets ensured the broadest masses of the people active participation in state life.

Proletarian democracy has become firmly established, ensuring the vital interests of the majority of the people.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is the greatest triumph of Marxist-Leninist theory. She showed that revolutionary theory, when it takes hold of the masses, becomes a powerful force in the development of society.



Tagged [1917](#) , [bolsheviks](#) , [Great October socialist revolution](#) , [history](#) , [history of the USSR](#) , [Lenin](#) , [Victory of the Great October socialist revolution](#) , [USSR](#) , [Stalin](#)

XX

BREST WORLD. THE FIGHT FOR AN EXPANSION

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Chapter IX

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I

FIGHT TO EXIT THE IMPERIALIST WAR

BREST WORLD. THE FIGHT FOR AN EXPANSION

Struggle to get out of the imperialist war

The most important task of the young Soviet state was to withdraw from the imperialist war and conclude peace. The Peace Decree on October 26 (November 8) invited all governments and peoples to end the war and conclude a just, democratic peace. The governments of the United States and the Entente countries refused to accept the proposal of the Soviet government. They wanted the continuation of hostilities in order to strangle the young Soviet Republic with the hands of imperialist Germany. But the Soviet government invited Germany to start peace negotiations. Germany agreed to them in the hope of alleviating its military and food situation. On November 20, 1917, negotiations began in Brest-Litovsk. The Soviet delegation announced a decree on peace and proposed to conclude a peace without annexations and indemnities.



The German delegation agreed to this proposal with the proviso that peace without annexations and indemnities would be possible only if the Entente agreed to it. The Entente rejected the Soviet proposals. When the representatives of the Soviet delegation asked the Germans what space they would clear, General Hoffmann cynically replied: "Not a single millimeter." The Soviet delegation returned to Petrograd, interrupting negotiations for a week. Lenin proposed to move the negotiations to a neutral country. But the German imperialists refused and presented their predatory peace terms. Under these conditions, the Moon Sund Islands, the Gulf of Riga, Riga were to go to Germany; Germany should have remained occupied by it during the war, Poland, Lithuania, part of Latvia, part of Belarus. The Soviet delegation protested, broke off the negotiations and again left for Petrograd.

The Soviet government was faced with the need to choose — either to conclude the predatory peace she had proposed with Kaiser Germany, or to resume the war. The young Soviet republic was unable to fight. At the front there was a spontaneous demobilization of the army. The soldiers went home. The old army was falling apart, the new one had not yet been created. The toiling masses, exhausted by the war, yearned for peace and could not wage a new war. On January 8, Lenin announced at a meeting of the Central Committee of the party held jointly with the Bolsheviks - delegates to the Third Congress of Soviets - his theses on the immediate conclusion of a separate peace with Germany. Lenin showed in these theses that the position of the Soviet Republic did not allow the

continuation of the war. To stake the fate of socialist Russia in dependence on the fact that soon (although it is not known when) a revolution may take place in Germany, it would be a gamble. Lenin said that the conclusion of peace would not weaken, but strengthen the Soviet Republic, since the Soviet government would get a respite and use it to strengthen the country's defense and strengthen Soviet power.

Struggle against Trotskyite-Bukharin war provocateurs

In the struggle for peace, the Bolshevik Party had to overcome the fierce resistance of numerous enemies of Soviet power.

The Russian and foreign bourgeoisie and its lackeys - the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries - wanted to drag the unarmed Soviet Republic into a war with Germany in order to overthrow Soviet power. The enemies of socialism, the traitors to the motherland, the Trotskyists and the Bukharinites, also sought this. They were supported by double-dealing and traitors Kamenev and Zinoviev. Concealing his treacherous designs, Trotsky, being the chairman of the Soviet delegation in Brest-Litovsk, led negotiations to breakdown. A delegation of the Ukrainian Rada arrived in Brest-Litovsk as an independent government, although during this period the Rada was expelled by the insurgent masses of Ukraine. Trotsky recognized the legitimacy of the "independent" Rada, with which the German imperialists, behind the back of the Soviet delegation, agreed to enslave the Ukraine. Relying on the support of the traitors to the Ukrainian people, the German Kaiser government abruptly changed its tone in relation to the Soviet delegation. It presented her with an ultimatum, demanding acceptance of its predatory terms.

Violating Lenin's directive on the immediate signing of the peace, Trotsky refused to sign the peace on the terms proposed by Germany, but at the same time declared that the Soviet Republic would not wage a war and would demobilize the army. The German imperialists could not have desired more. Mortal danger hung over the Soviet country. But Bukharin and Trotsky continued provocatively asserting that "a German would not dare to attack."

Lenin categorically demanded that a telegram be sent to Germany on consent to peace. Lenin was supported by Stalin and Sverdlov. During a meeting of the Party Central Committee on February 18, a message was received that at 12 noon the Germans launched an offensive along the entire front. The Central Committee accepted Lenin's proposal to make an urgent peace with Germany. The German imperialists were in no hurry to conclude peace, seeking to seize a large territory and Russian military reserves. They threw 30 divisions, cavalry, armored cars against the

Soviet country. Part of the German divisions through Latvia and Estonia moved to Narva, threatening Petrograd. Another part, having occupied Dyinsk, advanced on Pskov, advancing towards Petrograd from the southwest. By conspiracy with the Ukrainian Rada, Austro-German troops began to occupy Ukraine at the same time.

On February 21, 1918, Lenin declared the socialist fatherland in danger. The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR appealed to the entire working population with an appeal to stand up for the defense of the socialist fatherland against the invasion of the German imperialists, who seek to enslave the workers and peasants of the Soviet country and restore the capitalist system. Red Army detachments were created throughout the Soviet Union. Near Pskov and Narva, the German army met heroic resistance from the first detachments of the young Red Army.

Organizing the defense of the homeland in the most difficult conditions, Lenin and Stalin called on the working class of Petrograd to be vigilant and mercilessly fighting the enemies who were trying to organize a revolt in Petrograd and seize the capital. The offensive of the German army was suspended. The day of the rebuff given by the Red Army to the troops of German imperialism - February 23 - has since been celebrated in the USSR as the day of the Soviet Army. On March 3, 1918, the Soviet delegation signed a peace agreement in Brest-Litovsk on even more difficult conditions than Germany had proposed at the beginning of the negotiations. Under this treaty, Soviet Russia cleared Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and part of Belarus.

She was supposed to sign peace with the Ukrainian Central Rada. The Soviet government had to demobilize the army and navy and pay a huge indemnity. Turkey at that time captured Kars and Batum. The provocation of Trotsky and Bukharin jeopardized the very existence of the Soviet Republic.

Trotsky and the Bukharinites

"... in fact they helped the German imperialists and hindered the growth and development of the revolution in Germany" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, p. 58).

In the hands of the German imperialists a vast territory was found, almost a million square kilometers, equal in area to Germany and France taken together. More than 40 million Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians,

Belarusians, Lithuanians fell under the heel of German imperialism.

Ratification of the Brest Treaty

Fighting again flared up around the ratification of the peace treaty. The Trotskyist-Bukharin gang of warmongers entered into an agreement with the Right and "Left" SRs and organized a counter-revolutionary conspiracy. The conspirators plotted to disrupt the Brest Peace, overthrow the Soviet government, arrest and kill Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. This monstrous plan was revealed only 20 years later. The 7th Party Congress (March 6 - 8, 1918) denounced the subversive, disorganizing work of the "left communists" and approved the peace treaty concluded in Brest. To approve the peace treaty, the Extraordinary IV Congress of Soviets was convened on March 14. At this congress, the Mensheviks, Right and "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries came out against Lenin as a united front.

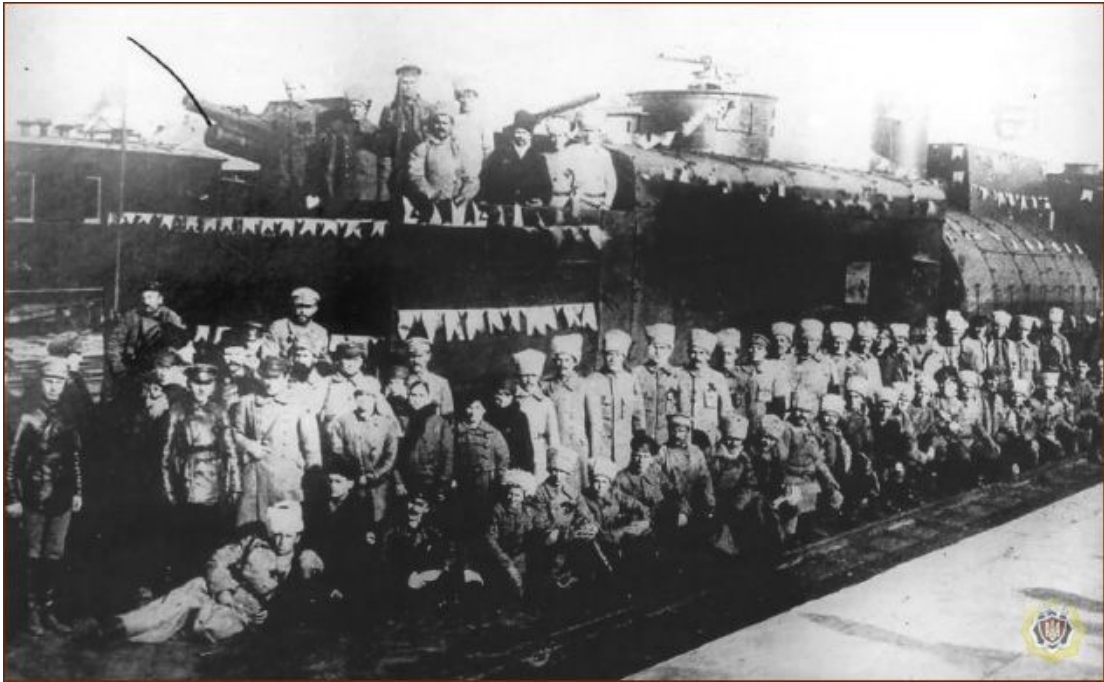
The Trotskyists and the Bukharinites came forward at the same time. But the enemies of Soviet power suffered a new defeat. The Congress of Soviets approved the policy of respite, ratified the peace treaty and called on the working people to mobilize all forces to defend the socialist fatherland and strengthen its defensive capability.

In view of the military danger that arose as a result of the outbreak of the invasion of the German imperialists in the Baltic States and Finland, the congress decided to move the capital from Petrograd to Moscow.

II

**THE FIGHT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES AGAINST THE
GERMAN OCCUPIERS IN 1918**

Fight against the German occupiers in Ukraine.



K.E. Voroshilov with the Luhansk Red Guards on the Tsaritsinsky front at the Komuna Fly armored train. 1918 g.

Under the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, Germany pledged to end the war with Soviet Russia. However, the German imperialists, who concluded a separate peace treaty with the central Rada, sent up to 300 thousand Austro-German soldiers to the Ukraine and the Don.

The German conquerors needed Ukraine as a country rich in raw materials and food. Through Ukraine, the Germans hoped to get into the coal Donbass, and through the Don and Kuban - into the Transcaucasus, to the oil sources of Baku. The capture of Ukraine was needed by German imperialism to fight the Soviet power, to dismember the Soviet country.

Comrade Stalin, in his article "The Ukrainian Knot" on March 14, 1918, wrote that Soviet Ukraine was in mortal danger, and called on the Ukrainian people for a liberation patriotic war against the German invaders: "The imperialists of Austria and Germany," wrote Stalin, "bayonets, a new, shameful yoke, which is no better than the old, Tatar, - such is the meaning of the invasion from the West.

Apparently, the Ukrainian people feel this, feverishly preparing for a rebuff. The formation of the peasant Red Army, the mobilization of the workers' Red Guard, a series of successful skirmishes with "civilized" rapists after the first outbreaks of panic, the seizure of Bakhmach, Konotop, Nizhyn and the approach to Kiev, the ever-increasing enthusiasm of the masses, thousands of them going to battle with the enslavers - this is what is responsible people's Ukraine on the invasion of rapists.



Execution of workers by the German invaders in Yekaterinoslav. 1918 g.

“Against the foreign yoke coming from the West, Soviet Ukraine is raising a liberation patriotic war — this is the meaning of the events unfolding in Ukraine” (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, pp. 46-47).

On February 22, 1918, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Ukraine addressed the population with an appeal, urging them to fight the German invaders:

“Organize your partisan detachments, blow up bridges, railways, highways into the air, take out or destroy bread during the retreat, and everything that hungry bandit gangs could use ... Let the rapists know that everywhere on their way they will meet with a resolute rebuff. Let them know that only through our corpses will they enter the capital of Ukraine. ”

In Kiev and other cities, committees and emergency defense headquarters were formed. For three days, weak Red Guard detachments in stubborn battles held back the onslaught of the advancing units of the German army near Kiev. But the forces were unequal, and on March 1 the Germans occupied Kiev. The German army advanced, on the one hand, to Kharkov and Donbass, and on the other, to the industrial centers of southern Ukraine.

Along the entire path of the offensive of the Austro-German troops, from the westernmost borders to the northern borders of Ukraine, near the

Voronezh and Kursk provinces, and in the east near the borders of the Don region, the workers and peasants of Ukraine, with the help of the fraternal Russian people, put up stubborn armed resistance to the German invaders. ...

Detachments of the Red Guard from Moscow, Petrograd and other large cities of Russia were sent to help Ukraine.

The rebuff to the German interventionists in the Ukraine was organized by KE Voroshilov, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks during this period. Together with the old Bolshevik Artyom (Sergeev), Voroshilov united the partisan detachments into the 5th Ukrainian Army. After the Germans captured Ukraine, Voroshilov decided to break into Tsaritsyn to join the Red Army.



K.E. Voroshilov. 1918



Artem (Sergeev Fedor Andreevich) (1883-1921)
- from 1918 Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (SNK)
Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih Republic, in 1920 chairman of the Donetsk Provincial Executive
Committee.

For six weeks, the 5th Ukrainian army moved with battles through the Cossack Don region. When the column approached the village of Chirskaya, the bridge across the Don was blown up by the White Cossacks. Voroshilov ordered to fix it. To do this, it was necessary to fill the bottom of the river in one place with sand, stones and earth, and fold huge cages from the sleepers. When they asked a comrade who proposed this plan how much land should be thrown into the river, he answered, pointing to a huge hill two kilometers from the coast: "This hill will have to be dragged to the Don."

Under the fire of the Cossacks, without carts and special tools, they dragged the earth in baskets. Soon carts of peasants retreating along with the partisans came to the rescue. The bridge was built and crossed to Tsaritsyn.

In Ukraine, the power of the central Rada was restored, headed by Petliura. But soon, in April 1918, at the request of the German authorities, the Rada government was overthrown, and Pavel Skoropadsky, a large landowner and tsarist general, was declared the ruler of Ukraine, hetman. In the occupied territory, the Germans established a predatory, colonial regime. In Ukraine, unlimited power belonged to the German military command. The invaders everywhere introduced courts-martial, shot civilians on the slightest suspicion of sympathy for the Soviet regime, and exiled them to concentration camps. The inspector of the Petrakovskaya elementary school informed the Yekaterinoslav Zemstvo Council:

"Classes in the school entrusted to me are terminated, because a punitive expedition in front of the doors and windows of the school hanged and shot several people, whose corpses were not removed for three days."

In many cities and villages, the orders of the German command hung:
"For every killed or wounded German soldier, the first ten Russian soldiers or residents who come across will be immediately shot."

Trains with looted goods went from Ukraine and the Don to Germany. Requisitions and robberies were a system of bloody mastery of the German invaders. The peasants were deprived of their land, bread, livestock, foodstuffs, implements, and household items.

The German invaders closed factories and plants and took their equipment to Germany. A 12-14 hour working day was introduced for workers. The workers were expelled from the apartments that the Soviet government gave them to the dirty and cold barracks. Tens of thousands of people were forcibly driven to Germany to work in coal mines or landlord farms.

Together with German troops, Ukrainian, Polish and Russian landowners returned to Ukraine. The hetman restored panshchina, obliging the peasants to harvest on the land of the landowners.

Punitive detachments of kulak sons flogged and shot the peasants on the denunciations of the reactionary clergy and kulaks.

Contributions were imposed on villages and cities. Under the hetman, 15 million poods of bread and 3.5 million poods of sugar were exported from Ukraine to Germany. During their stay in Ukraine, the invaders removed 37 thousand wagons of various goods and food. The number of unemployed in Ukraine was in the hundreds of thousands. Hunger and epidemics have increased the death rate of the population.

The party of Lenin - Stalin organized a popular war against the German occupiers. Illegal Bolshevik organizations were set up everywhere. A network of military insurgency headquarters and revolutionary committees was also organized. The entire Ukrainian people rose to defend their Soviet homeland: the miners of the Donbass, the workers of Kharkov, Nikolaev, Odessa, the peasants of the Kiev region, the Poltava region, the Chernigov region. In a short time, almost the entire territory of Ukraine was covered with many partisan detachments. From mines and villages, from factories and factories, people went to partisan detachments. The partisans unexpectedly raided the occupying garrisons and seized weapons. Against the partisans, the Germans sent punitive detachments with cannons and machine guns. But the guerrillas were elusive. They were knocked out of one area, they appeared in another. All working people helped them.



Nikolay Alexandrovich Shchors

One of the glorious heroes of the Patriotic War against the German yoke in Ukraine was the son of a Ukrainian railroad worker Nikolai Shchors. The Shchors partisans destroyed small detachments of the Germans, who robbed the peasants, and in every possible way delayed the movement of German troops. The Germans moved large parts against Shchors, but Shchors withdrew to the borders of Soviet Russia. Here he created a regiment named after the Cossack Bohun, a comrade-in-arms of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a fighter for the liberation of Ukraine in the 17th century. The Bohun regiment under the command of Shchors covered itself with unfading glory.



Krasnoarmeisky detachment, formed by the miners of the Pastukhovskiy mine (1918)



Armored train "Thunder", on which the Yenakievites smashed the invaders and counter-revolutionary troops, Yenakiyevo (1919)

Fight against the Germans in Crimea



A detachment of the Red Guard that took part in the establishment of Soviet power in the Crimea. 1918 year

In April 1918, the German imperialists advanced into the Crimea, seeking to gain a foothold in the Black Sea.

Well-armed German troops captured the Crimea, meeting weak resistance from the newly created Red Guard. The most stubborn and courageous resistance came from the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet. Not wishing to surrender to the German imperialists who occupied Sevastopol, the Soviet Black Sea Fleet left for Novorossiysk, the center of the Kuban-Black Sea Soviet Republic. The German imperialists demanded the surrender of the Black Sea Fleet to them, referring to the terms of the Brest Treaty. Seeing that the Kuban-Black Sea government could not save the fleet, Lenin sent a secret order to the Black Sea sailors:

“Sink the fleet. The enemies of the revolution will not surrender.

The revolutionary sailors carried out Lenin's orders. Throwing out the last signal “I die, but I don't surrender,” the destroyers sank into the water. The battleship Svobodnaya Rossiya was sunk by three mines fired from the revolutionary destroyer Kerch. On the morning of June 19, the destroyer "Kerch" also sank, sending its last radio:

“Everyone, everyone, everyone. He died, destroying part of the Black Sea Fleet ships, which preferred death to shameful surrender. ”

Having sunk some of the ships, the Black Sea sailors went to the front, joining the Red Army.

Fight against German occupiers in Belarus

The Austro-German occupiers restored the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in Byelorussia as well. On February 21, 1918 Minsk was occupied by the German invaders. The Belarusian Rada published an act on the "independence" of Belarus, however, urging the Belarusian people to obey the German authorities in everything. The German Emperor Wilhelm II was glad to send a greeting telegram with gratitude for the liberation from the Bolsheviks.

But the Germans soon appointed a more convenient "government" for the counter-revolutionary landowner Skirmunt. Monarchical order was restored in the towns and villages of Belarus.

Belarus was declared a German province. All power passed into the hands of the German military. In all cities, German commandants were in charge. They subjected the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia of Belarus to brutal abuse.

To fight the German invaders, the Bolsheviks of Belarus organized a partisan movement.

In April 1918, a congress of Soviets of the Western Region was convened in the Soviet part of Belarus, which elected an Executive Committee. The committee headed the mass revolutionary liberation movement of the workers and peasants of Belarus.

The entire Belarusian land was covered with a dense network of partisan detachments. In some villages of Polesye, partisan detachments numbered up to 500 fighters with machine guns and guns.

German occupiers in the Baltics

During the Brest negotiations, the Germans, disagreeing with the demand of the Soviet delegation to grant the Baltic peoples the right to self-determination, demanded that Russia renounce the territories of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. After the signing of the Brest Treaty, the entire Baltic region was occupied by German troops.

The Lithuanian tariba turned to the German Kaiser with a loyal request to conclude an "eternal alliance" with the Lithuanian state. In March 1918, Wilhelm II officially recognized Lithuania's "independence". In fact,

Lithuania was completely subordinate to the German authorities. Continuing to betray the national interests of the Lithuanian people, the tariba proclaimed in July 1918 a monarchy in Lithuania. It was only under the influence of the general discontent of the Lithuanian people that this decision was not implemented.

A Lithuanian government was formed, headed by Voldemaras, the leader of the reactionary Tautinniki party (Lithuanian bourgeois landowner nationalist party).

In Lithuania, peasants were obliged to serve the German corvee three times a week, working on repairing roads and cutting wood. Land and other taxes were imposed on the peasants. They were obliged to pay a large poll tax. The taxes were plentiful and were collected by force by the occupiers.

In Latvia, the German authorities also tried to establish monarchical power. The German commander-in-chief Hindenburg issued an order on the creation of a land fund in Latvia for German colonization. 50% of their lands were taken from the peasants for transfer to the German landowners and kulaks.

Soviet power, established in Estonia in October 1917, lasted only three and a half months.

In February 1918, a bourgeois republic was restored in Estonia. The Germans strove to include Estonia in the German state. They declared German the state language. All government positions were occupied by German henchmen.

Suppression of the revolution in Finland

In January 1918, a workers' revolution began in Finland. The revolutionary government - the Council of People's Representatives - concluded a treaty of friendship with Soviet Russia. But there was no communist party in Finland yet. Led by the Finnish Social Democrats, the Council of People's Representatives did not deprive the bourgeoisie of electoral rights or capital.

The head of the ousted bourgeois government, Svinhufvud, fled north to the city of Vazu. He received weapons and money from Sweden and Germany for a counter-revolutionary campaign against revolutionary Finland. A counter-revolutionary "black" brigade from Sweden and a punitive corps from Germany came to the aid of the White Finns.

The Red Guard of Finland numbered 70 thousand people, but the Red Guards were poorly armed and, despite their courage and heroism, suffered defeats in battles with the White Finns and German troops.

The revolutionary proletarian government moved to Vyborg. On April 27, 1918, the Germans and the White Finns occupied the capital of Finland, Helsingfors. The invaders hoped to seize the Soviet Baltic Fleet located there, since it seemed impossible to enter the frozen sea. But by order of

the Soviet government, the dreadnoughts "Gangut", "Poltava", "Petropavlovsk", "Sevastopol" and several cruisers with the help of the icebreakers "Ermak" and "Volynets" made a heroic ice cruise of several hundred kilometers through continuous heavy ice to Kronstadt. Following the first batch, the remaining 160 ships were withdrawn.

The heroism and conscientiousness of Soviet sailors saved the Soviet Baltic Fleet.

The position of the Finnish revolution was becoming hopeless. On May 12, 1918, the White Finns occupied Vyborg. A bloody massacre began with the workers and the Red Guards. About 17 thousand revolutionary workers were shot, over 70 thousand men and women were imprisoned in concentration camps.

Capture of Bessarabia by Romania

Taking advantage of the difficult situation in the Soviet Republic, boyar Romania, with the help and approval of the Entente imperialists, seized Bessarabia, inhabited by Moldovans, Ukrainians and Jews. In November 1917, in Bessarabia, the Regional Council was created, in Moldavian "Sfatul-Cerium", which soon proclaimed the formation of the Moldavian Republic. The Moldavian Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and bourgeois nationalists made this decision under pressure from the revolutionary masses and maneuvered in every possible way to prevent the establishment of Soviet power in Bessarabia. Soon the offensive of the Romanian troops began, which on January 26, 1918 captured Chisinau. But the masses of the people rose to fight the Romanian invaders.

The Red Guards defeated the Romanians near Bendery and near Rybnitsa. The occupation of Ukraine by German troops forced the Soviet troops to leave Bessarabia. The leadership of Sfatul Tseriem passed into the hands of open agents of Romania, who passed the decree on the annexation of Bessarabia to Romania. In December 1918, against the will of the workers, the Romanian parliament approved the annexation of Bessarabia to the Romanian kingdom.



THE BEGINNING OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION



Lenin's plan to start socialist construction

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, there was a respite, which Lenin proposed to use for the transition to socialist construction. Lenin outlined the plan for starting socialist construction in his remarkable work ["The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power"](#). In this work, Lenin wrote that after the conquest of political power and the military suppression of the exploiters, the task of organizing socialist production should come to the fore.

"This is the most difficult task," wrote Lenin, " because it is a question of organizing in a new way the deepest, economic, foundations of the life of tens and tens of millions of people. And this is the most gratifying task, because only after its solution (in its main and basic features) can it be said that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a socialist republic " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, p. 214).

By the spring of 1918, all the commanding heights of the national economy were already in the hands of the proletariat: the land, the largest factories and plants, railways and banks, the merchant fleet and foreign trade. At least 500 enterprises were nationalized. Lenin considered the main task of the proletarian dictatorship during this period to take into account what was produced in the Soviet country and control the state over the expenditure of production.

In the agriculture of the Soviet Republic during this period there were 20 million small, scattered individual peasant farms. Small proprietors in the

city and in the countryside did not recognize either labor or national discipline, did not obey either accounting or control, profiting from speculation and trading.

"A speculator, a marauder of trade, a breaker of monopoly — this is our main" internal "enemy, an enemy of the economic measures of the Soviet regime , " said Lenin (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, pp. 303-304).

Lenin set before the proletariat the task of creating a new, Soviet labor discipline, raising labor productivity and organizing socialist emulation. Lenin proposed using bourgeois specialists and making them work for the benefit of the socialist state.

Lenin's plan for starting socialist construction was developed and carried out in a fierce struggle against the enemies of the revolution, who were seeking the restoration of capitalism in Russia. At a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on April 29, 1918, the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and Bukharinites fought with a fierce struggle against Lenin's plan, in defense of the kulak, a quitter and a speculator.

By exposing the capitulators and restorers of capitalism, the party and the working class in the summer of 1918 completed the expropriation of the big bourgeoisie. On June 28, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree on the nationalization of all large-scale industry. The Supreme Council of the National Economy became the head of the entire nationalized industry.

Development of the socialist revolution in the countryside

In the spring of 1918 the counter-revolutionary kulaks came out against the socialist measures of the Soviet government. The kulaks refused to hand over bread at the fixed price set by the government and were the main organizers of the famine in the country.

The workers of Moscow and Petrograd received eight pieces of bread with cakes for two days. The demobilization of the army, which loaded the transport, made it even more difficult to deliver food to the cities.

The food apparatus, which was in the hands of officials and speculators hostile to the Soviet regime, disrupted the procurement of grain. Taking advantage of the food difficulties, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks waged agitation among the workers and peasants for the abolition of the grain monopoly and for free trade in grain.

On May 24, 1918, Lenin published a letter to the Petrograd workers "On Hunger", in which he called on the workers of Petrograd as the vanguard of the Russian proletariat to organize a mass "crusade" against bread speculators, kulaks, world eaters, disorganizers and bribe takers.

BEGINNING FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION

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CHAPTER X

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German interventionists enter Kiev. March 1, 1918

The role of international imperialism in organizing the civil war.

In the summer of 1918, the construction of socialism that had begun was thwarted by the civil war. The civil war was organized and led by international imperialism in alliance with the Russian landowners and the bourgeoisie, with the active support of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and Bukharin-Trotskyist traitors to their homeland.

The main reason for the intervention of the foreign imperialists was that they were afraid of the spread of the revolution in Europe and did not want to allow the creation of a socialist state in Russia. Having invested large capital in large enterprises of Russia, they could not come to terms with their loss.

In December 1917, the imperialists of France and Britain agreed among themselves to divide the south of Russia into "zones of action." The French "zone" was made up of Bessarabia, Ukraine, Crimea and Donbass, the British - the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, Central Asia. The plan for the complete dismemberment and partition of Russia was proposed by the United States (in October 1918), although at the same time it hypocritically declared that they were against intervention. To deceive the working masses, the imperialists claimed that the Russians themselves were asking for the sending of the Entente troops to fight the Germans and the Bolsheviks.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, Trotskyists and Bukharinites acted as accomplices and agents of the foreign imperialists and Russian landowners and capitalists in organizing the intervention.

One of the main inspirers of the armed intervention of international imperialism against the young Soviet Republic was US President Wilson, whom Lenin, in his [letter to the American workers](#), called the head of

American billionaires, the *servant of the capitalist sharks* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 28, p. 52).

The American imperialists set themselves the task of destroying the Soviet state. Soon after the Great October Socialist Revolution, American diplomats became active organizers of counter-revolutionary conspiracies against the Soviet regime. American soldiers were sent to the territory of Soviet Russia with the aim of direct intervention. Under the false flag of "overseas diplomacy," the American imperialists and the American troops they sent supported the worst enemies and executioners of the Russian people, the hard-core counter-revolutionaries and monarchists.

During the entire period of foreign intervention and civil war, there was not a single candidate for the counterrevolutionary "rulers" of Russia who was not helped by the American imperialists. All the White Guard generals who stood in the eye of the counterrevolutionary armies and strove to destroy Soviet power were supported by the American imperialists, receiving from them weapons, ammunition, and uniforms in abundance.

Unmasking the active, leading role of the US imperialists in organizing the intervention in Soviet Russia, V.I.

"It is now that American billionaires, these modern slave owners, have opened a particularly tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism ... They have plundered hundreds of billions of dollars. And on every dollar there are traces of dirt ... On every dollar there are traces of blood ... " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 28, pp. 44, 46).

Lenin branded American imperialism as the strangler of Russian freedom, as the gendarme of Western Europe and the executioner of the peoples of Asia.

Organization of conspiracies and rebellions against Soviet power

Supporting the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution, the imperialists of the United States and the Entente supplied all the underground conspiratorial organizations in Russia with money and weapons, which set themselves the goal of overthrowing Soviet power. The military force of this conspiracy was the Czechoslovak corps, created during the war from Czechs and Slovaks prisoners of war. The Soviet government allowed the corps to leave for France through Vladivostok with the condition to surrender their weapons and move in small echelons.

On the way, a large number of Russian officers and junkers joined the corps. In total, there were up to 60 thousand soldiers in the

corps. Czechoslovak trains stretched along the entire length of the railway from Penza to Vladivostok.

On May 25, 1918, the Czechoslovakians, with the support of counter-revolutionary underground organizations, revolted with the aim of capturing Siberia, the Urals and the Volga region. On June 8, 1918, with the help of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, they seized Samara and organized there the White Guard-Socialist-Revolutionary power - the Committee of the Constituent Assembly (Komuch).

In Western Siberia, a White Guard Siberian "government" was also proclaimed, headed by the Social Revolutionaries.

The Socialist-Revolutionary government acted like the tsar's. All the decrees of the Soviet government were canceled. The land and the crops taken from it were returned to the landowners and kulaks. The pre-revolutionary order was restored in factories and plants; workers' strikes are prohibited. All supporters of the Soviet regime were persecuted. Komuch sent a "death train" from Samara to the east with 2,700 arrested communists, workers and peasants, of whom about 2,000 were shot or tortured. The same "death barges" sailed along the Volga and Kama.

On these barges were hundreds of arrested, naked people; they were starved, beaten and shot. Punitive detachments rode through the villages and drove the peasants into the White Army. Land and livestock were taken from the peasants.

At the same time, agents of the United States and the Entente, together with the Russian White Guards, were preparing a mutiny in 23 cities around Moscow. But it was only in Yaroslavl that a major mutiny was raised. The White Guards, who captured the city on July 6-8, 1918, subjected the workers to incredible torture. On July 21, the Red Army liberated Yaroslavl from the White Guard rebels.

Simultaneously with the uprising of the Czechoslovakians, a wave of kulak revolts arose, led everywhere by the Right SRs.

In an atmosphere of intense struggle, on July 4, 1918, the V All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened. The "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries demanded at the congress the abolition of decrees on commissaries and food detachments. When the congress rejected these counterrevolutionary demands, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries left the congress and began to prepare a rebellion against the Soviet regime.

In a secret bloc with the Bukharinites and Trotskyites, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries went on a provocation in order to provoke a war with Germany.

On July 6, 1918, they assassinated the German ambassador Mirbach. In response, the German government demanded that the Soviet government let German troops into Moscow, ostensibly to guard the embassy. The Soviet government decisively rejected this demand. Lenin declared that the entire Soviet people would rise to defend the Soviet capital if German imperialism dared to send its soldiers against it.

At this most dangerous moment for the republic, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, with the knowledge and consent of Trotsky and Bukharin, raised a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Moscow. The Congress of Soviets interrupted work and declared all the delegates mobilized to fight the counter-revolution. Under the direct leadership of Lenin, the Soviet government decisively liquidated the Left SR adventure. The party of the

"Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries finally turned into a counter-revolutionary bourgeois-kulak party.

At the same time, the Left SR adventurer, a former Colonel Muravyov, who commanded troops at the front against the Czechoslovakians, tried to raise a mutiny in Simbirsk: Thanks to V.V.Kuibyshev's revolutionary vigilance, this adventure was also quickly eliminated.

The Czechoslovak rebellion and counter-revolutionary revolts of the kulaks and Socialist-Revolutionaries intensified the activity of the monarchist counter-revolution, which pinned its hopes on the last tsar, who was at that time with his family under arrest in Yekaterinburg. Therefore, the Ural Regional Council decided to shoot the former tsar and his family, and they were shot in July 1918.

First Soviet Constitution



After the liquidation of the Left SR adventure, the congress on July 10, 1918 approved the Soviet Constitution (the Basic Law of the RSFSR). The draft Constitution was developed by a commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee headed by Ya. M. Sverdlov, with the participation of Lenin and Stalin. The Constitution was based on the

"Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People" and the "Basic Provisions of the Constitution of the RSFSR" developed by Comrade Stalin.

The first achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution were recorded in the Constitution. The Constitution set itself the task of "guaranteeing the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the bourgeoisie, abolish the exploitation of man by man and build socialism ...". The Constitution recognized labor as the duty of all citizens of the Soviet Republic and proclaimed the slogan: "If you don't work, don't eat!" The Constitution considered the protection of the socialist fatherland the duty of all citizens of the republic, but it gave the right to defend the revolution with arms in hand only to the working people - non-labor elements were allowed only to rear work.

The constitution deprived the exploiters and their defenders of political rights in the Soviet state. All those who exploited hired labor and lived on unearned income, as well as monks and ministers of religious cults, former gendarmes and police officers, were deprived of voting rights.

According to the Constitution, the supreme body of state power in the RSFSR was the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. It was composed of representatives of city councils (one deputy from 25 thousand voters) and provincial congresses of councils (one deputy from 125 thousand inhabitants). Inequality in the representation of workers and peasants was a temporary measure caused by the fact that the individual peasantry was still insufficiently conscious, poorly organized and needed the leadership of the proletariat. In the period between congresses, the supreme power was the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK), elected by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

To manage and direct the economic and political life of the country, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee formed a Soviet government - the Council of People's Commissars.

The Constitution of the RSFSR, approved by the V Congress of Soviets, was the first truly democratic constitution in the world that provided the working people with the opportunity to participate in government.

"How is the dominance of the class expressed now? - said V. I. Lenin. - The domination of the proletariat is expressed in the fact that the landlord and capitalist property has been taken away ... Our Constitution therefore has the right and has won the right to a historical existence, because it is not just written on paper that property is abolished. The victorious proletariat abolished and completely destroyed property, that is the rule of the class " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, p. 426).

CONSTITUTION (Basic Law) of the RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC

Adopted by the V All-Russian Congress of Soviets at a meeting on July 10, 1918

II

IN THE RING OF FRONTS

DEFENSE OF THE TSARITSYN



Mitrofan Grekov. Defense of Tsaritsyn

IN THE RING OF FRONTS

By the fall of 1918, the Soviet Republic was in the ring of fire of the fronts. The entire Middle Volga region, the Urals, Siberia to the Far East were occupied by the Czechoslovakians. The Far East was ruled by the American and Japanese imperialists, who, with the help of the mercenary bands of Semyonov and Kalmykov, began to seize Primorye and the Amur region. In the North, occupied by the British, a petty-bourgeois government was first created from members of the Constituent Assembly, then it was replaced by the open military-bourgeois dictatorship of General Miller. In the North Caucasus, the White Guard Volunteer Army of General Denikin went on the offensive. On the Don, the Cossack Ataman Krasnov strengthened himself with the help of the German imperialists, who perfidiously violated the Brest Peace Treaty concluded with Russia.

Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic states were captured by the German imperialists; Transcaucasia was seized by Turkish and German imperialists, the Trans-Caspian region by British imperialists. Soviet Russia, caught up in a ring of fronts, was cut off from its main food, raw materials and fuel regions.

Lenin emphasized that after the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the workers and peasants would have to defend their Soviet homeland from the imperialists and counter-revolution.

"We," said Lenin, "are now defencists, since October 25, 1917, we are for the defense of the fatherland from that day on" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, p. 42).

The workers 'and peasants' Red Army was vigorously formed to defend Soviet Russia. The new army was built initially on the basis of volunteerism. Only the most class-conscious and organized elements of the working classes were admitted to it. Within two months after the October victory, about 100 thousand volunteers signed up for the Red Army. The new army also included the most organized revolutionary units of the old army and local partisan detachments. The most class-conscious and strong part of the Red Army were the proletarian Red Guards. Military commissars played a huge role in the creation of the Red Army, politically enlightening and rallying new fighters.

In May 1918, a decree was issued on the transition from volunteering to the obligatory recruitment of workers and peasants into the army. In the fall, Lenin put forward the slogan for the creation of an army of three million. On November 30, 1918, the Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Defense was organized, headed by Lenin, in charge of the entire matter of replenishing the Red Army with people and supplying the front with food and weapons.



Comrade Stalin was Lenin's deputy in the Defense Council.

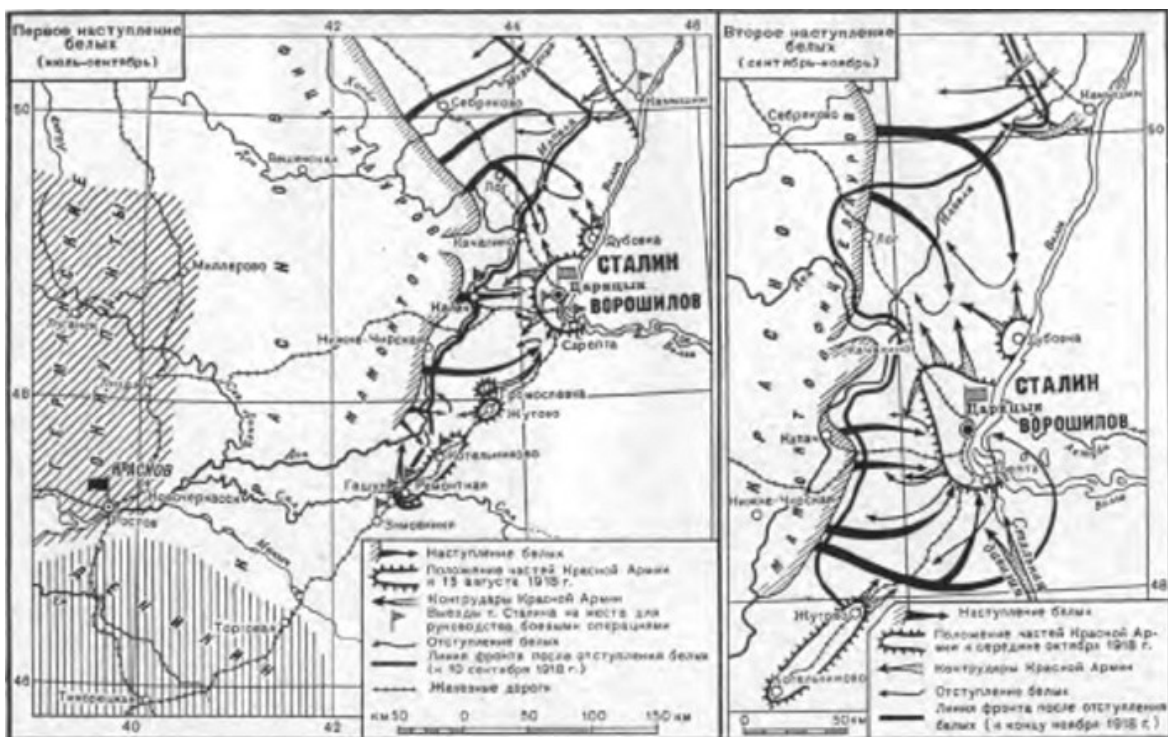
Tsaritsyn's first entourage. Cut off from the grain areas (Ukraine, the Volga region, Siberia), the Soviet Republic experienced severe hunger. Tsaritsyn was the key to the grain regions of the Lower Volga region and the North Caucasus, which supplied Soviet Russia with bread. It became the focal point of the struggle that decided the fate of the revolution. The counter-revolution sought to seize Tsaritsyn in order to connect the Eastern Front of the Czechoslovakians with the Southern Front of the Krasnovites and close the counter-revolutionary ring around Moscow. This would deprive the Soviet Republic of the most important sources of grain and oil, cut off from the center of Baku and the Lower Volga region.

To organize the food business, Comrade Stalin was sent to Tsaritsyn, at Lenin's suggestion. He arrived in Tsaritsyn on June 6. The position of the city was difficult. The Tsaritsyn Soviet did not introduce a monopoly on bread. The city and the nearest villages were filled with speculators, bagmen, the bourgeoisie who fled from Moscow and Petrograd. Pests and spies have settled in Soviet and military institutions. There was no solid revolutionary power in the city. In a conversation over a direct wire, Lenin conveyed to Comrade Stalin:

"... I must say about food that today they are not given out either in St. Petersburg or in Moscow. The situation is absolutely bad. Let us know if you can take emergency measures, because there is nowhere else to get from you."

Comrade Stalin waged a decisive struggle against speculators. Each pood of grain had to be obtained, overcoming the resistance of the kulaks, who hid the grain.

Comrade Stalin saw that in Tsaritsyn not only the food problem was being resolved, but also the question of the defense of the Soviet Republic. Therefore, he took the defense of Tsaritsyn into his own hands.



On August 18, 1918 Tsaritsyn was surrounded from three sides by Krasnov's units. To help the approaching White Cossacks, a white uprising was prepared in the rear - in Astrakhan and in Tsaritsyn itself. The conspiracy in Tsaritsyn was organized by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and officers hiding in the underground. At the head of the conspirators was General Nosovich, sent by Trotsky to military work.

The conspirators were supported by foreign consuls who were in Tsaritsyn.

Comrade Stalin timely revealed the criminal plans of the conspirators. White Guards and spies were arrested.

In Astrakhan, officers drafted into the Red Army managed to seize a fortress, arrest the communists, disperse the Soviet, and seize banks and

a railway station. But the next day the White Guards uprising was suppressed.

At this time, the Whites launched an offensive against Tsaritsyn. Although their forces significantly exceeded the forces of Tsaritsyn's defenders, the White Cossacks met with a powerful rebuff. The defense of Tsaritsyn was personally directed by Comrade Stalin with his closest aide, Comrade Voroshilov. They united in regular units scattered partisan detachments that approached Tsaritsyn from the Ukraine and the Don. At the direction of Comrade Stalin, in the defense of Tsaritsyn, all military equipment possible at that time was used, especially artillery. Armored trains, united in one freeway group, often made their way to the rear of the whites.

Comrade Voroshilov writes about the role of Comrade Stalin in organizing the defense of Tsaritsyn:

“Comrade Stalin's ebullient nature, his energy and will did what seemed impossible yesterday. Within the shortest time divisions, brigades and regiments are created. The headquarters, supply agencies and the entire rear are radically cleansed of counter-revolutionary and hostile elements ...

These were the days of the greatest stress. It was necessary to see Comrade Stalin at this time. As always, calm, deep in his thoughts, he literally did not sleep for whole days, distributing his most intensive work between the combat positions and the army headquarters ”(K. E. Voroshilov, Stalin and the armed forces of the USSR, 1951, pp. 19-20 and 28).

At the same time, day and night work was going on in factories and plants that prepared guns and machine guns, repaired armored trains. The entire population was mobilized to dig trenches.

As a result of the heroic defense of Tsaritsyn, the White Cossacks were driven back from the city.

Attempt on Lenin



P. Belousov. The attempt on V.I. Lenin

At a time when the attacks of the White Guards were repulsed on the Tsaritsyn front, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, having entered into a criminal agreement with the Trotskyists and Bukharinites, were preparing to deal a fatal blow to the revolution - to deprive it of its leader and organizer V.I.Lenin.

On the evening of August 30, 1918, Lenin spoke at a rally at the Michelson plant (now the Vladimir Ilyich plant), calling on the workers to resist the Czechoslovakians. When Lenin finished his report and, surrounded by workers, went out into the yard of the plant, Fanny Kaplan, a terrorist Socialist-Revolutionary woman, was waiting for him, hiding by the car. She shot Lenin three times and, taking advantage of the commotion, tried to hide in the crowd, but the workers detained the killer.

The news of the attempt on the life of the beloved leader of the working people instantly spread throughout the country. Millions of workers and peasants were gripped by the greatest indignation against the enemies of the people. The workers read the bulletins about Lenin's health with alarm and excitement. His strong body helped to endure a serious injury, but Lenin's health was greatly shaken.

The unheard-of atrocity of the Socialist-Revolutionaries aroused the keenest hatred of the masses for the enemies of the revolution. On September 2, the Soviet country was declared a military camp. Based on the report of Ya. M. Sverdlov on the attempt on Lenin's life, the Soviet government decided to declare a massive Red Terror in response to the White Terror of the bourgeoisie and its servants, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. Members of the White Guard organizations and riots were to be shot.

At this time, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission uncovered a number of conspiracies against the Soviet regime. At the beginning of September 1918, one of the largest White Guard conspiracies, led by the head of the British diplomatic mission Lockhart, together with the French consul Coach, was liquidated. They tried to bribe the Red Army soldiers guarding the Kremlin in order to get into the premises of the Council of People's Commissars and arrest the Soviet government. The conspirators blew up bridges, disorganized the supply of food to the capital, and destroyed the Soviet apparatus. Making their way into the ranks of the Red Army, they stole military plans and handed them over to the enemies of the Soviet regime. But the enemies miscalculated. The Red Army men, whom they tried to bribe, reported this to the Cheka and helped to seize a secret meeting of the leaders of the conspiracy.

Defeat of the Czechoslovakians

The enemies of the revolution did not succeed in stopping the onset of the offensive of the Red Army on the Eastern (Czechoslovak) front. Even before his injury, Lenin wrote to the workers of the Eastern Front on August 1: "Now the entire fate of the revolution is on one card: a quick victory over the Czechoslovakians at the Kazan-Ural-Samara front. It all depends on this. " The main forces of the Czechoslovakians and whites were concentrated near Kazan. From here they launched an offensive against Sviyazhsk, which opened the way to Moscow. At the request of Lenin, the most reliable units were thrown into Sviyazhsk. An army of 10,000 was soon formed here. Lenin gave the order to send several destroyers of the Baltic Fleet to the Volga towards Sviyazhsk. In August, three torpedo boats arrived on the Mariinsky water system - "Prytky", "Zealous" and "Durable". They broke into the location of the White Guards and set fire to the ships and barges of the enemies standing there. The arrival of the Baltic destroyers strengthened the red Volga flotilla, headed by the sailor Markin.

In early September, the Red Army, with the support of the Volga Flotilla, launched an offensive against Kazan. Several ships under the command of Markin approached Kazan itself and landed troops. On September 10, Kazan was taken and cleared of whites.

Lenin, who began to recover, sent a telegram to the soldiers of the Red Army, welcoming their brilliant victory. Two days later, the Iron Division created by V. V. Kuibyshev occupied the city of Simbirsk, where Lenin was born. The Red Army men sent a telegram to Lenin: "Dear Ilyich, the capture of your hometown is the answer to one of your wounds, and Samara will be for the other."

Lenin answered Kuibyshev's name, congratulating the Red Army men on the victory and thanks to them on behalf of all the working people.

Upon learning of the villainous attempt on Lenin's life, they struck with renewed vigor the enemy and the defenders of Tsaritsyn. On September 7, Comrade Stalin telegraphed to VI Lenin that the enemy had been defeated and thrown back beyond the Don, that Tsaritsyn's position was firm and the offensive was continuing.

In mid-September, Comrade Stalin was summoned to Moscow. He told the recovering Lenin about the heroic defense of Tsaritsyn. Lenin and Stalin sent greetings to the heroes of Tsaritsyn in the name of Voroshilov: "Hold the red banners high, carry them forward fearlessly, eradicate the landlord-generals and kulak counter-revolutions mercilessly and show the whole world that Socialist Russia is invincible."

The victorious Red Army continued its offensive throughout the Volga region. The first army moved to Syzran, the fourth army, where V.V.Kuibyshev was the political commissar, advanced on Samara. On October 7, 1918, Samara was liberated by the Red Army. The Volga region was cleared of Czechoslovakians and whites.

The defeat of the second encirclement of Tsaritsyn

After the defeat of the Czechoslovakians, the Southern Front began to acquire decisive importance.

At the suggestion of Lenin in September 1918, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Front was created. JV Stalin was appointed its chairman, and KE Voroshilov was appointed commander of the front. On September 22, 1918, Comrade Stalin returned from Moscow to Tsaritsyn. He foresaw that a new international knot would be tied in the south, and expected that, on the orders of the Entente, the Whites would make a new attempt to take Tsaritsyn, this time from the southwest. Krasnov, seeing the imminent end of the German intervention, sought help from the new master, the Anglo-French imperialists.

In the fall of 1918 Krasnov moved 12 cavalry and 8 infantry divisions, well supplied and armed by foreign imperialists, against Tsaritsyn. The position of Tsaritsyn, surrounded on all sides, was extremely difficult. Despite all the demands, Trotsky did not send any reinforcements or ammunition. By order of Comrade Stalin, the production of shells was organized in Tsaritsyn itself at the gun factory. As in the days of the first encirclement, the entire population was mobilized to the front. Among the mobilized were even the engineers of the survey party who worked on the project of the Volga-Don Canal. In response to the Tsaritsyn Soviet's petition to release the engineers so as not to delay the drafting of the project, Comrades Stalin and Voroshilov imposed a resolution:

"We will dig the channel after the drowning of the cadets in the Volga and Don".

The poorly armed, poorly shod and dressed Red Army defended Tsaritsyn with exceptional heroism. Stalin and Voroshilov, being on the front line, personally directed the attacks.

In the afternoon of October 15, the whites launched decisive attacks, trying to break through to Tsaritsyn, but met a crushing rebuff from his defenders. Many of Tsaritsyn's defenders died heroically that day, including the 23-year-old hero-commander Nikolai Rudnev.

In the battles of Tsaritsyn, remarkable military commanders grew up: Parkhomenko, Budyonny, Timoshenko, and others.

On the initiative of comrades Stalin and Voroshilov, the first cavalry unit was created in October 1918, and Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonny was appointed its commander. The son of a poor peasant in the Don region, S.M.Budyonny experienced in his youth the hard lot of a laborer and then a soldier in the tsarist cavalry.

At the beginning of the civil war, he organized a partisan cavalry detachment on the Don, like many partisan commanders, made his way to Tsaritsyn to join the Red Army.

Here, the scattered cavalry detachments were united into a cavalry regiment, and then into the First Cavalry Division. Under the command of S.M.Budyonny, the red cavalry division inflicted crushing blows on the Krasnovites.

The second plan to capture Tsaritsyn suffered the same collapse as the first. Comrade Stalin, summoned to Moscow after the defeat of the White Cossacks, on behalf of the Soviet government sent greetings to the revolutionary regiments that had defeated the White Guard troops at Tsaritsyn.

Capture of the North Caucasus by Denikin

At a time when Krasnov, relying on the German imperialists, surrounded Tsaritsyn, Denikin's Volunteer Army came to his aid from the south. Denikin tried to cover the southern front of Krasnov and defeat the Red Army in the North Caucasus.

The main Soviet troops, assembled by Sergo Ordzhonikidze, were located near Bataisk. They were commanded by former officer Sorokin, who later turned out to be a traitor. Some of the troops were on the Taman Peninsula, and some at the Tikhoretskaya station.

At the suggestion of Sergo Ordzhonikidze, the Soviet republics of the North Caucasus - Kuban, Black Sea, Stavropol and Tersk - decided to join forces to fight the counter-revolution. In the summer of 1918, the I Congress of the Soviets of the North Caucasus proclaimed a united North Caucasian Soviet Republic. But no sooner had the North Caucasian republic got stronger than Denikin launched an offensive. He intended to

cut off the Soviet North Caucasus from the Volga and prevent the Caucasian Red Army from attacking Krasnov from the south.

In June 1918 Denikin cut off the North Caucasus from Tsaritsyn and moved to Tikhoretskaya, where the 30-thousandth Red Army was stationed. By this time, Denikin had an army of 20,000, consisting almost exclusively of officers, cadets and the top of the Cossacks. The volunteer army had good weapons, artillery, armored cars received from the Germans through Krasnov. In mid-July, the Denikinites captured Tikhoretskaya.

Denikin's successes inspired the entire counter-revolution in the North Caucasus.

White guard revolts began in the villages and towns. As a result of Sorokin's betrayal, the Denikinites captured Yekaterinodar in August and pushed the main Soviet forces across the Kuban River. Having captured Yekaterinodar, the Whites thereby cut off the Red Army, which was located on the Taman Peninsula.

The Tamans decided to make their way along the sea to Novorossiysk, and then through Tuapse to Armavir, where they hoped to unite with the main forces of the Caucasian Red Army.

The Tamans walked along the Black Sea coast, through the rocky high Caucasus mountains, without food, without water, under the scorching rays of the sun. Together with the army, tens of thousands of refugees with their belongings retreated. Women and children rode on boxes with shells.

They advanced with continuous battles. Clothes and shoes were worn out. They ate corn and nuts. Near the city of Tuapse, enemy units blocked the only path taken by the Tamans. The latter singled out the daredevils, who, sticking rifle bayonets into the cracks of the rocks, climbed the sheer cliff and attacked the whites from the rear. The Whites retreated, and the Tamans, pursuing them, burst into Tuapse.

At the end of September 1918, having covered 500 km with continuous fighting, the Tamans occupied Armavir and united with the Red Army. The heroic campaign of the Tamans is described in Serafimovich's novel "[The Iron Stream](#)".

The XI and XII armies of the Southern Front were formed from parts of the Caucasian Red Army. Their position was very difficult. Communication with Tsaritsyn was cut off. The Denikinites were advancing from three sides, behind were the steppes and the Astrakhan sands. There was no food. Typhus was rampant in the army.

The wounded were left without medical assistance. The position of the army was worsened by the betrayal of Sorokin, who in October revolted and shot the leaders of the Bolshevik organization and the Soviet government of the North Caucasus. Sorokin's betrayal made it much easier for Denikin to capture the entire Kuban.

In the summer and autumn of 1918, the Denikinites, with the help of the gangs of the Menshevik Bicherakhov, tried to seize the Terek. This would facilitate Krasnov's advance towards Tsaritsyn, and Denikin's capture of the Kuban. But the plans of the counter-revolution were thwarted by the stubborn resistance of the Terek peoples. Sergo Ordzhonikidze rendered great help to the Tertsy. In August, he organized the rout of the

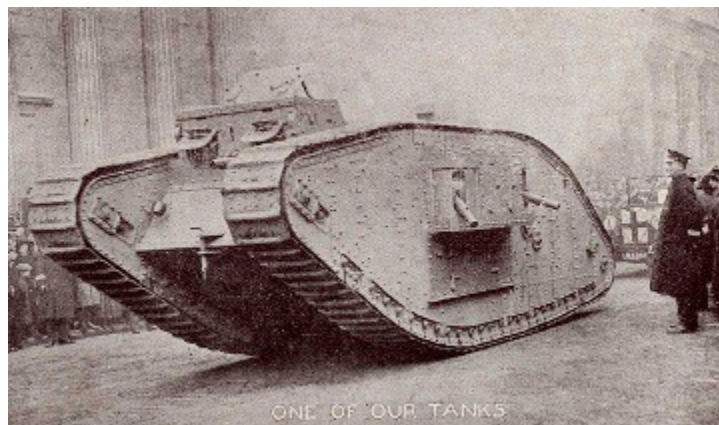
Bicherakhov gang that had broken through to Vladikavkaz. At the end of September, he organized the defense of Grozny. Grozny under the leadership of the brave leader of the mountaineers Aslanbek Sheripov staunchly defended and withstood a three-month siege. Grozny was liberated by troops sent by Sergo Ordzhonikidze.

In order to knock out the Bicherakhovites, entrenched in the village of Groznenskaya near the city itself, it was decided to burn the village. The Red Army men pelted her with incendiary bombs, bottles of kerosene and threw off the whites. Terek remained Soviet.

The rest of the North Caucasus was captured by Denikin.

III

ANTANTA'S OFFENSIVE ON SOVIET RUSSIA



The defeat of Germany and the abolition of the Brest Peace

By the fall of 1918, the military forces of German imperialism were on their way out.

In October 1918, Austria asked for peace. Turkey also surrendered in October. In Germany, under the influence of military defeat, revolutionary fermentation intensified. On November 9, 1918, it ended with a revolution. Emperor Wilhelm II fled abroad. A bourgeois republic was established in Germany.

Two days later, on November 11, 1918, an armistice was concluded on the Western Front. The world war ended with the defeat of Germany.

The defeat of Germany by the united forces of the Allies facilitated the struggle of the Soviet people against the German imperialists.

The widespread expulsion of the German invaders from the borders of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic States began. On November 13,

1918, the Soviet government solemnly announced the abolition of the predatory Treaty of Brest. The cancellation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty testified to the victory of Lenin's perspicacious tactics on the question of peace.

No matter how difficult and humiliating the Brest Peace Treaty was, it still gave the Soviet people a respite. Having become stronger and armed, the Soviet government repulsed all attacks of the internal counter-revolution. The changed international situation made it possible to abandon the predatory terms of the treaty imposed on the Soviet government.

US and Entente intervention

The defeat of Germany complicated the international situation. Describing it, Lenin said at the VI All-Russian Congress of Soviets (November 8, 1918):

"... If we have never been so close to the international revolution, then our position has never been so dangerous as it is now. The imperialists were busy with each other. And now one of the groups has been swept away by a group of Anglo-French-Americans. They consider the main task to be to stifle world Bolshevism, to stifle its main cell, the Russian Soviet Republic" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 28, p. 142).

The imperialists of the United States and the Entente, worried about the spread of the revolutionary movement in Western Europe, prepared to use the defeat of Germany to fight Soviet Russia, which they considered the hotbed of the revolution. Their plan was to launch their troops on the offensive against Soviet Russia, together with the counter-revolutionary forces that began the struggle against Soviet power immediately after the victory of the October Revolution.

This general offensive by the United States and the Entente against Soviet Russia was planned simultaneously in three directions. British troops, relying on Denikin's help, were to occupy the eastern regions of Russia, primarily the Trans-Caspian region and Baku. French troops were to land in southern Russia and, with the support of Ukrainian nationalists, occupy Ukraine. The combined forces of the British and Americans were to launch an offensive in the north, moving from here along the Northern Dvina to join the Czechoslovakians and Kolchakites.

British intervention in the Caspian and Baku

The implementation of this plan began in the summer of 1918, when the Soviet Republic was in a ring of fronts, repelling the offensive of the

Czechoslovakians, German imperialists and Russian White Guards.

The commander of the British troops in Persia entered into a deal with the bourgeois nationalists of Turkmenistan and with the Russian White Guards, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks in Central Asia. With their assistance, in July 1918, Soviet power was overthrown in Ashgabat, Merv, Krasnovodsk and other cities of the Trans-Caspian region. The captured nine Ashgabat commissars were shot. In Ashgabat, a White Guard government was formed, headed by the Social Revolutionaries. The Transcaspien region was occupied by British troops. Turkmen bourgeois nationalists and Russian White Guards signed a treacherous agreement with the British interventionists, which turned Turkmenistan into an English colony.

Having established themselves in the Trans-Caspian region, the British imperialists began to prepare for the seizure of Baku. The Baku commune was going through hard days at that time. Turkish troops and armed bands organized by local nationalist Mussavatists attacked Baku. Under the pretext of combating Turkish atrocities, the Baku Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks entered into secret negotiations with British agents. They insisted that the Baku Soviet should invite British troops to help. Comrade Stalin sent a directive to the Baku Bolsheviks - under no circumstances should foreign troops be allowed into Baku. The Baku Council of People's Commissars, headed by Stepan Shaumyan, took decisive measures to defend the Baku Commune.

Close cooperation existed between Soviet Russia and the Baku Commune. Oil was sent from Baku through Astrakhan to Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia sent bread to Baku from the reserves of the North Caucasus. But after the seizure of the North Caucasus by the Denikinists, the food situation in Baku deteriorated sharply. The enemies cut off the Baku commune from the source of grain and even deprived it of sources of good-quality water. Taking advantage of the plight of the city, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries intensified their defeatist agitation. At a stormy meeting of the Baku Soviet on July 25, 1918, they succeeded in passing their resolution on inviting British troops. A few days later, power in Baku passed into the hands of the counter-revolutionary government, which called in the British. The Baku Council of People's Commissars tried to leave for Soviet Astrakhan, but the steamers were fired upon by the British and returned to Baku. The People's Commissars were arrested and sent to prison.

The British lasted only one month in Baku. In September, the city was surrounded by Turkish troops and Mussavatist detachments. Before the British left Baku, the arrested Baku commissars managed to free themselves from prison. They again tried to reach Astrakhan. But by order

of the captain, the steamer, on which the Baku Bolsheviks were traveling, unexpectedly turned to Krasnovodsk. Here 26 Baku commissars were arrested by the Transcaspien government. On September 20, 1918, they were taken to the 207th kilometer from Krasnovodsk and here they were brutally killed by the British and their Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary companions. The fall of the Baku commune and the death of 26 Baku commissars had grave consequences for the fate of all the Transcaucasian republics, which fell into dependence on foreign imperialism.



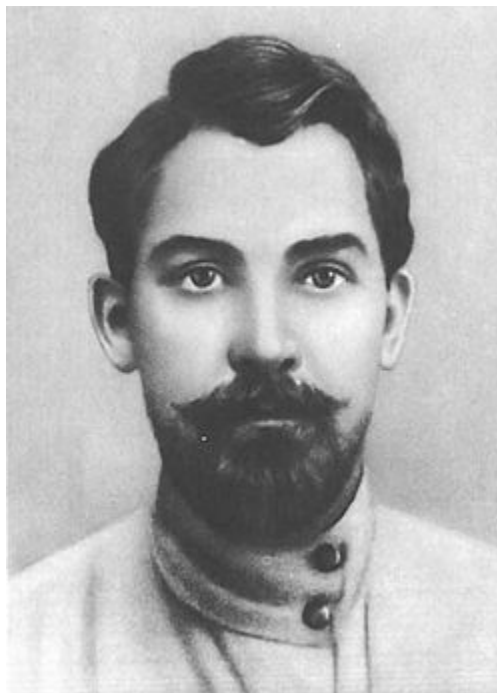
I. Brodsky. Shooting of 26 Baku commissars

Liberation of Ukraine from foreign invaders

Soon after the abolition of the Brest Peace Treaty, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party instructed Comrade Stalin, who had just returned from Tsaritsyn, to organize the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine from the German invaders. In November 1918, Soviet power was restored in the liberated part of Ukraine. The Soviet government of Ukraine called on the Ukrainian workers and peasants to overthrow the protégé of the Germans - Hetman Skoropadsky. The struggle against the German occupiers took place under the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" The work of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks to disintegrate the German army also intensified. German soldiers demanded that they be immediately sent home and began to transfer Red Army artillery and ammunition. Deprived of the support of the German troops, Hetman Skoropadsky lost all power. Disguised as a

German officer, he fled from Kiev. Power in Kiev was seized by new enemies of the Ukrainian people - bourgeois nationalists led by Petliura. The Petliura government (the so-called Directory) began to seek help from the new invaders. At this time, the intervention of the Entente began. At the end of November 1918, two French and two Greek divisions were sent to Ukraine. In total, up to 50 thousand Entente soldiers landed in the south of Russia. At the same time, a large number of machine guns, cannons and shells were unloaded, intended for the white "governments" who fought against Soviet Russia.

The Petliura government signed a treaty with France, promising to form an army of 30 thousand people to fight the Bolsheviks and to put the entire economic life of Ukraine under French control. The indignant workers and working peasants came out against the traitors to the Ukrainian people. The fraternal Red Army came to the aid of the revolutionary insurgents from Soviet Russia.



Nikolay Alexandrovich Shchors

On February 5, 1919, the Tarashchansky regiment under the command of the Kiev arsenal-carpenter Bozhenko and the Bohunsky regiment under the command of Nikolai Shchors liberated Kiev. Most of Ukraine has become Soviet again. Only in the south of Ukraine (in Odessa, Nikolaev, Kherson) and in the Crimea were the Entente troops supported by Denikin's units. In the ports were still fighting Entente ships.

Bolshevik underground organizations in Odessa, Nikolaev, Kherson, Sevastopol launched vigorous work among French soldiers and sailors. The Bolshevik underground

organization in Odessa created a "foreign collegium" in which the French communist Jeanne Labourbe, ardently devoted to the revolution, took part.



Jeanne Marie Labourbe

Betrayed by a provocateur, Jeanne Labourbe was brutally murdered by the French imperialists.

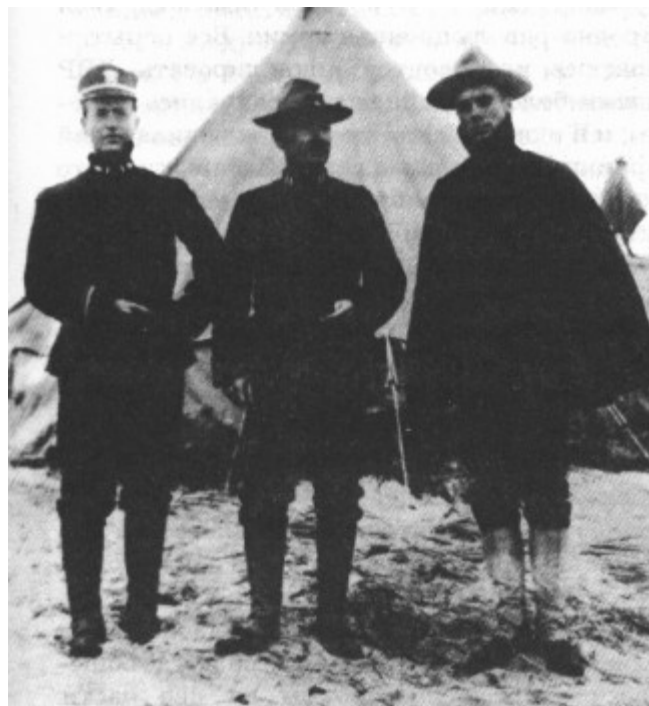
Energetic work among the French troops was carried out by the chief mechanic of the destroyer "Protea" André Marty, who organized the uprising in the French fleet. The uprising was suppressed, and Marty was arrested and sent to France. He was threatened with the death penalty, but the French workers, with their protests and revolutionary actions, achieved his release.



Andre Marty

Not having enough forces, the interventionists in March 1919 left Kherson and Nikolaev and concentrated in Odessa. But already on April 6, 1919,

the Red Army entered Odessa, and on April 7 the Red Army men ford the cold Sivash and occupied the Crimea. The main reason for the defeat of the Anglo-French occupation forces in the south was their rapid decomposition. Convinced that they had been deceived, French soldiers refused to fight Soviet Russia and declared to their officers: "We are not here to fight." In April 1919, the French government was forced to evacuate its troops from all ports of the Black Sea. On the eve of the departure of the French, an armed uprising of workers took place in Odessa, and power passed to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies. All of Ukraine and Crimea became Soviet.



Representatives of the Entente troops

Failure of the Entente offensive in the north

In the spring of 1918, the Americans and the British began to occupy the north of Soviet Russia. The Entente steamers delivered up to 50 thousand soldiers to Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. The invaders shamelessly plundered the region, cut down forests, took away furs. They put all those suspected of sympathizing with the Soviet regime in hard labor prisons created on remote, uninhabited islands. An attack on Moscow was being

prepared from the north.

At the end of 1918, the troops of the British interventionists moved along the Northern Dvina to Kotlas, from where the railway went to Vyatka. In the Kotlas-Perm region, the Entente intended to unite the forces of the northern counter-revolution with the Kolchakites. White units, formed with the help of British instructors, well-equipped with British armored trains, airplanes, guns and machine guns, were three times larger than the forces of the Red Army operating on the Northern and Eastern fronts. Five divisions under the command of the Czech General Gaida surrounded and inflicted a serious defeat on the III Red Army in the Perm region (now Molotov). In December, Gaida occupied Perm and began to move towards Vyatka (now Kirov). From Vyatka the road was already on to Moscow.

To save the situation, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and the Defense Council at the beginning of January 1919 sent comrades Stalin and Dzerzhinsky to the Eastern Front, who were supposed to find out the causes of the catastrophe and outline measures for its elimination. The Eastern Front, as Comrade Stalin found out, was completely disorganized. The tsarist generals violated the instructions of the Soviet government on the class principle in manning the Red Army. In the army, kulak sons, bourgeois immigrants and direct spies were doing demoralizing work. There was no connection between the front and the rear. Many spies and saboteurs also made their way to headquarters and directorates. The main headquarters, lacking a well-thought-out plan, sent contradictory orders, disorganizing the army. Comrade Stalin expelled the enemies from the headquarters, put things in order in the management of the army, organized the formation of regiments on the basis of instructions from the Soviet government, and took measures to improve the rear. The main thing is that Comrade Stalin gave a directive to defend Vyatka at all costs, so as not to allow the Entente to unite the interventionists of the north with the Kolchak and Czechoslovakians who were moving from the east. As a result of the measures taken, Vyatka was defended.

The Red Army in the north was greatly assisted by skiers from the Komi people, who perfectly performed the role of scouts and signalers. In white coats, moving quickly, they were elusive. Among the Entente troops in the north, the same decay began as in the south. This was greatly facilitated by the Bolshevik agitation in foreign troops: leaflets were pasted on houses, on trees and scattered wherever the soldiers of foreign occupation troops were. Under the influence of Bolshevik agitation, the Entente soldiers refused to fight the Bolsheviks and demanded that they be sent home. The Entente's attempt to crush Soviet power in Russia with the help of their troops failed.

"This victory," wrote Lenin, "... was the most important victory we won over the Entente. We took her soldiers away from her . " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, p. 189).

Liberation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia from the German occupiers .

The defeat of Germany intensified the struggle of all the peoples of the Baltic states against the German occupiers. The expulsion of the Germans was accompanied by mass uprisings against the local bourgeoisie, which betrayed the people and made a deal with the occupiers. In Lithuania, after the expulsion of the Germans, the workers began to create Soviets, which organized an uprising against the bourgeois government of Voldemaras. The preparations for the uprising were led by the Communist Party of Lithuania and Belarus, which was formed at that time. The Voldemaras government fled from Vilna. The Vilnius Council proclaimed the Lithuanian Soviet Republic in December 1918. On December 23, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee recognized the independence of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic and issued a decree on the incorporation of the Kovno and Vilna provinces into Soviet Lithuania.

In November 1918, under pressure from the advancing Red Army units, German troops also retreated from Latvia. Fearing the victory of the proletarian revolution in Latvia, various bourgeois parties of Latvia formed a People's Council in Riga, which on 18 November 1918 proclaimed the Latvian bourgeois republic. The Provisional Bourgeois Government was formed, headed by the leader of the "Peasant Union" Ulmanis. The ego government signed an agreement with the German Social Democratic government on the sending of "volunteers" to Latvia. The indignant masses of the people of Latvia revolted and took possession of Riga. The bourgeois government of Latvia fled to Libava. The Congress of Latvian Soviets convened in January 1919 proclaimed the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Soviet power in Latvia organized the Red Army, abolished private ownership of land,

In the spring of 1919, the bourgeois government of Latvia, based in the city of Libau, sent an army of 80,000, which in May occupied Riga. Soviet

Russia, surrounded at this moment by enemies, could not provide military assistance to the Latvian Soviet Republic. A bourgeois republic was restored in Latvia.

In Estonia, after the departure of the German troops, the bourgeoisie turned to England for help. The latter sent a military squadron to the aid of the Estonian counter-revolution. The working people of Estonia revolted. With the support of the advancing Red Army, Estonia was liberated from the invaders. On November 30, 1918, Soviet power was re-established in Estonia - the Estonian Labor Commune. The Estonian bourgeoisie again turned to England and neighboring white Finland for help. Under the onslaught of the well-armed forces of the White Estonians, White Finns and the British, the Red Army retreated. Soviet power in Estonia was abolished again.

Liberation of Belarus and the formation of the BSSR

By December 1918, with the help of the Red Army, Belarusian workers and peasants cleared their homeland of German troops. Part of Belarus occupied by the Germans during the imperialist war was also liberated. The working people of Belarus turned to Lenin and Stalin with a request to help them create the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic. In December 1918, the I Congress of the Communist Party of Belarus took place, which decided to declare an independent socialist Belarusian Republic on the territory of Minsk, Grodno, Mogilev, Vitebsk and Smolensk provinces. The congress declared:

"The working people of Belarus do not want to know any other power than the power of the Soviets, which is the power of workers, farm laborers and peasants. They hate the power of the landlord Belarusian Rada".

On January 1, 1919, the formation of the BSSR was proclaimed, formalized at the I All-Belarusian Congress of Soviets. All lands of landowners, monasteries, churches were declared a national property, railways and enterprises were nationalized, Soviet laws were enacted. Attending the All-Belarusian Congress of Soviets, the chairman of the All-Belarusian Central Executive Committee, Ya. M. Sverdlov, announced to the congress the decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to recognize the independence of the BSSR and promised the Belarusian Soviet Republic fraternal assistance. "The Russian proletariat," he said, "will never forget that you were the first to take upon yourself the blows and onslaught of German imperialism, stopping its advance inland."

The Congress of Soviets of Belarus proclaimed the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic and decided to start negotiations with the RSFSR on establishing federal ties with it, and also appealed to all independent Soviet republics to follow the example of the BSSR.

Fight against Polish occupiers in Lithuania and Belarus

From the very first days of their existence, the young Soviet republics of Lithuania and Belarus were attacked by the landlord's Poland, which became a loyal agent of the Entente. Poland owed its independence to the October Socialist Revolution. But the Polish capitalists and landowners mortally hated Soviet Russia: the revolution deprived them of huge estates and capital in the Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. Therefore, in spite of the repeated peace proposals of the Soviet government, the Polish landlord broke diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and, with the help of the Entente, moved its troops to the borders of Soviet Lithuania and Soviet Belarus.

To fight against the White Poles, the congresses of the Soviets of Lithuania and Belarus decided to unite their forces. At a joint meeting of the CECs of the Lithuanian and Belarusian Republics, the government of the united Lithuanian-Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic was elected. The government of the RSFSR rendered every possible assistance to the young Soviet republics. Ya. M. Sverdlov sent Soviet and party workers to these republics. Lenin and Stalin helped them create the Red Army needed to fight the White Poles. In the spring of 1919, the White Poles went on the offensive. In April, they captured the capital of Lithuania - Vilno. The government of the RSFSR came to the aid of the fraternal Soviet republics - Lithuania and Belarus - and sent units of the Red Army to Belarus. Sent in June 1919 to

The Western Front, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the 16th Army, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, organized a rebuff to the White Poles. The Red Army established itself on the Berezina River. In the occupied territories of Lithuania and Belarus, the Polish invaders restored private property, returned their enterprises to the capitalists, and their lands to the landowners. Dozens of villages were burned to the ground. Bread and cattle were taken from the peasants.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the workers and peasants of Belarus organized partisan detachments that operated in the rear of the White Poles and in the front line. Together with the Red Army soldiers, the Belarusian partisans launched a stubborn struggle against the Polish invaders for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

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ANTANTA THREE WALKS

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ANTANTA'S FIRST HIKE. THE DEATH OF KOLCHAK



Entente plans in the spring of 1919

Having defeated Germany and its allies, the Entente concentrated all its attention on the struggle against the Soviet Republic. By the spring of 1919, Kolchak's offensive was prepared on the Eastern Front. Kolchak's nearly 300,000-strong army was moved across the Urals to Moscow. Its rear was "provided" by British, French, American, Japanese, Czechoslovak units. Over 100 thousand soldiers of the interventionist armies helped Kolchak. Petrograd was to be attacked with the active support of the British fleet, together with White Estonians and White Finns, white detachments under the command of Yudenich.

From the south, Denikin was supposed to move along with the Don and Kuban Cossack armies subordinate to him. General Miller was preparing the offensive from the north. In Ukraine, agents of the White Guards and the Entente were preparing counter-revolutionary uprisings of the bandit ataman Grigoriev. In Central Asia, the British invaders and Basmachi were supposed to act. This was the vast plan for the first campaign of the Entente.

"This campaign was a combined one, for it assumed a joint attack by Kolchak, Denikin, Poland, Yudenich and mixed Anglo-Russian detachments in Turkestan and Arkhangelsk, and the center of gravity of the campaign lay in the Kolchak region" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, p. . 320).

Organizing the resistance to the Entente

On March 18, 1919, the VIII Congress of the RCP (b) opened. The congress showed that the Leninist Central Committee was indeed "the fighting organ of the militant party in the era of the civil war."

A serious place in the work of the congress was occupied by the question of the attitude towards the middle peasant. As a result of the victory of the October Revolution, the countryside became more and more middle peasant. The middle peasants constituted the majority among the peasants, and in 1918 the middle peasants still oscillated between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Taking advantage of these vacillations, the White Guards temporarily overthrew Soviet power in the Volga region and in other areas. But soon the middle peasantry became convinced from personal experience that the victory of the whites leads to the restoration of the power of the landlords. In the fall of 1918, the mood of the middle peasantry turned towards Soviet power. That is why at this time Lenin put forward the slogan:

"To be able to reach an agreement with the middle peasant - not for a moment giving up the fight against the kulak and firmly relying only on the poor ..." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 28, p. 171).



IN AND. Lenin, I.V. Stalin, M.I. Kalinin among the delegates of the congress

On the basis of Lenin's report, the congress adopted a resolution demanding that the middle peasantry be strictly separated from the kulaks and that the needs of the middle peasants be attentively treated. At the congress, it was decided to pursue a policy of a lasting alliance with the middle peasant and relying on the poor while maintaining the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance. Some of the military delegates made up the so-called "military opposition" at the

Congress. It was led by a defeated group of former "left communists" and tried to drag the party towards partisanism, to abandon the use of old military specialists, etc.

The congress paid great attention to the building of the Red Army. Lenin and Stalin gave a decisive rebuff to the "military opposition".

"... Either," said Comrade Stalin, " we will create a real workers 'and peasants', strictly disciplined regular army and defend the Republic, or we will not do this and then the matter will be ruined" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, p. 250).

At the same time, the congress struck hard at Trotsky, who littered the apparatus of the central military institutions with elements known to be hostile to the Soviet regime and in every possible way belittled the role of communists, and especially commissars in the army. The congress approved a resolution on strengthening the army, and also adopted a special appeal to the workers and peasants about the impending military danger and the impending Entente campaign.

On March 18, 1919, on the day of the opening of the VIII Party Congress, proletarian Moscow buried the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Ya. M. Sverdlov.



In his strenuous work on the creation of the Soviet state, Ya. M. Sverdlov did not know rest. During one of his trips around the country, he caught a cold, became seriously ill and died. The death of Sverdlov was a heavy

loss for the party and the Soviet government. On March 30, 1919, at the suggestion of Lenin, MI Kalinin was elected to the post of chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

A Tver peasant by origin, then a St. Petersburg worker - a highly skilled metalworker, Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin in his revolutionary activities very vividly combined the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian worker and peasant.

"Find the real deputy comrade. Yakov Mikhailovich Sverdlov is an extremely difficult task ... - said Lenin. - ... if we find a comrade who combines life experience and familiarity with the life of the middle peasantry, we will be able to solve this in the newspaper, meets all of these conditions. This is the candidacy of Comrade Kalinin " (Lenin, Works, vol. 29, pp. 209-210).

Kolchak regime in Siberia

In the spring of 1919, most of the military forces of the foreign interventionists were forced to leave the Soviet country; but they left their guns, tanks, airplanes to the Russian White Guards. The Entente imperialists did not refuse to intervene; they only entrusted its implementation to their henchmen - the Russian White Guards. The first of these was Admiral Kolchak. The imperialists of England, France and America generously supplied him with weapons, uniforms, food, money, sent him instructors and technical advisers. Prominent generals of the Entente with a large number of employees were sent to Siberia. The people at that time noted the complete dependence of Kolchak on his foreign masters even in their ditty songs:

English uniform, French shoulder strap, Japanese tobacco, Ruler of Omsk.



Жертвы колчаковщины. Сибирь. 1919 г. (Фото.)

In Siberia, Kolchak established a military-monarchical dictatorship and restored the tsarist order. The Siberian peasants, who had never known landowners, were placed in almost serfdom conditions. Bread and cattle were requisitioned from them, they were levied with indemnities - they collected not only old arrears, but also taxes for a number of years in advance. For the slightest resistance, they were publicly flogged. Kolchak dealt with the workers and Bolsheviks with particular cruelty, ruthlessly shooting them.

Kolchak put forward the slogan "For a united indivisible Russia" and severely stifled the national movement. He did not recognize the national autonomy of any people in the territory he occupied.



White Guard armored train "United Russia" in the Tsaritsyno direction. June 1919

The armored train never made it to Tsaritsin: it was rammed by a Makhnovist steam locomotive and completely disabled. The Reds did not even begin to restore it later.

Kolchak's offensive and his defeat



At the beginning of 1919, Kolchak launched an offensive along the entire Eastern Front. In the northern direction (Perm - Vyatka), the Siberian army of Kolchak continued to operate against the III Red Army. But thanks to the decisive actions of comrades Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, Kolchak's Siberian army could no longer advance further than Glazov. Kolchak's Western Army in March and the first half of April 1919 captured Ufa, Bugulma and Buguruslan. A direct threat was created to Simbirsk and Samara. The middle group of Kolchak's troops, linking the Siberian and Western armies, threatened Kazan. Finally, to the south of Ufa and further on Turkestan, the White Cossack armies of Dutov and Tolstov acted, threatening Orenburg and Uralsk. Kolchak's offensive assumed rampant proportions and created the danger of a unification of the eastern and southern counter-revolutionaries. Kolchak intended to unite in the Saratov region with Denikin, so that from there a united front to go to Moscow. Denikin at this time captured part of the Donbass. Yudenich launched an offensive against Petrograd.

A mortal threat looms over the country. It was necessary to take quick and decisive measures to defeat the Kolchak region.

On April 12, Pravda published ["Theses of the Central Committee of the RCP \(b\) in connection with the situation on the Eastern Front"](#). In the theses written by Lenin, it was emphasized that *"The most extreme exertion of forces is necessary to defeat Kolchak"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 29, p. 251).

The party put forward the slogan: **"Everyone to the Eastern Front!"** ... In response to the appeal of the party and Lenin, Moscow and Petrograd sent to the front a fifth of all communists and a tenth of the trade unionists. The Komsomol sent several thousand of the best youth to

the Eastern Front. Volunteer enrollment covered all cities. In the rear, women replaced the men who went to the front.



M. V. Frunze

The task of defeating Kolchak was entrusted to M.V. Frunze, appointed commander of the southern group of forces of the Eastern Front, and V.V. Kuibyshev, appointed a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the southern group of forces of the Eastern Front.

In the battles of the civil war, the old Bolshevik Mikhail Vasilyevich Frunze grew into a remarkable proletarian commander. Back in December 1918, he was sent as commander of the 4th Army to strengthen the Eastern Front. Relying on the textile workers who came to his aid, Frunze quickly restored revolutionary order in the army and launched a successful offensive against the White Cossacks, and then against Kolchak. Together with Frunze, in the front lines against Dutov, White Cossacks and Kolchak in the most dangerous places was I.V. V. Kuibyshev. Frunze and Kuibyshev raised many remarkable proletarian commanders and military political workers. One of these hero-commanders was the legendary V.I.Chapaev.



Vasily Ivanovich Chapaev

Vasily Ivanovich Chapaev was born in Chuvashia. As a child, he worked as a carpenter with his father and grandfather in the Volga villages, in his youth he went through the harsh drill of the tsarist army, gave the best years of his life to the fronts of the imperialist war. In these difficult wanderings, hatred for the oppressors and exploiters kindled in his heart. Returning after the February Revolution to the Volga region, Chapaev joined the Bolshevik Party and from the first days of the October Revolution took the path of the struggle for Soviet power.

The southern group formed by Frunze at the end of April 1919 began a general offensive. In early May, Chapaev's 25th division successfully fought at Buzuluk and Buguruslan. On May 13, the Red Army captured Bugulma. The Whites began to retreat to Ufa. At this decisive moment, Trotsky treacherously proposed to delay the advance of the Red Army on Ufa, to remove part of the troops from the Eastern Front and transfer to the Southern Front. The implementation of this plan would leave the Urals in the hands of Kolchak with its factories and would give him the opportunity to recover from defeat. Frunze strongly objected to Trotsky's order. Lenin supported Frunze, demanding the liberation of the Urals before winter.

Under the leadership of Frunze, the Red Army crossed the Belaya River and fought for Ufa.

The Chapayev division repulsed the counterattacks of Kappel's elite Kolchak corps. As a result of fierce battles, Ufa was occupied by the Red troops. Kolchak's army quickly retreated to the east. Pursuing the Kolchakites, the Red Army entered the foothills of the Urals. On July 13, Zlatoust was occupied, which opened the way to Siberia, on July 14 - Yekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk).

At this time, in the rear of Kolchak, a fierce struggle of partisan detachments, consisting of workers and peasants of the Urals and Siberia, unfolded. At the same time, the Red Army began offensive operations against Kolchak's allies, the White Cossacks.

Chapaev's 25th division was transferred to the Ural front. With battles, Chapaev moved to the aid of Uralsk, which heroically withstood a two-month siege. Having liberated Uralsk, Chapaev drove the White Cossacks to the Caspian Sea. On September 5, 1919, in the village of Lbischenskaya, the Chapaevsky headquarters was surrounded by the Cossacks who had broken through to the rear. Firing back from the enemies surrounding him, Chapaev rushed into the Ural River, was already wounded in the water and drowned. The image of Chapaev will forever remain in the memory of the Soviet people.



P. Vasiliev. Chapaev in battle

The Red Army dealt a crushing blow to Kolchak, but he still retained some of his forces and tried to resist. In August, Lenin warned in his "Letter to the workers and peasants on the victory over Kolchak":

"The enemy is far from being destroyed. He is not even completely broken."

It is necessary to exert all efforts to expel Kolchak and the Japanese with other foreign robbers from Siberia ... " (Lenin, Soch., G. 29, p. 511).

At this time, Denikin in the south and Yudenich in the west came to Kolchak's aid.

Struggle for Astrakhan

Having captured the North Caucasus, Denikin rushed to the Volga - to join with Kolchak. Astrakhan was the stronghold of the revolution, guarding the mouth of the Volga from the White Guards and not allowing Kolchak and Denikin to close their forces. At the head of the defense of Astrakhan was SM Kirov, who arrived there in January 1919. The situation in Astrakhan was difficult. The armed forces were few. After the heroic passage through the waterless Astrakhan steppes, the remnants of the XI army came here, but its soldiers were almost universally sick with typhus. Typhus and scurvy were also rampant in the city. The population was starving.

The counterrevolutionaries conducted open anti-Soviet agitation. There were few workers in the city. On all sides Astrakhan was surrounded by enemies: Kolchak and White Cossacks from the east, Denikin's from the west. The warships of the British interventionists approached almost to the mouth of the Volga.

Kirov organized the Military Revolutionary Committee and brought revolutionary order to the city. The Revolutionary Committee issued an order: "To shoot the bandits and marauders on the spot." The saboteurs were told:

"Those who do not want to work should not eat. All food - only for those working for Soviet Russia . "

The Volga flotilla came to the aid of Astrakhan, which in the spring of 1918 the Nizhny Novgorod Bolsheviks, headed by L. M. Kaganovich, made up of river ships and boats sheathed with armor and armed with cannons. Lenin sent several light destroyers from Kronstadt to reinforce the Volga flotilla through the Mariinsky system. Under the personal leadership of Kirov, about 40 ships passed through dangerous shoals into the Caspian Sea, where the British dominated. With an unexpected raid, Kirov seized a radio station through which Denikin negotiated with Kolchak. From Denikin's reports, Kirov learned that one of Denikin's generals had been sent to Kolchak with plans for further operations. The general with the plans was captured.

Stubborn battles took place near Astrakhan. Kirov mobilized all his forces

to repel the enemy. "As long as there is at least one communist in the Astrakhan region," he said at a party conference on August 3, 1919, "the mouth of the Volga was, is and will be Soviet." During this period, Trotsky's directive was communicated from the headquarters of the commander-in-chief: to evacuate Astrakhan in order to "level the front." Kirov turned directly to Lenin, proving the need to fight for Astrakhan. Lenin sent the answer: to defend Astrakhan to the end. Kirov fulfilled Lenin's order.

Defeat of Yudenich near Petrograd

To help Kolchak in the spring of 1919, the Entente imperialists organized an offensive against Petrograd by General Yudenich with the support of the White Finns, White Estonians and the British fleet. The forces of the Red Army near Petrograd were weakened by the transfer of the best units to other fronts. A British intelligence agent organized a major military conspiracy in Petrograd; The Russian military specialists who were in his service seized the forts "Krasnaya Gorka" and "Gray Horse". The traitors began shelling Kronstadt.

At the headquarters of the Red Army in Petrograd, spies and conspirators have settled. Machine guns, grenades and bombs were kept in the buildings of diplomatic missions for the counterrevolutionary uprising in Petrograd prepared by the conspirators. Zinoviev and his supporters sowed panic and confusion. Yudenich's troops approached Petrograd.

The Party sent to the Petrograd Front the tried and tested organizer of victories - Comrade Stalin. He organized a fight against spies and gave the order to the Red Baltic Fleet from the sea to take the rebellious forts. Despite the fact that military experts assured Comrade Stalin of the impracticability of his orders, the glorious sailors of the cruiser Oleg and the battleships Petropavlovsk and Andrew the First-Called, under artillery fire, approached the rebellious forts and fired at them at point-blank range from guns. On June 16, Stalin's order was carried out. Fort "Krasnaya Gorka" was cleared of the rebels. This fort was named Krasnoflotsky in honor of the gallant Red Navy men who freed it. Fort "Gray Horse", later named "Advanced", also surrendered. The British fleet came to the aid of Yudenich. He tried to attack Kronstadt, but met with heroic resistance.

Along the entire front, the Red troops began to push the Whites. Stalin told Lenin that the offensive was going well and the whites were fleeing. In August 1919, Yudenich's army was defeated.

II THE SECOND TRAVEL OF ANTANTA. THE DEATH OF DENIKIN



Denikin's offensive

The defeat of Kolchak did not discourage the leaders of the Entente. By the fall of 1919, they were preparing a "campaign of 14 states" against Soviet Russia. In addition to the Entente powers, Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Transcaucasian bourgeois governments and White Guard forces on the territory of Russia and Ukraine were to join the campaign. But the governments of the outlying bourgeois states did not trust the tsarist generals, who dreamed of restoring "one indivisible Russia."

The contradictions in the counter-revolutionary camp, and most importantly, the resistance of the Red Army, thwarted this campaign. During this period, the Entente focused all its attention on helping General Denikin. The main stake in the fight against Soviet Russia was made on him.

So the second campaign of the Entente was prepared.

"The second campaign of the Entente," wrote Comrade Stalin, " was undertaken in the autumn of 1919. This campaign was also combined, for it assumed a joint attack by Denikin, Poland, Yudenich (Kolchak was dropped from the account). The center of gravity of the campaign lies this time in the south, in the Denikin area " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 4, pp. 320-321).

On July 3, Denikin issued an order to attack Moscow. Denikin launched an offensive in three columns: one column under the command of Wrangel moved along the Volga line, in the center was the Don army and on the left flank - a select part of Denikin's troops, the so-called "Volunteer Army". To speed up the capture of Moscow, Denikin threw Mamontov's cavalry into the raid, which operated in the rear of the red armies of the Southern Front and raided Tambov, Kozlov and Yelets. On October 6 the Whites captured Voronezh. On October 13, Denikin took Oryol and moved to Tula. At this time, Yudenich launched a new offensive against Petrograd.

The landowners and capitalists were convinced that the fall of Moscow was a matter of the coming days. Donetsk capitalists announced the millionth prize to the one from Denikin's regiments, which will be the first to enter Moscow. One of the Denikin's armored trains was named "To Moscow".

In the areas occupied by Denikin, there was a bloody massacre of workers and peasants: the Proletarian Donbass was drenched in the blood of workers. The Dobrarmia (Volunteer Army) received the nickname "Robbery" from the population. Denikin, on the territory he occupied, like Kolchak in Siberia, returned the land to the landowners, restored the power of the landowners and capitalists and the old monarchic order. In Ukraine, the Ukrainian language was banned. The settlements of the mountaineers in the North Caucasus were razed to the ground. Dagestan was declared a part of "one indivisible Russia". In all the occupied areas, the "Volunteer Army" held out only with the help of merciless terror.



Victory over Denikin

On July 9, 1919, Lenin addressed the workers and peasants with an appeal: "All for the fight against Denikin."

"The Soviet Republic ... - wrote Lenin, - ... should be a single military camp, not in words, but in deeds.

All the work of Esekh institutions must be adapted to the war and rebuilt in a military fashion! "

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, the Soviet country strained all its forces to defeat Denikin.

During the summer and autumn, the party held "party weeks". Two hundred thousand new party members joined its ranks and immediately went to the front and to the most difficult sectors of Soviet construction. The Komsomol showed selfless devotion to the revolution. Often there was a notice on the doors of the Komsomol committees: "The committee is not working. All went to the front. "

The Central Committee of the Bolsheviks entrusted Comrade Stalin with the organization of the defeat of Denikin. Having familiarized himself with the situation on the Southern Front, Comrade Stalin rejected Trotsky's treacherous plan, which was to launch an offensive against Denikin along the Tsaritsyn-Novorossiysk line.

"... It is necessary now, without wasting time," wrote Comrade Stalin to Lenin on October 15, 1919, "to change the old plan, already canceled by practice, replacing it with the plan of the main strike from the Voronezh region through Kharkov - Donetsk basin to Rostov. First, here we will have an environment that is not hostile, on the contrary, sympathetic to us, which will facilitate our progress. Secondly, we get the most important railway network (Donetsk) and the main artery feeding Denikin's army - the Voronezh-Rostov line ... Thirdly, with this advance we cut Denikin's army into two parts, of which: we leave the volunteer to be devoured by Makhno, and We put the Cossack armies under the threat of entering their rear. Fourthly, we get the opportunity to embroil the Cossacks with Denikin, who (Denikin), in the event of our successful advance, will try to move the Cossack units to the west,

Fifthly, we get coal, and Denikin is left without coal " (Stal and N, Soch., Vol. 4, pp. 276-277).

Lenin supported Stalin's plan and accepted his demand to remove Trotsky from participation in the affairs of the Southern Front.

To carry out the Stalinist plan, a shock group of troops was created, headed by Stalin's associate Sergo Ordzhonikidze. The most important place in the plan was assigned to Budyonny's cavalry.

Implementing the Stalinist plan, the Red troops on October 20, 1919 liberated Eagle from the Whites. On October 24, Budyonny's cavalry corps, which had just defeated Mamontov's Denikin cavalry, liberated Voronezh with an unexpected heroic blow, stunning the whites with their courage and swiftness. He was supported by a detachment of Voronezh workers and railroad workers, headed by L. M. Kaganovich. Under the village of Kastornaya, Budyonny inflicted a new defeat on the white cavalry. In battles, the Soviet cavalry grew and strengthened. In November, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the 1st Cavalry Army was created from it. S.M. Budyonny was appointed its commander, and K.E. Voroshilov was appointed a member of the RVS.

The cavalry army did not know defeat. Almost all of its command staff grew from workers and peasants, organizers of the partisan struggle against the White Guards. In the ranks of the Cavalry Army there were many brave heroes (Morozov, Parkhomenko, Dundich, etc.).

In the rear of Denikin in the Ukraine, partisan units were active. The partisan movement was led by underground Bolshevik organizations. The peasants helped the partisans and sheltered them.

The atrocities of Denikin's bands kindled the hatred of the peasants and roused them to fight for the power of the Soviets. For example, in the village of Golubovka (Yekaterinoslavskaya province), a five-pointed star was carved into the chest of a partisan captured by white people and then a heart was cut out. This reprisal raised 300 new partisans to fight the Whites in the villages closest to Golubovka. There were many such facts.

The Komsomol also waged a heroic struggle against Denikin's people underground. Young Soviet heroes fought with the same courage as adult workers and peasants. In Denikin's counterintelligence 9 Odessa Komsomol members were tortured. Dera Lyubarskaya wrote about their behavior in her dying letter to the comrades of the Komsomol member:

"Glorious comrades! I am dying honestly, how honestly I lived my little life. Only now I really feel like a conscious revolutionary and a party worker. How I behaved when I was arrested, when I was sentenced, my comrades will tell you. They tell me that I was great. All of us - condemned - behave decently, cheerfully ... Soon, soon the whole of Ukraine will breathe a sigh, and live creative work will begin. It is a pity that I cannot take part in it. "

The uprising of workers and peasants against the whites was widening in all areas of Denikin.

Defeated at Orel, Kastornaya and Voronezh, Denikin's army swiftly rolled south to the ports of the Black Sea. In early January 1920, the 1st Cavalry Army, tirelessly pursuing the Whites, occupied Rostov-on-Don, and on March 27, 1920, the last White stronghold in the Black Sea region, Novorossiysk, fell. The second Entente campaign was repulsed with the same success as the first. Lenin, in a letter to the workers and peasants of Ukraine on the occasion of the victories over Denikin, wrote:

“Defeating Denikin, destroying him, making it impossible to repeat such an invasion — such is the fundamental interest of both Great Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants. The struggle is long and difficult, for the capitalists of the whole world are helping Denikin and will help all kinds of Denikins ” (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, p. 272).

The organizer of the victories of the Red Army over Denikin was I. V. Stalin.

In November 1919, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee noted the greatest merits of Comrade Stalin on the fronts of the civil war with the highest award - the Order of the Red Banner.

Elimination of Yudenich's army

At the moment of Denikin's greatest successes, Yudenich organized a new offensive against Petrograd.

The British supplied the advancing White Guards with tanks. The entire Western European press confidently wrote about the imminent capture of Petrograd. Lenin sent orders to the workers of Petrograd not to surrender the capital. Petrograd communists and Komsomol members were mobilized to defend the city. Women and old people went to the front. Whole families of workers went out to dig trenches. Enterprises worked for defense day and night. Workers helped uncover treason and espionage. They searched the entire city and confiscated weapons from the bourgeoisie.

Proletarian Petrograd turned into a fortress. Machine guns were installed in the windows of the houses. Although the workers were given half a pound of bread and one herring a day, the spirit of red Peter was unshakable.

On October 21, the VII Red Army launched a counteroffensive.

On October 26, Soviet troops captured Krasnoe Selo, on November 14 they occupied Yamburg and captured most of Yudenich's army. Yudenich's soldiers killed their officers and went over to the side of the Red Army. The peasants beat the retreating White Guards from the rear.

So Yudenich's army ceased to exist.

The defeat of Denikin and Yudenich accelerated the complete elimination of Kolchak. In the fall of 1919, the Red Army quickly stopped Kolchak's attempt to advance in the Tobolsk region. In the severe Siberian frosts, the Red Army drove the dying Kolchak army across the Siberian steppes and taiga to the east. Powerful allies of the Red Army were the Red partisans of the Urals and Siberia. The Bolsheviks led the struggle for Soviet power in Siberia. On November 14, 1919, the Red Army occupied Omsk, the capital of Kolchak. In early January 1920, the city of Irkutsk was

liberated by the insurgent workers and partisans, where Kolchak, who was arrested soon after, was taken. On February 7, Kolchak was shot. Soviet power was established in Siberia.

III

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION DURING THE CIVIL WAR

<p>Хлѣба! Защитникам земли, взятой крестьянами у помещиков.</p>	<p>Для успешной борьбы с надвигающейся опасностью немецкого рабства и буржуазной кабалы необходимо весь съѣзд Россіи НЕМЕДЛЕННО обезпечить хлѣбом!</p>	<p>Хлѣба! борцам за власть Крестьян, рабочих и солдат.</p>
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Ко всему крестьянству хлѣбородных областей и губерній **БРАТЯ КРЕСТЬЯНЕ!**

Дорогіе братья! Близок духи мы, боевые революціонеры, обращаемся к Вам с этим призывом.
Самым главным вопросом Бьет послѣдній час нашей рѣшительной борьбы. Окончательно рѣшается вопрос:
о закрѣпленіи передачи трудящимся земли без выкупа, фабрик, заводов и банков.
 Шлите нам хлѣба, чтобы мы не были извурены голодом и чтобы бы возможность красно держать в своих руках винтовку против разбойнической міра.

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЕ ОТЕЧЕСТВО В ОПАСНОСТИ!

Хлѣба! Хлѣба! Хлѣба!

Ссылайте хлѣб въ пустыни и степи, в ямы и селѣныя пустыни всех станцій желѣзных дорог и крестьян судоустройства.

Наши желѣзные дороги разрушены. Близко к нам приближаются на них неброуныя и склочныя беспорядки. Трусы, мародеры и спекулянты, ватинуши на плечи солдатскія шинели, чьют вышки на станціях желѣзных дорог и останавливают крестьянское движеніе вперед.

Смелые и вѣрные революціи солдаты, крестьяне, и рабочие! Мы призываем вас, оказывать содѣяствіе всѣм тѣм, кто охраняет наши желѣзные дороги и продолжает хулигански вышпалываться во внутренней распродок их. Разрушеніем желѣзных дорог всѣ эти отбросы останавливают нашу великую борьбу — немецкой буржуазіи и потому они — **наш враг**.

Хлѣба! Хлѣба! Хлѣба! Хлѣба!

War communism policy

During the civil war, the Republic of Soviets represented a military camp besieged by enemies. The invaders surrounded it with an economic blockade. The counter-revolution cut off from the proletarian centers the grain and raw material regions that fed them. The lack of raw materials, fuel, food has caused a decline in production. Industrial production in 1919 accounted for only one fourth of the pre-war production. The workers who had not gone to the front dispersed to the villages. Numerous fronts demanded tremendous stress from the Soviet government. It was necessary to supply the army with bread, weapons, shoes and uniforms. In order to hold out and feed the main cadres of workers and the Red Army, the Soviet government took into account all reserves of food, fuel, and goods.

Not only large, but also medium and even small enterprises were nationalized.

The distribution of extremely limited reserves of raw materials, fuel and finished products was carried out in a centralized manner and was subordinate to the tasks of the front.

On January 24, 1919, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decree on the introduction of food distribution. This decree obliged the peasants to give all food surpluses to the state at fixed prices. Explaining the need for this measure, Lenin wrote:

"If you, a peasant, lend the state a loan and give grain, then the worker can restore industry. There is no other way ...!" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 29, p. 485).

Food was distributed according to cards, according to a strictly class principle. The bourgeoisie received four times less than the workers. Children had special cards with increased norms.

The Soviet government introduced universal labor service for all classes. By attracting the bourgeoisie to work, the Soviet government implemented the slogan: **"He who does not work, he does not eat."** In Soviet, economic, professional organizations, it was necessary to establish iron discipline, appoint commissars or create political departments instead of elected leaders.

Revolutionary committees were created in the front-line or liberated from the white zone instead of the elected Soviets. This whole system of measures, caused by the conditions of the country's defense, was called "war communism".

"War communism," comrade Stalin pointed out, *" is a policy of the proletarian dictatorship imposed by the military situation and intervention, calculated to establish direct product exchange between town and country not through the market, but in addition to the market, by measures, mainly non-economic and partly military. order, and has as its goal to organize such a distribution of products that could ensure the supply of the revolutionary armies at the front and workers in the rear "* (Stalin, Soch., vol. 11, p. 146).

Civil war obliged to build all life in a military way. Only such a policy could provide the proletariat with a strong rear and an invincible front. Only the strictest discipline, organization and centralization of state administration made it possible for the working class and the peasantry to organize victory over an immeasurably stronger enemy.

In the midst of a civil war, a military-political alliance was formed between the working class and the peasantry. It aimed to unite the efforts of the workers and peasants in order to repel the attack of foreign imperialists and to defend the Soviet power and the land taken from the landowners. The workers and peasants jointly defended the gains of the revolution against the interventionists and the White Guards.

Economic and cultural construction during the Civil War

During the years of civil war and intervention, the whole life of the Land of Soviets was subordinated to the interests of the front. But in the most difficult conditions of hunger, cold, epidemics, counter-revolutionary conspiracies and mutinies, the difficulties and dangers of war, the working class of the Soviet Union continued to rebuild all aspects of life.

Already in the first months of Soviet power, Lenin paid great attention to the electrification of the country. On his initiative, in 1918, preparations began for the construction of a powerful hydroelectric power station on the Volkhov River ("Volkhovstroy"). In 1919, construction began on the Kashirskaya power plant, not far from Moscow. At the same time, the construction of the Shaturskaya power plant was started, which had the task of using peat as fuel. Thanks to the invention of a Russian engineer, this problem of using peat was successfully solved, and in 1920 the temporary Shaturskaya power plant was commissioned. In 1918-1920, quite a significant number of small power plants were built. The capacity of all power plants in 1920 was even more than pre-war, but the generation of electricity is much less, since most of the power plants did not work due to lack of fuel.

The fuel crisis in connection with the capture of Donbass by the Whites and the destruction of its mines was especially acute. Almost all types of fuel were replaced with firewood, but the preparation and removal of firewood was very difficult. The Defense Council and the Council of People's Commissars have worked out a number of measures to overcome the fuel crisis. Martial law was introduced on the railways; the transportation of firewood by rail was equated to military operational tasks.

In November 1919, a labor service was introduced for the procurement, loading and unloading of all types of fuel, as well as a horse service for delivering firewood to railways and wharves.

Thus, with the help of the selfless labor of the workers and peasants, thanks to firm discipline, the Soviet Republic gradually emerged from the fuel crisis.

The food situation of the working people was extremely difficult. In the procurement campaign of 1918-1919, the organs of the People's Commissariat for Food procured three times more grain than in the previous year. The procurements for the next year yielded 30 million quintals of bread.

But this was negligible compared to the needs of the population and the army. The workers received only half of the foodstuffs from the state organs, and they had to buy the other half on the free market, from speculators. The speculators charged exorbitant prices for bread.

To combat speculation, the cooperation was entrusted with the task of preparing products that were not subject to layout. The Soviet government encouraged workers to grow gardening.

On February 14, 1919, a decree on socialist land management and measures for the transition to socialist agriculture was published. The decree outlined a number of specific measures to help socialist agriculture - state and collective farms. During the two years of the proletarian dictatorship, 900 large state farms and 5,960 communes and artels were organized. In the hands of collective farms were over 3 million hectares of land. But the overwhelming majority of the peasants still remained small owners.

At that time epidemics, especially typhus, were a formidable danger for the Soviet country.

"... One cannot imagine that horror, - said Lenin at the 7th Congress of Soviets, - which occurs in places affected by typhus, when the population is exhausted, weakened, there is no material means - all life, all society disappears. Here we say: "Comrades, all attention to this issue. Either lice will defeat socialism, or socialism will defeat lice! " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, p. 206).

The Soviet government mobilized about a thousand doctors to the front of the fight against epidemics, who selflessly worked to save the working people. Free medical care was introduced for workers. Many noble mansions were given over to hospitals, outpatient clinics, nurseries and consultations.

During the years of the civil war, there was a massive resettlement of workers in the apartments of the bourgeoisie. The rent was usually not charged at all. Electric lighting and other utilities were free.

Even in the most difficult periods of the civil war, the Soviet government did not stop cultural work among the workers and peasants. In Soviet Russia, about 10 million schoolchildren studied, while in Tsarist Russia, only about 8 million children studied on a much larger territory. The Soviet teachers, who remained loyal to the people, energetically rebuilt the school, bringing it closer to the needs and interests of the working people. Often without bread, in unheated schools, Soviet teachers taught children and adults, despite the lack of paper, books and writing materials.

Party and Soviet newspapers, which penetrated into the most remote corners, played a huge cultural role during the Civil War. Theaters and workers' clubs were created in the cities, which opened free access to new mass spectators.

To free the female worker from the burdens of the kitchen, public canteens were created.

The Soviet government paid special attention to the fight against mass child homelessness. At the suggestion of Lenin, the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission under the leadership of Felix Dzerzhinsky organized children's colonies, where street children acquired labor skills.

During the Civil War, the working class showed remarkable examples of new forms of communist labor. Communist subbotniks entered everyday life - voluntary mass participation in public works. The first communist subbotnik was organized on May 10, 1919 on the Moscow-Kazan railway. Lenin called it "a great initiative." He saw in subbotniks the beginning of a new, communist labor and the germ of a new labor discipline in socialist society.



M. Sokolov. IN AND. Lenin at a subbotnik on May 1, 1920

Peaceful respite in the spring of 1920

After the defeat of Kolchak and Denikin, the Soviet Republic received a short respite. The victory of the Red Army and the struggle of the workers of the capitalist countries against the intervention and blockade strengthened the international position of Soviet Russia. The first country to sign peace with Soviet Russia in February 1920 was Estonia. During the years of the civil war, the Soviet government repeatedly offered peace to the Entente powers, but all of its proposals were rejected.

At the beginning of December 1919, the VII All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted, at the suggestion of Lenin, a special resolution, in which it confirmed "its unswerving desire for peace." The resolution for the eleventh time invited all the Entente powers, together or separately, to begin peace negotiations. But this time, too, the peace proposals of the Soviet government were not accepted. Only in January 1920, after the defeat of the main forces of the counter-revolution, the Supreme Council of the Entente made a decision to end the economic blockade of Soviet Russia. But this decision did not mean that the Entente refused new attempts at intervention.

The imperialists were expecting only an opportunity to incite the Polish landlord against Soviet Russia. Warning about this, Lenin wrote in March 1920:

"We know that France is setting fire to Poland, throwing millions there ..." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, p. 368).

The Soviet government took all measures to save the workers and peasants from a new war. In January 1920, the Council of People's Commissars proposed to Poland to start peace negotiations, but the Polish lords did not answer. On February 2, the Soviet government addressed the Polish people with an appeal, proposing to end the war and begin a joint struggle against hunger and devastation. The Polish lords concealed this appeal from the people. In early March 1920, the Soviet government offered Poland peace for the third time. Panskaya Poland did not respond to the proposal and, with the assistance of the Entente, continued to arm itself.

Thus, the danger of war was not eliminated. It was impossible to demobilize the Red Army. Remaining under arms, many of its parts were involved in the work of storing firewood, collecting bread, restoring transport. A number of units of the Red Army in the Urals, Siberia, and the Ukraine were turned into labor armies. In February 1920, the Committee for General Labor Service was created. The Council of Workers 'and Peasants' Defense was transformed into the Council of Labor and Defense, and the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was created to help it. With tremendous perseverance and heroism, the Soviet country used the short respite to fight against hunger, cold and epidemics. The economic situation in the Soviet Republic was very difficult. Raw materials and fuel stocks have run out. Coal was mined a fourth of what was before the war.

Smelting of pig iron was about 3% of the pre-war. The production of cotton fabrics was only 5% of the pre-war production. The sown area and grain yield dropped sharply. After the liberation of the grain regions, the food situation in the Soviet Republic improved somewhat, but the devastation in transport disrupted the transportation of grain. There were up to 60% of "sick" steam locomotives. The Soviet government strengthened the food apparatus and improved the work of the food organs. Several thousand communists were sent to transport. Skilled workers were returned from the front to production.

The IX Congress of the Bolshevik Party opened on March 29, 1920. He discussed issues related to the use of a peaceful respite for economic construction. It was decided to start with the restoration of transport, fuel business and metallurgy.

Lenin and Stalin defended the need to strengthen one-man management in the economy. In the first period of Soviet power, collegiality was the school of training for Soviet personnel. But during the years of the civil war, when quick and prompt decisions and personal responsibility for the implementation of these decisions were especially required, collegiality became an obstacle to business. That is why the IX Party Congress passed a decision

"To establish complete and unconditional one-man management in workshops and shops, to go to one-man management in plant administrations and to reduced collegia in the middle and higher levels of the administrative-production apparatus . "

A group of "democratic centralism" (decists), which included many former "left communists", came out against this decision at the congress. Perverting the Bolshevik principledemocratic centralism, they demanded election in any conditions, abandonment of iron discipline, defended boundless "collegiality" and refused sole leadership in industry and in the Soviet apparatus. In conditions when the whole country strained all its forces for the struggle, the "democratic centralists" disorganized the ranks of the party, weakened the dictatorship of the proletariat and thereby helped the sworn enemies of the Soviet state who were preparing for a new attack on it. Trotsky also came up with disastrous proposals during this period, proposing to turn temporary measures to militarize labor, caused by the civil war and devastation, into a system of permanent leadership of the working class and peasantry. In particular, Trotsky proposed to make permanent labor armies,

The party, which in the civil war achieved the strengthening of the

military-political alliance of the working class with the middle peasantry, rejected all these disastrous proposals.

IV

ANTANTA'S THIRD HIKE. THE DEATH OF THE BELOPOLKS AND THE WRANGEL



Tank "For Holy Russia", recaptured from the Wrangelites

War with Pan Poland

The peaceful respite of the Soviet republic was thwarted in the spring of 1920 by a new campaign of the Entente.

This time, the Entente decided to use Polish Poland and the White Guard General Wrangel, who had gathered the remnants of Denikin's army in the Crimea, to fight Soviet Russia.

Comrade Stalin wrote about the third campaign of the Entente:

“... the campaign of the Polish landlord against the workers 'and peasants' Russia is, in essence, the campaign of the Entente ... The point, first of all, is that without the support of the Entente, Poland could not organize its attack on Russia, that France, first of all, and then England with America in every possible way support the Polish offensive with weapons, uniforms, money, instructors ”(Stalin, Soch., vol. 4, p. 319).

The Polish imperialists took an active part in all the campaigns of the Entente. Fulfilling the will of the French imperialists, the head of the Polish state Pilsudski, in response to repeated peace proposals from the Soviet government, put forward conditions that were in fact a provocation of a new war.

In April 1920, the White Poles, counting on the unpreparedness of Soviet Russia for a new war and on the fatigue of the Red Army, invaded Ukraine without declaring war.

They dreamed of seizing Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania and creating, at the expense of the Soviet republics, "Greater Poland", expanding its borders from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Polish lords hoped to seize Ukrainian grain and Donetsk coal. The Polish masters were assisted by the traitors of the Ukrainian people - the Petliuraites, who promised to transfer the lands to the Polish landowners if the pan government recognizes Petliura as the head of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian government.

The Poles launched an offensive, throwing a 50,000-strong army against the 15,000-strong Red Army, which was then operating in Ukraine. Taking advantage of their numerical superiority, Pilsudski's troops occupied Kiev on May 6 and soon captured almost the entire right bank of Ukraine. In the areas where the estates of the Polish landowners were located, the interventionists sent punitive detachments. The Polish invaders took away from the peasants not only the land, but all the grain and livestock, with the slightest resistance, they burned the villages, shot and beat the peasants. For example, in the village of Kocheriny (Belarus), even children and women were not allowed out of the houses that were set on fire, and 200 people were burned alive. In cities and towns, the White Poles staged Jewish pogroms.

Thousands of Ukrainian and Belarusian workers and peasants rose to fight against the Polish lords.

Comrade Stalin was sent to the South-Western Front to lead the Red Army against the White Poles. The 1st Cavalry Army, headed by Voroshilov and Budyonny, was sent to the disposal of Comrade Stalin. The 1st Cavalry Army made a heroic thousand-kilometer marching route from Maikop to Uman. On the way, the Cavalry Army cleared the rear of the Petliura and Makhnovist bands that ravaged Ukrainian villages.

At the beginning of June 1920, the Horse Army broke through the Polish front in the Kazatin area, occupied Zhitomir and moved to the rear of the Polish troops. The Zhitomir breakthrough played a decisive role in the

turning point at the front. The breakthrough by the 1st Cavalry Army of the Polish Front brought panic horror into the ranks of the Polish army, according to Pilsudski himself. A hasty retreat of the Polish armies began from the districts of Kiev and Berdichev. On June 12, Kiev was liberated from the White Poles.

At the same time, the Red Army began to prepare for an offensive on the Western Front. By the beginning of July, about 100 thousand Soviet troops were concentrated here against 75 thousand Polish ones.

On July 4, the Red Army launched an offensive on the entire Lithuanian-Belorussian front and on July 11 liberated Minsk, which had been in the hands of the Poles since August 1919. The working masses of Ukraine and Belarus greeted their liberator with enthusiasm and joyful excitement.

In the war against the White Poles, the Red Army displayed not only exceptional heroism, but also high consciousness. In the battles of the Red Army with the White Poles, many heroes of the Civil War became famous. One of them was Grigory Ivanovich Kotovsky, *"the bravest among the modest and the most modest among the brave,"* as comrade Stalin described him. As early as the beginning of 1918, Kotovsky organized a partisan detachment to fight the Romanian invaders, and then entered the ranks of the Red Army with his detachment and did not leave its ranks throughout the civil war. Kotovsky was a threat to the White Poles and led his cavalry brigade in the most daring attacks.



From the middle of July 1920, the Red Army launched an offensive against Warsaw and Lvov. Alarmed by the victories of the Red Army, the Entente rushed to the aid of the Polish masters. Thousands of machine guns and cannons, hundreds of airplanes and automobiles were sent to Warsaw from France. To organize the defense of Poland, the French general Weigai arrived in Warsaw.

The British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, had even earlier addressed the Soviet government with a proposal to immediately stop the offensive and conclude an armistice with Poland; otherwise Curzon threatened war. Curzon's note was an attempt to give the Poles a break. Therefore, the Soviet government rejected this note. The Red Army continued its offensive. At the same time, the Soviet government announced that it would negotiate peace with Poland without intermediaries.

On July 22, the Polish government asked to start peace talks. The Soviet government agreed.

However, a few days later Poland thwarted the peace talks. The Red Army renewed its offensive.

At this time, the 1st Cavalry Army began the siege of Lvov. In a telegram dated August 21, Comrade Voroshilov argued the need to take Lvov in order to deliver a crushing blow to the White Poles, but the main command, headed by the traitor Trotsky, demanded an end to the siege of Lvov under the pretext of strengthening the offensive against Warsaw. This was direct sabotage, since Trotsky's order deprived the Southwestern Front of its main striking force. The capture of Lvov and the further advance of the 1st Cavalry Army to the main industrial centers of Poland would be the best help to our Western Front. But Trotsky, with his sabotage actions, provided direct assistance to the Poles and the Entente. The very offensive of the Red troops on Warsaw took place, through the fault of the traitors to the homeland, Trotsky and Tukhachevsky, completely disorganized.

The Red Army, which had fought nearly 400 km, moved away from its reserves. Combat supplies were late. Replenishment did not keep pace with the fast moving shelves. In a rapid march, the Red Army soldiers ran out, often walking barefoot. Although the poorly organized offensive on Warsaw failed and the Red Army was forced to retreat, the Polish Poland, exhausted by the war, could no longer fight and offered to make peace.

On October 20, 1920, a peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Poland was signed in Riga, and on March 18, 1921. According to the Riga Peace Treaty, part of the Belarusian territory, which was in the hands of the Poles at the beginning of the war, went to Soviet Russia. But Western Belarus and Western Ukraine remained with Poland.

Defeat Wrangel

Baron Wrangel, who had settled in the Crimea, was supposed to help the Polish masters. In the words of Lenin, Polish Poland and Wrangel were the two arms of international imperialism, which was trying to strangle the Soviet country. With the assistance of the Entente, Wrangel reformed the remnants of the Denikin army, brought to the Crimea on the ships of the Entente from the ports of Ukraine and the Caucasus. To strengthen the Wrangel army, the remnants of the Russian troops sent there during the imperialist war were brought to the Crimea from France. The Entente also delivered weapons, ammunition and food to Wrangel.



Seeing the growing Crimean threat, Lenin, back in March 1920, demanded from the Revolutionary Military Council of the republic not to allow the concentration of the White Army in the Crimea:

*"... Pay special attention to the clearly committed mistake with the Crimea (they did not move sufficient forces on time); - * all efforts to correct the mistake ... "* - wrote Lenin.

But the military department did not take into account Lenin's instructions. Lenin's warnings were all the more justified by the fact that the Entente increased its pressure on Soviet Russia in connection with the offensive of the White Poles. The British fleet was concentrated off the shores of the Black and Baltic Seas. The USA and Japan began a new intervention in the Far East on April 4-5, 1920.



Invaders in the Far East

France and England supplied Wrangel with weapons and helped him prepare for the offensive. By order of the French bourgeoisie, Wrangel was to first of all occupy the Donbass. July 7, 1920 Wrangel left the Crimea and occupied Northern Tavria. The Crimean "splinter" grew into a serious danger, as Wrangel went into the rear of the Red Army, which was operating on the Polish front.

Comrade Stalin, who was in charge of the Southwestern Front, took measures to defeat Wrangel, who had crawled out of the Crimea. By the beginning of August 1920, additional reinforcements were sent to the red units operating against Wrangel.

The red divisions went on the offensive, inflicted several defeats on Wrangel, but they were able to finally destroy him. However, as a result of this offensive, the Red Army entrenched itself on the left bank of the Dnieper near Kakhovka. The famous Kakhovsky bridgehead emerged, threatening the rear of the Wrangel army. On the assault on Kakhovka, Wrangel threw his best units, accompanied by tanks, but could not take it. The Kakhovsky bridgehead, created by the thought of Comrade Stalin, played a huge role in the final defeat of the "black baron".

In early August, the Wrangel front was made independent. The party instructed Comrade Stalin to concentrate all his forces entirely on this front, but illness prevented him from completing the elimination of Wrangel. MV Frunze became the head of the Southern Front. Frunze's plan was to cut off the Wrangel army from the Perekop Isthmus and defeat it, not giving it the opportunity to hide behind the Perekop fortifications.

Relying on the Kakhovsky bridgehead, Frunze launched an offensive to encircle Wrangel's army. The 1st Cavalry Army, which had been transferred to the Southern Front, entered the rear of the Wrangel troops. In early October, Wrangel made a new attempt to take Kakhovka.

Against the Kakhovsky fortifications, he sent 14 tanks, 10 armored vehicles and infantry with many heavy machine guns. But the Wrangel tank attack was successfully repulsed. Red Army men with grenades rushed at tanks and knocked them out. The October battles for Kakhovka were the beginning of the defeat of Wrangel.

On October 28, the Red Army launched a general offensive on the Southern Front. Bloody battles were fought in Northern Tavria.

As a result of the fighting October 28 - November 2, Wrangel's army was defeated. Up to 20 thousand whites were captured. But the best parts of the Whites still managed to retreat to the Crimea and hide behind the Perekop fortifications.

The Perekop Isthmus, 8 km wide, was blocked by a Turkish rampart up to 20 m high. A deep ditch stretched in front of it, abutting at one end against the Black Sea, and at the other against the swampy Sivash (or Rotten Sea - the Gulf of the Sea of Azov). Up to 200 guns were on the shaft. The entire isthmus was entangled in a dense network of barbed wire. To the south of the isthmus, near the village of Yushun, a second line of powerful fortifications was built. To the east of Perekop was the Chongar Isthmus, fortified no less than Perekop. There was a white fleet. With the help of French engineers, Perekop was turned into a first-class fortress. It was possible to advance on Perekop only through completely open and flat terrain or by crossing the Sivash. It turned out to be impossible to use the bypass route along the Arabat Spit, since the offensive here required the support of the red fleet, located in the frozen Taganrog Bay. That is why Frunze gave the order to storm Perekop, although the largest military experts considered it a completely hopeless business. In the cold, half-naked, half-starved, without the necessary technical means, the Red Army men performed preparatory work to break through the Perekop fortifications.

The Red Army was burning with the desire to end Wrangel as soon as possible. Taking advantage of the fact that the wind drove the water from the Sivash, the advance units of the 15th and 52nd divisions waded along the swampy bottom of the Rotten Sea to the rear of the Perekop fortifications. In the salty ice water, the fighters dragged artillery and machine guns. When we approached the opposite bank, entangled with barbed wire, it turned out that the wind had changed and began to catch up with water in the Sivash.

It was impossible to wade back. The Wrangelites began a furious shelling. The red heroes rushed onto the wire, throwing their overcoats onto it and rolling over the barbed fence.

On November 8, Soviet troops established themselves on the coast of the Lithuanian Peninsula, threatening Perekop from the rear.

At about 12 noon on November 8, the 51st division launched a frontal attack on Perekop, moving to assault the Turkish Wall, but it was not immediately possible to take the shaft. For a new assault, reinforcements were needed. At this time, Sivash began to fill with water. This threatened to cut off the units fighting on the Lithuanian Peninsula.

With the help of local revolutionary committees, Frunze mobilized the peasants of the surrounding villages to fight the advancing water. The

peasants and their families carried straw, dug ditches, and in a few hours built a dam, which delayed the onset of water. Thus, new reinforcements, ammunition and food were transferred across the Sivash. At 2 am, the soldiers of the 51st division again rushed to the assault and took the Turkish shaft.

After the capture of Perekop, the Whites were left with the last fortifications near the village of Yushun. Frunze gave the order to attack the Yushun positions from the front and from the rear. On the night of November 10-11, the Yushun positions were taken. White retreated in panic. At this time, an uprising against the Wrangelites began in the Crimea.

Crimean partisans descended from the mountains and struck at the retreating white cavalry.

On November 16, Frunze telegraphed Lenin:

"Today Kerch is occupied by our cavalry. The southern front has been eliminated . "

The remnants of the Wrangel troops on the ships of the Entente were evacuated to Turkey. The capture of Perekop meant the victory of the Soviet regime on the last front of the civil war.



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CIVIL WAR IN NATIONAL AREAS

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CIVIL WAR IN NATIONAL AREAS

I

RELEASE OF KAZAKHSTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA



Military-political union of the people in Russia

In the struggle against the interventionists and counter-revolution, the alliance of peoples who fought together against a common enemy was strengthened. The heroic struggle of the Russian people against the landlords, the bourgeoisie and foreign interventionists turned into a patriotic war of workers of all nationalities for freedom and independence. This voluntary military-political alliance of nationalities ensured, under the leadership of the working class of Russia and the Bolshevik Party, victory on the fronts of the civil war.

"The Russian workers could not have defeated Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel without such sympathy and confidence on the part of the oppressed masses of the borderlands of former Russia," wrote Comrade Stalin. - We should not forget that the area of operations of these rebellious generals was limited to the area of the outskirts, inhabited mainly by non-Russian nations, and the latter could not help but hate Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel for their imperialist and Russification policies. The Entente, which intervened in the matter and supported these generals, could only rely on the Russification elements of the outskirts. By doing this, she only inflamed the hatred of the population of the outskirts of the rebellious generals and deepened their sympathy for the Soviet regime.

This circumstance determined the internal weakness of the rear of Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and hence the weakness of their fronts, that is, in the end, their defeat " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, pp. 115-116)

Liberation of Kazakhstan

At the end of 1918, Soviet power was established in most of Kazakhstan. The People's Commissariat of Education set before the Bolsheviks of Kazakhstan the task of creating an autonomous Soviet republic. But individual party and Soviet leaders hindered the declaration of Kazakhstan's autonomy. Kazakh nationalists took advantage of this. In the spring of 1919, during the Kolchak offensive, they, with the help of the Kolchakites, carried out a counter-revolutionary coup in the Turgai region and shot the Soviet leaders, led by Amangeldy Imanov, the people's hero of Kazakhstan.

After killing Kolchak and Dutov, the Red Army came to the aid of the Kazakh people. The commander of the Turkestan army advancing against Dutov, M. V. Frunze, appealed to the working people of Kazakhstan with

an appeal to create their own Soviets and support the Red Army, which brings freedom and independence to the Kazakh people. In July 1919, a Revolutionary Committee was created to govern the Kyrgyz Territory (now Kazakhstan), which formed the bodies of Soviet power in Kazakhstan.

Liberation of Central Asia

Counter-revolutionary riots of the Ural, Orenburg and Semirechye Cossacks cut Turkestan off from Soviet Russia. In Turkestan itself, a counter-revolutionary movement of the local feudal-bai elite - the Basmachi - arose. The British imperialists and White Guards occupying the Trans-Caspian Sea sought to unite with the White Cossacks and Kolchakites and seize Soviet Turkestan. The position of Soviet Turkestan during the civil war was very difficult. The delivery of bread stopped. People and livestock died of hunger. Basmachi robbed and destroyed villages. The Red Army men of Turkestan were half-naked and poorly armed.

Cartridges and shells for the Turkestan Red Army were handcrafted by workers in railway workshops. Lenin and Stalin paid special attention to the struggle for the preservation of Soviet power in Turkestan. They sent Red Army units, military equipment and food to help the working people of Turkestan. The war in Central Asia was fought most often on the railway lines. Unusual trains were moving along the shaky tracks: in front of an open platform, lined with bales of cotton, behind the platform was an old worn-out steam locomotive, behind it were teplushki with Red Army men, equipment, a wagon train, a hospital. The platform, lined with cotton bales, was equipped with machine guns. These trains were called "armored trains". In the absence of oil and firewood, steam locomotives were often fueled with cottonseed oil.

After the defeat of Kolchak and Dutov, the Turkestan Soviet Republic again merged with Soviet Russia. In the fall of 1919, a commission of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee headed by M.V. Frunze and V.V. Kuibyshev left for Turkestan. She received a task from the Central Committee and Lenin - to help the working people of Central Asia smash the remnants of the White Guards and strengthen Soviet power there.



After defeating the remnants of Kolchak's southern army and liberating Kazakhstan, Frunze ordered his armies to join the Red Army of Turkestan. In the struggle for the liberation of Turkmenistan from British intervention and the White Guards, the Red Army used the tactics of deep bypassing enemy positions through the sands of the Kara-Kum desert or through the Kopet-Dag mountains. In the summer, the Red Army men had to make many-day transitions in 60-degree heat. In the conditions of a waterless desert, the Red Army was given a meager ration of water - 3 glasses a day. The same difficult transition in winter conditions with an unusual cold for Turkmenistan was made by the Red Army headed by V.V. Kuibyshev at the end of 1919. People, horses, camels with guns and all equipment walked for four days. The unexpected appearance of the Red Army from the desert put the whites to flight.

In February 1920, as a result of a fierce battle, the Red Army took Krasnovodsk - the last stronghold of the British and White Guards in Turkestan. The railway line from Ashgabat to Krasnovodsk was cleared. Soviet power was restored in Turkmenistan. Between Soviet Turkestan and the Trans-Caspian region, in which the White Guards still ruled, lay the most backward, medieval-style regions of Central Asia - Khiva and Bukhara. They were a refuge for all the counter-revolutionary forces attacking Soviet Turkestan. An emir ruled in Bukhara, who invited British officers to organize the Bukhara army. In early 1918, the working people of Bukhara revolted against the emir. But the uprising was brutally suppressed.

In February 1920 there was an uprising against the Khiva Khan. Khiva was declared the Khorezm People's Republic. In August 1920, a new uprising broke out against the Emir of Bukhara. The Red Army came to the aid of the insurgents, finally liberating Bukhara. The emir fled to the protection of the British in Afghanistan. Bukhara also became a people's republic. The Turkestan Commission, headed by MV Frunze and VV Kuibyshev, did much to restore confidence and friendship between the peoples of Central Asia, as well as to strengthen their economic and cultural ties with the Russian and other peoples of Soviet Russia. Thanks to the activities of MV Frunze and VV Kuibyshev, the working people of Central Asia began to better understand that the Soviet government is a friend of the working people and the oppressed peoples.

The correct Leninist-Stalinist national policy of the Bolshevik Party helped the peoples of Central Asia to get rid of interethnic strife and led to the strengthening of the Soviet republics of Central Asia. This created favorable conditions for the defeat of the Basmachi bands. The peoples of Central Asia began to live a peaceful life.

II

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET AUTHORITIES IN THE CAUCASUS



To those who fell in battles for peace and brotherhood of nations

Soviet victory in Azerbaijan

After Denikin was defeated in the spring of 1920, the Red Army of the Caucasian Front under the leadership of G.K. Ordzhonikidze and S.M. Kirov began to approach the borders of Transcaucasia.

The working masses of the peoples of the Caucasus appealed to the Red Army with an appeal to help them in the struggle against counter-revolution.

"We do not want to remain slaves," they wrote in their address, " especially now, when the liberated proletariat of Russia stands next to us, with whom we wish to enter into a single proletarian international family . "

The position of workers and peasants in all the republics of the Transcaucasia was difficult. Power was seized by nationalist counter-revolutionary parties: in Georgia - the Georgian Mensheviks, in Azerbaijan - the Mussavatists, in Armenia - the Dashnaks.

All these parties were in the service of the foreign imperialists and in everything they helped the Russian counter-revolution. In January 1920 the Transcaucasian republics, led by counter-revolutionary nationalist parties, were officially recognized by the Supreme Council of the Entente. With the help of foreign interventionists, workers' and peasants' uprisings were suppressed.

The land remained in the hands of the landlords. In Azerbaijan, peasants were still exploited by khans and beks.

At the call of the working people of the Caucasus, the Red Army of Soviet Russia launched an offensive against the forces of the Caucasian counter-revolution. On March 30, 1920, the Red Army liberated the highlanders of the North Caucasus and Dagestan. Soviet power was established throughout the liberated territory.

The establishment of Soviet power in Dagestan gave a new impetus to the development of the revolutionary movement in Azerbaijan. The workers of Baku under the leadership of A.I. Mikoyan, who worked underground in Baku, began to prepare an uprising against the counter-revolutionary Mussavatists. The underground revolutionary committee sent a request for help to Kirov and Ordzhonikidze, who headed the XI Army.

The XI Army came to the aid of the insurgent workers of Baku. On April 27, 1920, the Mussavatists were defeated and fled. Azerbaijan was proclaimed a Soviet republic.

Establishment of Soviet power in Armenia

In May 1920, a popular uprising began in Armenia against the Dashnaks, who openly supported foreign imperialists and Armenian exploiters. The Dashnaks managed to suppress this uprising. Merciless reprisals were carried out over the rebels.

However, the days of the Dashnak regime were numbered. The revolutionary movement grew every month. In autumn 1920, a new uprising began in Armenia. The Armenian Revolutionary Committee, which led the uprising, turned to the Red Army for help. With her help, the Dashnaks were overthrown. On November 29, 1920, Armenia became Soviet.

Struggle for Soviet power in Georgia

Local Mensheviks pursued the same anti-popular policy as the Mussavatists in Azerbaijan, as the Dashnaks in Armenia, in Georgia.

In January 1919, the Menshevik government of Georgia issued a law on the sale of the "surplus" of landowners' land to private ownership. As a result of this "agrarian reform" all the best land was seized by landlords

and kulaks. When the land was distributed, the landowner was given one share of the land, his wife another, and his sister a third. In this way, all the land was distributed among the closest relatives of the landowner, i.e. landlord property was restored, which was the same before the publication of the 1919 law.

Deprived of land, the peasants revolted, seized the land by force and divided it among themselves. The Menshevik rulers sent punitive expeditions against the peasants, introduced military courts. The Georgian Mensheviks called their government democratic. In fact, there was no democracy in Georgia. The Mensheviks did not allow free elections to the Constituent Assembly. There was not a single worker or peasant in the Georgian government. All laws were promulgated in the interests of the landlords, kulaks and capitalists. Workers' unions and newspapers were closed. Workers' strikes were pursued. The Bolsheviks were imprisoned. The Mensheviks pursued a great-power chauvinist policy, persecuting national minorities.

In December 1918, the Mensheviks began the fratricidal Armenian-Georgian war, seeking to sever the border villages with a mixed Georgian-Armenian population from Armenia and annex to Georgia. Taking advantage of Georgia's favorable geographical position, the Georgian Mensheviks closed the transit on the Georgian railways, demanding high transit duties.

In the spring of 1920, in connection with the approach of the Red Army, the Georgian Mensheviks proposed to Soviet Russia to conclude a peace treaty. In May 1920, this agreement was signed.

S. M. Kirov was sent to Georgia as the plenipotentiary of the Soviet government. He exposed the Georgian Mensheviks who did not want to honestly fulfill the agreement with the Soviet government.

The situation in Georgia became more and more formidable for the Menshevik rulers. The revolutionary movement of workers and peasants was gaining momentum everywhere. It was led by the Georgian Bolsheviks. Rebellions broke out in one district and then in another. The rebels established Soviet power.

In mid-January 1921, Armenian peasants revolted in the border areas captured by Menshevik Georgia. From here the uprising spread to the Georgian regions. On February 16, the Georgian Revolutionary Committee was organized, which led the struggle for Soviet power. The XI Army, led by Sergo Ordzhonikidze, was sent to the aid of the revolted Georgian workers and peasants. Masses of Georgian workers, peasants and soldiers went over to the side of the Red Army. On February 25, 1921, Ordzhonikidze sent a telegram to Lenin and Stalin:

"The red banner of Soviet power flies over Tiflis. Long live Soviet Georgia!"

A few days later, the uprising in Abkhazia also won.

On March 4, 1921, the Abkhazian Revolutionary Committee on the radio reported to Lenin and Stalin:

“By the will of the working people, a new socialist Soviet republic, Abkhazia, was born. The Soviet republic of a small people serves as a clear example of the great liberating role of the Red Army. ”

The Mensheviks fled from Tiflis to Batum, counting on the help of the Turkish government, to which they promised to give Batum. But there also began an uprising against the Menshevik traitors. On March 19, 1921 Batum and the whole of Adjara became Soviet.

The bankrupt Menshevik government of Georgia fled abroad on a French torpedo boat, taking with it many valuables that belonged to the Georgian people.

III

THE DEATH OF FOREIGN INTERVENTS IN THE FAR EAST



The role of the United States in organizing anti-Soviet intervention in Siberia and the Far East

The policy of the United States towards Soviet Russia was characterized by hypocrisy and treachery. In all official documents and speeches, the leaders of the US government declared their love for the Russian people and their intention to "help Russia." In fact, they sought to liquidate Soviet power, dismember Russia and turn it into their colony. The aggressive plans of American imperialism were aimed primarily at capturing vast and rich territories of Siberia and the Far East. In addition, the US imperialists viewed these Russian lands as a land route from America to Europe; even before the war of 1914, they sought to build a "cosmopolitan railway" through Siberia, which they could take into their own hands.

The Americans were especially attracted by Kamchatka and Sakhalin, rich in oil, ore and furs and having an advantageous strategic position. The Great October Socialist Revolution destroyed the plans to turn Russia into a colony. But the American imperialists did not abandon their intentions to expand their sphere of influence and at the expense of Russia to resolve their old contradictions with Japan and Britain. On August 16, 1918, American troops landed in Vladivostok and immediately took part in hostilities against Soviet Russia.

At the same time, Japan sent large military forces to Siberia, intending to capture the Russian Far East. The contradictions between the United States and Japan have escalated. In order to reign supreme in the Far East, the US government drew up a plan to send an "economic and educational" mission to Siberia, which would take into its own hands all the riches of Siberia and the Far East. At the same time, the United States sought to turn Kolchak into an instrument of its policy and provided him with loans and military assistance.

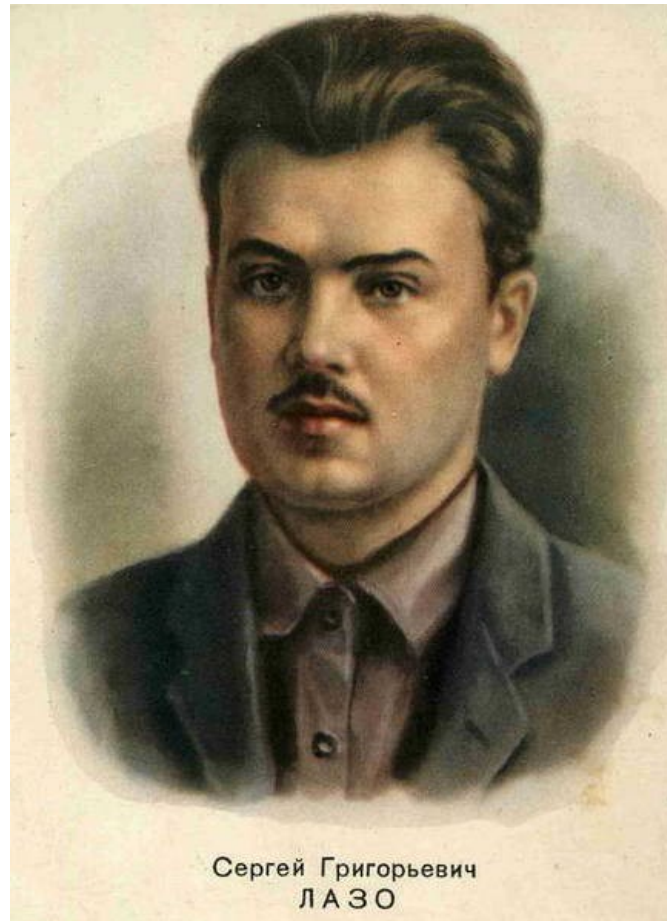
England and France, fearing the strengthening of the United States and claiming the "Russian inheritance", began to support Japanese claims to Primorye and Transbaikalia. One hundred thousandth Japanese army, together with Anglo-American troops, occupied Primorye, Amur and Trans-Baikal regions. The United States was the organizer of this intervention. Not having enough military forces to subordinate the eastern territory of Russia to their influence, Wilson and his government decided to take the path of the coalition and took upon themselves the financing of the anti-Soviet campaign of the powers. The main partner of the United States in this campaign was imperialist Japan, despite the contradictions between them.

Fight against Japanese intervention in the Far East

The rich Far Eastern land has long attracted the appetites of the Japanese imperialists. The first Japanese landing party was landed in Vladivostok on April 5, 1918. From Vladivostok, units of the Japanese army headed north to the Ussuri and Amur region and westward to Blagoveshchensk, Chita and Transbaikalia. The main arena of the Japanese imperialists' activity was the Amur Region and Primorye. The protégés of the Japanese imperialists were white bandits — the atamans Semyonov and Kalmykov, who became famous for their unheard-of atrocities.

Under the blows of the numerically superior forces of the imperialists, the Soviet troops were defeated, and power passed into the hands of counter-revolutionary atamans: in Transbaikalia - to Semyonov, in Khabarovsk - to Kalmykov. On the Amur River, the Japanese captured the Soviet fleet. They took away the entire catch of fish from the Russian fishermen, and from the peasants, all their grain reserves, all their livestock. They transported huge amounts of food and forest materials to Japan. The Japanese imperialists dealt cruelly with anyone who offered them the slightest resistance. The village of Ivanovka was subjected to repeated Japanese attacks. Once the Japanese broke into Ivanovka, took 300 peasants to the square, lined them up in rows and began to mow down one row after another with machine-gun fire.

Then they set fire to the village from all sides and, surrounding it, did not let anyone out of the giant blazing fire. People were burning alive. A school with children crammed into it burned down, a hospital with seriously ill patients. Terrible hatred against the Japanese imperialists kindled the hearts of the Far Eastern peasants. Throughout the Far East, partisan detachments were formed in the taiga. The struggle went on under the slogan "For the power of the Soviets!" Sergei Lazo was especially popular among the leaders of the partisan war in the Far East. At the beginning of the February Revolution, he was a warrant officer in Krasnoyarsk. Having removed the officer's shoulder straps, he brought his company to the disposal of the Council.



In 1918 Lazo joined the Bolshevik Party and began a courageous struggle against the Japanese imperialists. After the fall of Soviet power in the Far East, he went into the taiga along with other Bolsheviks. Sergei Lazo soon became one of the favorite partisan commanders. In 1918, Lazo commanded units of the Red Army on the Trans-Baikal Front. In the spring of 1919 he was appointed commander of all the partisan detachments of Primorye.

Having defeated Kolchak, the Red Army approached the Far East. After the occupation of Verkhneudinsk, the further advance of the Red Army to the east stopped. Large Japanese forces were concentrated in Chita. The attack on Chita already meant a direct clash with Japanese troops, that is, an open war between Japan and Soviet Russia. The Soviet Republic could not go to this war at that time. On the western borders, a new formidable danger was growing - the Entente began a third campaign, in which the main role was played by the Polish landlord. In order to defeat the White Poles and Wrangel, the Soviet Republic needed a respite in the Far East. It was quite clear that a call for the establishment of Soviet power in the Far East would lead to an immediate military confrontation with Japan.

Therefore, the party and the Soviet government decided to create a "buffer" state in the Far East, which for a certain time would save the RSFSR from direct contact with Japan. Lenin sent a directive to the

Siberian Revolutionary Committee and the command of the V Army, proposing to start creating a buffer state. Thus, in 1920, the Far Eastern Republic (FER) arose - a bourgeois-democratic state in form, but led by the Bolsheviks. The formation of this state made it possible for the Soviet Republic to avoid a war with Japan in conditions unfavorable for Soviet Russia and to accumulate forces for decisive battles with Japanese imperialism.

The Japanese imperialists, seeing that their positions in the Far East were becoming more and more precarious, more than once tried to create a pretext for continuing the intervention. April 4-5, 1920 they attacked Vladivostok, which after a successful uprising in January 1920 was in the hands of the revolutionary committee headed by Lazo. The Japanese arrested the Bolshevik leaders of the Far East - Sergei Lazo, Lutsky and Sibirtsev. The Japanese handed over the arrested Bolsheviks to the white bandits, who burned them alive in a locomotive furnace.

The savage violence of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East aroused popular indignation. The uprising began in Transbaikalia. In October, partisans and units of the people's revolutionary army of the Far Eastern Republic occupied Chita. Under the influence of these events, Japan was forced to start negotiations with the FER on the conditions for the evacuation of Japanese troops. At the conference in Dairen, the Japanese imperialists put forward 17 demands on Soviet Russia, which, if adopted, would have turned the Far East into a Japanese colony. The Japanese demanded to put Vladivostok under foreign control, to grant them unlimited rights in the field of fishing, mining, shipping, etc., to tear down all the fortresses, to destroy the Soviet military fleet in the Pacific Ocean, to give Japan the northern half of Sakhalin for 80 years, and finally, undertake "at all times" not to introduce on the territory of the FER of the "communist regime". These demands of the Japanese imperialists were rejected by the Soviet delegation. The Japanese intervention in the Far East was in its final days. Therefore, the imperialists began to support the Russian White Guards even more actively. In 1921, they created a new counter-revolutionary government in Vladivostok.

Volochaev days.

A people's revolutionary army, formed in the Far Eastern Republic, was sent to the aid of the insurgent Primorye.

The main forces of the counter-revolution were concentrated in the area of the Volochaevka station. All Volochaevka hills were heavily fortified by

the Japanese. The path to these fortifications was a plain covered with deep snow. The assault on Volochaevka began on February 10, 1922. It was 40 degrees below zero. The soldiers went into battle with the slogan "Win or Die". Neither barbed wire fences in 12 rows, nor hurricane fire, nor frost and piercing wind could stop the heroic attack of the red fighters.



The entry of the people's revolutionary army into Vladivostok on October 25, 1922

They chopped barbed wire with sabers, knocked it down with rifle butts, threw overcoats on the wire and, under machine-gun fire, crawled along it to the enemy's trenches. After two days of fighting, the whites could not withstand the onslaught and retreated to Khabarovsk. On February 14, 1922, the People's Revolutionary Army occupied Khabarovsk. Continuing the offensive, she cleared Primorye of whites. In October, the last White stronghold was taken - Spassk. On October 25, 1922, revolutionary troops occupied Vladivostok.

*They defeated the atamans, Dispersed the governor
And finished their campaign in the Pacific Ocean .*

This is how the popular song of the partisans is sung about this final stage in the struggle of the Far East for Soviet power.

"Vladivostok is far away, but, after all, this is a city of ours," Lenin said about it after the end of the civil war.

That is why the courageous sons of the Russian people defended their native land of the Far East with such heroic bravery until they expelled the last invaders from the Soviet land. On the fifth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in November 1922, Soviet power was restored in the Far East.

Fraternal aid from Soviet Russia to the working people of Mongolia

The Japanese imperialists have long been making plans to seize Manchuria, Mongolia and the Far East up to Lake Baikal. These vast lands, according to the Japanese plan, were to make up the "Great Mongolia", subject to Japan. At the end of 1918, the Japanese instructed the White Guard Ataman Semyonov to create a "Great Mongolian State" from Outer Mongolia and the present-day Buryat-Mongolia, inhabited by Buryats, akin to the Mongols. When the Red Army defeated Ataman Semyonov, his closest associate, the White Guard General Baron Ungern, retreated in 1920 with his gangs to Mongolia. In February 1921 Ungern captured the capital of Mongolia - Urga. The Mongol people rose up to fight against the White Guards Ungern and the Japanese imperialists. The struggle was led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Its leader was the printing worker Sukhe-Bator, who organized the partisan movement.

In March 1921, the Provisional People's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia was created. It turned to Soviet Russia for help. The combined forces of the Red Army of Soviet Russia and the People's Army of Mongolia launched an offensive against Urga. All Mongolia was cleared of whites. Urga was liberated and named Ulan-Bator-Khoto - "The City of the Red Bogatyr". In 1924 Mongolia was declared an independent people's republic at the first Great Khural.

IV

REASONS FOR THE VICTORY OF THE SOVIET STATE IN THE CIVIL WAR



The Bolshevik Party is the organizer of the victory

During the years of the civil war, a military-political alliance of the working class and the peasantry took shape. At the same time, an alliance of working people of all oppressed nationalities was realized under the leadership of the Russian working class. The enemies were convinced that the defeat of the Soviet regime was inevitable. The Red Army of the Soviet country, formed during the war, at first had neither experienced military personnel, nor good weapons, nor the required amount of ammunition. The invaders captured the richest regions of Russia in raw materials and foodstuffs. Nevertheless, the Red Army defeated the combined forces of foreign interventionists and the bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution in Russia.

"The Red Army won because the policy of the Soviet government, in whose name the Red Army fought, was the correct policy, corresponding to the interests of the people, that the people recognized and understood this policy as correct, as their own policy, and supported it to the end" (" History of the CPSU (b). A short course ", p. 233).

The Red Army won the civil war because the Red Army men understood the goals and objectives of the war and recognized their correctness.

"The Red Army won because the leading core of the rear and front of the Red Army was the Bolshevik Party, united by its solidarity and discipline, strong in its revolutionary spirit and willingness to make any sacrifices for the sake of the success of the common cause, unsurpassed in its ability to organize millions of masses and correctly lead them in difficult situation" (" History of the CPSU (b). Short course ", p. 234).

The party has trained a remarkable cadre of commanders and commissars who led the red divisions and armies into battle. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people and the Red Army was led by the greatest geniuses of mankind, Lenin and Stalin.



The Lenin armored train built by the Putilov workers.

The Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin created a cadre of military commissars who politically educated the soldiers of the Red Army, cemented the ranks of Red Army men and commanders, and instilled among them the spirit of discipline, revolutionary courage and fighting courage.

"The Red Army won because the Soviet country was not alone in its struggle against the White Guard counterrevolution and foreign intervention, that the struggle of the Soviet power and its successes aroused the sympathy and help of the proletarians of the whole world" ("History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course", p. . 235).

Help from the foreign proletariat of Soviet Russia

While foreign imperialists strove to prevent the creation of a socialist state in Russia and tried to strangle the Soviet Republic with intervention and blockade, the workers and progressive intelligentsia in these countries sympathized with the Soviets and helped them. The working people understood that if the imperialists succeeded in destroying the Soviet Republic, this would be a defeat not only for the proletariat of Russia, but also for all democratic forces throughout the world.

The working people responded to the military intervention and interference of the imperialist states in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union with a campaign under the slogan "Hands off Russia!" The further the Entente soldiers penetrated the Soviet Republic, the more resolutely they refused to fight against the Soviets. Unrest broke out in the Entente troops more than once. At the beginning of February 1919, British soldiers in Murmansk set fire to a warehouse with military materials of the invaders, at the end of March a detachment of American infantry refused to carry out the order to move from Arkhangelsk to the front.

Despite the most severe censorship, information about the revolutionary ferment among the occupying troops became known to the broad masses of the Entente countries, which contributed to the intensification of protests against the intervention. The news of the heroic uprising of French sailors and soldiers in Odessa and Sevastopol in the spring of 1919 received a wide response not only in France, but also in other countries and caused a wave of protest against interference in the affairs of Soviet Russia. Swedish harbor workers refused to load equipment sent to the White Guards on ships. American workers, following the example of their European comrades, repeatedly disrupted the shipment of war materials to
Kolchak.

The movement of solidarity with the Republic of Soviets took on the broadest scope during the invasion of Belopanskaya Poland in the spring of 1920 into the territory of Soviet Ukraine. The working people of foreign countries saw and understood that the imperialists of the Entente had set foreign invaders against the socialist state.

The May Day demonstrations, which took place with tremendous enthusiasm throughout Europe, were a vivid illustration of solidarity with the Soviet people. On this day, 8 million people went on strike in England alone. On May 10, 1920, London dockers firmly refused to load equipment that was to be shipped to Poland. Workers in other cities greeted with enthusiasm the revolutionary action of their London comrades. Railroad workers refused to drive freight trains with military materials and military trains.

While the progressive British workers were taking decisive steps to help the Soviet people in their heroic struggle against the interventionists, the Labor leaders, with their treacherous, hypocritical tactics, sought to prevent this at all costs. The official leadership of the British Union of Railway Workers, forced under strong pressure from grassroots organizations to make a decision to cancel the transportation of military goods to Poland, at the first demand of the railway magnates cowardly canceled this decision. The reactionary American Federation of Labor kept up with its English "friends." She refused to support the demands of the workers and the advanced intelligentsia to establish normal relations with the Soviet government.

The French social traitors did their best to reduce the scope of the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia, but they could not suppress the growing sympathy of the broad masses for the heroic struggle of the Soviet people. Italian sailors, railroad workers, dock workers, transport workers systematically disrupted the shipment of military materials to Poland, thus providing assistance to the valiant Red Army. The workers of Belgium and Czechoslovakia strongly insisted on the strict neutrality of their governments in the Polish-Soviet war.

Military cargoes from the Entente countries were in transit through Germany. The advanced German workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, fought to prevent the dispatch of war materials to the White Poles. The militant mood of the workers forced the German government to maintain neutrality, despite the increased pressure from the Entente powers. V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed to the great role of international proletarian solidarity in ensuring the victory of the Soviet state in the civil war.

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FIGHT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FOLK ECONOMY

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CHAPTER XIII

FIGHT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FOLK ECONOMY

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FIGHT FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE FOLK ECONOMY



I

**THE TRANSITION OF THE SOVIET STATE FROM WAR TO PEACEFUL
ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION**



Distribution of food to the hungry. 1921 g.

The international position of Soviet Russia in 1921

Having won the civil war, the Soviet country at the end of 1920 passed to peaceful economic construction.

The defeat of the military intervention of the Entente led to a radical change in the international position of the Soviet Republic. Describing him, Lenin said in November 1920:

"... we have not only a respite, we have a new period when our main international existence in the network of capitalist states has been conquered" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 31, p. 380).

The Republic of Soviets received recognition from a number of capitalist states, which have resumed trade relations with our country. In 1920, peace treaties were concluded between the Soviet Republic and Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland and Poland. In 1921, Soviet-Persian, Soviet-Afghan and Soviet-Turkish treaties and trade agreements were signed with Britain, Germany, Norway, Austria and Italy.

The improvement in the international position of the Soviet Republic was explained not only by its military victories, but also by the aggravation of the situation in the capitalist countries. Since the end of 1920, the entire capitalist world has been in the grip of a severe economic crisis. By the beginning of 1921, there were 10 million unemployed and 30 million semi-unemployed in Europe. In all European countries, grandiose strikes took place, and in the colonial countries a national liberation movement developed. The workers and advanced intelligentsia of these countries vigorously defended the Soviet Republic under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia!" Under these conditions, the governments of the capitalist countries were forced to accept the recognition of Soviet Russia, but this did not mean their renunciation of the struggle against Soviet power.

This struggle took other forms. Together with Russian counterrevolutionaries, foreign imperialists sought to destroy the Soviet country as much as possible, sent in spies and saboteurs, prepared new conspiracies and revolts against Soviet power.

Throughout 1921, the foreign imperialists did not stop sending more and more bandit gangs to Soviet territory. With the assistance of the Polish gentry, Petliura's bands were operating in the Ukraine. They found refuge in Romania and from there the Makhno gangs were transferred against the Soviet Ukraine. In Belarus, the gangs of the Polish protege Bulak-Balakhovich raged. In Karelia, White Finnish officers organized a counterrevolutionary rebellion directed by the White Finnish Baron Mannerheim. In the Far East, the Japanese imperialists, together with the Russian White Guards, perpetrated savage violence against the population. In the very center of the Soviet country, the agents of imperialism — the Social Revolutionaries — organized a kulak-bandit movement. In the Tambov province, it was headed by the Socialist-Revolutionary bandit Antonov, in the Saratov province, by the same White Socialist-Revolutionary Sapozhkov.

The economic ruin of Soviet Russia. Seven years of war — imperialist and civil — brought Soviet Russia such economic ruin as has never been experienced by any of the warring countries.

During the years of the civil war, only one-ninth of the territory of Russia remained in the hands of the Soviet government, and eight-ninths were under the rule of successive invaders. The country's productive forces were undermined. During the years of the civil war, a large number of railways and over 7 thousand bridges (including more than 3.5 thousand railways) were destroyed. Losses from the destruction of industrial enterprises, from the flooding of mines amounted to hundreds of millions of rubles. According to incomplete data, the losses of the national economy of the Land of Soviets were estimated at tens of billions of rubles. The total agricultural production in 1920 was only about half of the pre-war level. But the pre-war level was the level of the beggarly tsarist Russian village.

Many provinces were affected by crop failure. About 20 million hectares of land remained uncultivated. The peasant economy was going through a severe crisis. The industry was also in ruin. The output of large-scale industry was almost seven times less than before the war. Smelting of pig iron in 1921 amounted to only 116.3 thousand tons, that is, about 3% of the pre-war pig iron production. At this time, the same amount of metal was produced in Soviet Russia as in the time of Peter I.

Fuel production has decreased. Transport was in complete disarray. The number of serviceable steam locomotives and carriages has decreased by almost three times in comparison with the pre-war period.

Trains ran slowly and irregularly. It took 8-10 days from Moscow to Kharkov. The streets were dark, as neither gas nor electricity was on. The trams did not run. It was cold in homes and offices due to lack of fuel. The country lacked the most essential things: bread, fat, fuel, shoes, clothes, soap. Labor productivity has dropped. The peoples of the Soviet country inherited from the past not only a technically backward and half-impoverished, but completely ruined country.

The political situation was also extremely tense. In the winter of 1920-1921. there was very little grain from the peasants. The Soviet power received 200 million poods from the peasants by the end of 1920. (33.5 million centners) of grain and formed a small grain reserve. While the war was going on, the peasantry still put up with surplus appropriation. But when the civil war ended victoriously, when the threat of the return of the landlords was over, and the land was firmly entrenched in the hands of the peasantry, they no longer wanted to put up with the distribution of food. In addition, the peasants needed chintz, shoes, nails, cars, etc.

They demanded that the state supply them with these goods in exchange for bread. But the factories were inactive, and the Soviet government at that time could not supply the peasants with industrial goods.

The situation in the country was complicated by the difficulties of demobilizing the army and industry, which had previously worked for defense.

Tens and hundreds of thousands of demobilized workers could not immediately find an application for their labor. Some of the workers went to the countryside. The working class was dispersed (declassified).

Those who worked at the enterprises received a bread ration of 100 g per day. On the basis of hunger and fatigue, dissatisfaction arose among some of the workers. Comrade Stalin described the situation in Soviet Russia after the end of the civil war as follows:

“Ruined by four years of imperialist war, again ruined by three years of civil war, a country with a semi-literate population, low technology, with separate oases of industry, drowning in the sea of the smallest peasant farms - this is the country we inherited from the past. The task was to transfer this country from the track of the Middle Ages and darkness to the track of modern industry and mechanized agriculture” (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 487).

It was an incredibly difficult task.

Kronstadt mutiny

The internal and external enemies of Soviet power hastened to take advantage of the difficulties of the economic and political situation. The activity of counterrevolutionary elements revived: Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, White Guards, bourgeois nationalists. They began to repaint themselves as non-party people and put forward not their old slogan - "Down with the Soviets!", But a new one - "For the Soviets, but without the Communists!"

This new tactics of the class enemy manifested itself especially clearly in March 1921 during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Kronstadt.

Kronstadt was the main base of the Baltic Fleet. During the revolution and civil war, the Baltic Fleet sent many thousands of fighters devoted to the revolution to the fronts.

The replenishment of the fleet at this time took place by random, often declassified elements, not seasoned in the battles for the revolution. Political work in the Baltic Fleet was poorly organized. Trotskyists made their way to the leadership of the fleet, bringing corruption to a small stratum of communist sailors. Repainted as "non-party" Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and anarchists intensified their demoralizing work in the navy. They managed to push through a counter-revolutionary resolution at the rally on March 1.

Kronstadt ended up in the hands of a handful of White Guard agents. The military operations of the Kronstadt rebels were led by White Guard military experts headed by General Kozlovsky. The Kronstadt rebels were supported by the entire external and internal counter-revolution. In Paris, White émigré organizations organized collections of money and food for them, the American Red Cross transported food supplies to Kronstadt under its flag. The Cadet Miliukov gave the Kronstadt counter-revolutionaries the slogan "Soviets without Communists."

“Soviets without communists,” Comrade Stalin exposed the maneuvers of class enemies, ***“ that was the slogan of the head of the Russian counter-revolution, Milyukov, at that time. The counter-revolutionaries realized that it was not only the Soviets themselves, but above all who would lead them ”*** (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, pp. 226-227).

For seventeen days Kronstadt was in the hands of the White Guards.

The Defense Committee of the Petrograd Fortified Region was unable to suppress the rebellion in the bud. For seven days, Zinoviev negotiated with the traitors to their homeland and thereby gave them time to strengthen. The best units of the Red Army were sent to crush the Kronstadt counter-revolution, and 300 delegates to the 10th Party Congress, headed by KE Voroshilov, were sent to strengthen them. On March 16, under continuous fire from machine guns and guns, chains of revolutionary fighters, dressed in white coats for camouflage, made their way through the fragile March ice exploded by enemy volleys to the main forts of Kronstadt. Voroshilov was in the forefront of the storming columns, showing an example of Bolshevik courage and heroism. On March 17, the nest of the Kronstadt counter-revolution was liquidated.

Party Discussion on the Role and Tasks of Trade Unions

The situation in the country was complicated by the fact that within the party its unity was undermined by various anti-Leninist groups that revived in connection with the difficulties of the transition from war to peaceful economic construction.

The Leninist Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party believed that economic devastation was just as dangerous an enemy for the proletarian dictatorship as intervention and blockade during the civil war. It was impossible to defeat it without involving millions of workers and peasants in the struggle against devastation. The Central Committee of the party believed that there was no longer any reason to preserve the war communism regime created by the war situation, and that it was necessary to act not by military orders, but by methods of persuasion.

At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, a heated discussion of the role and tasks of the trade unions developed in the party. Trotsky was the initiator of the discussion and struggle against Lenin. He demanded "shaking up the trade unions", was against methods of convincing the masses, against the development of democracy in the trade unions, stood for naked coercion and command in workers' organizations. Trotsky was followed by the so-called "workers' opposition," which covered up its petty-bourgeois essence with this name. It demanded that the Party and the state not interfere in economic work, that the management of the entire national economy be transferred to the "All-Russian Congress of Producers." The "Labor Opposition" considered the trade unions, not the party, to be the highest form of organization of the working class. Trotsky in his struggle against Lenin was assisted by Bukharin, who created a "buffer group" and then openly united with the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists and Bukharinites undermined the role of the party as the leading force in the proletarian state and led things to a split of the working class and weakening of its leadership of the peasantry, to undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In opposition to the platforms of the opposition groups, Lenin drew up a party platform. It stated that the trade unions are a school of management, a school of management, a school of communism. Trade unions should carry out their work by methods of persuasion; in this way they will be able to draw the workers into socialist construction, mobilize them for the earliest possible elimination of the economic ruin in the country. The party supported Lenin, and the opposition suffered a severe defeat.

THE TRANSITION OF THE SOVIET STATE FROM WAR TO PEACEFUL ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION



Shmatko. V. I. Lenin at the adoption of the GOELRO Plan

VIII Congress of Soviets and the GOELRO plan

The Soviet government strained all its forces to quickly eliminate the difficult internal difficulties that the country experienced after the end of the civil war. The VIII Congress of Soviets, which met in December 1920, worked out a whole system of economic measures aimed at the economic revival of the country. The congress met in Moscow, at the Bolshoi Theater. Due to the lack of fuel, the theater was not heated, and the delegates sat in felt boots and fur coats. A huge map of the electrification of the Soviet country hung on the stage. Electric bulbs were lit on the map, indicating the

construction sites of future power plants. Lenin explained the importance of the electrification plan for the transition of a poor and devastated country to socialist construction.

On the initiative and under the leadership of Lenin, the so-called "GOELRO plan" (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia) was developed. Lenin's plan GOELRO was the first large-scale long-term economic plan of the Soviet regime, the prototype of the Stalinist five-year plans. The plan called for the construction of 30 large power plants within 10 years. Comrade Stalin wrote to Lenin about the GOELRO plan:

"A masterful sketch of a truly unified and truly state economic plan without quotation marks. The only Marxist attempt in our time to bring under the Soviet superstructure of economically backward Russia a really real and only possible technical and production base under current conditions " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 50).

Under the electrification of the country, Lenin and Stalin understood not only the construction of individual power plants, but also the gradual restructuring of the entire economy of the country, including agriculture, on the basis of new technology, on the basis of modern large-scale machine production. Only such a restructuring, carried out by the Soviet government, could finally undermine the roots of capitalism in the country and ensure the construction of an unshakable foundation of the socialist economy. Lenin said:

"Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 31, p. 484).

The Eighth Congress of Soviets called on the working people of the Soviet country to selfless work to restore the national economy and established the highest award for all those who distinguished themselves at the labor front - the Order of the Red Banner of Labor.

Transition to a new economic policy

After the defeat of the interventionists and the White Guards, the Soviet state switched to peaceful economic labor. For the successful construction of socialism, it was necessary to establish a lasting economic alliance between the working class and the main mass of the peasantry. In the spring of 1921, the party, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, switched to a policy more in line with the needs of peaceful economic development. This policy, in contrast to the policy of War Communism, was called the New Economic Policy, or NEP for short. The military-political alliance of the working class with the peasantry, established during the years of the civil war, was based on a certain economic basis - the peasant received land from the workers and its protection from the landlord and the kulak, the workers received bread from the peasants in the form of loans. With the end of the war, a stronger and broader economic basis for this alliance was needed. It was necessary to provide the peasant with the right to freely dispose of food.

The correct policy of the working class, exercising its dictatorship in a small-peasant country, was to exchange grain for industrial products needed by the peasant. The

transition to such a policy was the tax in kind. The law on tax in kind was issued in the fall of 1918, but due to the unfolding civil war, it could not be enforced at that time. Lenin proposed to return to the food tax, setting it in a smaller amount compared to the spread out.

All that remained after the tax was passed to the state, the peasant could sell on the market. Thus, the surplus food was at the complete disposal of the peasant. The admission of free trade led to some revival of capitalism in the country. Lenin, however, emphasized that in the presence of political power in the hands of the working class and while maintaining economic command heights (land, large-scale socialist industry, transport, monopoly of foreign trade), the assumption of capitalism within a certain framework and under the control of the Soviet state is not scary. Having mastered trade, the Soviet government will be able to link socialist industry with peasant farming and create conditions for the elimination of capitalist elements in the country.

In March 1921, the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party opened, which made the historic decision to replace the spreading tax with a food tax. This decision meant the transition to a new economic policy of the proletarian state after the end of the war. NEP was a plan for the transition to socialism, brilliantly conceived by Lenin. Lenin saw its main sense and significance precisely in the fact that NEP fully ensured the construction of the foundation of the socialist economy. The struggle of socialism against capitalism was transferred to economic soil.

Here, Lenin said, a fierce struggle awaits, but within the country there are all the necessary conditions for socialism to gain complete victory over capitalism in this struggle.

The enemies of socialism maliciously perverted the Leninist doctrine of NEP. The Trotskyists and Bukharinites believed that NEP was only a retreat. Such an interpretation was beneficial to them, because they were pursuing a line towards the restoration of capitalism. If Lenin viewed NEP as the path to socialism, then the Trotskyists and Bukharinites viewed NEP as the path to capitalism. Comrade Stalin defended and developed Lenin's doctrine of NEP as the only correct economic policy of the victorious proletariat aimed at building socialism. He gave the following classic definition of NEP:

“NEP is a special policy of the proletarian state, calculated on the admission of capitalism, in the presence of commanding heights in the hands of the proletarian state, calculated on the struggle of the capitalist and socialist elements, calculated to increase the role of the socialist elements at the expense of the capitalist elements, calculated on the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements, calculated to destroy classes, to build the foundation of a socialist economy ” (Stalin, Soch., vol. 7, p. 364).

The transition to peaceful economic construction on the basis of NEP signified a sharp historical turn in the policy of the Soviet government. The 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, which proclaimed this turn, indicated that the main condition for its victorious implementation is the unity and solidarity of the party itself.

In the resolution "On Party Unity" proposed by Lenin, the congress ordered "to immediately dissolve all groups formed on one platform or another without withdrawal" and prohibited any factional actions under the threat of immediate expulsion from the Party.

The Tenth Congress of the RCP (B) also heard a report by Comrade Stalin on the national question and adopted the program he proposed for realizing the de facto equality of nationalities.

First results of NEP

After the end of the 10th Congress, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars published the first decrees that put the economic policy of the Soviet state on a new track. According to the law of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, issued on March 21, 1921, the layout was replaced by the tax in kind, which was set at a rate almost half that of the surplus tax. The amount of tax published by the Council of People's Commissars was 240 million poods instead of 423 million poods collected for surplus appropriation. The Council of People's Commissars adopted a series of decrees on free trade in grain and the removal of barrage detachments in the provinces that had completed the layout. The previous restrictions on the rights of cooperation in the field of procurement were canceled. Under the conditions of the new economic policy, trade acquired great importance, with the help of which it was possible to supply the countryside with industrial products and receive bread and raw materials in exchange.

The Soviet state had to raise the economic interest of the small peasantry in order to ensure the rapid restoration of agriculture. By moving forward agriculture and state industry, it was then possible to launch a decisive offensive against the capitalist elements.

The party launched extensive work to explain the essence of NEP. On April 9, 1921, at a meeting of the activists of the Moscow Party organization, Lenin dwelled on the main issue that worried the masses of the workers - to what extent are free trade and individual economy compatible with the task of building a socialist society? Doesn't freedom of trade mean rejection of socialist construction in our country? Answering these questions, Lenin recalled that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, private trade, and consequently capitalism, which was allowed within certain limits, must be under the control and regulatory influence of the proletarian state.

Before the proletarian state, Lenin set the task -

"... to become a careful, diligent, skillful" owner ", a serviceable wholesale merchant - otherwise it can not economically put the small-peasant country on its feet ..." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 36).

Trade, as Lenin put it, was in 1921-1922. the "link" that had to be grasped in order to pull out the entire "chain", that is, to ensure successful socialist construction.

"Communists," Lenin said, *" must learn to trade."*

"We were not taught to trade in prisons," some communists objected to Lenin.

Lenin answered them:

"Many things that we were not taught in prisons, we found ourselves forced to learn after the revolution, and we studied and studied very successfully" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 81).

V. I. Lenin, in his report on the food tax at the meeting of the party activists of the city of Moscow on April 9, 1921, gave programmatic instructions on the development of socialist industry and the transfer of small-scale peasant farming to the path of large-scale public economy, on the link between socialist industry and agriculture, and on other important questions of building socialism.

On the basis of the New Economic Policy, economic construction developed slowly at first. The consequences of the civil war, the blockade, and general ruin had a heavy impact. In the summer of 1921, the Soviet Republic suffered a severe crop failure and famine. Up to 20 million people were starving. The Volga region, devastated by the White Guards, was especially affected. The Soviet government mobilized funds to help the famine.

Voluntary gatherings were held throughout the country under the slogan "Ten wealthy people should feed one hungry one."

The capitalist world tried to exploit these new difficulties. Saboteurs and spies staged arson and explosions at Soviet enterprises. For hostile subversive work, the American organization for "relief" of the hungry (ARA) was adapted.

The transition to NEP strengthened the alliance of workers and peasants. Agriculture began to revive. The autumn sowing of 1921 was successful. Even starving villages have planted up to 75% of their winter wedge. Kulak banditry was eliminated. The peasants helped the Red Army to liquidate the bands. Industry and transportation began to recover.

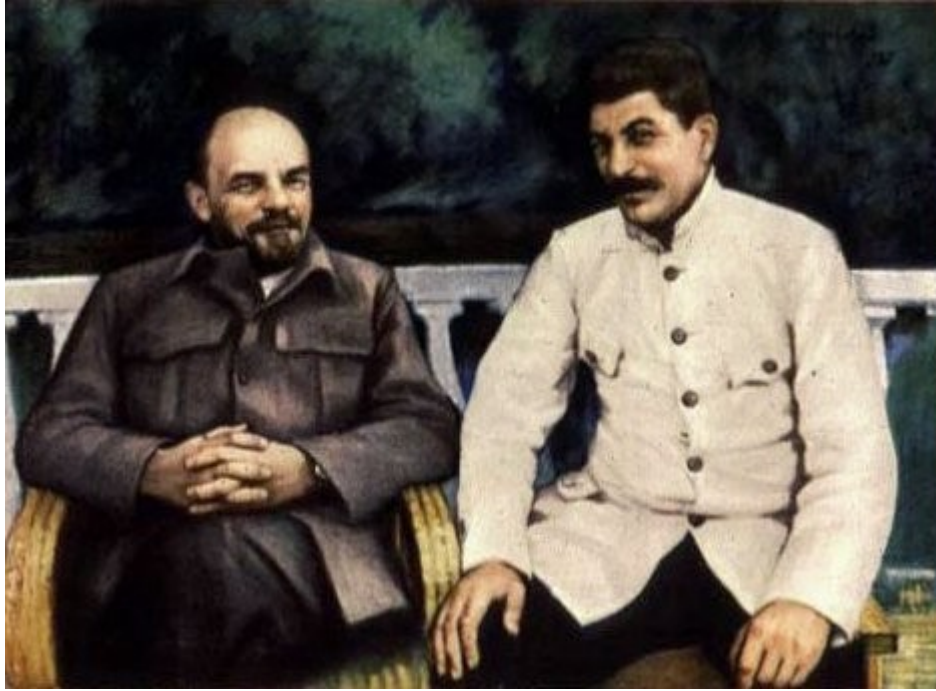
The results of the first steps of the new economic policy were summed up by the IX Congress of Soviets, which opened at the end of December 1921. The Congress adopted a number of decisions that were supposed to adapt all the work of Soviet bodies and all Soviet legislation to the new conditions. The congress decided that raising agriculture should be the most important task of our entire construction in the near future. Industry must increase the supply of industrial goods to the peasantry. To show the first achievements of agriculture, it was decided to organize an agricultural exhibition in the autumn of 1922.

The congress adopted a special declaration on the international status of the RSFSR. It indicated that world imperialism did not abandon its intention to overthrow Soviet power.

"The congress warns the governments of neighboring states," the declaration said, " that if they continue to encroach or support encroachments on the integrity of the Soviet territory and on the security of the Soviet republics, then the latter, in their legitimate and just defense against everyone who encroaches on the security and well-being the republics will be forced to give an answer, which could be fatal for the attacker and his accomplices . "

II

ECONOMIC RESTORATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA



Failure of attempted economic war against Soviet Russia

The foreign imperialists, having failed with plans for the military crushing of Soviet Russia, were now making plans for an economic war against the Soviet Republic with the aim of turning it into their colony "peacefully" with the help of their capital.

At the beginning of 1922, at a session of the Entente Supreme Council in Cannes, British Prime Minister Lloyd George proposed to convene an international conference "to restore the viability of the European system." Germany, Austria and Soviet Russia were also invited to the conference.

The international conference opened in April 1922 in Genoa (Italy). The imperialists hoped to solve the problem of "restoring" Europe at the expense of Soviet Russia. They handed the Soviet delegation a memorandum in which they demanded the payment of all debts of the tsarist and Provisional governments, the return of enterprises confiscated by the Soviet government to foreign capitalists, and an end to communist propaganda in other countries. The Soviet delegation rejected the claims of the imperialists and presented a counter-bill for the losses caused by the blockade and intervention. The Soviet government agreed to pay pre-war debts, but demanded a delay in payment for 30 years and the provision of loans to Russia to restore the national economy.

The attempt to enslave the Soviet Republic failed. The attempt to create a united front of capitalist states against it also failed. The Soviet government broke through this front, concluding an agreement with Germany in April 1922 in Rapallo (a resort near Genoa). The Rapallo Treaty established normal diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Germany.

The Genoa Conference has closed. Lloyd George proposed to transfer the "Russian question" to a commission of experts that met in The Hague in July 1922. But the Soviet delegation in The Hague defended the economic independence of the Soviet republics as energetically as in Genoa. The international position of the Soviet Republic after Genoa and The Hague was significantly strengthened. Its prestige especially increased because the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference demanded a general reduction in armaments. The imperialists did not and could not do this.

Going on the offensive on the rails of NEP

In March 1922, in his report at the Eleventh Party Congress, Lenin indicated that the transition from the Art of War Communism to NEP was basically completed. "The retreat is over," said Lenin and put forward the task of regrouping all the forces of the Party and the Soviet state in order to go over to the offensive against private capital.

The historical tasks set by Lenin at the Eleventh Party Congress had to be carried out. **On April 3, 1922, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, at the suggestion of Lenin, elected the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the best and most loyal disciple and ally of Lenin - Comrade Stalin.** Since then, Stalin has worked in this post without fail.

To build the foundation of a socialist economy, it was necessary to create a developed industry, since it is the basis of socialism. But it was necessary to start with agriculture. "You cannot develop industry from scratch," said Comrade Stalin, "you cannot develop industry if there are no raw materials in the country, if there is no food for the workers and if there is no developed agriculture at all, representing the main market for our industry" (Stalin, Soch ., vol. 8, p. 118).

During this period in the USSR there were 20 million small individual peasant farms, of which 3/4 were low-powered. This small and smallest economy was based on the old, backward threefields.

About 40 million dessiatines of land were under fallow annually, 50 million dessiatines were under pastures, wastelands and swamps. In tsarist Russia, as much land was sown as was not used for sowing - about 90 million dessiatines.

In 1922-1923. the situation in agriculture has improved markedly. The good harvest of 1922 made it possible for the famine-stricken provinces to recover. The Soviet government put forward the urgent task of transitioning to a multi-field.

The peasants' successfully restored animal husbandry.

The growth of productive forces in agriculture created the basis for the restoration of industry. Industrial enterprises were transferred to economic accounting. The return of workers from the countryside to the city began. Labor productivity increased. The restoration of agriculture ensured, first of all, the development of light industry, that is, an industry that manufactures consumer goods. The entire industry of Soviet Russia increased its output from 1921 to 1922 from 550 to 750 million rubles. gold. But this accounted for only 26% of pre-war production.

The old cadre workers who had preserved the factories during the civil war were now the first to rise to rebuild them. The workers carried out the first orders of the Soviet state with tremendous enthusiasm. In the spring of 1922, the Kashirskaya power plant, which was under construction during the civil war, was put into operation. In October of the same year, the first Soviet car was assembled. At the same time, the first Soviet aircraft was built.

The Soviet country restored the national economy on its own, using large-scale industry as the leading structure in the country's economy during the transition period. Foreign capital (in the form of concessions) did not develop in the USSR. In the first two years of NEP, up to 4,000 small enterprises were leased to Russian private capital, but the proportion of their products was small in comparison with the products of large state industry.

As the state industry strengthened, private capital was ousted, but it played an even greater role in trade, mainly retail. But even here, in opposition to the private trader, the state and cooperative trading apparatus gradually developed and strengthened. Lenin's slogan "Learn to trade!" Was carried out. Led by Lenin, the party stubbornly and systematically carried out an offensive along the lines of the New Economic Policy.

Fight against counter-revolution in the recovery period

The admission of capitalist elements within certain limits caused a new exacerbation of the class struggle in the USSR.

"The enemy," wrote Lenin, *"is a petty - bourgeois element that surrounds us like air and penetrates very strongly into the ranks of the proletariat ... And the petty-bourgeois element within the state is supported by the entire international bourgeoisie, which is still world-powerful"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, page 3).

Having lost hope for the military defeat of the Soviet regime, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie began to hope for its degeneration under the conditions of NEP.

The bourgeois ideologist prof. Ustryalov, in the collection **Change of Landmarks**, called on the bourgeois intelligentsia to go into the service of the Soviet government in order to gradually take over the entire economic and cultural life of the country and accelerate the bourgeois degeneration of the Soviet state.

"The Smenovekhovites," Lenin said about the class base of this trend, *"express the mood of thousands and tens of thousands of all kinds of bourgeois or Soviet employees, participants in our new economic policy. This is the main and real danger"* (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 257).

Even during the years of the civil war, the parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries finally exposed themselves. Now they were repainted as non-partisan and waged fierce agitation against the New Economic Policy, often speaking at non-partisan workers' conferences.

A Social Revolutionary terrorist organization operated abroad, which received funds from foreign governments to organize riots in the Land of the Soviets and espionage and sabotage work to prepare terrorist attacks and sabotage acts. The GPU uncovered the organization of the Social Revolutionaries operating underground. They were brought to trial by the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal for counter-revolutionary terrorist activities against the Soviet regime. The Second International sent its defenders to the trial of the SRs. The workers of Moscow greeted the advocates of the counter-revolution with a powerful display of anger and contempt. The Soviet court fully proved the guilt of the SRs.

The defenders from the Second International did not even dare to speak at the trial and left Moscow. The Supreme Tribunal sentenced the 12 main culprits to capital punishment, but decided to carry out the sentence if the Socialist-Revolutionary Party continued its tactics of terror and rebellion.

The defeat of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the split in the counter-revolutionary camp, and the stratification among the bourgeois intelligentsia testified that the proletarian dictatorship was gaining ground and was successfully repelling the attacks of the counter-revolution.

FORMATION OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS



Construction of Soviet power in the national regions of the RSFSR

The People's Commissariat for Nationalities, led from the first days of the proletarian revolution by Comrade Stalin, has done an enormous amount of work to implement the Bolshevik program of national self-determination by organizing autonomous national republics and regions and protecting the interests of national minorities. Already in 1920, the administrative demarcation of Russia was carried out along ethnic lines. The

autonomous national republic and the union of these republics into a federation of Soviet republics based on common military and economic tasks became a concrete form of communication between the outskirts of Central Russia.

During 1920-1922, a number of autonomous Soviet republics and autonomous regions were formed, which became part of the RSFSR.

The autonomous Bashkir Soviet Republic, created back in March 1919, first of all returned to the Bashkir peasants the lands seized under tsarism by Russian landowners and kulaks. Thanks to this, the transition of the Bashkir nomads to agriculture and a sedentary lifestyle was facilitated. Bashkir schools began to be created. By 1924, there were already 2,000 first-level schools. The South Urals with its factories, which became the basis for the creation of the Bashkir working class, became part of the Bashkir Republic.

In the spring of 1920, the autonomous Tatar Soviet Republic was formed. The 1st Congress of Soviets of Tataria elected the government of the republic and made a decision on the entry of the Tatar Soviet Republic into the Russian Soviet Federation. The Tatar Republic suffered greatly from the famine in 1921. Therefore, the government of the RSFSR helped her in the restoration of agriculture. In the spring of 1921, by a decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Tatar ASSR, the Tatar language was recognized as the state language along with Russian. Under tsarism, there were only 70 Russian zemstvo schools in Tatarstan and not a single Tatar one (with the exception of religious Muslims). Already in 1924, the Tatar Republic opened 1,700 first-level schools in the Tatar language.

In October 1920, at the I Congress of the Soviets of Kazakhstan, the autonomous Kyrgyz Soviet Republic (on the territory of Kazakhstan) was created, the decree on the formation of which was signed on August 26 of the same year. It included the territories where the Kirghiz and Kazakhs lived, which subsequently separated and formed independent republics. The very first decrees of the Kyrgyz Soviet government suspended the resettlement from Central Russia to Kazakhstan. This measure ensured the sustainable use of land by the local population and facilitated the transition of Kazakhs to settled agriculture. At the same time, the Kyrgyz CEC and SIK issued a number of decrees on marriage law and abolished a number of old laws and customs that enshrined patriarchal clan survivals in the life of the working people of Kazakhstan.

The same work on the national emancipation of the peoples that became part of the RSFSR was done by the Soviet government in the North Caucasus and Dagestan.

The Dagestan ASSR, in accordance with the decree of January 20, 1921, was proclaimed at the I Dagestan Congress of Soviets immediately after the end of the civil war. A feature of Dagestan is its multi-tribal composition (6 languages and 32 dialects). Before Soviet power, many peoples of Dagestan did not have a written language. By 1924, over 1 000 schools were opened in the republic. Soon after the establishment of Soviet power, industry and agriculture began to develop in Dagestan. Irrigation canals were built to raise agriculture.

The Karelian Labor Commune, created by decree of June 8, 1920, in 1923 was proclaimed an autonomous republic. The White Finns used all their efforts to destroy the Karelian Republic. In the fall of 1921, the invasion of the White Finnish bands from Finland to Karelia began. The organizers of the White Finnish adventure in Karelia were the bosses of the Vyborg Bank and the largest timber industry association in Finland.

In February 1922 the White Finns were expelled from Karelia by the Red Army with the active assistance of the Karelian peasantry.

Having strengthened in Karelia, the Soviet government began to develop the enormous water resources of the Karelian waterfalls. Soon the construction of a hydroelectric power station (on the Conde River) began. Public education developed successfully. Under the Soviet regime, a large number of primary and secondary schools were organized with instruction in their native language. Before the revolution, there were almost no schools in Karelia, even in Russian.

The Yakut Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed in 1922. Under tsarism, Yakutia was a place of exile for revolutionaries. The population of Yakutia was subjected to monstrous exploitation and died out. The main task of the young Yakut Soviet Republic was the revival of a number of nationalities living on its territory, the rise of their material and cultural well-being.

In addition to the autonomous Soviet republics, the RSFSR included small autonomous regions that had independent control (Khakass, Votskaya, or Udmurt, Mari, Oirotskaya, Komi, etc.).

Soviet autonomy helped the peoples of Soviet Russia to strengthen fraternal alliance and mutual trust, without which the proletarian state could not exist. This mutual trust and voluntary consent of the peoples who entered the RSFSR created the strength of the Russian Federation, impossible in any multinational bourgeois state.

The peoples of all Soviet republics viewed the Russian Federation and the Russian working class as their natural leader. The relationship between the RSFSR and all Soviet republics was built on the basis of fraternal solidarity and mutual assistance.

"If the RSFSR," said Comrade Stalin, " is the only country in the world where the experience of peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of a number of nations and nationalities has been successful, then this is because there are no dominants, no subordinates, no metropolis, no colonies, no imperialism, no national oppression - here the federation is based on mutual trust and the voluntary striving of the working masses of different nations for a union. This voluntary nature of the federation must necessarily be preserved in the future, because only such a federation can become a transitional form to that higher unity of the working people of all countries in a single world economy, the need for which is becoming more and more tangible " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, page 23).

Formation of the USSR

The party's national policy, led by Comrade Stalin, led to close cooperation between the Soviet peoples. Six independent Soviet republics were created - the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), Ukrainian (Ukrainian SSR), Byelorussian (BSSR), Azerbaijan SSR, Armenian SSR and Georgian SSR. At first, all Soviet republics existed as independent, independent states. They had their own armies, their own monetary system, etc. In the course of the civil war, the fraternal union of the Soviet republics became even stronger.

In December 1920, an agreement was signed between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR on the establishment of a military and economic union. Some people's commissariats (military and naval affairs, finance, communications, foreign trade, etc.) were united. Similar contractual relations were established between the RSFSR and other Soviet socialist republics - Belarus, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

However, life has shown the insufficiency of such connections.

The interests of economic construction demanded, above all, the further strengthening of the alliance of peoples: it was necessary to combine scarce economic resources for their better use. The economic division of labor between different regions made it impossible for the separate existence of the national republics. The center of the coal and metallurgical industry was then Donbass, i.e. Ukraine. In Azerbaijan, in Baku, there was a base of the oil industry. Chiatura in Georgia was the center of the manganese industry. The region of cotton growing was Central Asia, i.e. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The center of the cotton industry was the Moscow region, and the machine-building industry was in Petrograd, that is, the RSFSR. With such a division of the pile, the construction of socialism was possible only with the economic and political unification of the national republics. Unification was also demanded by the interests of the defense of the Soviet country. The successful activities of the joint Soviet delegation in Genoa and The Hague showed the need for joint foreign policy. The need to ensure the all-round development of all nationalities in the Soviet state, where power is built not on

the exploitation of man by man, but on the unification of all peoples into one socialist family, also pushed towards unification.

Thus, life forced us to look for closer and more expedient forms of cooperation between the Soviet republics. In March 1922, the three Transcaucasian Soviet republics concluded an agreement on military, political and economic alliance. This is how the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (TSFSR) was formed. The I Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets confirmed the formation of the TSFSR, formed the Transcaucasian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, and appealed to the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with a proposal to convene a joint congress of Soviets of the four republics - the RSFSR, the TSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the BSSR - and discuss the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The same decision was made by the All-Ukrainian and All-Belarusian Congresses of Soviets.

On December 26, 1922, the X All-Russian Congress of Soviets unanimously supported the initiative of the national republics. The speeches of the representatives of the fraternal Soviet republics at this congress were a powerful demonstration of the voluntary unification of peoples for the building of socialism. This community of tasks was perfectly expressed in his speech by the representative of Azerbaijan:

“Azerbaijan,” he said, “is personified by the Baku proletariat. The Baku proletariat has its own revolutionary history. He nominated such heroic martyrs as 26 commissars, who died in the Turkmen steppes for proletarian ideas. The Baku proletariat has nominated such leaders as Comrade Stalin. And the same Baku worker, together with the Azerbaijani peasant, from the first day of the Sovietization of Azerbaijan, declared that the oil that Azerbaijan supplies to all Soviet countries is not the property of only the proletariat of Azerbaijan, but is the property of the proletariat of all Soviet countries. ”

The 10th All-Russian Congress of Soviets unanimously adopted the resolution proposed by Comrade Stalin on the need for the formation of the USSR.

The 1st Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics opened on December 30, 1922.

“... Today,” said Comrade Stalin at the congress, “ is not only the final one, it is also the day of the triumph of the new Russia over the old one, over Russia — the gendarme of Europe, over Russia — the executioner of Asia. Today is the day of the triumph of the new Russia, which broke the chains of national oppression, organized the victory over capital, created the dictatorship of the proletariat, awakened the peoples of the East, inspired the workers of the West, turned the red banner from the party banner into the state banner and gathered around this banner the peoples of the Soviet republics in order to to unite them into one state, into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the prototype of the coming World Soviet Socialist Republic ” (Stalin, Soch., vol. 5, p. 158).

At the suggestion of Comrade Stalin, the congress adopted a declaration and an

agreement on the formation of the USSR and instructed the Central Executive Committee to draw up a draft Constitution of the USSR.

Despite his illness, Lenin devoted much attention to the creation of the USSR. He approved the initiative to form the TSFSR and demanded that the Transcaucasian communists widely explain to the masses the need for a federation to establish national peace among the peoples of the multinational Transcaucasia, which in the past was torn apart by interethnic hostility. Welcoming the Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, which had gathered to discuss the question of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Lenin stressed the world-historical significance of the fraternal unification of peoples. "Questions of nationalities," Lenin said in 1922, "are questions" ... which have occupied European states for hundreds of years, which are resolved in an insignificant proportion in democratic republics. We resolve them, and we need to have a person to whom any of the representatives of the nations could go and tell in detail what the matter is.

Lenin pointed out that such a person could only be Comrade Stalin, who, in his capacity as People's Commissar for Nationalities, always led the creation of a fraternal union of Soviet republics.

Comrade Stalin deserves great credit in the creation of the USSR and in the development of the first Constitution of the Soviet Union.



The first Constitution of the USSR

The structure of the Soviet state and its organs, the rights and obligations of Soviet citizens were determined by the Constitution of the USSR. The constitution was finally approved by the Second Congress of Soviets in January 1924. Each of the union republics had its own constitution. The USSR Constitution, like the constitutions of the Union republics, set itself the task of **"guaranteeing the dictatorship of the proletariat in**

order to suppress the bourgeoisie, to abolish the exploitation of man by man and to implement communism ..."

According to the Union Constitution, the supreme body of the USSR was the Congress of Union Soviets. Between the two congresses, the supreme body of Soviet power was the Central Executive Committee (CEC of the USSR). The Central Executive Committee of the Union consisted of two chambers - the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities. All republics, regardless of the size of the population, received the right to send the same number of their representatives to the Council of Nationalities.

Union and autonomous republics created their own Councils of People's Commissars (Sovnarkoms).

According to the 1924 Constitution of the USSR, all citizens, regardless of gender, religion, race, nationality and settledness, who had reached 18 years of age by election day, enjoyed the right to elect and be elected to the Soviets. This right was denied only to citizens resorting to hired labor and exploitation, merchants, ministers of religious cults, former police officers and gendarmes, as well as those convicted with deprivation of political rights.

Thus, as a result of the heroic struggle for freedom and independence from imperialism of all the peoples of Russia, with the fraternal and disinterested help of the great Russian people, the unification of all Soviet republics into a common state union - the USSR - was completed.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a completely new type of state, which ensured the unity and friendship of the peoples inhabiting it in the matter of socialist construction and defense against the imperialists, freedom of the national development of peoples, their independence and creative initiative in their internal affairs. Each republic was guaranteed the right to freely withdraw from the Union. Access to the Union was open to all socialist Soviet republics, both existing and those that might arise in the future.

IV

Lenin's Precepts



Lenin's last speeches

In the spring of 1922, Lenin fell seriously ill. After the 11th Congress, the Central Committee of the RCP (b) elected Comrade Stalin as General Secretary of the Central Committee. The party and the working class saw in Comrade Stalin a militant and tested comrade-in-arms of Lenin, his most faithful disciple and continuer of his work. In October 1922 Lenin's health improved somewhat and he returned to work for a short time. Lenin chaired the Council of People's Commissars, participated in meetings of the Central Committee, made a speech at the session of the Central Executive Committee - on November 15, 1922, at the IV Congress of the Comintern, Lenin made a report on the results of five years of the revolution in Russia and the prospects for the world revolution.

"The peasants understand," Lenin said, " that we have seized power for the workers and we have the goal of creating a socialist order with the help of this power. Therefore, the most important thing for us was the economic preparation of the socialist economy. We couldn't prepare it directly. We were forced to do this in a roundabout way " (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, pp. 389-390).

Developing this idea at the plenum of the Moscow Soviet on November 20, 1922, Lenin emphasized even more decisively that under our conditions NEP is the only path to socialism. Lenin ended his speech with a confident and firm statement:

"... Not tomorrow, but in a few years, we will all solve this problem together at all costs, so that from NEP Russia there will be a socialist Russia" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 405).

This was Lenin's last speech. His illness worsened. In January - February 1923, in a hurry to use every minute between bouts of illness, Lenin still managed to dictate his last will to the party and the country. These were his articles: "**Pages from a diary**", "**About cooperation**", "**About our revolution**", "**How can we reorganize the Rabkrin**", "**Better less, but better** . "

These articles by Lenin taught the party and the working class how to use NEP to build socialism in our country, which is surrounded by capitalism. In his article "**How We Can Reorganize the Rabkrin,**" Lenin taught how to preserve and strengthen the unity of the party as the most important condition for the further success of the proletarian dictatorship. In his last article, "Less is Better," Lenin wrote about the need to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and about the all-round development of large-scale machine industry as the basis of socialism.

All of Lenin's recent articles and speeches outlined concrete ways of how to change seats, according to Lenin's figurative expression,

"... from a peasant, peasant, impoverished horse ... to a horse of the large machine industry, electrification, Volkhovstroy, etc." (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 459).

Lenin saw the road to socialism in agriculture in the cooperation of small individual peasant farms and the transformation of agriculture on the basis of machine industry and electrification. In his article On Cooperation, Lenin proved that the Soviet country has everything necessary for building a complete socialist society. Developing his cooperative plan, Lenin showed that the involvement of the peasants in socialist construction should take place through cooperation. But complete cooperation and the transition to socialism are impossible without a cultural revolution. The cultural backwardness of the peasantry is the most important obstacle to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Setting the task of raising culture in the USSR, Lenin demanded, first of all, to eliminate the shameful vestige of tsarism - illiteracy. In 1920, there were only 310 literate people per thousand of the population in Russia, and even fewer in some regions. Lenin demanded that the people's teacher be raised to such a height that he never stood, does not stand and cannot stand in bourgeois society.

Lenin emphasized that for the implementation of the cultural revolution

"... a certain development of the material means of production is needed, a certain material base is needed" (Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 435).

After the seizure of power, the commanding heights in the country's economy, to bring under it the basis of modern advanced technology, to build a socialist industry and, with its help, to technically re-equip agriculture, to cooperate with the peasantry and turn small, scattered, backward agriculture into large, collective, socialist, to achieve economic independence of the Soviet country and to ensure its defense capability, to strengthen the USSR as the base of the struggle for socialism throughout the world - these are the main milestones of Lenin's great plan for building socialism in our country.

XII Congress of the Bolshevik Party

In March 1923, Lenin again fell seriously ill. He was transported to the village of Gorki near Moscow. Lenin's state of health raised serious concerns. The whole country was anxiously awaiting every morning for the next bulletin on the course of the leader's illness.

In April 1923, during Lenin's illness, the XII Party Congress opened. The congress was chaired by Comrade Stalin. The congress took into account in its decisions all of Lenin's instructions given in his last articles and letters.

The congress rebuffed everyone who understood NEP as a retreat from socialist positions, who wanted to turn the development of the Soviet country onto the path of restoration of capitalism. The Trotskyists and Bukharinites proposed to hand over vital branches of industry on a concession to foreign capitalists. Trotsky even wanted to close the Putilov and Bryansk factories as unprofitable. Trotsky's supporters tried to impose on the party a disastrous policy of breaking the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, proposing to build industry by exploiting the peasant economy. They also offered to pay off the debts of the tsarist government to foreign capitalists and abandon the monopoly of foreign trade.

The Twelfth Congress of the Bolshevik Party unanimously rejected and condemned all these capitulatory proposals of the Trotskyists and Bukharinists. The congress proposed developing industry not at the expense of the peasantry, but in conjunction with it. The congress devoted much attention to questions of the national policy of the Soviet state.

Comrade Stalin was the speaker at the congress on the national question. He launched an extensive program of work to eliminate economic and cultural inequality between the peoples of the Soviet Union. In his report, Comrade Stalin emphasized with particular force that the Russian proletariat, which had rendered fraternal assistance to the oppressed nationalities in their struggle against the enslavers, must now help them, for this requires "real, systematic, sincere, real proletarian assistance" in economic and cultural construction.

"... it is necessary to achieve," said Comrade Stalin, "so that hotbeds of industry were established in these republics" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 5, p. 248).

The congress exposed the Georgian national deviators who opposed the creation of the Transcaucasian federation and the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Transcaucasus. The Georgian nationalists were supported by Trotskyists and Bukharinites.

An attempt by foreign imperialists to drag the USSR into the war

The foreign imperialists decided to take advantage of the difficult situation in the country and in the party due to Lenin's illness.

They tried to drag the USSR into the war with new provocations and disrupt socialist construction. Foreign spies launched sabotage and espionage work in the USSR. The Soviet government arrested several British spies and expelled them from the USSR. British Foreign Minister Curzon sent an ultimatum to the Soviet government demanding to cover the "losses" of spies arrested in the USSR, recall Soviet

representatives from Persia and Afghanistan for their alleged anti-British policy and allow English fishing off the shores of Soviet seas. The ultimatum was accompanied by threats of new intervention.

The bourgeois press in England and France launched an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign. Encouraged by Curzon's ultimatum, the rabble of various White Guard gangs began to stir abroad. In May 1923 in Switzerland, the Soviet representative in Italy V. V. Borovsky, one of the most prominent Bolsheviks and outstanding Soviet diplomats, was killed by the White Guards.

The workers of the USSR responded to Curzon's ultimatum and the murder of Vorovsky with grandiose demonstrations of protest, declaring their readiness to repulse. All over the country, there were voluntary gatherings for the construction of the Ultimatum squadron.

At the same time, the foundation of the "Society of Friends of the Air Fleet" was laid. The Soviet government responded to the provocations of the imperialists with a note in which it categorically warned that

"The position of the Soviet republics does not, cannot and will not have anything to do with the state of dependence on the will of an outside government."

Curzon's provocation caused a storm of protest and indignation among the British workers. The Conservative government in England was forced to resign. In January 1924, the so-called "workers' government" of MacDonald came to power. In February 1924, at the request of the British workers, the MacDonald government recognized the Soviet government and established diplomatic relations with it.

Difficulties in restoring the national economy

The difficulties of restoring the national economy were added to the international complications. The growth of industry lagged behind the growth of the country's needs. By the end of 1923, there were about a million unemployed. The Supreme Council of the National Economy, led by the Trotskyist Pyatakov, issued in July 1923 an order for the trusts to obtain maximum profits by raising the prices of goods. Low prices were left for bread.

It became difficult for peasants to buy manufactured goods. Factories and plants did not sell their products. Cooperative and state trade did not receive working capital.

The Soviet ruble began to fluctuate. This was reflected in the economic situation of workers and peasants.

In 1924, the Soviet government carried out a financial reform with tremendous effort, replacing the depreciated paper sovnotsk with chervonets with solid gold backing. The Trotskyists thwarted monetary reform with wrecking orders to raise the prices of industrial products, claiming that monetary reform and currency stabilization were disadvantageous to industry. Instead of lowering prices, the Trotskyists proposed "commodity intervention," that is, the purchase of scarce goods abroad. To obtain funds, they insisted on increasing taxes, raising prices for goods, etc. These proposals of the Trotskyists had one goal - to disrupt the successfully begun socialist construction, to break the bond between the working class and the peasantry, and to turn the USSR economy into an appendage of capitalist Europe.

Taking advantage of the aggravation of the international situation, economic difficulties in the USSR and Lenin's illness, Trotsky secretly began to collect the

fragments of the defeated anti-Leninist groups for a new attack on the party. He was joined by the "democratic centralists", the remnants of the "workers' opposition", individual former "left communists", the Menshevik elements expelled from the party and similar scum, united by a common hatred of the Leninist Central Committee of the party.

In the fall of 1923, the Trotskyists dragged the party into a new heated debate. But the party rallied around Comrade Stalin, who fought for Leninism against Trotskyism. The Trotskyists were exposed and defeated. The platform of the Trotskyist opposition was unanimously condemned and defined as a petty-bourgeois deviation, as a revision of Leninism.

Lenin's death

Laying the first stones of socialist society, Lenin dreamed of seeing in the place of backward and ruined, wretched and powerless old Russia a new, mighty and happy country of flourishing socialism. But Lenin had to see only the very first, relatively small successes of the grandiose restructuring of the Soviet Union that he had planned.

Death overtook the greatest reformer at the very beginning of the historical path of our country to the victory of socialism.

On January 21, 1924 V.I. Lenin died. The death of the leader shook millions of hearts.

"Never before after Marx has the history of the great liberation movement of the proletariat put forward such a gigantic figure as our late leader, teacher, friend," wrote the Central Committee of the RCP (b) in its appeal, notifying the party and all working people of the death of the great leader.

The appeal concisely and clearly characterized the greatness of Lenin and his gigantic deed:

"Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat is a fearless mind, iron, unbending, stubborn, overcoming everything, will, sacred hatred, hatred to death for slavery and oppression, revolutionary passion that moves mountains, boundless faith in the creative forces of the masses, a tremendous organizational genius - all this found its magnificent embodiment in Lenin, whose name became a symbol of the new world from west to east, from south to north."

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called on the working class to respond to the death of the leader by mobilizing all its forces to fulfill Lenin's behests.

At factories, after reports on Lenin's life, the workers adopted short, decisive resolutions:

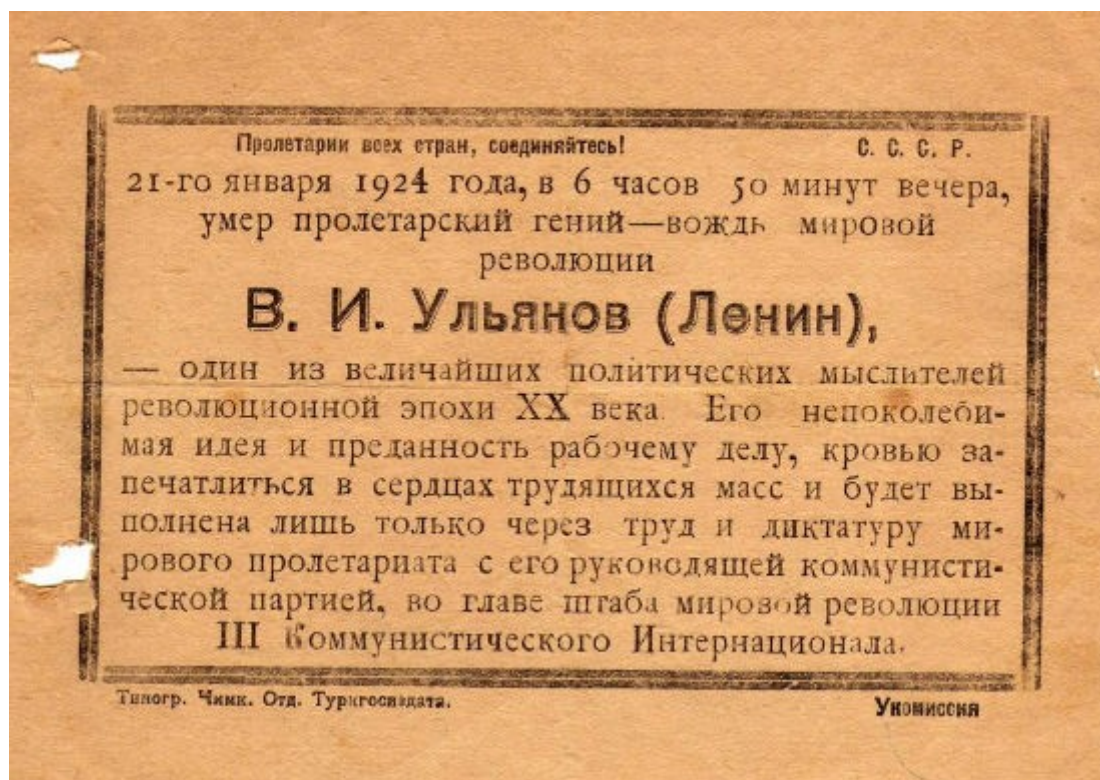
"We swear to fulfill Lenin's behests."

Sending the delegation to the funeral of the leader, the workers of the 3rd Moscow printing house handed it a banner with the inscription:

*"We will close with the Communist Party in a single ring and we will bring Ilyich's
behests to the end!"*

In these days of nationwide mourning hundreds of thousands of proletarians throughout the country applied to join Lenin's party.

At funeral rallies and meetings, the workers passed resolutions promising to fulfill Lenin's behests and give their best sons to reinforce the party.





The funeral of V. I. Lenin. Columns of workers at the House of Trade Unions on January 23-24, 1924



Funeral procession on Red Square



The Red Square. The funeral of Lenin



The funeral of V. I. Lenin on Red Square

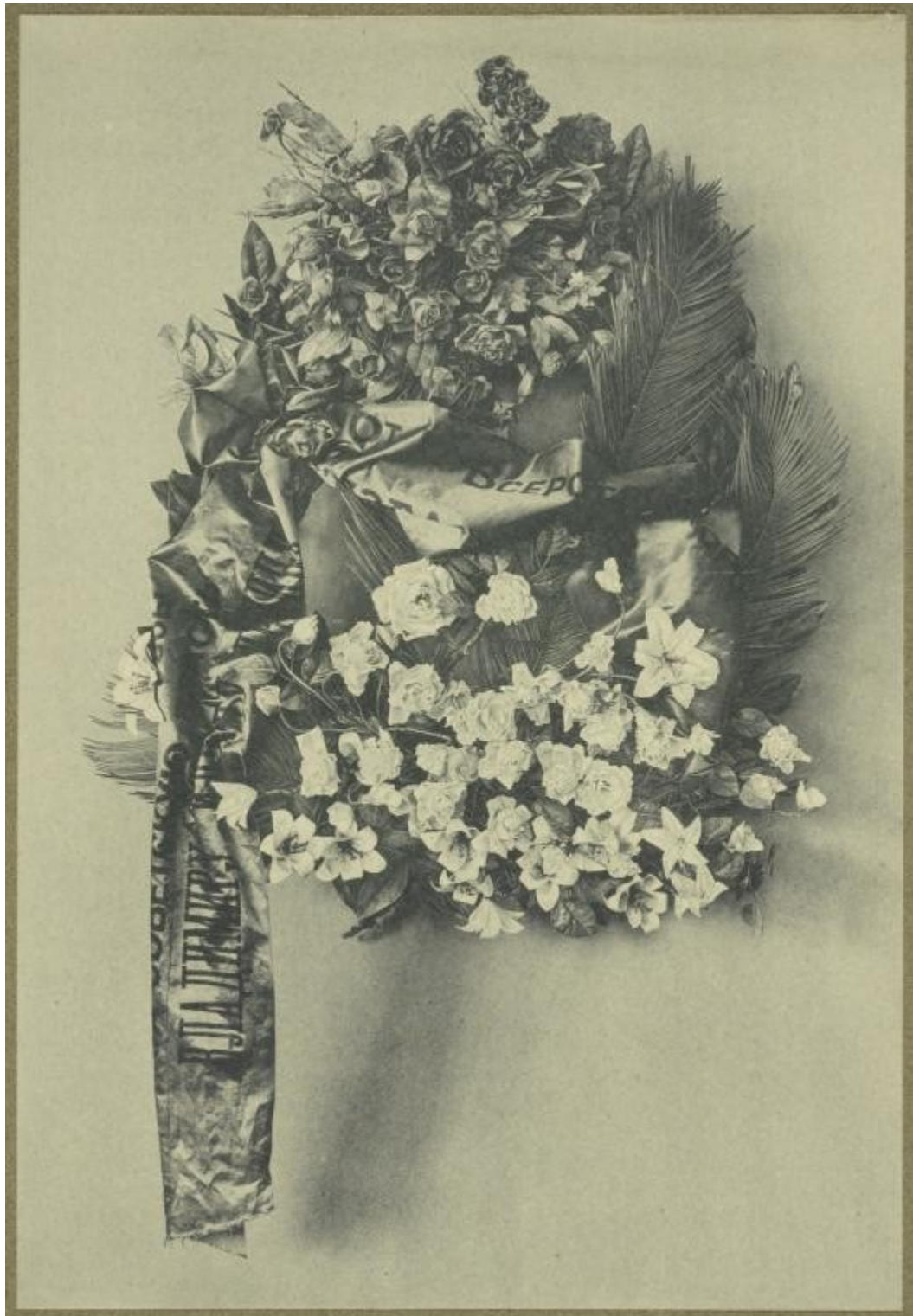




On August 1, 1924, the flag of the Paris Communards, a gift from the French workers, pierced by bullets, was brought into the Lenin Mausoleum. The unique relic was reinforced over Lenin's coffin. Later the banner was on permanent display at the Central Lenin Museum. At present it is kept in the funds of the Lenin Museum, a branch of the State Historical Museum.



"From the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR"



"From the 11th All-Russian Congress of Soviets"



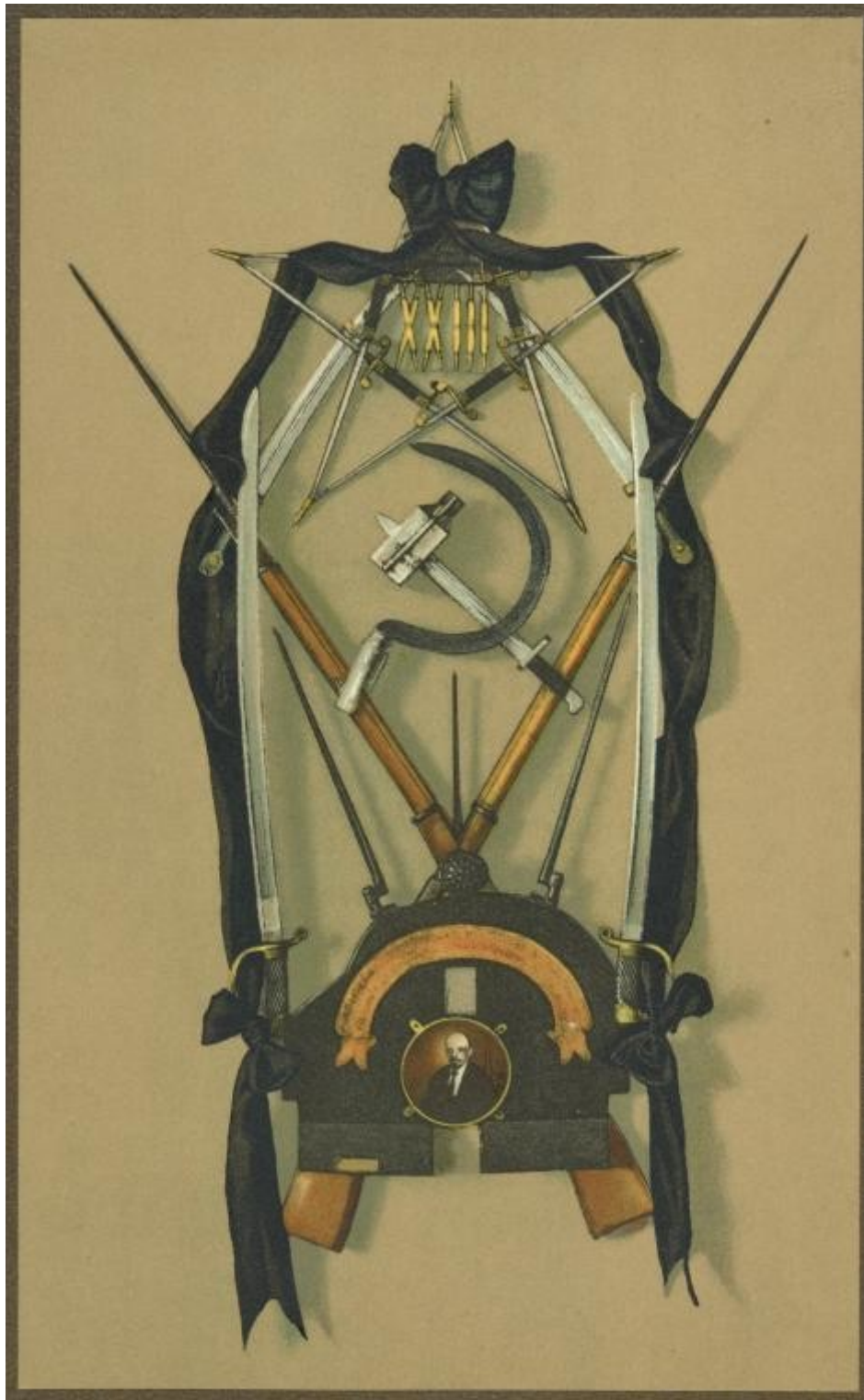
"From the Executive Committee of the Communist International"



"From the Unitary General Confederation of Labor of France"



"From the board of Tsentrosoyuz"



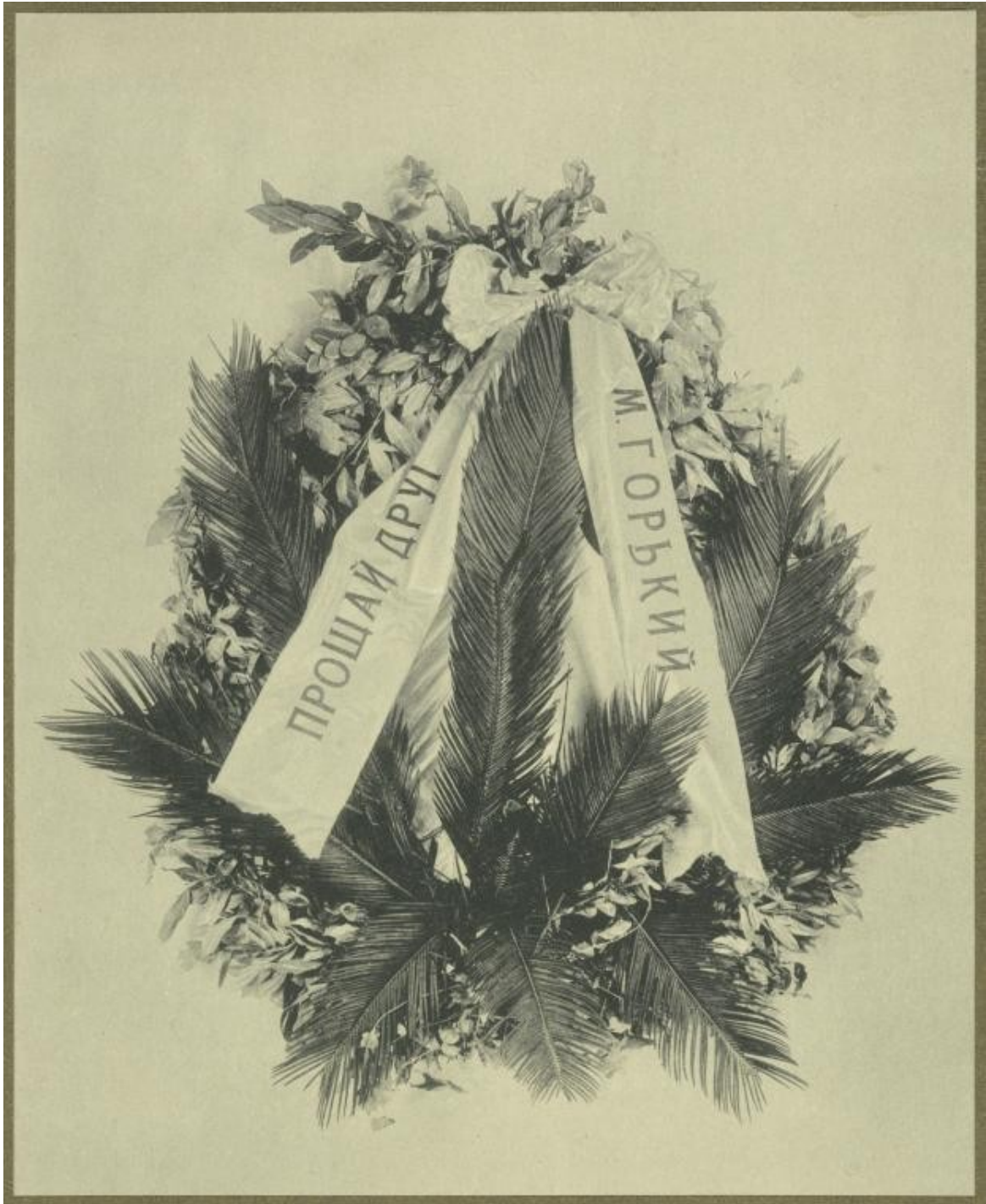
"Red Army men, commanders and political workers of the 23rd Kharkov Infantry Division"



"From the workers and peasants of the Tver province"



"From 4000 people. working State. copper-processing plant in Kolchugino "

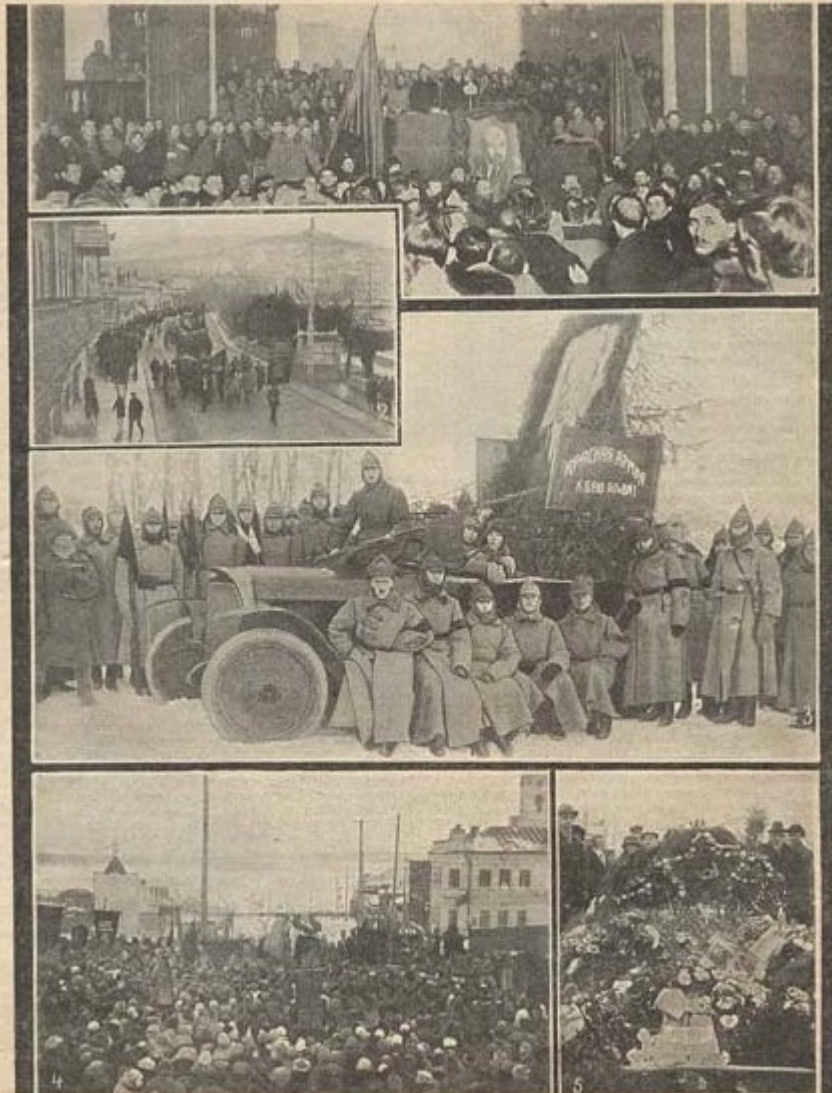


"From Gorky"



"From the children of school No. 2 of the Moscow-Kazan railway"

В ДЕНЬ ПОХОРОН В. И. ЛЕНИНА.



1) Траурное заседание Ленинградского совета; 2) красноармейская демонстрация в г. Ермакове; 3) демонстрация в Итге; 4) в г. Алатыре; 5) боржневские рабочие у могилы Р. Дюкенибург.



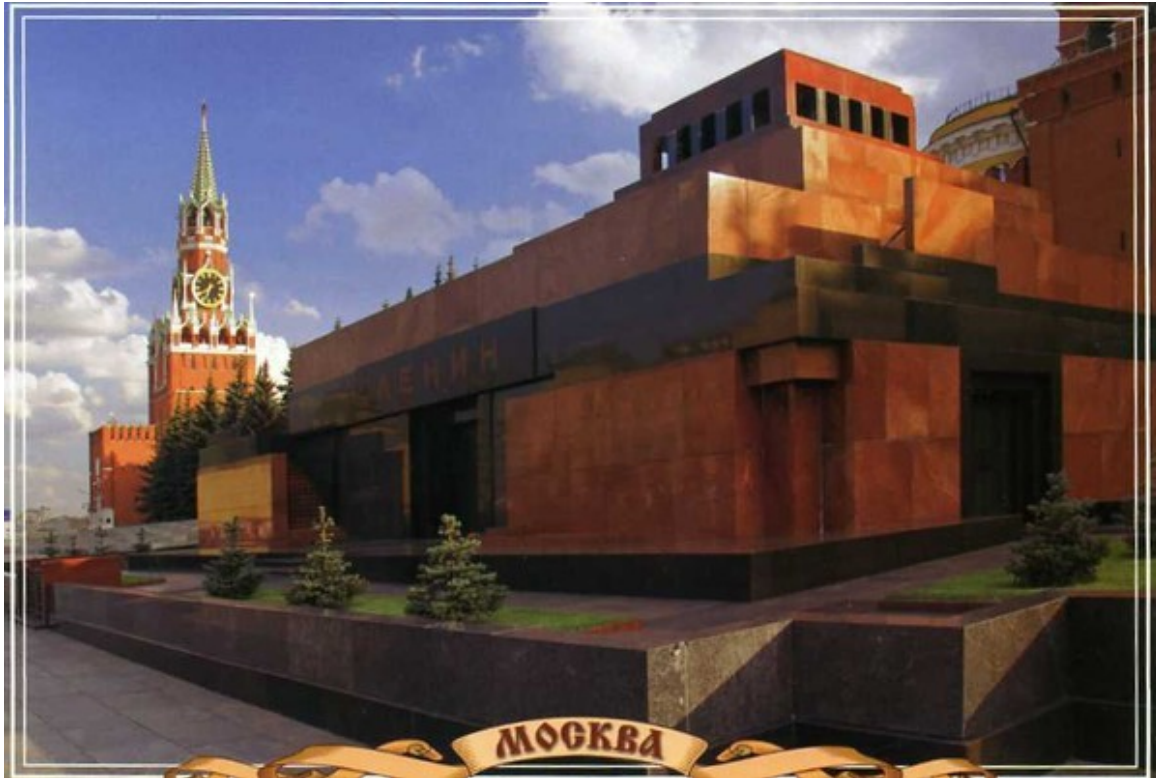
"Lenin's Room in Smolny" . Photos [from here](#) and [from here](#)

The Red Army men passed the same resolutions. The meeting of the Red Army and the commanders of the Sivash division declared:

"Now we must protect not only the red borders, but also the inviolability of the grave of the great leader and teacher."

In the ulus of the Yakuts, in the nomad camps of Nenets reindeer herders, in the villages of Tajiks and Uzbeks, Lenin's death caused deep grief and sorrow. Workers from the farthest corners of the country sent their delegations to Moscow for Lenin's funeral. In the Volga region, peasants collected grain for the construction of a monument to Lenin. In the name of Lenin, workers and peasants called cities, streets, factories, villages. Petrograd, where Lenin began his revolutionary activity as the leader of the proletariat, where he led the working class to a victorious uprising and seizure of power, at the petition of the workers received the honorary name of Leningrad.

On January 23, peasants from the villages surrounding Gorki, where Lenin died, saw their friend and teacher on their last journey. The workers of Moscow met Lenin for the last time. For five days and nights, a continuous stream of people moved to the Column Hall of the House of Unions, where Lenin lay: millions of workers were waiting for their turn to say goodbye to the leader.



Stalin's oath

In response to the death of his beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, on behalf of the party and the entire Soviet people, took a great oath - to fulfill Lenin's behests. At the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR on January 26, 1924, Comrade Stalin said:

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us to keep the great title of Party member high and keep it clean. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill this commandment of yours with honor! ..

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us to preserve the unity of our Party like the apple of an eye. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill this commandment of yours with honor! ..

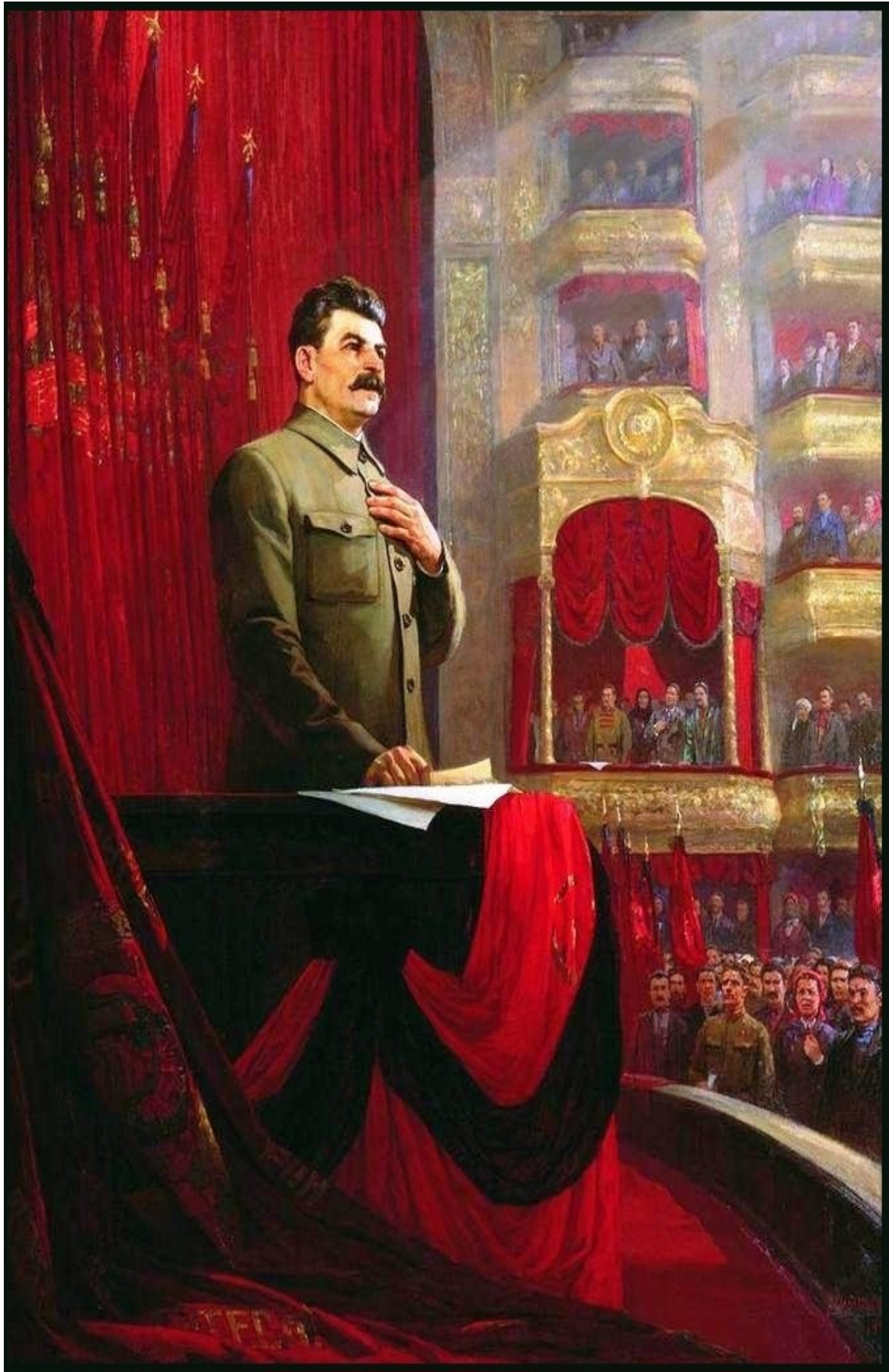
Leaving us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We swear to you, comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our efforts in order to fulfill with honor this commandment of yours! ..

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants with all our might. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill this commandment of yours with honor! ..

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us to strengthen and expand the Union of Republics. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill this commandment of yours with honor! ..

Lenin pointed out to us more than once that strengthening the Red Army and improving its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party ... Let us swear, comrades, that we will not spare our efforts to strengthen our Red Army, our Red Fleet! ..

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us loyalty to the principles of the Communist International. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives in order to strengthen and expand the alliance of the working people of the whole world - the Communist International! (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 6, pp. 46-51).



F. Reshetnikov. Great oath. JV Stalin's speech at the II All-Russian Congress of

Soviets on January 26, 1924.

Stalin's great oath became the program of action for the party and the Soviet state, which ensured the victorious development of our country along the path of socialism.

On January 27, at 4 pm, the body of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was placed in the mausoleum, built these days on Red Square in Moscow, to the sound of a gun salute. The last salute to the leader was given by mourning beeps and sirens. The whole country froze in mourning silence for five minutes. Trains stopped en route.

The five-minute work stoppage marked the nationwide mourning of workers and workers in all capitalist countries.

V

END OF THE RECOVERY PERIOD IN THE USSR



The first year without Lenin

The working class of the USSR responded to Lenin's death by even closer rallying its ranks around the Leninist party. Thousands of workers applied to be accepted into the ranks of the party in order to better fulfill the behests of the departed leader. The Central Committee announced a massive admission of advanced workers to the Party. More than 200,000 of the most class-conscious and revolutionary workers were admitted, who constituted the "Leninist appeal" to the party. Interest in the study of Lenin's theory has grown enormously.

"Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives on!" - said the workers and strove to better assimilate the foundations of Lenin's teaching.

Meeting this need, Comrade Stalin delivered lectures on the [Foundations of Leninism](#) at the Sverdlov Communist University in early April 1924. The lectures, soon published as a separate book, systematically set out the great Leninist doctrine of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the historical roots and theory of Leninism, Lenin's doctrine of the party, his views on peasant and

national-colonial issues. Comrade Stalin stressed that Leninism is not only a Russian teaching, but also an international one.

Leninism not only revived the revolutionary teaching of Marx and Engels, perverted by the opportunists of the Second International, but developed Marxism further, enriching it with new experience of the class struggle of the proletariat in the era of imperialism.

"Leninism," said Comrade Stalin, *"is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution."* This remarkable book, which is a further development of Marxist theory, ideologically armed the working class of the USSR and the whole world in its struggle for socialism. Comrade Stalin's book *On the Foundations of Leninism* played an enormous role in the ideological defeat of Trotskyism.

In May 1924, the 13th Party Congress was held, at which Trotsky double-dealing said that the Trotskyists were ending the factional struggle. In fact, he gave instructions to his supporters to organize a counter-revolutionary underground, declaring in words about a departure from Trotskyism.

The Thirteenth Congress emphasized that the implementation of the party line outlined by Lenin during the transition to NEP strengthened the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and created the conditions for the fastest elimination of economic devastation. The congress demanded assistance to the countryside, the organization of the rural poor, and the creation of peasant committees for mutual assistance. Demanding an intensification of the struggle against the kulaks and an improvement in work among the poor and middle peasants of the countryside, the congress confirmed the line on the development of cooperatives as the path to socialism. The congress outlined measures to improve the work of state trade and co-operatives, which were to help, under the conditions of NEP, establish a link between industry and peasant economy.

The new economic policy has brought our country, devastated by war and intervention, to a significant recovery.

The production of all types of industry increased in 1924-1925. by 60%, and the number of workers by 27%. The material position of the working class has improved. The monetary reform carried out in 1924 introduced hard currency instead of devalued paper money and strengthened the financial position of the Soviet state.

The revival of state trade and cooperation increased the proportion of socialist forms of economy. Soviet trade began to oust the private trader. The peasant economy was noticeably strengthening. The Soviet government rendered substantial assistance to the working peasantry. Already in 1924-1925. the state allocated 290 million rubles from its still small resources to help the poor peasantry.

The successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the four years of the New Economic Policy were won back in a bitter struggle against the opposing capitalist elements. In an effort to exploit the dissatisfaction of the peasant masses with the lack of manufactured goods, high prices for them and survivals of "war communism" in the countryside, which remained here and there, the kulaks tried to organize uprisings.

The re-election of the Soviets showed that in a number of districts the middle peasant hesitated towards the kulak. Comrade Stalin set the task of rallying the middle peasants around the proletariat and drawing the masses of peasants into Soviet construction.

"It is necessary," said Comrade Stalin at the plenum of the Central Committee of the party on October 26, 1924, *"everything alive, honest, initiative, conscious, especially the former Red Army men, who are the most conscious, the most initiative of the peasants, to involve in the work of the Soviets"* (Stalin, *Soch .*, vol. 6, p. 318).

The Soviets are the organ of the link between the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat. That is why the revitalization and

strengthening of the Soviets meant the strengthening of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in the joint struggle for socialism.

Strengthening the alliance of the proletariat of the USSR and the peasantry of the national republics

After the creation of the USSR, the Russian proletariat, strengthening its alliance with the peasantry of the national regions, increased its assistance to the peoples of the USSR. The unification of peoples in a single fraternal state union was hampered by three factors: the actual inequality of nationalities, the presence of great-power chauvinism among some of the Russian communists, and local nationalism. The X and XII Party Congresses outlined, based on the reports of Comrade Stalin, a program of struggle against the actual inequality of the peoples of the USSR that still existed.

Under the conditions of NEP, great-power chauvinism was revived and intensified, reflecting the former privileged position of the Great Russians. It expressed itself in the disdainful attitude of some Soviet and party workers to the needs and requirements of the national republics, and threatened to undermine the confidence of the peasant masses of the national regions in the USSR in the proletariat exercising its dictatorship.

At the same time, local nationalism was revived among peoples who had not yet managed to forget the national oppression of Russian tsarism and the bourgeoisie. Local nationalists sowed distrust of everything Russian and sought to undermine the alliance of the peasants of the national republics with the proletariat of the USSR, which led the struggle for socialism in all Soviet republics.

The meeting of the Central Committee of the Party with the responsible workers of the national republics and regions, which took place in June 1923 under the leadership of Stalin, gave a resolute rebuff to both great-power chauvinism and the nationalist tendencies of individual party members. At this meeting, a group of Tatar bourgeois nationalists and a group of Uzbek nationalists were exposed.

The bourgeois nationalists, who had become agents of foreign imperialism, carried out subversive work, seeking to disorganize the construction of Soviet power in the outskirts.

The Georgian Mensheviks, with the assistance of foreign imperialists, also tried to rouse the Georgian peasantry to fight against Soviet power. In the summer of 1924, they seized the city of Chiatury, the center of the manganese industry in Georgia, dispersed the local Soviets in Guria and other regions, and began to create kulak-landlord detachments. The Georgian peasantry not only did not support the adventure of the Georgian Mensheviks, but resolutely helped to liquidate it within a few days. The organizers of the rebellion - a group of prominent Georgian Mensheviks - were brought before a Soviet court and suffered a well-deserved punishment.

The Soviet government provided the peoples of the national republics with great economic, organizational and cultural assistance. A number of enterprises with all their equipment were transferred from Moscow to Georgia, Bukhara and Uzbekistan. Loans were issued to local industry and cooperatives. In all national regions, work was launched to revitalize and strengthen the Soviets.

National demarcation of Central Asia

On the basis of the strengthening of the Soviet republics of Turkestan, national demarcation was carried out. When establishing the administrative division, the tsarist government did not take into account national characteristics and territorial settlement of peoples. Therefore, the old borders of provinces and regions were united into administrative units of territories with different national populations and separated homogeneous nationalities. The settlement of the peoples of Central Asia was especially stripe. Individual peoples did not have their own administrative centers, their own republics or regions, and this hindered the development of the economy and culture of these peoples.

In 1924, all the peoples of Central Asia, by a voluntary agreement, created a completely new political and administrative division of Central Asia, taking into account the economic and political interests of each people. On the territory of Central Asia, two union Soviet socialist republics were created: Uzbek and Turkmen. Later, a third republic was separated from the Uzbek SSR - the Tajik Republic, which at first was part of the UzSSR as an autonomous republic .. Two autonomous Soviet republics were also separated - the Kirghiz and Kara-Kalpak. Part of northeastern Turkestan, where Kazakhs lived, went to Kazakhstan. In the fall of 1924, the congresses of the Soviets of Bukhara and Khorezm decided to rename their people's republics socialist. The second session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR approved the decision of the peoples of Central Asia on national demarcation.

Assessing the significance of national delimitation, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“Now the moment has come when there is an opportunity to reunite these torn pieces into independent states in order to bring the working masses of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan closer to the authorities. Disengagement of Turkestan is, first of all, the reunification of the torn parts of these countries into independent states. If these states later wished to join the Soviet Union as its equal members, this only indicates that the Bolsheviks found the key to the deepest aspirations of the masses of the East, and the Soviet Union is the only voluntary union of the working masses of various nationalities in the world ” (Became and n, Works, vol. 7, p. 137).

Thus, for the first time throughout their history, the Uzbek, Turkmen and Tajik peoples got the opportunity to unite into their national states on the basis of Soviet power, which is close and understandable to the masses. The national demarcation strengthened the alliance between the proletariat of the USSR and the working peasantry of Central Asia and facilitated the economic and cultural advance of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

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FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

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CHAPTER XIV

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

(1926-1929)



❖ **COURSE ON SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION**

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-

**FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION
(1926-1929)**

I

COURSE ON SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION



Strengthening the international position of the USSR

After a long post-war revolutionary crisis, world capitalism entered a period of temporary, partial stabilization (from the word "stable" - stable). The defeat of the revolutionary movement in 1923 in Germany, Bulgaria and other countries led to the strongest intensification of reaction. There came a temporary ebb of the revolution in Western Europe and a partial strengthening of the position of capitalism. The partial stabilization of capitalism has led to an exacerbation of contradictions between individual capitalist countries, as well as between workers and capitalists in each country. The proletarian masses of the capitalist countries have an increased urge to create a united front against the capitalist offensive. Foreign workers' delegations came to the USSR.

The successes of the working class of the USSR on the economic front strengthened and consolidated the international position of the Soviet state. In 1924 and early 1925 the Soviet Union was recognized by Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and many other bourgeois states. In the summer of 1924, a "general agreement between Great Britain and the USSR" was signed, but the British reactionary bourgeoisie launched a campaign against it, declaring "England's surrender to Bolshevism."

The program for building socialism in the USSR

The restoration of the national economy of the USSR was drawing to a close. In 1925-1926, agriculture in the USSR reached the pre-war level, giving 103% of the pre-war production. The industry in terms of the number of products also approached the pre-war level. But for the Land of Soviets, the country of socialism under construction, it was not enough to simply restore the economy, simply to achieve the pre-war level. After all, this was the level of a backward, impoverished country. I had to move on.

The XIV Party Conference, which took place at the end of April 1925, based on Lenin's instructions about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, decided that the party "must make every effort to build a socialist society in the confidence that this construction can be it will surely be victorious if the country can be defended from any restorations. "

Justifying and developing Lenin's teaching on the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country, Comrade Stalin pointed out that two sides of this issue should be distinguished: the internal and the international.

The inner side of the question is the question of the relationship of classes within the country. We have everything you need to build a complete socialist society in our country.

The working class, which had established its political dictatorship, had converted the land, factories, plants, banks, and communication routes into public property, could now develop the construction of a socialist economy and, relying on an alliance with the peasantry, economically finish off capitalism inside the country.

But there is also an international side to the question of the victory of socialism. It consists in the fact that the USSR is still the only country of socialism. The capitalist encirclement continues to exist around the USSR, and it creates the danger of capitalist intervention. Only the victory of socialism on an international scale can provide a full guarantee against intervention.

This means that the final victory of socialism in the sense of a guarantee against intervention is possible only with the victory of the proletarian revolution in several countries. If the world revolution is delayed, the proletariat of the USSR can overcome economic and technical backwardness and ensure the independence of our country only with its own internal forces and resources, ensuring the creation of an industrial base of socialism and carrying out the socialist reconstruction of the national economy.

Lenin and Stalin teach that large-scale industry serves as the material basis of socialism, the economic basis for the dictatorship of the working class. The growth of industry leads to an increase in the size of the working class and an increase in its share in society. The development of large-scale machine industry ensures the achievement of a higher productivity of social labor than under capitalism. The development of large-scale heavy industry, especially machine building, is the key to the socialist remaking of agriculture and equips all branches of the national economy with modern advanced technology.

The XIV Party Conference strongly condemned the Trotskyist theory about the impossibility of the victory of socialism in the USSR and called on the working class to work hard to ensure this victory.

In May 1925, in his report on the results of the conference, Comrade Stalin substantiated and developed Lenin's doctrine of the possibility of the victory of socialism and formulated a program for building socialism in the following few words:

"We need 15-20 million industrial proletarians, electrification of the main regions of our country, cooperative agriculture and a highly developed metal industry. And then we are not afraid of any dangers. And then we will win on an international scale" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 7, p. 132).

The decisions of the XIV Party Conference formed the basis for the work of the III All-

Union Congress of Soviets, which opened on May 13, 1925. The Congress discussed reports: on the state of industry, on measures to raise and strengthen the peasant economy, on agricultural cooperation, on Soviet construction and on the Red Army. The congress outlined a number of measures to improve the work of the Soviets. The congress passed a decision on the admission of two new union republics to the USSR - the Turkmen SSR and the Uzbek SSR.

"The entry of the named republics into the USSR," says the decision of the congress, "is new evidence that the USSR is indeed a voluntary association of equal peoples and a faithful stronghold of previously oppressed peoples" ("Congresses of Soviets of the USSR in resolutions and resolutions", p. 78).

The congress paid special attention to the issue of strengthening the defense capability of the country and the Red Army. Emphasizing the general strengthening of the international position of the USSR, the Third Congress of Soviets, in a resolution on the report of M.V. Frunze, wrote:

"... The III Congress of Soviets of the USSR considers it necessary to declare to the working people of the Soviet Union and the whole world that, despite the efforts of the workers 'and peasants' government, despite the treaties and agreements already concluded with a number of states, the Soviet Union is still not guaranteed against attempts by world capital to violate peaceful labor of workers and peasants" (" Congresses of Soviets of the USSR in decrees and resolutions ", p. 82).

The congress approved the reform of the Union's armed forces carried out by the People's Commissariat of Military and Naval Affairs, which contributed to the further increase in the combat capability of the Red Army and the Red Navy.

In a decree on the report of MV Frunze, the government was asked to strengthen the country's defensive power. This decision played an important role in the further growth of the defense capability of the USSR. But MV Frunze did not succeed in bringing the outlined plans of military development to the end himself. He died on October 31, 1925. The Party and the Soviet people suffered a heavy loss. After the death of M.V. Frunze, the hero of the civil war, a military ally of Stalin and Frunze, K.E.

In December 1925, the XIV Party Congress opened. Comrade Stalin, in his report, set before the party the immediate task of transforming our country from an agrarian into an industrial one.

The congress approved the leader's proposals and decided:

"Ensure economic independence for the USSR, which protects the USSR from turning it into an appendage of the capitalist world economy, for which purpose to pursue a course towards industrialization of the country, development of production of means of production ...".

The 14th Party Congress went down in the history of the party and in the history of our country as an industrialization congress. In connection with the formation of the USSR, the congress decided to rename the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) into the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

Taking a firm course towards industrialization, the congress exposed the bourgeois views of the so-called "new opposition", which was pulling the party and the working class back onto the path of restoring capitalism. The Zinovievites brought their delegates to the congress only with the help of deception (they voted double-dealing before the congress at the Leningrad conference for the party line). The congress decided to send a group of

congress delegates to Leningrad, consisting of comrades Molotov, Kirov, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Andreev and others, so that they would tell the Leningrad organization the truth about the double-dealing behavior of its delegation at the party congress. The extraordinary Leningrad party conference unanimously condemned the double-dealing Zinovievites and elected a new regional party committee headed by S.M. Kirov, under whose leadership the Leningrad Bolsheviks launched a struggle for socialist industrialization.

II

CHALLENGES AND SUCCESSES OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION



USSR becomes an industrial country

During the recovery period, the task was to raise agriculture and rebuild existing factories and plants. But these were old enterprises with backward technology. Now they had to re-equip them on the basis of new technology.

During the recovery period, mainly light industry developed. Now it was necessary to expand and strengthen heavy industry, without which neither light industry nor

agriculture could continue to grow. It was necessary to build a number of new enterprises and create new industries, which were not at all in tsarist Russia: machine-building, machine-tool, automobile, chemical, aviation and tractor plants, a new defense industry, etc.

The creation of an industrial enterprise required huge funds. Capitalist countries usually built their industries at the expense of an inflow of funds from outside - by robbing colonies, wars of conquest, foreign loans and borrowings, as well as by exploiting their workers and peasants. For the industrialization of the socialist country, all these ways of accumulation were fundamentally impossible. For the proletarian state, there was only one path - the path of socialist accumulation from its own income and savings, the path of industrialization at the expense of funds within the country. The most important source of accumulation was the income of the nationalized industry, state trade, as well as circulating assets of credit institutions and savings banks. The slogan of struggle for a regime of economy was taken up by the broad working masses. The fierce struggle against the unproductive spending of state and public funds intensified. At the same time, the Soviet government did not allow any reduction in labor protection costs and prohibited the implementation of a saving regime at the expense of workers.

In capitalist countries, industrialization usually begins with the development of light industry. Only after light industry has accumulated the necessary funds does heavy industry begin to develop. Such a process takes a long time, and therefore the Communist Party did not take this path.

"Therefore, the Communist Party of our country rejected the" usual "path of industrialization and began the industrialization of the country with the deployment of heavy industry" (Stalin, Speech at the pre-election meeting of voters in the Stalin constituency in Moscow on February 9, 1946).

Already the first year of the implementation of the industrialization course outlined by the party has yielded positive results. The annual grain procurement plan in 1926 was fulfilled with a decline in grain prices on the market. The course of the chervonets has strengthened. Trade turnover has increased. Large-scale industry also fulfilled its annual plan and gave a 40% increase in production. Heavy industry production increased by almost 50%. The metal industry developed especially rapidly: in 1924 its production was more than half the pre-war level, and in 1926 it already exceeded the level of production and metal processing in 1913.

811 million rubles were invested in the re-equipment of old enterprises and in the construction of new ones (against 385 million in the previous year).

Old dormant enterprises were put into operation. New factories built by the Soviet government began to work.

In the spring of 1925, the first blast furnace of the largest in the south of the Dnepropetrovsk metallurgical plant, which had not worked since 1917, was put into operation at the operating enterprises. A month later, the Karabash copper smelter in the Urals was launched. In early December 1925, near Moscow, the Shaturskaya District Power Plant, the world's largest peat-powered station, was opened. On the May Day holiday of 1926, two large hydroelectric power stations were opened - in Tashkent and Yerevan.

In July 1926, traffic was opened on the first electric railway in the USSR, which connected Baku with the oil fields and the village of Sabunchi, and the ceremonial laying of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant took place.

The tremendous growth in the activity and creative initiative of the masses under the leadership of the Party led to rapid economic successes in the USSR. From September 1926, the production of Soviet industry for the first time exceeded the pre-war level. From the new 1926-27 economic year, the industry of the USSR began to produce more than tsarist Russia in the highest period of its economic development - in 1913 agricultural production and the national income of the Land of Soviets reached the pre-war level.

By the first decade of the existence of the Soviet state, socialist industrialization had already yielded results. Over a billion rubles were invested in capital construction.

A number of new large enterprises were commissioned. The construction of new giants of socialist industry began. In December 1926, the grand opening of the Volkhovskaya power plant, the firstborn of Soviet electrification, took place. The construction of this station was started, at the suggestion of Lenin, back in 1918.

In 1927, the Transcaucasian regional hydroelectric power station was opened, which provided electricity to the capital of Soviet Georgia - Tbilisi; the Krasny Putilovets plant produced the first 21 tractors, and the Moscow Automobile Plant AMO (now the Stalin plant) produced the first 10 trucks. In the same 1927, in the waterless deserts of Kazakhstan, the construction of Turksib, a railway line connecting Siberia with Central Asia, began.

Thus, the intensive construction of new factories, plants, mines, power plants, and railways began throughout the country.

The share of industry in the national economy has grown to 42%, reaching the pre-war level.

The growth of large-scale socialist industry proceeded at an even faster rate, the output of which had grown by 18% in comparison with the previous year. This was a record growth rate that the large-scale industry of the most advanced capitalist countries never knew, even in the years of its greatest development.

The jubilee session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR on the 10th anniversary of the victory of the October Revolution passed a resolution on the introduction of a seven-hour working day at enterprises.

Industrialization successes in the national republics

Capitalist industrialization is carried out mainly through the exploitation of colonial peoples. Socialist industrialization leads to an economic and cultural upsurge in the industrially backward national borderlands and lays a solid material foundation for strengthening the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. The Russian people provided all-round assistance to the previously backward peoples, who were rapidly creating their industrial base. Large-scale industry quickly recovered in the Ukrainian SSR. Agriculture was getting on strong legs. The national culture has grown. 2 million children studied in the Ukrainian language. In two years, more Ukrainian books were published than a century before the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The BSSR experienced the same economic and cultural flourishing. As a result of the course taken towards industrialization, industrial construction developed successfully. Personnel were trained for new enterprises. Before the October Revolution, there was not a single technical school or university in Belarus. In 1927, there were already 4 universities and 30 technical schools. Children were taught in their native language.

The building of socialism in the Transcaucasian republics also achieved great success. In the multi-tribal Transcaucasia, whose peoples were reconstructing their economies together and together, a national peace was established, which they had never known before.

In 1925-1927, in the young republics of Central Asia, land and water reform was successfully carried out. It destroyed the remnants of feudal relations in the use of land and water and strengthened the development of dekhkan (peasant) farms, which became the main suppliers of Soviet cotton for the textile factories of the USSR. Over 100 thousand dekhkan landless and land-poor farms received more than 300 thousand hectares of land cut off from large landowners.

Provocations of the imperialists and their Trotskyist agents

Socialist industrialization met with resistance from the capitalist elements in the country, who found support from foreign states. Trying to disrupt or at least delay the socialist industrialization of the USSR, the imperialists sought to drag the USSR into a new war.

In February 1927, British Foreign Minister Austin Chamberlain sent a note to the USSR government demanding "an end to anti-British propaganda", threatening to break off the trade agreement and diplomatic relations with the USSR. At the same time, the Chinese militarists carried out a bandit raid on the USSR embassy in Beijing (Beijing). In May, a police raid was organized on Soviet trading establishments in London. To this gross violation of the trade agreement, the Soviet government responded by refusing new trade orders in England.

Chamberlain broke off diplomatic relations with the USSR in the expectation that this would entail a break in relations between other capitalist countries and the Soviet Union and isolate the USSR.

In response to the provocations of the war, to attempts at an economic blockade of the USSR, the workers turned to the Soviet government with a proposal to issue a loan. The subscription for the first internal loan of industrialization in the amount of 200 million rubles was carried out in the shortest possible time.

The appeal of the Osoaviakhim formed in January 1927 to raise funds for the fund "Our response to Chamberlain" for the construction of a military squadron of the Red Air Fleet met with a warm response among the broad masses.



But the provocations of the imperialists continued. On June 7, 1927, a White Guard killed the Soviet envoy Voikov in Warsaw.

The Polish rulers took the murderer-bandit under their protection.

Inside the USSR, agents of imperialism were preparing a series of assassination attempts on leading party and Soviet workers. Arson was carried out at some factories and military depots.

The aggravation of the class struggle in the country and the deterioration of relations between the USSR and the capitalist states were reflected in the new attacks of the Trotskyists on the general line of the party. In 1926, from the fragments of all the

defeated factional groups, the so-called "opposition bloc" was formed, headed by Trotsky, who from 1926 became a secret agent of British intelligence.

In an effort to break the alliance of the working class with the main mass of the peasantry, the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship demanded a new and increased taxation of the middle peasant. Trotskyist provocateurs tried to convince the masses that it was not worth defending the USSR, because the victory of socialism in the USSR is impossible anyway.

The Trotskyists organized their illegal party of capitalist restoration. They had their own leading centers, secret printing houses, created illegal anti-Soviet groups, and recruited into their ranks the fragments of the enemies of the people expelled from the party. On the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Trotskyists and Zinovievites tried to organize their own anti-Soviet demonstrations on the streets of Moscow and Leningrad. In November 1927, the Bolshevik Party expelled the traitors Trotsky and Zinoviev from their ranks.

Describing the international situation of the USSR by the end of 1927, Comrade Stalin said:

"The strengthening of interventionist tendencies in the imperialist camp and the threat of war (against the USSR) are one of the main factors of the current situation" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 10, pp. 286-287).

The government and the party called on the workers and all working people to increase their vigilance and unremitting struggle against the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship. In 1927, a "Defense Week" was held throughout the country under the slogan "Strengthen the defense of the Soviet country in the struggle for peace." The working class has demonstrated its readiness to defend the socialist homeland. In the capitalist countries of Europe, mass demonstrations and meetings of workers' protest against the impending intervention were also organized.

Exposing the hostile designs of the imperialists, the Soviet government firmly pursued a policy of peace, seeking to improve relations with a number of capitalist states.

In the fall of 1927, the following agreements were concluded: a trade agreement with Latvia, a neutrality agreement and a trade agreement with Iran, an agreement with Japan on fishing in Soviet waters and several concession agreements. The economic ties between the USSR and the capitalist countries were strengthened in 1927.

In the midst of continuous provocations and threats of war, the Soviet government remained calm and firmly resolved to fight to the end for the cause of peace.

III

FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN



Course towards collectivization

The decade of the proletarian dictatorship was marked by great achievements in the socialist industrialization of the country. But agriculture, especially grain farming, was still far behind. The individual peasant economy could not achieve high productivity. It did not have the opportunity to use machines, fertilizers, achievements of science and technology.

The upsurge of the entire national economy of the USSR was hampered by the fragmentation and backwardness of agriculture. Its marketability was much lower than before the war. Small peasant farming became semi-natural. And although grain production in 1927 was almost at the level of 1913, only one third of the pre-war amount of marketable grain entered the market. The kulaks, which the Soviet government limited and supplanted, sold only 130 million poods of grain instead of the 650 million poods they sold before the revolution. Collective and state farms in 1927 produced only 35 million poods of marketable grain. The grain problem faced the national economy with all its acuteness. To resolve it, it was necessary to eliminate the backwardness of agriculture, to supply it with machines, to organize large-scale production in agriculture, and this was possible only on the basis of social cultivation of the land.

Developing Lenin's cooperative plan, Comrade Stalin created a theory of agricultural collectivization. This theory revealed specific ways and forms of transition from small-scale private peasant farming to large collective, socialist farming. In a report at the XV Congress of the CPSU (b) (December 1927), Comrade Stalin pointed out that the way out of the difficulties that the Soviet peasantry was going through was

"... in the transition of small and scattered peasant farms into large and united farms on the basis of social cultivation of the land, in the transition to collective cultivation of the land on the basis of new, higher technology ... There are no other

The 15th Congress of the CPSU (b) went down in history as a congress of collectivization. He outlined a plan for expanding and strengthening the network of collective farms and gave instructions to develop further the offensive against the kulaks.

The congress also passed a decision on drawing up the first five-year plan of the national economy.

The tasks of the first five-year plan



The successful completion of work on the restoration of the national economy made it possible to practically go over to the implementation of socialist industrialization. The first five-year plan was a tremendous force mobilizing the masses to carry out the tasks of socialist construction.

Assessing the significance of the transition to the five-year plan, Comrade Stalin said:

“Our plans are not planning forecasts, not guesswork plans, but directive plans that are binding on the governing bodies and which determine the direction of our economic development in the future on a national scale” (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 10, p. 327).

In the Soviet economy in transition, there was a contradiction between large-scale socialist industry and small-scale commodity farming. The Soviet state could not be based on two different economic foundations - the largest socialist industry and the most backward peasant economy.

To create the economic base of socialism, it was necessary not only to industrialize the country, but to transform agriculture on socialist foundations. Therefore, as comrade Stalin pointed out, the main task of the first five-year plan was to

"... to create in our country an industry that would be able to re-equip and reorganize not only industry as a whole, but also transport, but also agriculture - on the basis of socialism" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 172).

In April 1929, at the 16th Party Conference, the first five-year plan was approved, developed under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The size of capital investments in the national economy for 1928-1933. the five-year plan was determined at 64.6 billion rubles. Of this amount, it was planned to invest 19.5 billion rubles in industry (together with electrification), 10 billion rubles in transport, and 23.2 billion rubles in agriculture. It was a plan for arming the entire national economy with modern technology, a plan for building the foundation of socialism in our country.

Aggravation of the class struggle during the years of the first five-year plan



The first five-year plan was carried out in the autumn of 1928 in an atmosphere of intense class struggle. Taking advantage of the grain difficulties, the kulaks resisted grain procurements in every possible way. Following the directives of the 15th Congress, the party launched a decisive offensive against the kulaks. In response to the refusal of the kulaks to sell surplus grain to the state at fixed prices, emergency measures were introduced to confiscate surplus grain from kulaks in court.

The poor were given new benefits and the right to receive 25% of the grain confiscated from the kulaks. These measures isolated the kulaks. His resistance was broken.

The resistance of the bourgeois specialists also increased sharply. In 1928 a sabotage organization of bourgeois specialists in the Shakty region was exposed. The saboteurs acted at the direction of their former masters, white emigrants and foreign capitalists, and set themselves the task of undermining the coal industry of the USSR. They destroyed mines and factories, set fires and explosions, damaged cars, flooded mines, worsened the situation of workers in every possible way in order to cause their discontent. The wreckers were put on trial and punished they deserved.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called on all party organizations and all workers to learn lessons from the Shakty affair and to deploy widespread self-criticism to identify shortcomings in the work of economic and Soviet organizations and institutions. At the same time, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Bolshevik business executives must themselves become experts in production techniques so that they cannot be deceived by pests from among the old bourgeois specialists. The Party and the Soviet government began to improve the training of young specialists. Thousands of capable and dedicated people from the working class were sent to study.

The Party's offensive against the kulaks prompted an open defense of the kulak on the part of the Bukharin-Rykov group of traitors and capitulators. The Bukharinites demanded the abolition of extraordinary measures against the kulaks and especially

resolutely opposed the course taken by the party for the collectivization of the countryside.

They also opposed industrialization and especially against the creation of heavy industry, demanding the transfer of funds from heavy industry to light industry.

The party gave a decisive rebuff to the right, like the agents of the kulak in the party,

"... the victory of the right deviation in our party," said Comrade Stalin, *" would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and raise the chances of restoring capitalism in our country"* (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 11, p. 231) ...

Year of the great turning point

The colossal tasks set by the five-year plan caused a new powerful labor upsurge and a broad wave of socialist emulation. The workers declared themselves shock workers for socialist labor and organized shock brigades at the enterprises. Workers and collective farmers not only fulfilled, but also exceeded the plans set by the government, and also put forward their counter plans. People's views on labor changed, which, as Comrade Stalin said, began to turn from forced labor *into a matter of honor, a matter of glory, into a matter of valor and heroism* .

Gigantic industrial construction was underway throughout the country.

The construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric power station (Dneproges), begun in 1927, began. In the place where rocky rapids prevented from time immemorial the passage of ships, a huge dam was built 760 m long and 60 m high. The water level was raised, dangerous rapids were flooded, and the Dnieper turned into a navigable river along its entire length. The force of the falling water was used to create a powerful hydroelectric power plant. The construction of the largest metallurgical plant on Magnitnaya Mountain (in the Southern Urals) was intensively going on. For many hundreds of years, huge reserves of high-quality ore, which could now be used by the new giant of Soviet metallurgy, lay in Mount Magnitnaya, right at the very surface of the earth. The construction of the Kramatorsk and Horlivka factories, reconstruction of the Lugansk steam locomotive plant began in the Donbass. New mines and blast furnaces have sprung up. Uralmashstroy, Bereznikovskiy and Solikamskiy chemical plants were under construction. The construction of large automobile factories in Moscow and Gorky, gigantic tractor factories and combine factories in the Volga region and in the Ukraine has begun. In 11 months * a huge tractor plant grew up in the steppe near Stalingrad. During the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station and the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, workers have exceeded world labor productivity records. History has not yet known such a gigantic scale of new industrial construction, such a heroism of the millions of the working class. near Stalingrad, a huge tractor plant grew up. During the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station and the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, workers have exceeded world labor productivity records. History has not yet known such a gigantic scale of new industrial construction, such a heroism of the millions of the working class. near Stalingrad, a huge tractor plant grew up. During the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station and the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, workers have exceeded world labor productivity records. History has not yet known such a gigantic scale of new industrial construction, such a heroism of the millions of the working class.

At the head of the construction of heavy industry was an old Bolshevik, a student of Lenin and Stalin, GK Ordzhonikidze (1886-1937).

During the civil war, GK Ordzhonikidze was one of the founders and organizers of the Red Army, and during the years of socialist construction, he became the largest organizer of victories on the front of socialist construction. Ordzhonikidze's irreconcilability to all

enemies of socialism, his high principledness and ideology, his directness and crystal purity, his sincerely simple and caring attitude towards people won him the love and universal respect of all working people. The first five-year plan and its implementation are associated with the tremendous work of Sergo Ordzhonikidze, whom the workers and business executives called the *"army commander of heavy industry . "*

Following the labor upsurge of the working masses, the mass creation of collective farms began. The most important prerequisite for the transition of the peasants to a new, collective farm path was the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The nationalization of the land created favorable conditions for the organization of a large-scale socialist economy.

The material basis for the socialist transformation of agriculture was the successes of industrialization, which made it possible to equip socialized large-scale production with machinery.

The transition of peasants to the path of collective farms was facilitated by the development of agricultural cooperation. At first, cooperation prevailed in the field of marketing agricultural products and supplying the countryside with means of production and consumer goods (industrial goods). In this form of cooperation, the private property foundations of peasant production were still preserved. Collective farms were a higher form of peasantry cooperation. They were a production association of peasants based on public ownership of the means of production and collective labor.

Strictly observing the principle of voluntariness of the production association of peasants, the Soviet state provided the collective farms with material assistance, provided tax benefits, sent qualified personnel, and supplied machines.

In the spring of 1929, extensive construction of machine and tractor stations (MTS) began, which concentrated tractors, combines and other agricultural machines and served collective farms under special contracts. Machine and tractor stations were a means of establishing a production link between socialist industry and collective agriculture.

Soviet farms (state farms) played an important role in the growth of collectivization. State farms, like MTS, were state enterprises and were models of a mechanized socialist economy. State farms made it possible for the peasants to be convinced of the advantages of large-scale production and provided assistance to collective farmers with tractors, varietal seeds, pedigree cattle, etc.

In 1928 the sown area of collective farms was 1,390 thousand hectares, and in 1929 - 4,262 thousand hectares. This year the state and collective farms have produced 400 million poods of grain, of which 130 million poods of marketable grain.

In 1929, it was no longer individual peasants who went to collective farms, but entire villages and districts; the middle peasant went to the collective farms. In the North Caucasus, in the Ukraine, in the Middle and Lower Volga, collectivization swept through entire regions. Complete collectivization began.

The year 1929 went down in the history of our country as the "year of the great turning point". It was marked by the greatest successes of socialism in industry and agriculture, the turn of the middle peasant towards the collective farms, and the beginning of the mass collective farm movement.



A . Samokhvalov. Stalin and Kirov on Volkhovstroy

**USSR DURING THE PERIOD OF STRUGGLE FOR
COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE
(1939 - 1934)**



New provocations of the war

The successes of socialist industrialization made it easier for the Soviet government to fight for peace, against new provocations of war. The further growth of a powerful industry, the strengthening of the military power and defense capability of the USSR became all the more acute and urgent task as the capitalist encirclement continued to actively prepare for war against the socialist country.

In 1929, the most acute world economic crisis began. As a result of the crisis, 24 million workers in the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States were thrown onto the streets and left without work. The industrial crisis was intertwined with the agrarian crisis, from which tens of millions of peasants suffered. The bourgeoisie was looking for a way out of the crisis, on the one hand, in the suppression of the working class, and on the other, in unleashing a new imperialist war to redeploy the world.

The bourgeois press of the whole world again screamed about "the enemy of civilization — Bolshevism." A slanderous legend about "Soviet dumping" and "forced labor in the USSR" roamed the pages of corrupt newspapers. The Pope announced another "crusade"

against the Soviet Union. The imperialists again tried to organize an economic boycott of the proletarian state. The governments of the United States, France, and Romania passed laws banning the import of Soviet goods. A new wave of anti-Soviet provocations began. One of the largest provocations was the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). It was organized by the counter-revolutionary elements in Manchuria at the direct demand of the imperialist states. On July 10, 1929, White Chinese troops captured the Chinese Eastern Railway and began shelling the border villages and villages of the USSR with guns and machine guns. The Soviet government proposed to the central government of China and the Manchu authorities to liquidate the conflict peacefully, demanding the restoration of the previous position on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Chinese government refused to satisfy the legitimate demands of the USSR.

The Soviet government announced the termination of diplomatic and trade relations with China and took a number of measures to protect its borders in the Far East. In August 1929, by order of the People's Commissar for Military Affairs K-E. Voroshilov, the Special Far Eastern Army was created. In October - November 1929, she inflicted several crushing blows on the White Chinese troops. Only after that was an agreement signed on the return of the CER to the Soviet Union.

This turn of events sobered the supporters of the intervention.

The British government agreed to resume diplomatic relations with the USSR. Attempts at an economic boycott also failed. At the beginning of 1930, the Soviet government signed new trade agreements with Britain, Italy, and Turkey.

Thus, the Soviet Union repulsed another attack from international imperialism and secured a further opportunity for itself to continue building socialism in a peaceful atmosphere.

Elimination of the kulaks as a class

The socialist remaking of agriculture in the USSR was the most difficult and complex task of the proletarian revolution. At the beginning of 1929, there were 25 million individual peasant farms in the agriculture of the USSR. Of these, the poor peasants accounted for 35%, the middle peasants - 60%, and the kulak - 4-5%. The number of poor peasants in the USSR has halved in comparison with pre-revolutionary times. But the roots of capitalism in the countryside were not torn out, since small-scale individual production still prevailed.

Until 1929, the Soviet government pursued a policy of restricting and ousting the kulaks. It imposed an increased tax on the kulak, demanded that he sell grain to the state at fixed prices, limited kulak land use to a certain extent, reduced the size of the kulak economy, and limited the use of land leases and hired labor. But this policy did not destroy the economic foundations of the kulak economy.

At the end of 1929, in connection with the growth of collective and state farms, the Soviet government moved from the policy of restricting and ousting the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class.

In a historic speech at a conference of Marxist agrarian scholars in December 1929, Comrade Stalin scolded:

"Now we have the opportunity to launch a decisive offensive against the kulaks, break down their resistance, liquidate them as a class, and replace their production with the production of collective farms and state farms. Now dispossession is being carried out by the poor and middle peasants themselves, who are carrying out complete collectivization" (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 12, p. 170).

Taking into account the unequal preparedness of different regions for collectivization, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) in a special decree of January 5, 1930 "On the rate of collectivization and measures of state assistance to collective farm construction" established three groups of regions according to the rate of collectivization. The first group included the most important grain regions - the North Caucasus, the Middle and Lower Volga, where there were more tractors, more state farms and more experience in fighting the kulaks. This group was supposed to complete mainly collectivization in the spring of 1931. The second group of grain regions - Ukraine, the Central Black Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan - was to complete collectivization in the spring of 1932. For the rest of the regions - the Moscow Region, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and others - the deadlines for the completion of collectivization were postponed until 1933, that is, until the end of the five-year plan. On the basis of this decision, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted in February 1930 a decree banning wage labor on individual peasant farms. Local Soviets were given the right to take in areas of complete collectivization all the necessary measures to combat the kulaks, up to the confiscation of kulak land and the eviction of kulaks from the area.

The kulaks were expropriated, just as the capitalists in industry had previously been expropriated, but the means of production of the kulaks passed into the hands of the collective farms, not the state. It was a profound revolutionary upheaval.

"The peculiarity of this revolution was that it was carried out from above, on the initiative of the state power, with direct support from below from the millions of peasants who fought against kulak bondage, for a free collective farm life. It, this revolution, solved three fundamental questions with one blow socialist construction:

- a) It eliminated the most numerous exploiting class in our country, the kulak class, the bulwark of the restoration of capitalism;
- b) It transferred the most numerous working class in our country, the peasant class, from the path of individual farming, giving rise to capitalism, to the path of public, collective farm, socialist farming;
- d) It gave the Soviet power a socialist basis in the most extensive and vital, but also in the most backward area of the national economy - in agriculture.

Thus, the last sources of the restoration of capitalism were destroyed inside the country, and at the same time, new, decisive conditions were created that were necessary for building a socialist national economy "(History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course", pp. 291-292).

The kulaks offered desperate resistance to collectivization. They killed active fighters for collective farms, set fire to collective farm property, campaigned for the mass slaughter of cattle by peasants before they joined the collective farms. But all the attempts of the kulaks to turn the wheel of history back were decisively defeated.

The elimination of the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivization took place with the direct support of the poor and middle peasants. But it does not at all follow from this that this process took place without any difficulties.

The party and the government had to overcome enormous difficulties. Some Soviet and party workers, instead of patiently explaining the policy of the party to vacillating

individual farmers, decided to end collectivization as soon as possible, regardless of local conditions. They violated the Bolshevik principle of voluntariness in collective farm construction.

The number of dispossessed people sometimes included the middle peasants and even the poor. As it turned out later, such "excesses" were deliberately done by the Bukharinites and Trotskyists in order to restore the peasantry against collectivization and disrupt its successful course. These gross and most harmful excesses threatened to discredit the collective farm movement in the eyes of the peasants, and threatened to break the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

On March 2, 1930, Comrade Stalin published an article in Pravda, "[Dizzy with Success](#)," in which he wrote about the need to take measures to eliminate excesses in the collective farm movement. In another article, "[Answer to Comrades Collective Farmers](#)," Comrade Stalin explained the essence of the party line in collective farm construction and the significance of collective farms for the working peasants.

Comrade Stalin emphasized the voluntariness of collective farm development and reminded that the main link in the collective farm movement is the agricultural artel. The peasantry, who had left the collective farms under the influence of the bloody distortions of the party line, began to return back to the collective farms.

The successes of the socialist offensive

On June 26, 1930, the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks opened, which went down in history as the congress of the unfolded offensive of socialism along the entire front. In the previous stages of the struggle for socialism, the party developed a socialist offensive in certain sectors (in the field of trade, industry, in the construction of collective farms). Now a general offensive of socialism has begun, aimed at uprooting the deepest roots of capitalism. For the first time in the history of our homeland, the share of industrial production was more than half, and the share of agriculture was less than half of the country's total production. The collectivization plan was overfulfilled. On May 1, 1930, collectivization in the main grain-growing regions covered 40-50% of peasant farms. The sown area of collective farms was 36 million hectares. The marketable output of collective farms has grown more than 40 times in 3 years.

The collective farm peasantry has become a real and solid support of Soviet power. The USSR entered the period of socialism; socialism won not only in industry, but also in agriculture.

The successes of the socialist offensive were achieved in the struggle against the fierce resistance of the dying classes. The kulaks were shifting to new tactics, trying to disintegrate the collective farms from within.

They made their way to members of collective farms and even collective farm boards, became caretakers, foremen, accountants, grooms, etc. They tried to destroy labor discipline, spoiled tractors and machines, infected horses with glanders, scabies and other diseases, plundered collective farm crops, etc. The kulaks wanted to intimidate the peasants and undermine their faith in the collective farm.

But the best of the collective farmers selflessly defended the collective farm business. Pioneers and schoolchildren also gave fighters for collective farms. So, in 1932, in the Urals, a twelve-year-old schoolboy pioneer Pavlik Morozov exposed the kulaks and podkulachnikov who were conducting subversive work against collective farms. Fists trapped Pavlik in the forest and killed him.

The Soviet government took decisive measures against kulak sabotage and sabotage - cleansing the collective farms of kulaks, expelling them from regions for sabotage, etc. On August 7, 1932, a law on the protection of socialist property was issued. The January plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1933 decided to organize political departments in the MTS and state farms.

The political departments in the MTS existed for two years (1933-1934) and did a great deal of work to cultivate the collective farm asset, strengthen the collective farms and cleanse them of kulak and sabotage elements.

Clandestine counterrevolutionary organizations that had no support among the masses and acted as agents of foreign imperialists sought to take advantage of the aggravation of the class struggle in the countryside. In 1930, the OGPU uncovered a counterrevolutionary organization, the so-called "Industrial Party" ("Industrial Party"), which united a group of sabotage engineers who worked on assignments of foreign capitalists.

The members of the "Industrial Party" set themselves the goal of causing devastation in industry and promoting the intervention appointed by their foreign masters for 1930. In contact with the "Industrial Party", the kulak "Labor Peasant Party" conducted its sabotage, counter-revolutionary work in agriculture, led by the Social Revolutionaries operating in the underground ... In the higher economic and planning bodies, the sabotage organization of the Mensheviks operated, operating in a bloc with other counter-revolutionary organizations. In September 1930, a vile gang of pests was discovered in the supply area, which, in a furious rage against the Soviet people, was engaged in spoiling and poisoning of meat, fish, vegetables, etc., seeking to cause hunger and discontent among the workers. In 1930-1932. several counter-revolutionary groups of Bukharinites and Trotskyists were exposed.

As it turned out later, all these groups were offshoots of a deeply conspiratorial united Trotskyist-Bukharin espionage, sabotage, sabotage, terrorist organization. Its leaders and participants were exposed and convicted by the proletarian court in 1936-1938.

Five-year plan in four years

When heavy industry, and especially mechanical engineering, was created, the party and the Soviet state were faced with the task of reconstructing all branches of the national economy on the basis of new, modern technology. Technique became critical. But many business workers underestimated the role of technology in the period of reconstruction and did not deal with issues of production technology, considering it a matter of specialists.

Comrade Stalin, in his speech in February 1931 at the First All-Union Conference of Socialist Industry Workers, condemned this harmful underestimation of technology.

"We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries," said Comrade Stalin. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they will crush us " (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 39).

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Bolsheviks must master technology. Technology is everything during the reconstruction period.

In response to objections that it is difficult to master technology, Comrade Stalin pointed out that

" There are no fortresses that the Bolsheviks could not take ."

Following the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the party and the working class began to nominate and train new cadres, Soviet specialists. Gradually, a new, Soviet industrial and technical intelligentsia emerged, emerging from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry, vitally interested in the success of socialist construction.

The plan for the five-year development of the national economy was planned to be fulfilled for the period from 1928 to 1933. But the workers put forward the slogan: "Five-

year plan - in four years." In factories and collective farms, they calculated whether it was possible to shorten the time frame for fulfilling their plans, reduce costs, and increase productivity. Factory with factory, brigade with brigade and workers with each other entered into socialist competition. They declared themselves and their brigades to be shock troops. The first shock members left the ranks of the Komsomol. Workers and collective farmers began to increase labor productivity and work in a new way.

An enormous role in the restructuring of all economic work in a new way was played by the six conditions for the success of production, which Comrade Stalin put forward at the conference of business executives (June 1931).

As the first condition for the successful development of industry, Comrade Stalin put forward the demand for an organized recruitment of labor on the basis of industrial enterprises concluding agreements with collective farms. Comrade Stalin considered the second condition to be the struggle against the fluidity of the labor force, for this fluidity greatly harmed production; Comrade Stalin proposed to abolish the "equalization" in the payment of workers and to assign the main cadres of workers to enterprises through the correct organization of wages and improving the living conditions of the workers. Comrade Stalin saw the third of the conditions for the successful development of industry in the correct organization of labor, in the elimination of "impersonal", in the establishment of strict personal responsibility of each worker for the work entrusted to him. The fourth condition comrade Stalin put forward was the demand - to resolutely create a production and technical intelligentsia from the people of the working class and more boldly to nominate initiative and capable organizers from the ranks of the workers to command positions. Comrade Stalin considered the fifth condition to be the need to change the attitude towards the engineering and technical forces of the old school, the manifestation of attention and care to them, and more courageous involvement of them in work. Finally, Comrade Stalin set the sixth condition for the development of industry to introduce and strengthen economic accounting and to raise intraindustrial accumulation by mobilizing internal resources and fighting mismanagement. Comrade Stalin considered the fifth condition to be the need to change the attitude towards the engineering and technical forces of the old school, the manifestation of attention and care to them, and more courageous involvement of them in work. Finally, Comrade Stalin set the sixth condition for the development of industry to introduce and strengthen economic accounting and to raise intraindustrial accumulation by mobilizing internal resources and fighting mismanagement.

"The reality of our production plan," said Comrade Stalin at the conclusion of his historic speech at a conference of business executives, *" is millions of working people creating a new life. The reality of our program is living people, it is you and me, our will to work, our willingness to work in a new way, our determination to fulfill the plan "* (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 80).

СЫНОВИИ РАБОЧИИ. НАШ СОВЕТСКИИ РАБОЧИИ ХОЧЕТ ЖИТЬ С ПОКРЫТИЕМ
ВСЕХ СВОИИ МАТЕРИАЛЬНЫИ И КУЛЬТУРНЫИ ПОТРЕБНОСТЕЙ... ОН ИМЕЕТ НА
ЭТО ПРАВО, И МЫ ОБЯЗАНЫ ОБЕСПЕЧИТЬ ЕМУ ЭТИ УСЛОВИЯ" /СТАЛИИ/



ЗА РЕШИТЕЛЬНОЕ УЛУЧШЕНИЕ
МАТЕРИАЛЬНО-БЫТОВЫИ
УСЛОВИИ ЖИЗНИ ТРУДЯЩИИХСЯ.

Results of the first five-year plan

The implementation of the five-year plan in four years required high rates of industrial construction.

In 1931, the third year of the five-year plan, it was planned to build more than 1,000 new enterprises. 17 billion rubles were invested in industry and agriculture this year against

10 billion rubles in 1930. The third year of the five-year plan was called "the third, decisive". This year, the Turksib was put into operation, with a length of 1,500 km, passing through the steppes of Kazakhstan, where only horses and camels recently walked. In February 1931, the first Soviet tractor was produced at the Chelyabinsk plant, and in August, the first tractors at the Kharkov Tractor Plant. The first Soviet blooming mill was manufactured at the Izhevsk plant; at the Krasny Putilovets, its first tractor five-year plan was completed at the age of three; the plant of Soviet cars AMO (now named after Stalin) was put into operation, rebuilt on the site of old car workshops; the construction of the Gorky Automobile Plant was also completed. In the same year, the Saratov Combine Harvester Plant was put into operation.

In the east of the Soviet country, a new metallurgical base arose: the first mine was already working near Magnitnaya Mountain, new blast furnaces were being prepared for launching, the new socialist city of Magnitogorsk was quickly rebuilt and grew. The first stage of the huge Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant began to work.

New grandiose construction projects arose: in Karelia - the White Sea-Baltic Canal, in Moscow, metro construction projects were developed.

The "third, decisive" year of the five-year plan also brought about an unprecedented growth in collective farms. In the main grain-growing regions, collective farms have already united 4 / b peasant farms, in the rest of the grain-growing regions - more than half. 200 thousand collective farms and 4 thousand state farms sowed two-thirds of the entire sown area. The number of tractors in 1931 increased to 125 thousand. Collective and state farms became the main producers of grain and agricultural raw materials.

This was a tremendous victory for socialism in the countryside.

The fourth year of the five-year plan was called "the fourth, final". It caused a new and unprecedented upsurge in socialist emulation. In May 1932, Nikita Izotov, a miner at the Gorlovka mine, having mastered the production technique, exceeded his plan tenfold. He passed on his experience to the best miners of Donbass, and soon the Izotovske movement spread throughout the country.

In the "fourth, final" year, the grandiose construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric power station was completed. In October 1932, the whole country celebrated the launch of this largest firstborn of the five-year plan.

In 1932, construction work began in the distant taiga, on the banks of the Amur. Many thousands of Komsomol members came here and in the most difficult conditions with great enthusiasm began to build a shipyard and a new socialist city - Komsomolsk.

This is how hot, tense, tireless construction went on throughout the country. During the five-year plan, 2,400 new enterprises were built. A number of the most important industries (the production of tractors and automobiles, the modern chemical industry, motor building, aircraft building, etc.) were created for the first time. The production of electricity, oil and coal has sharply increased. During the years of the first five-year plan, a number of the largest power plants with a capacity of over 100 thousand kw were put into operation. The Soviet Union turned from an agrarian country into an industrial one.

As a result of the first five-year plan, as a result of the heroic struggle of the working class under the leadership of the party of Lenin - Stalin, the foundation of the socialist economy was built. This led to tremendous changes in the material situation of the working people. Unemployment in the country was finally eliminated, the working people of the USSR received firm confidence in the future.

A new collective farm system was created in the village. By the end of 1932, collective farms united over 60% of peasant farms and covered over 70% of the sown area. In the main grain-growing regions, collective farms have already united 80-90% of the total number of peasant farms.

The village received tractors, harvesters and the latest agricultural implements. The agriculture of the USSR, armed with the latest technology, has become the largest in the world. The collective farms have destroyed the basis of class exploitation and poverty in the countryside. In the words of Comrade Stalin, the countryside has ceased to be a stepmother for the peasantry. On collective farms, the former poor and middle peasants have become wealthy people. The collective farms have grown stronger in organizational, economic and political terms.

An important role in strengthening the collective farms was played by the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers-Shock Workers (February 1933) and the speech at it by

Comrade Stalin, who put forward the slogan - to make the collective farms Bolshevik and all collective farmers prosperous.
Comrade Stalin showed the collective farmers the way to a prosperous life.

"Only one thing is required of you," he said, *"to work honestly, to divide collective farm income according to labor, to protect collective farm property, to take care of tractors and machines, to take good care of the horse, to fulfill the tasks of your workers 'and peasants' state, to strengthen the collective farms and kick them out of collective farms of kulaks and podkulachnikov who made their way there "* (Stalin, Soch., vol. 13, p. 245).

During the years of the first five-year plan, a tremendous amount of work was done to industrialize the formerly backward national republics. In the former tsarist colonies - in Central Asia and Transcaucasia, in the steppes of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, in the remote northern regions - factories and plants, power plants, machine-tractor stations and state farms arose. The victory of the first five-year plan was a world-historic victory of the working class and peasantry of the USSR. It meant liberation from the yoke of exploitation, opened the way for all working people of the USSR to a prosperous, happy life. The victory of the Stalinist five-year plan showed the advantages of the socialist economic system.

"The results of the five-year plan," said Comrade Stalin in his report at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission in January 1933, *" showed that it is quite possible to build a socialist society in one country, for the economic foundation of such a society has already been built in the USSR"* (Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 214).

Describing the international significance of the five-year plan, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the five-year plan is not a private affair of the Soviet Union, but the affair of the entire international proletariat:

"The successes of the five-year plan mobilize the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism ..." (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 171).

In January 1934, the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party met. He summed up the results of the historic victory of socialism in our country. Back in 1918, and then with the introduction of the new economic policy, Lenin noted that in our country there are elements of five socio-economic structures:

- 1) patriarchal economy,
- 2) small-scale production,
- 3) private capitalism,
- 4) state capitalism,
- 5) socialist way of life.

Now the socialist structure has become the undividedly dominant force in the entire national economy. By this time, socialist industry accounted for 99% of the country's entire industry. Socialist agriculture (collective and state farms) already occupied 85.5% of all sown areas for grain crops. The capitalist elements were completely driven out of trade.

Comrade Stalin's report at the congress was, in the words of S. M. Kirov, the most striking document of the era. This report gave a picture of the great socialist construction project

and its successes. It also indicated the program for building a socialist society in the second five-year plan.

The 17th Congress also heard reports by VM Molotov and VV Kuibyshev on the second five-year plan for the development of the national economy.

At the XVII Congress Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy, Kamenev, Zinoviev delivered speeches of repentance. But their speeches were only a double-dealing disguise for the enemies of the people. While verbally recognizing the correctness of the party line, they were in fact preparing the villainous assassination of the leader of the party, Comrade Stalin, and other leaders of the party and government. They sold our homeland to the imperialists and hoped with their help to restore capitalism in our country.

The first victim of the Trotskyite-Zinovievist bandits was the favorite of the party and the working class, Sergei Mironovich Kirov, who was treacherously killed from around the corner by the Zinovievites in Leningrad, in Smolny, on December 1, 1934. From the testimony of the members of this counter-revolutionary group, it became clear that they were connected with representatives of foreign capitalist states received money from them. The direct organizers of the assassination of Kirov were, as it turned out later, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin, acting on the orders of Trotsky. The villains were destroyed at the unanimous demand of the people and by the verdict of the proletarian court, which expressed the will of the Soviet people.



**THE FIGHT TO COMPLETE THE CONSTRUCTION OF
SOCIALISM AND THE STALIN CONSTITUTION**



The beginning of the second world war and the peaceful policy of the USSR

From the end of 1933 to the second half of 1937, the capitalist countries were in a state of economic depression. In the second half of 1937, a new economic crisis began, which seized first of all the United States, and after them Britain, France and other countries.

A new crisis broke out during the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1935, Italy, without declaring war, attacked Abyssinia and captured it. In the summer of 1936, the imperialists organized a military intervention against Republican Spain. In 1937, after the capture of Manchuria, Japan invaded North and Central China. In 1938 Germany invaded Austria and Czechoslovakia. The map of Europe, Africa and Asia was forcibly redrawn. The whole system of the post-war, so-called Versailles world order was shocked. The new economic crisis led to a further exacerbation of the struggle between the imperialist powers. The question of a new redistribution of the world, spheres of influence, colonies was now decided by the war. Japan "justified" its aggressive actions by the fact that it was not allowed to expand its territory at the expense of China at the conclusion of the treaty of nine powers (1922). Italy demanded compensation for its losses in the First World War at the expense of colonial acquisitions. Hitlerite Germany, under the pretext of returning the colonies taken from it under the Treaty of Versailles and annexing the lands inhabited by the Germans, openly prepared for a war for world domination. Large and small states began to feverishly arm themselves and prepare for participation in a new world war.

A great service to the warmongers was rendered by the policy of "non-interference" of the strongest powers - England and France. The imperialists of Britain, France and the United States carried out a consistent system of concessions to the aggressor with the aim of turning his aggression against the Soviet Union. In the period between 1933-1939, this policy was applied in relation to Nazi Germany, and to fascist Italy, and to imperialist Japan.

Only the Soviet Union steadfastly defended the cause of peace.

Pursuing its peaceful policy, the Soviet country in every way strengthened its defense capability and its international positions. At the end of 1934, at the invitation of 34 states, the USSR entered the League of Nations, seeking to use even this weak organization to slow down the outbreak of war.

In the interests of preserving peace, the Soviet government concluded a number of treaties on mutual assistance in the event of an attack by a military aggressor. Soviet representatives in the League of Nations insisted on aid to the Spanish and Chinese peoples who heroically fought against the interventionists for their independence.

In July 1938, the Japanese government presented the Soviet Union with an unfounded claim to sever part of the territory on the border with Manchuria, near Lake Khasan, from the USSR. The Soviet government rejected these claims.

Then on July 29, taking advantage of the foggy weather, a Japanese detachment unexpectedly invaded Soviet territory and captured the Bezmyannaya hill near Lake Khasan. The outpost of border guards, in which there were only 11 people, heroically fought off the attack of 150 Japanese soldiers. The reserve of border guards that came to the rescue defeated the Japanese detachment. Then the Japanese launched a wider offensive, throwing large forces of infantry and artillery into battle. The Far Eastern Red Army was sent to help the Soviet border guards. The battles for the heights of Zaozyornaya and Bezmyannaya continued from 2 to 6 August. There were also quite a few Russian White Guards with the Japanese. Detachments of Soviet bombers were sent against the Japanese troops. Bomber pilots dropped hundreds of bombs on the hills where the Japanese were entrenched. At the same time, Soviet tanks and infantry went on the offensive.

"For the Motherland! For the great Stalin! Forward!" - with such a slogan, the fighters went on the offensive. Communists and Komsomol members were ahead.

Non-party people, right in the trenches, in a combat situation, applied for membership in the party.

"I ask you to accept me into the ranks of the VKP (b), " wrote one of Hasan's heroes, Lieutenant Glotov, " and if an enemy bullet hits me on the battlefield, I ask you to consider me a Bolshevik."

The Red Army defeated the Japanese units and expelled them from Soviet territory.

In 1939, Japanese units invaded the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River. According to a mutual assistance treaty concluded between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic in 1936, the Soviet Union helped the Mongolian Republic. Units of the Red Army, together with the Mongolian People's Army, dealt a crushing blow to the Japanese troops and drove them out of Mongolian territory. The USSR showed the whole world how inviolably our country fulfills the obligations that it undertakes under treaties with other countries.

Second five-year plan of socialism (1933-1937)

While the world of capitalism was experiencing a new exacerbation of the economic crisis, and then a protracted depression, the completion of the construction of socialism was going on in the USSR.

The main task of the second five-year plan, adopted by the 17th Congress of the CPSU (b), was to complete the technical reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy, finally eliminate all exploiting classes and completely eliminate the causes that give rise to the division of society into exploiters and exploited.

The fulfillment of the tasks of the second five-year plan of socialism proceeded quickly and successfully. Capital investment in industry increased to 65.8 billion rubles, of which 54.6 billion was directed to heavy industry. Ferrous metallurgy continued to develop at a rapid pace - the basis of the country's industrialization.

Dozens of new industries were created that were not known in pre-revolutionary Russia. New giants of the industry came into operation: the Krivoy Rog metallurgical plant, the Kramatorsk machine-building plant named after Stalin, the first stage of the Moscow metro, the 128 km long Moscow canal, which connected the Soviet capital with the Volga.

By April 1, 1937, the second five-year plan in industry was completed ahead of schedule - at 4 years and 3 months. Already in the first five-year plan, the USSR overtook France in terms of industrial production. In the second five-year plan, he overtook England and Germany.

Only the United States of America remained ahead of the USSR in terms of industrial output. One Dneprovskaya hydroelectric power station in 1936 gave more electricity than the whole of tsarist Russia, one Magnitogorsk plant smelted pig iron 2 * / g times more than the whole of Poland. Industry in the Soviet national republics grew especially rapidly during the second five-year plan. The wise foresight of the Lenin-Stalin party was reflected in the fact that in the eastern regions of the Soviet country a new base of heavy industry, coal and oil, new centers of mechanical engineering and the defense industry was created.

The task of completing the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy of the USSR was basically solved.

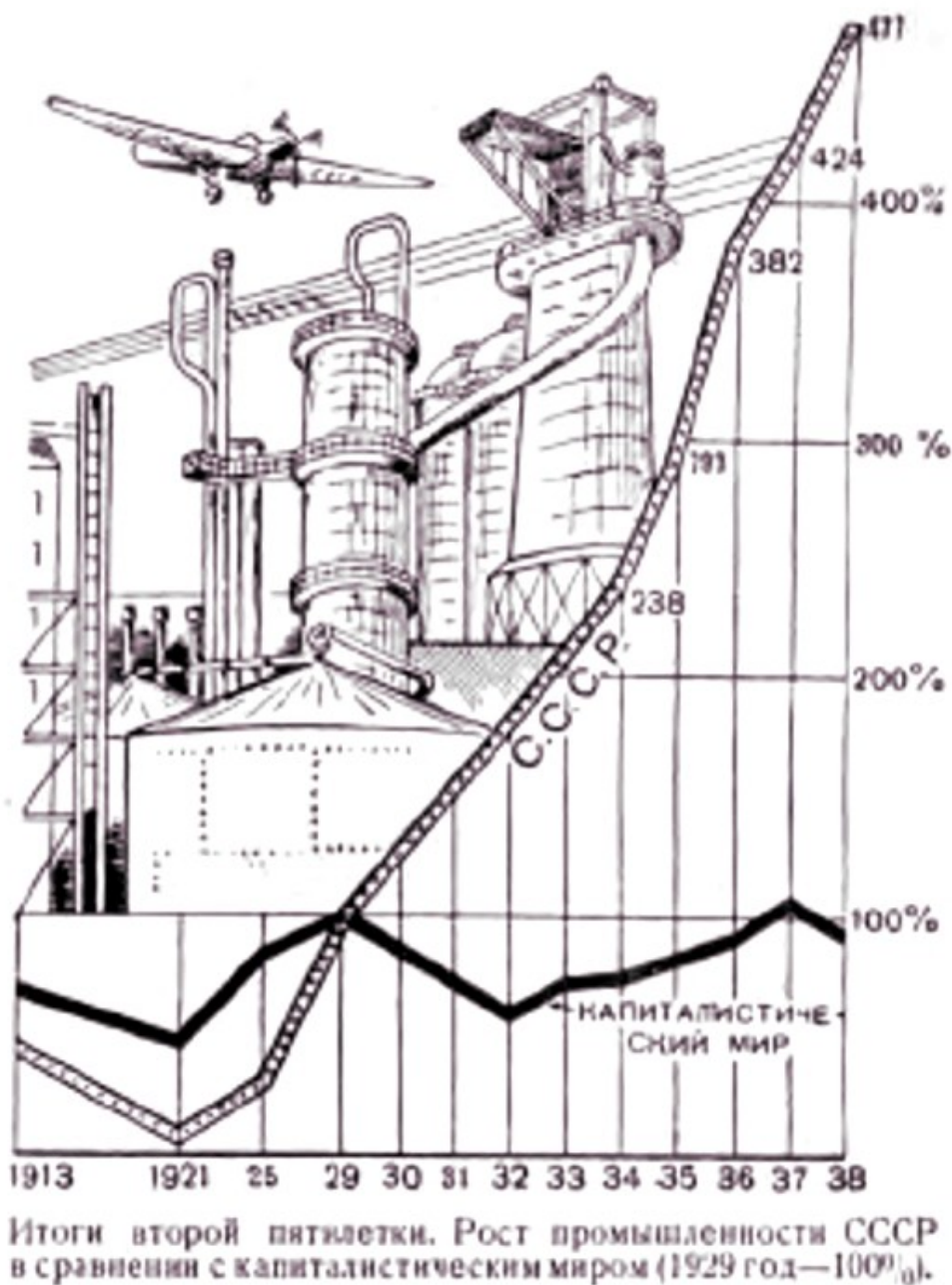
The engineering industry has nearly tripled its output. In 1913, tsarist Russia produced 10 times less cars than England, 18 times less than Germany, 23 times less than the United States. By the end of the second five-year plan, only the United States still produced twice as many cars as the USSR.

In terms of electricity production, the USSR moved up from fifteenth place to second in Europe and to third in the world. In the production of tractors, the USSR took first place in Europe, and in the production of combines - in first place in the world.

During the years of the two Stalinist five-year plans, Soviet transport was reconstructed anew. Since 1913, the production of steam locomotives of the most advanced systems has quadrupled. The number of cars produced in the USSR has increased 8 times in five years. The Stalin plant (former AMO) in 1932 produced 50 cars per day, and in 1937 - 205. In Moscow and other cities, the number of buses increased, trolleybuses appeared. In 1935, after the heroic Arctic cruises of the Chelyuskin icebreaker and others, the operation of the Northern Sea Route began.

During the years of the two Stalinist five-year plans, the technical reconstruction of agriculture was also completed. It has become not only the largest, but also the most mechanized agriculture in the world. The sown area of all crops increased from 105 million hectares in 1913 to 135 million hectares in 1937. The collective farms gave the country in 1937 over 1 billion 700 million poods of marketable grain, i.e. 400 million poods more than the landlords, kulaks and peasants altogether gave in 1913. The collectivization of agriculture was largely completed. In 1937, the collective farms had more than 1 billion 700 million poods of marketable grain, that is, 400 million poods more than the landlords, kulaks and peasants altogether gave in 1913. The collectivization of agriculture was largely completed. In 1937 there were 18.5 million peasant households on the collective farms,

Industry, agriculture and transport received an enormous number of new machines and machine tools.



Stakhanov movement

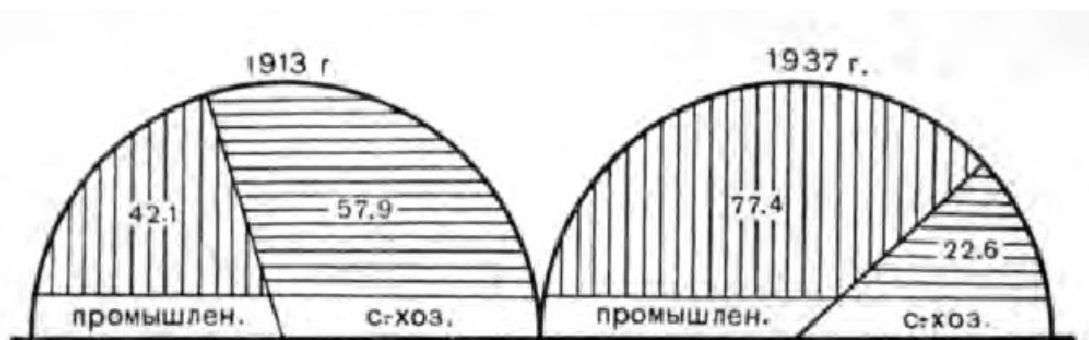
The party led by Comrade Stalin roused the masses to fight for the mastery of new technology. The slogan of mastering technology became the leading slogan of the second Stalinist five-year plan. A tremendous amount of work has been done to educate cadres who have mastered the new technology to perfection. At the beginning of the reconstruction period, when the country was experiencing hunger in technology, the party issued the slogan? *"Technology is everything during the reconstruction period."* After the completion of the reconstruction period, when there was an acute shortage of personnel in the country, the party paid special attention to personnel capable of fully using equipment.

In his speech at the graduation of academicians of the Red Army in May 1935, Comrade Stalin said:

"Technology, led by people who have mastered technology, can and should give miracles " (Stalin. Questions of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 490).

In his speech, Comrade Stalin put forward a new slogan:

"Cadres are everything."



Итоги второй пятилетки. Соотношение продукции крупной промышленности и сельского хозяйства в царской России и в СССР (в %).

The best people in the country responded to the leader's slogans with new industrial achievements that overturned the norms that had existed until then. On August 31, 1935, in the Donetsk Basin, Aleksey Stakhanov, the miner of the Central-Irmino mine, cut down 102 tons of coal in one shift instead of the norm of 7 tons, exceeding the usual norms of coal production by 14.5 times. Stakhanov laid the foundation for a mass movement of workers and collective farmers for raising production rates, for a new rise in labor productivity. It was named Stakhanov's after the founder of the movement.

Stakhanov's initiative was picked up by workers from other sectors of the national economy: the blacksmith Busygin at the Gorky Automobile Plant, the railway engineer Krivonos in the Donbass, the Vichuga weavers Vinogradovs and many others.

At the I All-Union Conference of the Stakhanovists, which opened in the Kremlin in November 1935, Comrade Stalin showed that the Stakhanov movement grew on the basis of the successes of socialism in our country, that it prepares the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism, undermines the foundations of the opposition between physical and mental labor that the Stakhanov movement marks the beginning of an enormous cultural and technical upsurge of the working class.

"The basis of the Stakhanov movement," said Comrade Stalin, *"was primarily a radical improvement in the material conditions of the workers. Life has become better, comrades. Life has become more fun. And when you have fun, work gets done. Hence the high production rates. Hence the heroes and heroines of labor "* (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 499). Comrade Stalin called the

Stakhanovists innovators in our industry.

The Stakhanov movement spread throughout the country, first in the city, and then in the countryside.

During the years of the second five-year plan, the collective farm system was finally strengthened. Of exceptional importance for the upsurge and prosperity of collective farms was the charter of an agricultural artel, developed under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin and adopted by the 11th congress of collective farmers-shock workers in February 1935, as well as securing the permanent use of the land occupied by the collective farms. On the basis of the Stalinist charter, the collective farms quickly moved forward along the path to a prosperous and cultural life.

In the winter of 1935/36, a series of meetings of the foremost workers of various branches of agriculture with the leaders of the party and government took place. These meetings showed what wonderful people the collective farm system has brought up. The conferences showed the whole country such wonderful women - new heroines of labor created by the collective farm system, like Maria Demchenko, Pasha Angelina and many others.

**Elimination of the remnants of Trotskyite-Bukharin spies,
pests, traitors to the motherland**



Preparing the war against the USSR, the imperialist states used traitors to their homeland - the Trotskyists and Bukharinites. Trials 1935-1938 showed that the Bukharinites and the Trotskyists had long constituted one common band of enemies of the people — the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.

Fulfilling the will of their masters - foreign bourgeois intelligence services, the Trotskyists and Bukharinites aimed at undermining the country's defense, facilitating foreign military intervention, preparing for the defeat of the Red Army, dismembering the USSR, giving back to the Japanese of Soviet Primorye, the Poles - Soviet Belarus, the Germans - Soviet Ukraine, the British - Soviet North, the destruction of the gains of workers and collective farmers, the restoration of capitalist slavery in the USSR. The exposed members of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite-Bukharin terrorist organizations were sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court.

Disguised enemies of the people could remain unrevealed for so long because many party members were politically careless and not vigilant enough.

Comrade Stalin pointed out the need to immediately eliminate political carelessness and, revealing its reasons, stressed that many comrades had forgotten about the capitalist encirclement, which was used by the enemies of the people. Comrade Stalin called on the Party and the Soviet people to strengthen political vigilance and master Bolshevism.

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USSR DURING THE PERIOD OF STRUGGLE FOR COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

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CHAPTER XV

USSR IN THE PERIOD OF THE FIGHT FOR THE COLLECTIVEIZATION OF AGRICULTURE (1929 - 1934)



❖ FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST REALIZATION OF THE PEASANT ECONOMY

1. New provocations of the war.
 2. The elimination of the kulaks as a class.
 3. The successes of the socialist offensive.
 4. Five-year plan in four years.
 5. Results of the first five-year plan.
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USSR IN THE PERIOD OF THE FIGHT FOR THE COLLECTIVEIZATION OF AGRICULTURE (1929 - 1934)

I

FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST REALIZATION OF THE PEASANT ECONOMY



New provocations of the war

The successes of socialist industrialization made it easier for the Soviet government to fight for peace, against new provocations of war. The further growth of a powerful industry, the strengthening of the military might and defense capability of the USSR became all the more acute and urgent task as the capitalist encirclement continued to actively prepare for war against the socialist country. In 1929, the most acute world economic crisis began. As a result of the crisis, 24 million workers in the capitalist countries of Europe and the United States were thrown onto the streets and left without work. The industrial crisis was intertwined with the agrarian crisis, from which tens of millions of peasants suffered. The bourgeoisie was looking for a way out of the crisis, on the one hand, in the suppression of the working class, and on the other, in unleashing a new imperialist war to re deploy the world.

The bourgeois press of the whole world again screamed about "the enemy of civilization — Bolshevism." A slanderous legend about "Soviet dumping" and "forced labor in the USSR" roamed the pages of corrupt newspapers. The Pope announced another "crusade" against the Soviet Union. The imperialists again tried to organize an economic boycott of the proletarian state. The governments of the United States, France, and

Romania passed laws banning the import of Soviet goods. A new wave of anti-Soviet provocations began. One of the largest provocations was the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER). It was organized by the counter-revolutionary elements in Manchuria at the direct demand of the imperialist states. On July 10, 1929, White Chinese troops captured the Chinese Eastern Railway and began shelling the border villages and villages of the USSR with guns and machine guns. The Soviet government proposed to the central government of China and the Manchu authorities to liquidate the conflict peacefully, demanding the restoration of the previous position on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Chinese government refused to satisfy the legitimate demands of the USSR.

The Soviet government announced the termination of diplomatic and trade relations with China and took a number of measures to protect its borders in the Far East. In August 1929, by order of the People's Commissar for Military Affairs K.E. Voroshilov, the Special Far Eastern Army was created. In October - November 1929, she inflicted several crushing blows on the White Chinese troops. Only after that was an agreement signed on the return of the CER to the Soviet Union. This turn of events sobered the supporters of the intervention. The British government agreed to resume diplomatic relations with the USSR. Attempts at an economic boycott also failed. At the beginning of 1930, the Soviet government signed new trade agreements with Britain, Italy, and Turkey.

Thus, the Soviet Union repulsed another attack from international imperialism and secured a further opportunity for itself to continue building socialism in a peaceful atmosphere .

Elimination of the kulaks as a class

The socialist remaking of agriculture in the USSR was the most difficult and complex task of the proletarian revolution. At the beginning of 1929, there were 25 million individual peasant farms in the agriculture of the USSR. Of these, the poor peasants accounted for 35%, the middle peasants - 60%, and the kulak - 4-5%. The number of poor peasants in the USSR has halved in comparison with pre-revolutionary times. But the roots of capitalism in the countryside were not torn out, since small-scale individual production still prevailed.

Until 1929, the Soviet government pursued a policy of restricting and

ousting the kulaks. It imposed an increased tax on the kulak, demanded that he sell grain to the state at fixed prices, limited kulak land use to a certain extent, reduced the size of the kulak economy, and limited the use of land leases and hired labor. But this policy did not destroy the economic foundations of the kulak economy. At the end of 1929, in connection with the growth of collective and state farms, the Soviet government moved from the policy of restricting and ousting the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class. In a historic speech at a conference of Marxist agrarian scholars in December 1929, Comrade Stalin scolded:

“Now we have the opportunity to launch a decisive offensive against the kulaks, break down their resistance, liquidate them as a class, and replace their production with the production of collective farms and state farms. Now dispossession is being carried out by the poor and middle peasants themselves, who are carrying out complete collectivization” (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 12, p. 170).

Taking into account the unequal preparedness of different regions for collectivization, the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) in a special decree of January 5, 1930 "On the rate of collectivization and measures of state assistance to collective farm construction" established three groups of regions according to the rate of collectivization. The first group included the most important grain regions - the North Caucasus, the Middle and Lower Volga, where there were more tractors, more state farms and more experience in fighting the kulaks. This group was supposed to complete mainly collectivization in the spring of 1931. The second group of grain regions - Ukraine, the Central Black Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan - was to complete collectivization in the spring of 1932. For the rest of the regions - the Moscow Region, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and others - the deadlines for the completion of collectivization were postponed until 1933, that is, until the end of the five-year plan. On the basis of this decision, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted in February 1930 a decree banning wage labor on individual peasant farms. Local Soviets were given the right to take in areas of complete collectivization all the necessary measures to combat the kulaks, up to the confiscation of kulak land and the eviction of kulaks from the area.

Kulaks were expropriated just as previously expropriated capitalists in industry but kulaks production means is not moved into the hand

gosu darstva and hands farms. It was a profound revolutionary upheaval.

“The peculiarity of this revolution was that it was carried out from above, on the initiative of the state power, with direct support from below from the millions of peasants who fought against kulak bondage, for a free collective farm life. It, this revolution, solved three fundamental questions with one blow socialist construction:

a) It eliminated the most numerous exploiting class in our country, the kulak class, the bulwark of the restoration of capitalism;

b) It transferred the most numerous working class in our country, the peasant class, from the path of individual farming, giving rise to capitalism, to the path of public, collective farm, socialist farming;

d) It gave the Soviet power a socialist basis in the most extensive and vital, but also in the most backward area of the national economy - in agriculture.

Thus, the last sources of the restoration of capitalism were destroyed inside the country, and at the same time, new, decisive conditions were created that were necessary for building a socialist national economy "(History of the CPSU (b). A Short Course", pp. 291-292).

The kulaks offered desperate resistance to collectivization. They killed active fighters for collective farms, set fire to collective farm property, campaigned for the mass slaughter of cattle by peasants before they joined the collective farms. But all the attempts of the kulaks to turn the wheel of history back were decisively defeated. The elimination of the kulaks as a class on the basis of complete collectivization took place with the direct support of the poor and middle peasants. But it does not at all follow from this that this process took place without any difficulties.

The party and the government had to overcome enormous difficulties. Some Soviet and party workers, instead of patiently explaining the policy of the party to the vacillating individual farmers, decided to end collectivization as soon as possible, regardless of local conditions. They violated the Bolshevik principle of voluntariness in collective farm construction. The number of dispossessed people sometimes included the middle peasants and even the poor. As it turned out later, such "excesses" were deliberately done by the Bukharinites and Trotskyists in order to restore the peasantry against collectivization and disrupt its

successful course. These gross and most harmful excesses threatened to discredit the collective farm movement in the eyes of the peasants, and threatened to break the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. On March 2, 1930, Comrade Stalin published in Pravda the article

["Dizziness with success"](#), in which he wrote about the need to take measures to eliminate excesses in the collective farm movement. In another article, "[Answer to Comrades Collective Farmers](#)," Comrade Stalin explained the essence of the party line in collective farm construction and the significance of collective farms for the working peasants.

Comrade Stalin emphasized the voluntariness of collective farm development and reminded that the main link in the collective farm movement is the agricultural artel. The peasantry, who had left the collective farms under the influence of the bloody distortions of the party line, began to return back to the collective farms.

The successes of the socialist offensive

On June 26, 1930, the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks opened, which went down in history as the congress of the unfolded offensive of socialism along the entire front. In the previous stages of the struggle for socialism, the party developed a socialist offensive in certain sectors (in the field of trade, industry, in the construction of collective farms). Now a general offensive of socialism has begun, aimed at uprooting the deepest roots of capitalism. For the first time in the history of our homeland, the share of industrial production was more than half, and the share of agriculture was less than half of the country's total production. The collectivization plan was overfulfilled. On May 1, 1930, collectivization in the main grain-growing regions covered 40-50% of peasant farms. The sown area of collective farms was 36 million hectares. The commercial output of the collective farms has grown more than 40 times in 3 years.

The collective farm peasantry has become a real and solid support of Soviet power. The USSR entered the period of socialism; socialism won not only in industry, but also in agriculture. The successes of the socialist offensive were achieved in the struggle against the fierce resistance of the dying classes. The kulaks were shifting to new tactics, trying to disintegrate the collective farms from within. They made their way to members of collective farms and even collective farm boards, became

caretakers, foremen, accountants, grooms, etc. They tried to destroy labor discipline, spoiled tractors and machines, infected horses with glanders, scabies and other diseases, plundered collective farm crops, etc. The kulaks wanted to intimidate the peasants and undermine their faith in the collective farm.

But the best of the collective farmers selflessly defended the collective farm business. Pioneers and schoolchildren also gave fighters for collective farms. So, in 1932, in the Urals, a twelve-year-old schoolboy pioneer Pavlik Morozov exposed the kulaks and podkulachnikov who were conducting subversive work against collective farms. Fists trapped Pavlik in the forest and killed him. Against kulak sabotage and sabotage, the Soviet government took decisive measures - cleansing collective farms of kulaks, expelling them from regions for sabotage, etc. On August 7, 1932, a law on the protection of socialist property was issued. The January plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1933 decided to organize political departments in the MTS and state farms.

The political departments in the MTS existed for two years (1933-1934) and did a great deal of work to cultivate the collective farm asset, strengthen the collective farms and cleanse them of kulak and sabotage elements. Clandestine counterrevolutionary organizations that had no support among the masses and acted as agents of foreign imperialists sought to take advantage of the aggravation of the class struggle in the countryside. In 1930, the OGPU uncovered a counterrevolutionary organization, the so-called "Industrial Party" ("Industrial Party"), which united a group of sabotage engineers who worked on assignments of foreign capitalists.

The members of the "Industrial Party" set themselves the goal of causing devastation in industry and promoting the intervention appointed by their foreign masters for 1930. In contact with the "Industrial Party", the kulak "Labor Peasant Party" conducted its sabotage, counter-revolutionary work in agriculture, led by the Social Revolutionaries operating in the underground ... In the higher economic and planning bodies, the sabotage organization of the Mensheviks operated, operating in a bloc with other counter-revolutionary organizations. In September 1930, a vile gang of pests was discovered in the supply area, which, in a furious rage against the Soviet people, was engaged in spoiling and poisoning of meat, fish, vegetables, etc., seeking to cause hunger and discontent among the workers. In 1930-1932. several counter-revolutionary groups of

Bukharinites and Trotskyists were exposed.

As it turned out later, all these groups were offshoots of a deeply conspiratorial united Trotskyist-Bukharin espionage, sabotage, sabotage, terrorist organization. Its leaders and participants were exposed and convicted by the proletarian court in 1936-1938.

Five-year plan in four years

When heavy industry, and especially mechanical engineering, was created, the party and the Soviet state were faced with the task of reconstructing all branches of the national economy on the basis of new, modern technology. Technique became critical. But many business workers underestimated the role of technology in the period of reconstruction and did not deal with issues of production technology, considering it a matter of specialists. Comrade Stalin, in his speech in February 1931 at the First All-Union Conference of Socialist Industry Workers, condemned this harmful underestimation of technology.

"We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries," said Comrade Stalin. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they will crush us "(Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 39).

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Bolsheviks must master technology. Technology is everything during the reconstruction period. In response to objections that it is difficult to master technology, Comrade Stalin pointed out that " *there are no such fortresses that the Bolsheviks could not take* ." Following the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the party and the working class began to nominate and train new cadres, Soviet specialists. Gradually created a new, Soviet-made but technical intelligentsia, coming from the ranks of the working class and the peasantry, are vitally interested in the success of socialist construction.

The plan for the five-year development of the national economy was planned to be fulfilled for the period from 1928 to 1933. But the workers

put forward the slogan: "Five-year plan - in four years." In factories and collective farms, they calculated whether it was possible to shorten the time frame for fulfilling their plans, reduce costs, and increase productivity. Factory with factory, brigade with brigade and workers with each other entered into socialist competition. They declared themselves and their brigades to be shock troops. The first shock members left the ranks of the Komsomol. Workers and collective farmers began to increase labor productivity and work in a new way. An enormous role in the restructuring of all economic work in a new way was played by the six conditions for the success of production, which Comrade Stalin put forward at the conference of business executives (June 1931).

As the first condition for the successful development of industry, Comrade Stalin put forward the demand for an organized recruitment of labor on the basis of industrial enterprises concluding agreements with collective farms. Comrade Stalin considered the second condition to be the struggle against the fluidity of the labor force, for this fluidity greatly harmed production; Comrade Stalin proposed to abolish the "equalization" in the payment of workers and to assign the main cadres of workers to enterprises through the correct organization of wages and improving the living conditions of the workers. Comrade Stalin saw the third of the conditions for the successful development of industry in the correct organization of labor, in the elimination of "impersonal", in the establishment of strict personal responsibility of each worker for the work entrusted to him. The fourth condition comrade Stalin put forward was the demand - to resolutely create a production and technical intelligentsia from the people of the working class and more boldly to nominate initiative and capable organizers from the ranks of the workers to command positions. The fifth condition, Comrade Stalin considered the need to change the attitude towards the engineering and technical forces of the old school, the manifestation of attention and care to them, a more daring attraction of them to work. Finally, Comrade Stalin set the sixth condition for the development of industry to introduce and strengthen economic accounting and to raise intraindustrial accumulation by mobilizing internal resources and fighting mismanagement.

"The reality of our production plan," said Comrade Stalin at the conclusion of his historic speech at a conference of business executives, *" is millions of working people creating a new life. The reality of our program is living people, it is you and me, our will to work, our willingness to work in a new way, our determination to fulfill the plan "* (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 80).

Results of the first five-year plan

The implementation of the five-year plan in four years required high rates of industrial construction.

In 1931, the third year of the five-year plan, it was planned to build more than 1,000 new enterprises. 17 billion rubles were invested in industry and agriculture this year against 10 billion rubles in 1930. The third year of the five-year plan was called "the third, decisive". This year, the Turksib was put into operation, with a length of 1,500 km, passing through the steppes of Kazakhstan, where only horses and camels recently walked. In February 1931, the first Soviet tractor was produced at the Chelyabinsk plant, and in August, the first tractors at the Kharkov Tractor Plant. The first Soviet blooming mill was manufactured at the Izhevsk plant; at the Krasny Putilovets, its first tractor five-year plan was completed at the age of three; the plant of Soviet cars AMO (now named after Stalin) was put into operation, rebuilt on the site of old car workshops; the construction of the Gorky Automobile Plant was also completed. In the same year, the Saratov Combine Harvester Plant was put into operation.

In the east of the Soviet country, a new metallurgical base arose: the first mine was already working near Magnitnaya Mountain, new blast furnaces were being prepared for commissioning, the new socialist city of Magnitogorsk was quickly rebuilt and grew. The first stage of the huge Kuznetsk Metallurgical Plant began to work. New grandiose construction projects arose: in Karelia - the White Sea-Baltic Canal, in Moscow, metro construction projects were developed. The "third, decisive" year of the five-year plan also brought about an unprecedented growth in collective farms. In the main grain areas, collective farms have already united 4 / b peasant farms, for the rest of the grain

districts - more than half. 200 thousand collective farms and 4 thousand state farms sowed two-thirds of the entire sown area. The number of tractors in 1931 increased to 125 thousand. Collective and state farms became the main producers of grain and agricultural raw materials. This was a tremendous victory for socialism in the countryside. The fourth year of the five-year plan was called "the fourth, final". It caused a new and unprecedented upsurge in socialist emulation. In May 1932, Nikita Izotov, a miner at the Gorlovka mine, having mastered the production technique, exceeded his plan tenfold. He passed on his experience to the best miners of Donbass, and soon the Izotovske movement spread throughout the country.

In the "fourth, final" year, the grandiose construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric power station was completed. In October 1932, the whole country celebrated the launch of this largest firstborn of the five-year plan. In 1932, construction work began in the distant taiga, on the banks of the Amur. Many thousands of Komsomol members came here and in the most difficult conditions with great enthusiasm began to build a shipyard and a new socialist city - Komsomolsk.

This is how hot, tense, tireless construction went on throughout the country. During the five-year plan, 2,400 new enterprises were built. A number of the most important industries (the production of tractors and automobiles, the modern chemical industry, motor building, aircraft building, etc.) were created for the first time. The production of electricity, oil and coal has sharply increased. During the years of the first five-year plan, a number of the largest power plants with a capacity of over 100 thousand kw were put into operation. The Soviet Union turned from an agrarian country into an industrial one.

As a result of the first five-year plan, as a result of the heroic struggle of the working class under the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin party, the foundation of the socialist economy was built. This led to tremendous changes in the material situation of the working people. Unemployment in the country was finally eliminated, the working people of the USSR received firm confidence in the future. A new collective farm system was created in the village. By the end of 1932, collective farms united over 60% of peasant farms and covered over 70% of the sown area. In the main grain-growing regions, collective farms have already united 80-90% of the total number of peasant farms.

The village received tractors, harvesters and the latest agricultural implements. The agriculture of the USSR, armed with the latest technology, has become the largest in the world. The collective farms have destroyed the basis of class exploitation and poverty in the countryside. In the words of Comrade Stalin, the countryside has ceased to be a stepmother for the peasantry. On collective farms, the former poor and middle peasants have become wealthy people. The collective farms have grown stronger in organizational, economic and political terms. An important role in strengthening the collective farms was played by the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers-Shock Workers (February 1933) and the speech at it by Comrade Stalin, who put forward the slogan - to make the collective farms Bolshevik and all collective farmers prosperous. Comrade Stalin showed the collective farmers the way to a prosperous life.

"Only one thing is required of you," he said, "to work honestly, to divide collective farm income according to labor, to protect collective farm property, to take care of tractors and machines, to take good care of the horse, to carry out the tasks of your workers 'and peasants' state, to strengthen the collective farms and kick them out of collective farms of the kulaks and podkulachnikov who made their way there " (Stalin, Soch., vol. 13, p. 245).

During the years of the first five-year plan, a tremendous amount of work was done to industrialize the formerly backward national republics. In the former tsarist colonies - in Central Asia and Transcaucasia, in the steppes of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, in the remote northern regions - factories and plants, power plants, machine-tractor stations and state farms arose. The victory of the first five-year plan was a world-historic victory of the working class and peasantry of the USSR. It meant liberation from the yoke of exploitation, opened the way for all working people of the USSR to a prosperous, happy life. The victory of the Stalinist five-year plan showed the advantages of the socialist economic system.

"The results of the five-year plan," said Comrade Stalin in his report at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission in January 1933, *"showed that it is quite possible to build a socialist society in one country, for the economic foundation of such a society has already been built in the USSR"* (Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 214).

Describing the international significance of the five-year plan, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the five-year plan is not a private affair of the Soviet Union, but the affair of the entire international proletariat:

"The successes of the five-year plan mobilize the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism ..." (Stalin, Soch., Vol. 13, p. 171).

In January 1934, the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party met. He summed up the results of the historic victory of socialism in our country. Back in 1918, and then with the introduction of the new economic policy, Lenin noted that in our country there are elements of five socio-economic structures:

- 1) patriarchal economy, 2) small-scale production, 3) private capitalism, 4) state capitalism, 5) socialist way of life.

Now the socialist structure has become the undividedly dominant force in the entire national economy. By this time, socialist industry accounted for 99% of the country's entire industry. Socialist agriculture (collective and state farms) already occupied 85.5% of all sown areas for grain crops. The capitalist elements were completely driven out of trade. Comrade Stalin's report at the congress was, in the words of S. M. Kirov, the most striking document of the era. This report gave a picture of the great socialist construction project and its successes. It also indicated the program for building a socialist society in the second five-year plan. The 17th Congress also heard reports by VM Molotov and VV Kuibyshev on the second five-year plan for the development of the national economy.

At the XVII Congress Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev delivered speeches of repentance. But their speeches were only a double-dealing disguise for the enemies of the people. While verbally recognizing the correctness of the party line, they were in fact preparing the villainous assassination of the leader of the party, Comrade Stalin, and other leaders of the party and government. They sold our homeland to the imperialists and hoped with their help to restore capitalism in our country. The first victim of the Trotskyite-Zinovievist bandits was the favorite of the party and the working class, Sergei Mironovich Kirov, who was treacherously killed from around the corner by the Zinovievites in Leningrad,

in Smolny, December 1, 1934. From the testimony of the members of this counter-revolutionary group it became clear that they were connected with representatives of foreign capitalist states, received money from them. The direct organizers of the assassination of Kirov were, as it turned out later, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin, acting on the orders of Trotsky. The villains were destroyed at the unanimous demand of the people and by the verdict of the proletarian court, which expressed the will of the Soviet people.



XX

THE FIGHT TO COMPLETE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE STALIN CONSTITUTION

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Chapter xvi

THE FIGHT TO COMPLETE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE STALIN CONSTITUTION

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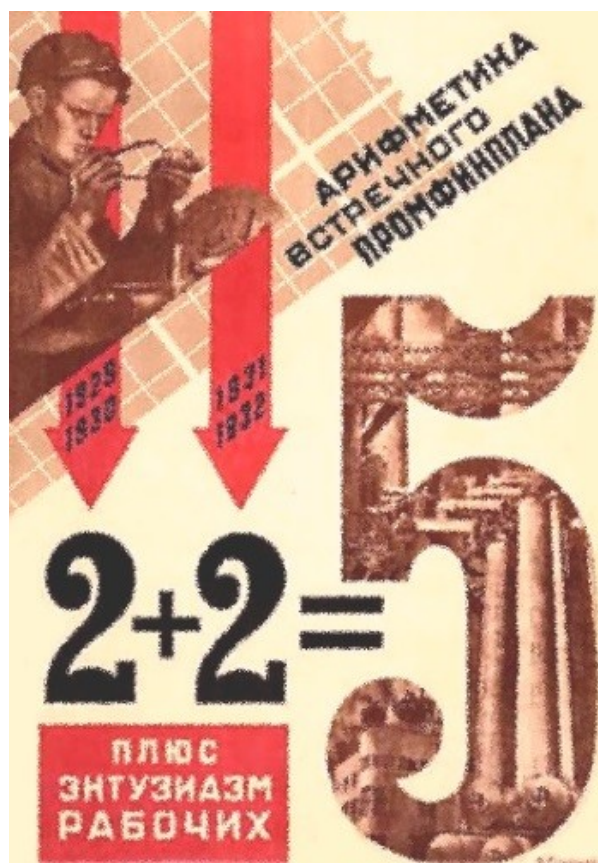
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I

SECOND FIVE YEARS OF SOCIALISM



The beginning of the second world war and the peaceful policy of the USSR

From the end of 1933 to the second half of 1937, the capitalist countries were in a state of economic depression. In the second half of 1937, a new economic crisis began, which seized first of all the United States, and after them Britain, France and other countries.

A new crisis broke out during the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1935, Italy, without declaring war, attacked Abyssinia and captured it. In the summer of 1936, the imperialists organized a military intervention against republican Spain. In 1937, after the capture of Manchuria, Japan invaded North and Central China. In 1938 Germany invaded Austria and Czechoslovakia. The map of Europe, Africa and Asia was forcibly redrawn. The entire system of the post-war, so-called Versailles world order was shaken.

The new economic crisis led to a further exacerbation of the struggle between the imperialist powers. The question of a new redistribution of the world, spheres of influence, colonies was now decided by the war. Japan "justified" its aggressive actions by the fact that it was not allowed to expand its territory at the expense of China at the conclusion of the treaty of nine powers (1922). Italy demanded compensation for its losses in the First World War at the expense of colonial acquisitions. Hitlerite Germany, under the pretext of returning the colonies taken from it under the Treaty of Versailles and annexing the lands inhabited by the Germans, openly prepared for a war for world domination. Large and small states began to feverishly arm themselves and prepare for participation in a new world war.

A great service to the warmongers was rendered by the policy of "non-interference" of the strongest powers - England and France. The imperialists of Britain, France and the

United States carried out a consistent system of concessions to the aggressor with the aim of turning his aggression against the Soviet Union. In the period between 1933-1939, this policy was applied in relation to Nazi Germany, and to fascist Italy, and to imperialist Japan.

Only the Soviet Union steadfastly defended the cause of peace.

Pursuing its peaceful policy, the Soviet country in every way strengthened its defense capability and its international positions. At the end of 1934, at the invitation of 34 states, the USSR entered the League of Nations, seeking to use even this weak organization to slow down the outbreak of war.

In the interests of preserving peace, the Soviet government concluded a number of treaties on mutual assistance in the event of an attack by a military aggressor. Soviet representatives in the League of Nations insisted on aid to the Spanish and Chinese peoples who heroically fought against the interventionists for their independence.

In July 1938, the Japanese government presented the Soviet Union with an unfounded claim to sever part of the territory on the border with Manchuria, near Lake Khasan, from the USSR. The Soviet government rejected these claims.

Then on July 29, taking advantage of the foggy weather, a Japanese detachment unexpectedly invaded Soviet territory and captured the Bezmyannaya hill near Lake Khasan. The outpost of border guards, in which there were only 11 people, heroically fought off the attack of 150 Japanese soldiers. The reserve of border guards that came to the rescue defeated the Japanese detachment. Then the Japanese launched a wider offensive, throwing large forces of infantry and artillery into battle. The Far Eastern Red Army was sent to help the Soviet border guards. The battles for the heights of Zaozyornaya and Bezmyannaya continued from 2 to 6 August. There were also quite a few Russian White Guards with the Japanese. Detachments of Soviet bombers were sent against the Japanese troops. Bomber pilots dropped hundreds of bombs on the hills where the Japanese were entrenched. At the same time, Soviet tanks and infantry went on the offensive.

"For the Motherland! For the great Stalin! Forward!" - with such a slogan, the fighters went on the offensive. Communists and Komsomol members were ahead.

Non-party people, right in the trenches, in a combat situation, applied for membership in the party.

"I ask you to accept me into the ranks of the VKP (b)," wrote one of Hasan's heroes, Lieutenant Glotov, "and if an enemy bullet hits me on the battlefield, I ask you to consider me a Bolshevik."

The Red Army defeated the Japanese units and expelled them from Soviet territory.

In 1939, Japanese units invaded the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic in the area of the Khalkhin-Gol River. According to a mutual assistance treaty concluded between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic in 1936, the Soviet Union helped the Mongolian Republic. Units of the Red Army, together with the Mongolian People's Army, dealt a crushing blow to the Japanese troops and drove them out of Mongolian territory. The USSR showed the whole world how inviolably our country fulfills the obligations that it undertakes under treaties with other countries.

Second five-year plan of socialism (1933-1937)

While the world of capitalism was experiencing a new exacerbation of the economic crisis, and then a protracted depression, the completion of the construction of socialism was going on in the USSR.

The main task of the second five-year plan, adopted by the 17th Congress of the CPSU (b), was to complete the technical reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy, finally eliminate all exploiting classes and completely eliminate the causes that give rise to the division of society into exploiters and exploited.

The fulfillment of the tasks of the second five-year plan of socialism proceeded quickly and successfully. Capital investment in industry increased to 65.8 billion rubles, of which 54.6 billion was directed to heavy industry. Ferrous metallurgy continued to develop at a rapid pace - the basis of the country's industrialization.

Dozens of new industries were created that were not known in pre-revolutionary Russia. New giants of the industry came into operation: the Krivoy Rog metallurgical plant, the Kramatorsk machine-building plant named after Stalin, the first stage of the Moscow metro, the 128 km long Moscow canal, which connected the Soviet capital with the Volga.

By April 1, 1937, the second five-year plan in industry was completed ahead of schedule - at 4 years and 3 months. Already in the first five-year plan, the USSR overtook France in terms of industrial production. In the second five-year plan, he overtook England and Germany.

Only the United States of America remained ahead of the USSR in terms of industrial output. One Dneprovskaya hydroelectric power station in 1936 gave more electricity than the whole of tsarist Russia, one Magnitogorsk plant smelted pig iron 2 * / g times more than the whole of Poland. Industry in the Soviet national republics grew especially rapidly during the second five-year plan. The wise foresight of the Lenin-Stalin party was reflected in the fact that in the eastern regions of the Soviet country a new base of heavy industry, coal and oil, new centers of mechanical engineering and the defense industry was created.

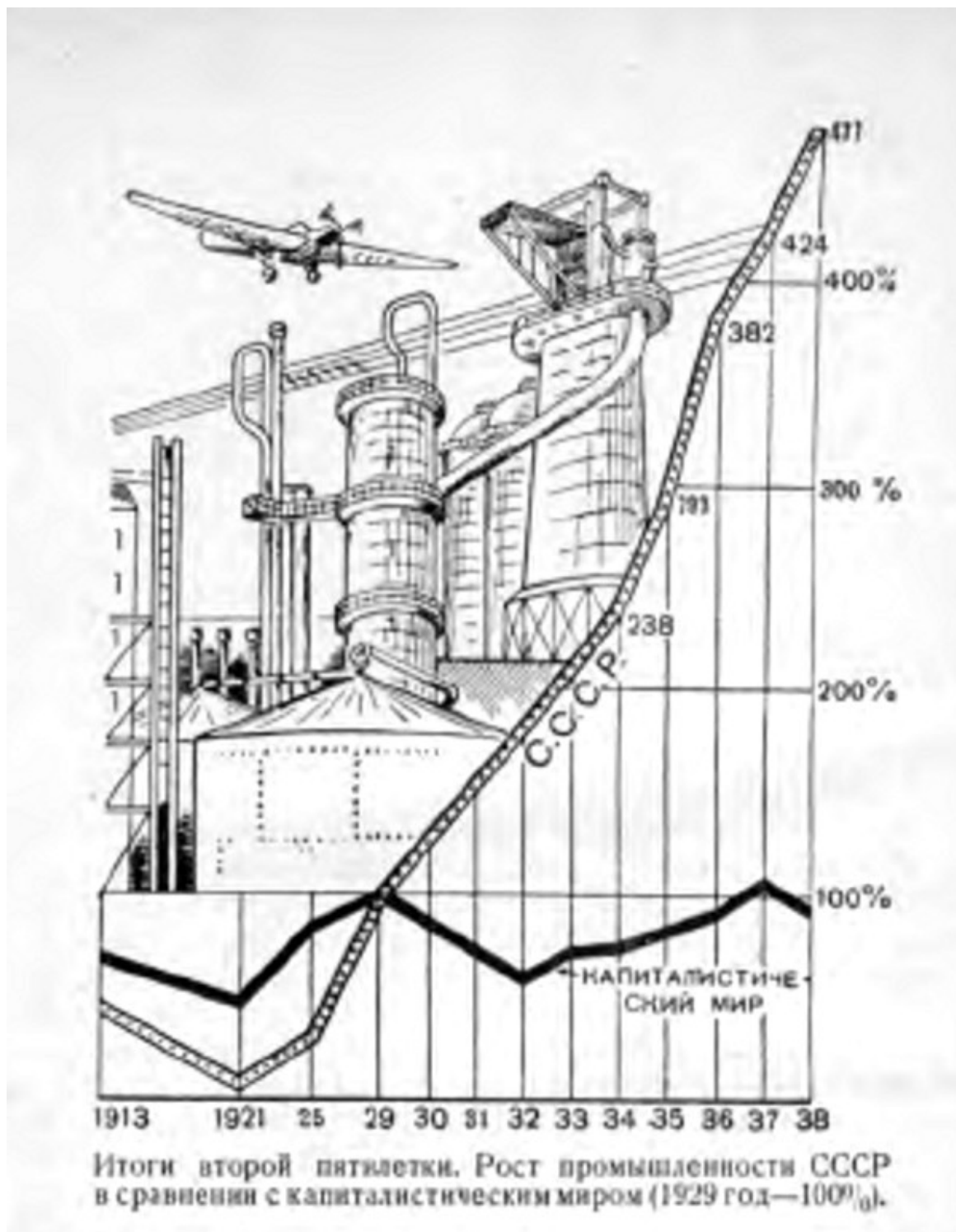
The task of completing the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy of the USSR was basically solved.

The engineering industry has nearly tripled its output. In 1913, tsarist Russia produced 10 times less cars than England, 18 times less than Germany, 23 times less than the United States. By the end of the second five-year plan, only the United States was still producing cars twice as much as the USSR. In terms of electricity production, the USSR moved up from fifteenth to second place in Europe and third in the world. In the production of tractors, the USSR came out on top in Europe, and in the production of combines - the first in the world.

During the years of the two Stalinist five-year plans, Soviet transport was reconstructed anew. Since 1913, the production of steam locomotives of the most advanced systems has quadrupled. The number of cars produced in the USSR has increased 8 times in five years. The Stalin plant (former AMO) in 1932 produced 50 cars per day, and in 1937 - 205. In Moscow and other cities, the number of buses increased, trolleybuses appeared. In 1935, after the heroic Arctic cruises of the Chelyuskin icebreaker and others, the operation of the Northern Sea Route began.

During the years of the two Stalinist five-year plans, the technical reconstruction of agriculture was also completed. It has become not only the largest, but also the most mechanized agriculture in the world. The sown area of all crops increased from 105 million hectares in 1913 to 135 million hectares in 1937. The collective farms gave the country in 1937 over 1 billion 700 million poods of marketable grain, i.e. 400 million poods more than the landlords, kulaks and peasants altogether gave in 1913. The collectivization of agriculture was largely completed. In 1937, the collective farms had more than 1 billion 700 million poods of marketable grain, that is, 400 million poods more than the landlords, kulaks and peasants altogether gave in 1913. The collectivization of agriculture was largely completed. In 1937 there were 18.5 million peasant households on the collective farms,

Industry, agriculture and transport received an enormous number of new machines and machine tools.



Stakhanov movement

The party led by Comrade Stalin roused the masses to fight for the mastery of new technology. The slogan of mastering technology became the leading slogan of the second Stalinist five-year plan. A tremendous amount of work has been done to educate cadres who have mastered the new technology to perfection. At the beginning of the reconstruction period, when the country was experiencing hunger in technology, the party issued the slogan? "Technology is everything during the reconstruction period." After the completion of the reconstruction period, when there was an acute shortage of personnel in the country, the party paid special attention to personnel capable of fully using equipment.

In his speech at the graduation of the academicians of the Red Army in May 1935, Comrade Stalin said: "Technology led by people who have mastered technology can and should give miracles" (Stalin. Questions of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 490). In his speech, Comrade Stalin put forward a new slogan: "Cadres decide everything."



The best people in the country responded to the leader's slogans with new industrial achievements that overturned the norms that had existed until then. On August 31, 1935, in the Donetsk Basin, Aleksey Stakhanov, the miner of the Central-Irmino mine, cut down 102 tons of coal in one shift instead of the norm of 7 tons, exceeding the usual norms of coal production by 14.5 times. Stakhanov laid the foundation for a mass movement of workers and collective farmers for raising production rates, for a new rise in labor productivity. It was named Stakhanov's after the founder of the movement.

Stakhanov's initiative was picked up by workers from other sectors of the national economy: the blacksmith Busygin at the Gorky Automobile Plant, the railway engineer Krivonos in the Donbass, the Vichuga weavers Vinogradovs and many others.

At the I All-Union Conference of the Stakhanovists, which opened in the Kremlin in November 1935, Comrade Stalin showed that the Stakhanov movement grew on the basis of the successes of socialism in our country, that it prepares the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism, undermines the foundations of the opposition between physical and mental labor that the Stakhanov movement marks the beginning of an enormous cultural and technical upsurge of the working class.

"The basis of the Stakhanov movement," said Comrade Stalin, "was primarily a radical improvement in the material conditions of the workers. Life has become better, comrades. Life has become more fun. And when you have fun, work gets done. Hence the high production rates. Hence the heroes and heroines of labor "(Stalin, Problems of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 499). Comrade Stalin called the Stakhanovists innovators in our industry.

The Stakhanov movement spread throughout the country, first in the city, and then in the countryside.

During the years of the second five-year plan, the collective farm system was finally strengthened. Of exceptional importance for the upsurge and prosperity of collective farms was the charter of an agricultural artel, developed under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin and adopted by the 11th congress of collective farmers-shock workers in February 1935, as well as securing the permanent use of the land occupied by the collective farms. On the basis of the Stalinist charter, the collective farms quickly moved forward along the path to a prosperous and cultural life.

In the winter of 1935/36, a series of meetings of the foremost workers of various branches of agriculture with the leaders of the party and government took place. These meetings showed what wonderful people the collective farm system has brought up. The conferences showed the whole country such wonderful women - new heroines of labor created by the collective farm system, like Maria Demchenko, Pasha Angelina and many others.

Elimination of the remnants of Trotskyite-Bukharin spies, pests, traitors to the motherland

Preparing the war against the USSR, the imperialist states used traitors to their homeland - the Trotskyists and Bukharinites. Trials 1935-1938 showed that the Bukharinites and the Trotskyists had long constituted one common band of enemies of the people — the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.

Fulfilling the will of their masters - foreign bourgeois intelligence services, the Trotskyists and Bukharinites aimed at undermining the country's defense, facilitating foreign military intervention, preparing for the defeat of the Red Army, dismembering the USSR, giving back to the Japanese of Soviet Primorye, the Poles - Soviet Belarus, the Germans - Soviet Ukraine, the British - Soviet North, the destruction of the gains of workers and collective farmers, the restoration of capitalist slavery in the USSR. The exposed members of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite-Bukharin terrorist organizations were sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court.

Disguised enemies of the people could remain unrevealed for so long because many party members were politically careless and not vigilant enough.

Comrade Stalin pointed out the need to immediately eliminate political carelessness and, revealing its reasons, stressed that many comrades had forgotten about the capitalist encirclement, which was used by the enemies of the people. Comrade Stalin called on the Party and the Soviet people to strengthen political vigilance and master Bolshevism.



THE GREAT STALIN CONSTITUTION



The tremendous socio-economic changes in the country, expressed in the construction of a basically socialist society, and the increased political consciousness and activity of the Soviet people raised the question of changing the Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1924.

In February 1935, the VII Congress of Soviets of the USSR proposed to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR to develop a new draft Constitution. The Constitutional Commission, created under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, developed a draft and submitted it to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

In June 1936, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR approved the draft of the Stalin Constitution and submitted it for national discussion so that workers, collective farmers, and the Soviet intelligentsia could discuss the draft and make their own amendments. Throughout the summer and throughout the fall of 1936, the Soviet people actively discussed the draft of the new Constitution and expressed their approval.

On December 5, 1936, the Extraordinary VIII All-Union Congress of Soviets adopted the first Constitution of victorious socialism in the history of mankind.

In his report on the draft Constitution, Comrade Stalin summed up the magnificent results of the construction of socialism in the USSR. In 12 years (from 1924, when the first Constitution was adopted, until 1936), the greatest changes have taken place in the economy and the class structure of society: the socialist system has won completely, the exploiting classes have been eliminated. The landlord classes and the big imperialist bourgeoisie were finally defeated even during the years of the Civil War. During the

years of socialist construction, all other exploiting elements - kulaks and speculators - were eliminated.

During the years of Soviet power, profound changes have taken place among workers, peasants and intellectuals. The working class has ceased to be a proletariat in the proper sense of the word, that is, an exploited class. It turned into a new working class that destroyed the capitalist economic system and established socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production. A completely new, collective farm peasantry has grown up in the USSR. The collective farm economy is based not on private, but on socialist property.

The intelligentsia in the USSR also changed radically. For the most part, she came out of the working class and peasant environment and is an active builder of socialist society. In relations between peoples, the USSR disappeared

“... a feeling of mutual distrust, a feeling of mutual friendship developed in them and thus real fraternal cooperation of peoples in the system of a single union state was established” (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 514).

Soviet society consists of two friendly classes - workers and peasants, between which there is no antagonism, although some class differences still remain. The USSR Constitution recorded that the Soviet Union is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

The political foundation of the USSR is formed by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which have grown and become stronger as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists and the conquest of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The economic basis of the USSR is formed by the socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the means of production.

The USSR is a voluntary fraternal association of equal peoples. Each of the 16 republics that make up the Union independently resolves all state issues, except for those that relate to the entire Union as a whole.

The state structure of the USSR ensures equality and protection of the national interests of all peoples of the USSR, both large and small. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR consists of two equal chambers - the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

Throughout the world, the rule of the bourgeoisie brings with it the oppression of some nations by others. Our socialist homeland carefully protects the rights of each nation and proclaims the preaching of national or racial exclusivity or hatred and contempt for a state crime, which is strictly prosecuted by law.

The Soviet Union unites about 60 nations, national groups and nationalities, which, under the conditions of the victory of socialism, have turned into new socialist nations. On the basis of socialism, a multinational state was created, built not on oppression, but on fraternal cooperation and friendship of peoples:

“And friendship between the peoples of the USSR is a great and serious achievement. For as long as this friendship exists, the peoples of our country will be free and invincible,” says Comrade Stalin (Lenin and Stalin, Sborn., Vol. III, p. 660).

State power and state administration in the USSR are built on the principles of genuine democracy and the broad involvement of workers in the administration of the Soviet state. We have given great rights to local bodies of state power - the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of the Territory, Region, Okrug, District, City, Village.

All Soviet bodies are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. The Stalinist Constitution abolished the restrictions on electoral rights that had previously existed in the USSR, for the exploiting classes in the USSR were destroyed.

The Soviet system is the most democratic in the world, since it secures the interests of the overwhelming majority, while any bourgeois democracy is a democracy for the dominant minority.

The Stalinist Constitution shows that our state system is an example of the most consistent socialist democracy.

The Soviet system does not know any restrictions on electoral rights, while in all bourgeois states in the interests of the capitalists qualifications are widely used - property, residence and education. In capitalist countries, as a rule, the electoral rights of the population of colonies and so-called "national minorities" are infringed upon.

The shameful spot of many bourgeois constitutions is that they either completely deprive women of voting rights, or restrict women's voting rights.

In the USSR, women are given equal rights with men in all areas of economic, state, cultural and socio-political life. The best daughters of the Soviet people sit in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics and in local Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Thanks to the victory of socialism in the USSR, it was possible to realize the dream of the best people of mankind and to ensure everyone the right to work, rest, education and material security in old age and in case of disability.

In the interests of the working people and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the Constitution guarantees the citizens of the USSR freedom of speech, press, assembly and rallies, street processions and demonstrations. The Constitution provides for the right to unite citizens in public organizations (in trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives, etc., and for the most active and conscientious citizens - in the Communist Party).

The Stalinist Constitution not only proclaims all the rights of citizens of the USSR (as is done in relation to the rights of citizens by the bourgeois constitutions), but also provides the material conditions for their implementation.

The Soviet system, which guarantees the citizens of the USSR great rights, entrusts them with a number of lofty and honorable duties.

Labor in the USSR is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to abide by the Constitution of the USSR, to comply with laws, to observe labor discipline, to treat public duty honestly, to respect the rules of socialist society. Every citizen of the USSR is obliged to preserve and strengthen socialist property. The honorary duty of citizens of the USSR is to serve in the ranks of the armed forces of the USSR. Defense of the fatherland is their sacred duty.

The country of Soviets received a new Constitution, the Constitution of victorious socialism, which has enormous, world-historical significance.

At the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, held on December 12, 1937, the Communist Party nominated candidates for deputies in a bloc with non-party members. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) called on all those who strive to ensure that our homeland would continue to be powerful, cultural and free, for the working people to be forever free from exploitation, so that our industry would continue to develop in the future, overtaking the capitalist countries, to vote for the bloc's candidates. Our collective and state farms have flourished in the future, giving our country an abundance of agricultural products, so that the working people of our country will continue to be relieved of unemployment and uncertainty about the future, so that our Soviet woman will continue to be free and equal in all areas of economy and management, so that they develop science, literature and art of the peoples of the Soviet Union,

In response to this appeal of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), about 90 million (98.6% of all those who took part in the elections) voted for candidates of the bloc of communists and non-party people.

The cities, collective farms, and national republics unanimously nominated the leader of the peoples, the creator of the Constitution, their beloved father and friend, Comrade Stalin, as their first candidate for deputy. Comrade Stalin agreed to run in the Stalin electoral district of Moscow. On December 11, 1937, on the eve of the elections, Comrade Stalin spoke at a pre-election meeting of his voters. "A deputy must know," said Comrade Stalin, "that he is a servant of the people, his envoy to the Supreme Soviet, and he must behave along the line along which he was instructed by the people. I turned off the road, voters have the right to demand the appointment of new elections,

and they have the right to ride a deputy who has turned off the road ". Speaking about the rights and obligations of voters, Comrade Stalin also indicated what a deputy should be elected by the people:

"... the duty and the right of voters," said Comrade Stalin, "is that they keep their deputies under control all the time and that they inspire them - in no case to descend to the level of political inhabitants, so that they, the voters, should inspire their deputies - to be what the great Lenin was "(Stalin, Speech at the pre-election meeting of voters of the Stalin electoral district of Moscow on December 11, 1937).

The elections to the Supreme Soviet were held as a national holiday. No election campaign in the world has known such unanimity.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is a truly people's, Soviet parliament. The Supreme Soviet of the first convocation resolved a number of important state issues.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the first convocation were a powerful demonstration of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, its closest rallying around the party of Lenin - Stalin and its leader.

"The moral and political unity of the people in our country," said Comrade Molotov, "also has its living embodiment. We have a name that has become a symbol of the victories of socialism. This name is at the same time a symbol of the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. You know that this name is Stalin! "





**CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

Approved by the Extraordinary VIII Congress of Soviets of

the USSR

December 5, 1936

(with subsequent changes and additions)

III

**THE ENTRANCE OF THE USSR IN THE LINE OF COMPLETION OF THE
BUILDING OF SOCIALISM**



Third five-year plan

The great Stalinist Constitution consolidated the world-historical fact of the USSR entering a new phase of development, the phase of completion of the construction of socialist society and the gradual transition to communism.

The Stalinist Constitution recorded the basic foundations of socialism: the absence of exploitation of man by man, the transformation of the means of production into socialist property, the implementation of the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Socialism, the lowest phase of communism, has already been realized in the USSR. At this stage, the basic differences between town and country, between mental and manual labor have not yet been eliminated. Under socialism, there are still vestiges of capitalism in the minds of people.

The victory of the two Stalinist five-year plans prepared all the conditions for a gradual transition from socialism to communism, when the principle was realized: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The productive forces of our country have been freed from the shackles of capitalism, complete independence of the USSR from the capitalist countries has been ensured, the socialist reconstruction of the entire national economy has been completed on the basis of new, most advanced technology, the nationwide Stakhanov movement is systematically increasing labor productivity, the material and cultural well-being of the entire Soviet people is growing, and are gradually being erased. the main differences between town and country, between mental and physical labor.

In March 1939, the XVIII Party Congress took place. In his historic report at the Congress, Comrade Stalin showed that building a communist society is impossible without fulfilling the main task - to catch up and surpass the capitalist world not only in terms of technology, but also economically. In terms of the level of technology, the Soviet Union has surpassed the most developed capitalist countries, but in terms of production per capita it still lags behind them.

"We have surpassed the main capitalist countries," said Comrade Stalin, "in terms of production technology and the rate of industrial development. It is very good. But this is not enough. It is also necessary to overtake them economically. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we surpass the economically main capitalist countries, we can expect that our country will be completely saturated with consumer goods, we will have an abundance of products, and we will be able to make the transition from the first phase of communism to its second phase "(Stalin, Questions Leninism, ed. 11, pp. 578-579) .

In his report, Comrade Stalin also dwelled on the most important theoretical questions, for example, about the state.

Comrade Stalin stressed that the state under communism

"... will remain if the capitalist encirclement is not eliminated, if the danger of military attacks from outside is not eliminated ..." (Stalin, Questions of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 606).

VM Molotov's report summed up the victorious results of the second five-year plan, which had been completed ahead of schedule, and outlined a plan for the construction of the third Stalinist five-year plan. The third five-year plan was the development of the second

and first five-year plans and was supposed to take a decisive step forward in solving the main economic problem of the USSR. It consistently pursues a line for the further industrialization of the USSR.

The third five-year plan, even longer than the first two, ensured a further strengthening of the Soviet state's defense capability. Taking into account the possibility of an attack on the USSR from the West, the third five-year plan provided for the creation in the eastern regions of the country of a number of backup enterprises (similar to those previously built) for mechanical engineering, oil processing and chemistry. Another new base for the textile industry was created in Central Asia. In the Far East, especially fast rates of coal and cement production were envisaged. The pride of the third five-year plan was "Second Baku" and other major structures. Hundreds of new industrial enterprises were completed and put into operation in the first years of the third five-year plan. In particular, the construction of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Plant in the Urals was completed.

In the first three years, the plan was successfully fulfilled and overfulfilled. But in the summer of 1941, peaceful labor was interrupted by the treacherous attack on the Soviet Union by fascist German robbers.

Labor and political upsurge in the country socialism a

The decisions of the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks gave the working people of our country a powerful weapon for further victories, inspired their new unprecedented labor and political upsurge. A socialist competition named after the third Stalinist five-year plan developed in the country on a large scale. The ranks of the heroes of labor grew with unprecedented speed. New names of workers and women workers, collective farmers and collective farmers, people of culture and technology, science and art became known throughout the country and prompted thousands of people to feats. "Anyone becomes a hero in our country," a popular Soviet song sung.

In 1938, the title of Hero of Socialist Labor was established in the USSR.

Comrade Stalin was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor on the occasion of his 60th birthday in 1939.

Earlier, in April 1934, the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was established. The first Heroes of the Soviet Union were courageous pilots who took passengers of the sunken steamer Chelyuskin off an ice floe in the Arctic. The salvation of the Chelyuskinites is a typical example of the heroism, courage and Bolshevik organization of the Soviet people. The ranks of the Heroes of the Soviet Union were replenished with many new glorious names of commanders and soldiers of the Soviet Army, who glorified themselves and the Soviet homeland with unparalleled feats.

The first women to receive the title of Hero of the Soviet Union were our wonderful pilots Valentina Grizodubova, Marina Raskova and Polina Osipenko.

The capitalist encirclement of the USSR and the ever-growing danger of war, in connection with the "crawling" of the capitalist countries into the Second World War, forced to strengthen the defense of the USSR, to strengthen the Soviet Army, the Air Force and the Navy.

The people surrounded their army with love and attention. Comrade Stalin, in his speech dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the Red Army, said:

"Nowhere in the world is there such a loving and caring relationship on the part of the people to the army as we have ... Our army is the only one in the world that has sympathy

and support from the workers and peasants. This is its strength, this is its strength”(Stalin, On Three Features of the Red Army, pp. 12-13).

The soldiers, commanders and political workers of the Soviet Army and the Navy are the best sons of the people, selflessly devoted to their great homeland. The army and navy live one life with the whole country.

IV

CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE USSR



A.A. Dayneka Noble people of the Land of Soviets.

The increase in the national income during the years of the second five-year plan almost doubled and the growth in the prosperity of the working people of the USSR created a solid foundation for a steady cultural upsurge of the masses.

By this time, illiteracy in the USSR was largely eliminated.

During the two Stalinist five-year plans in the USSR, universal compulsory primary education and universal seven-year education in the city were implemented.

The number of students in primary and secondary schools from 8 million in 1914 rose to 33 million by the end of the second five-year plan. In 20 years, more schools were built in the USSR than in 200 years in Tzarist Russia. During the years of the revolution, a powerful network of higher educational institutions was created, in which 600 thousand people studied in 1939, which is almost six times the number of students in higher educational institutions of tsarist Russia. The number of students in the universities of

the USSR has increased than in 23 capitalist countries combined. Before the revolution, there were 70 universities on the territory of the RSFSR, in 1937 - 435; there were 19 universities in Ukraine, by the end of the second five-year plan - 123; in Georgia there was only one higher educational institution, during the years of Stalin's five-year plans 19 were created.

On the territory of the rest of the national republics there was not a single higher school, and under Soviet rule, over 100 universities were created in them. In 1939, more than a quarter of the total population - about 47.5 million people - studied in all types of schools and educational institutions in the USSR.

Many peoples that did not have their own written language, only under Soviet rule received the alphabet, taught in their native language, created their own literature, their own theater, their own cadres of the intelligentsia.

In 1936 alone, 183 million books were published in the languages of the peoples of the USSR, not counting books published in Russian. Newspapers in the USSR were published in 59 languages, and books in 111 languages. Compared to tsarist Russia, newspaper circulation increased 14 times. The network of libraries, reading rooms, clubs, theaters, cinemas, stadiums, sports grounds, and laboratories is expanding from year to year.

The cadres of the Soviet intelligentsia, who reached 9.6 million in the years of the second five-year plan, are growing even more as the main task in the field of cultural development is accomplished - raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of workers in engineering and technical labor.

The role of science in the Soviet Union is exceptionally great, that advanced science which does not isolate itself from the people, which serves the cause of socialism.

Science in the USSR is closely linked with the practice of socialist construction. Soviet science helped build gigantic hydroelectric power stations, create such magnificent structures as the Moscow Canal, the White Sea-Baltic Canal, the world's best Moscow Metro, and others. Soviet designers created dozens of new machines, machine tools and tools. The successes of Soviet scientific and technical thought in the field of aviation are especially tremendous. The talented designs and high technical equipment of Soviet airplanes, seaplanes, etc., allowed Soviet pilots to set world records.

In July 1936, the great pilot of our country Valery Pavlovich Chkalov and his comrades made a grandiose flight over the Soviet North and East. In March 1937 an expedition took off to the North Pole. The planes were led by the best pilots led by the Hero of the Soviet Union Vodopyanov. In May, the planes landed at the North Pole. The planes left four brave Soviet patriots headed by Papanin on the ice floe. In 274 days, the Papanin people drifted 2,500 km on an ice floe. They carried out intensive scientific work under extremely difficult conditions and enriched world science with new materials about the Arctic.

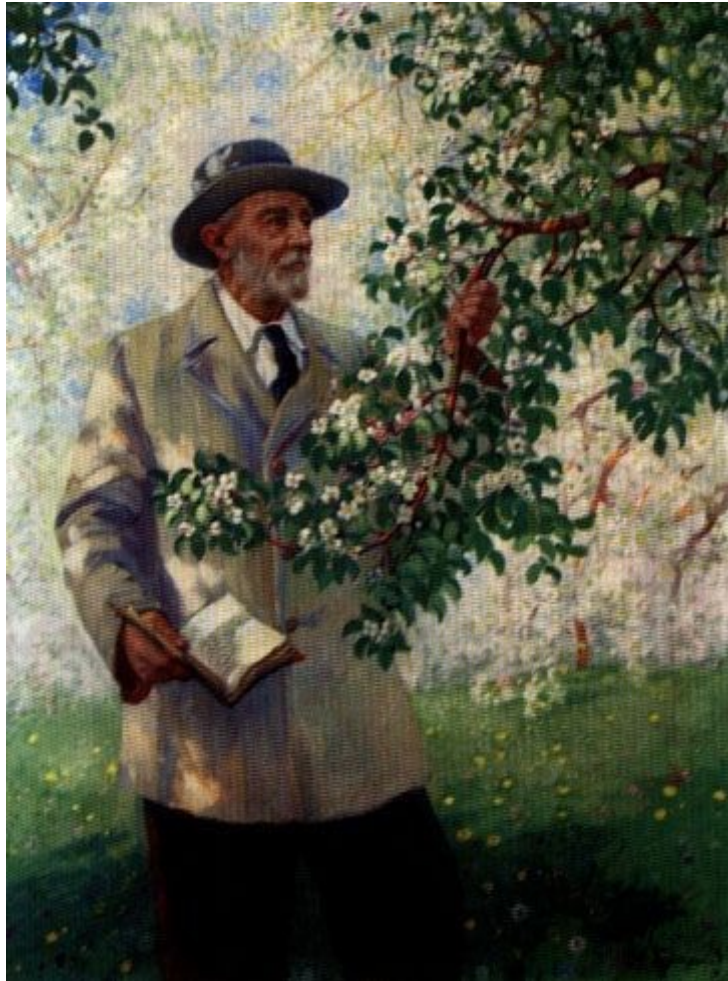
On June 18-19, 1937, overcoming cyclones and icing, the hero pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov flew from Moscow across the North Pole to America, and a month later Gromov, Yumashev and Danilin repeated this flight, setting a new flight distance record. All these flights had a scientific purpose - to explore the route of communication with America through the North Pole.



Chkalov, Stalin, Belyakov. August 10, 1936

He carried out the same great scientific work in 1938-1939. courageous crew of the Sedov icebreaker.

Soviet agricultural science is helping to remake the nature of our country. The discoveries of the brilliant scientist IV Michurin, who remained unrecognized for 45 years before the revolution, gained wide popularity in the Soviet Union. Michurin was given the opportunity to continue his experiments on crossing plants and obtaining new species (hybrids) of plants on an enormous scale and on a broad scientific basis. Continuing the work of the great transformer of nature, Academician T. D. Lysenko, who came from a peasant family, applied the same principles to the study of field crops. He developed the doctrine of staging in the development of plants and found a method of vernalization of wheat, increasing the yield of bread. The Soviet Bolshevik Academician V.R. Williams developed the theory of grass crop rotations.



Ivan Vladimirovich Michurin (1855-1935)

Physics, mathematics, physiology and other sciences have received powerful development in our country. Problems of agrophysics, solar radiation, and photochemical transformations are also being successfully developed. The Soviet mathematician Academician Vinogradov found a brilliant solution to Holbach's problem, on which the world's leading mathematicians worked for almost 200 years.

The classical works of the innovator and revolutionary in science I.P. Pavlov on the physiology of blood circulation and digestion, and especially his brilliant discoveries in the field of higher nervous activity, included in the golden fund of advanced science, propelled our domestic physiological science to the first meo in the world. The teaching of I.P. Pavlov (especially his teaching on higher nervous activity) is of great importance for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, for it develops and strengthens the naturally scientific foundations of dialectical materialism.

In the USSR, as nowhere else in the world, not only scientific and experimental, but also scientific and theoretical work is developing. The great Marxist-Leninist theory in the USSR has immense possibilities for its development. The works of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin are published in millions of copies.

The history of our homeland and the history of the Bolshevik Party enjoy the greatest love among the broad masses of the working people. In 1938, Comrade Stalin's remarkable scientific work was published, [The History of the All-Union Communist Party \(Bolsheviks\). Short course](#) ". It concisely and vividly captures the whole long-term glorious historical path and combat experience of the party of Lenin-Stalin and sets out the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

In the USSR, world treasuries of scientific books have been created - the Lenin libraries in Moscow, the Saltykov-Shchedrin libraries in Leningrad, etc.

The All-Union Academy of Sciences and its numerous institutes, as well as such scientific institutions of world importance as the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin, and others, have launched an enormous scientific work.

The art of the peoples of the USSR flourished powerfully. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which emancipated the peoples, opened access to culture and art to the broad masses of the people.

The people became the owner of all the values created by humanity. Soviet art is a new, most advanced in the world, highly ideological art. The method of Soviet art is socialist realism.

The great proletarian writer and selfless friend of the working people, A.M. Gorky, played an enormous role in the development of revolutionary literature in the Soviet period. He was the generally recognized head of Soviet literature, the first and best artistic educator of Soviet writers. In 1921, at the insistence of Lenin, the seriously ill Gorky went to Italy for treatment, but even here he did not lose blood ties with the Soviet homeland, with the working people of the USSR.



A.M. Gorky and I.V. Stalin

In Italy he wrote works: "My Universities", "The Artamonovs Case", the first volume of "The Life of Klim Samgin". In 1928 g.

Gorky returned to his homeland and enthusiastically devoted his energies to creating a new, socialist culture in the USSR. He became the initiator and inspirer of many literary and educational endeavors. For outstanding services to the working class of the USSR, Maxim Gorky was awarded the Order of Lenin. The great humanist Gorky passionately hated the enemies of the people and socialism, especially fascism. "If the enemy does not surrender, he is destroyed," he formulated his attitude towards the enemies of the people. Dastardly traitors, Trotskyists, killed the great writer and fighter.

The flourishing of creativity of the most talented poet of the Soviet era VV Mayakovsky (1893-1930) is associated with the revolution. His poems and poems of the pre-revolutionary period are imbued with hatred of the bourgeois system. Mayakovsky devoted all his enormous talent to the service of the revolution. He wrote poetry, painted posters, created wonderful poems dedicated to the revolution ("150 million", "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin", "Good!" And others). During the Civil War, Mayakovsky organized the "Windows of ROSTA", that is, political propaganda posters calling for the struggle for the power of the Soviets and glorifying the heroes of labor.

Soviet literature produced a number of brilliant works of art dedicated to the proletarian revolution, civil war, and socialist construction. Among them are such works as "Quiet Don", "Virgin Soil Uplifted" by Sholokhov, "Defeat" and "The Last of Udege" by Fadeev, "Chapaev" by Furmanov, "Iron Stream" by Serafimovich, poetry by Demyan Bedny, etc. historical novels created by Soviet writers: "Peter I" by A. I. Tolstoy, a great master of literature, "Tsushima" Novikov-Priboyaidr. The books "How the Steel Was Tempered" and "Born by the Storm" by Nikolai Ostrovs, whose life and work are permeated with real revolutionary pathos, are loved by the wide readership of the USSR. Blinded, having lost the ability to move due to severe injury and illness after the civil war,



Nikolay Ostrovsky

Comrade Stalin called Soviet writers "engineers of human souls" and demanded that they create works in tune with our great era. At the Congress of Writers, A. A. Zhdanov spoke about the tasks of Soviet writers:

"To be an engineer of human souls means to stand with both feet on the basis of real life ... Soviet literature must be able to show our heroes, must be able to look into our tomorrow."

The culture of the Soviet country, unified in its socialist orientation, in the heroism of its content, richest in the diversity of its forms, was created as a single socialist culture of all the peoples of the USSR. The development of the culture of each people, national in form and socialist in content, is taking place in close cooperation with the culture of other peoples of the Union and, first of all, with advanced Russian culture. The national culture is deeply popular.

Its most remarkable and characteristic representative is the oldest folk poet of Kazakhstan, akyn (singer) Dzhambul Dzhabayev. Even in his early youth, he began to compose his wonderful songs, wandering across the steppes of Kazakhstan. When Dzhambul was not yet 50 years old, his creative powers died out.

But when the Great Proletarian Revolution came, the heart of the seventy-year-old akyn rejuvenated.

The proletarian revolution also miraculously changed the fate of the people's poet of Dagestan - ashug Suleiman Stalsky. The son of a poor Lezgin, he grew up in hardship. Suleiman's songs were sad, filled with sorrow. When a call to struggle sounded in them, the tsarist authorities forbade him to compose songs and sing them. The work of Suleiman Stalsky, this, in the words of A.M. Gorky, Homer of the 20th century, powerfully developed under socialism. His poems are remarkable: "Dagestan", "Song about Comrade Stalin", "Duma about the Motherland", "Poem about Sergo", etc.



Suleiman Stalsky

In Ukraine, the greatest contemporary poet is P.G. Tychina, closely associated with the working class. His collection of poems "The Party Leads" is imbued with deep sincerity and love for the people.

Outstanding folk poet of Belarus Yanka Kupala - a peasant by birth - went from a laborer to a writer and academician. His literary activity began in 1905, but Kupala's creativity reached its real flourishing only under Soviet rule.

His poems and poems on collective farm life are especially popular.

People's poet of the Armenian SSR Hakob Hakobyan was the first proletarian writer in Armenia to devote his poems to the life and work of workers.

The songs of the peoples of the Soviet Union have been updated. Especially many songs are composed by folk singers, poets and storytellers about Lenin and Stalin.

Art is developing intensively in our country. Soviet theaters rank first in the world for their artistic achievements. The Soviet theater has a rich classical tradition. With the deepest artistic realism, the Soviet theater stage plays by the classics of Russian and world literature; plays by Soviet writers foster hatred for the oppressors and love for the Soviet homeland.

The first Soviet plays were dedicated to the revolution and civil war. They firmly entered the repertoire of the Soviet theater and played a huge role in the ideological, patriotic education of the Soviet people.

Soviet and historical-revolutionary themes inspire Soviet playwrights and composers.

Soviet painting, architecture and especially cinematography flourished. Soviet films "Chapaev", "We are from Kronstadt", "Lenin in October", "Lenin in 1918", the trilogy about Maxim, "Shchors", "Great Citizen", "Member of the Government" and others excite millions of viewers not only in USSR, but also abroad.

During the years of Soviet power, the theater and music of the national republics achieved great success. A galaxy of young composers has grown up in Ukraine, using the richest Ukrainian folklore for their symphonic and operatic works.



IN AND. Lenin. Sculpture of Merkurov



I.V. Stalin. Sculpture of Merkurov

The creator of Georgian opera music is the "Georgian Glinka" - Zakhari Paliashvili, who wrote the opera "Abessalom and Eteri" before the revolution, and in 1924 the opera "Daisi", which was popular not only in Georgia, but also abroad.

In Azerbaijan, the founder of the Soviet opera is the composer Hajibeyov, who wrote the opera "Kor-Ogly" after the revolution. Of the works written by him before the revolution, the opera "Majnun and Leila" is especially popular.

One of the creators of Armenian music, who skillfully used folklore, was Komitas before the revolution, who had a great influence on the entire subsequent development of Armenian music. The composer Spendiarov played an important role in the development of theater and music in Armenia during the years of Soviet power. His best works are the opera "Almast" and "Yerevan Etudes".

Theater and music have achieved significant success in Uzbekistan, where there was no theater at all before the revolution. Operas "Farhad and Shirin", "Gulsara" and others are very popular.

Kazakh and Kyrgyz theaters were created. The peoples, who recently did not yet know musical notation, raised their composers, musicians and opera singers.

The party and the government are looking for and carefully cultivating thousands of folk talents, which were suppressed and disfigured under the tsarist regime. In the capital's theaters, singers and musicians often perform, who only yesterday worked on a collective farm field or in a factory. Soviet musicians emerge as winners at international competitions for pianists and violinists. Poets, singers, actors, musicians, artists enjoy the love and respect of the Soviet people. Many of them have been elected as deputies to the Supreme Soviets. The flourishing of culture in the USSR shows the whole world how many brilliant talents the socialist system gives birth to. With legitimate pride, the Soviet people look back at their historical path, remembering the words of the great Stalin:

“It is pleasant and joyful to know what our people were fighting for and how they achieved this world-historic victory. It is pleasant and joyful to know that the blood plentifully shed by our people was not in vain, that it gave its results. This arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia spiritually. It moves forward and raises a sense of legitimate pride. This strengthens faith in one's own strength and mobilizes for a new struggle to win new victories of communism ”(Stalin, Questions of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 534).



F. Plastov. Children for a walk (To pioneer camps)

IV

FIGHT FOR PEACE IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR



USSR struggle for peace

In his report at the XVIII Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in March 1939, J.V. Stalin defined and shared the foreign policy of the USSR:

“The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and understandable:

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business ties with all countries, we stand and will stand in this position, since these countries will maintain the same relations with the Soviet Union, since they will not try to violate the interests of our country.
2. We stand for peaceful, close and good-neighborly relations with all neighboring countries that have a common border with the USSR, we stand and will remain in this position, since these countries will maintain the same relations with the Soviet Union, since they will not try to violate, directly or indirectly, the interests of the integrity and inviolability of the borders of the Soviet state.
3. We stand for the support of peoples who have become victims of aggression and who are fighting for the independence of their homeland.

4. We are not afraid of threats from the aggressors and are ready to respond with a double blow to the blow of the warmongers who are trying to violate the inviolability of Soviet borders "(Stalin, Questions of Leninism, ed. 11, p. 574).

Comrade Stalin proposed to pursue a policy of peace in the future so as not to allow the provocateurs of the war to drag the USSR into the conflict.

Comrade Stalin's wise warning sounded throughout the world that the dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of "non-interference" could end in a serious failure for them.

Taking into account the growing danger of a new world war and a direct threat of an attack on the USSR, the Soviet government began negotiations with representatives of Britain and France to conclude a pact of mutual assistance against fascist aggression in Europe. However, the negotiations turned out to be unsuccessful due to the intrigues of the extreme reactionary circles of these countries, hostile to the USSR, who sought to direct its aggression exclusively against the Soviet Union by means of collusion with fascist Germany.

Meanwhile, the German government proposed to the USSR government to conclude a non-aggression pact. The pact laid the foundations for ensuring peace between the two largest states of Europe, whose relations have been very tense since the Nazis came to power. At the same time, the pact gave the Soviet Union the opportunity to properly prepare its forces in case Nazi Germany attacked the USSR. Therefore, the Soviet government agreed to sign the non-aggression pact proposed by Germany.

Assessing the historical significance of the non-aggression pact concluded by the Soviet Union with Germany, Comrade Stalin in his speech on the radio on July 3, 1941 said:

"One may ask: how could it have happened that the Soviet government agreed to conclude a non-aggression pact with such treacherous people and monsters as Hitler and Ribbentrop? .. A non-aggression pact is a pact of peace between two states. This is the pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939. Could the Soviet government refuse such a proposal? I think that no peace-loving state can refuse a peace agreement with a neighboring power, if even such monsters and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop are at the head of this power. And this, of course, under one indispensable condition - if the peace agreement does not affect either directly or indirectly the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving state. As you know, the non-aggression pact between Germany and the USSR is just such a pact.

What have we gained by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We ensured peace for our country for a year and a half and the possibility of preparing our forces to repulse if Nazi Germany risked attacking our country contrary

to the pact "(Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, p. 11) .

The correctness of the position taken by the Soviet government was fully confirmed by subsequent events. On 1 September 1939 Nazi Germany attacked Poland. The war soon after its outbreak took on a pan-European character.

First, England and France joined it. In April 1940 Germany captured Norway, in May she invaded Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Luxembourg.

So in Europe, a bridgehead was created for deploying an offensive on French territory and against England. In June 1940, Italy joined Germany, declaring war on England and France.

True to its policy of peace, the Soviet government took a number of steps to avert the danger of war.

Having declared its neutrality and strictly observing it, the Soviet government at the same time took measures to strengthen its external security.

The wise foreign policy of the Soviet government further raised the role of the USSR in resolving international issues and its authority in the eyes of the working people of the whole world.

Reunification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR and Western Belarus with the BSSR

The Soviet government knew that sooner or later Hitlerite Germany would attack the USSR. Therefore, it saw its most important task in creating an appropriate barrier against the advance of German troops to the east.

The Polish army could not withstand the blow of the German fascist troops. The Polish bourgeois state, built on the oppression of workers and peasants, on the enslavement of Ukrainians, Belarusians and other non-Polish nationalities, collapsed.

Having invaded Poland, the fascist German army was rapidly moving eastward. She hastened to seize Western Ukraine and Western Belarus and secure the most advantageous positions for a future war against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government could not leave our half brothers, Ukrainians and Belarusians, in trouble. By order of the High Command, the Soviet troops crossed the border on September 17, 1939 and took under their protection the life and property of the population of Western Belarus and Western Ukraine.

Belarusians and Ukrainians lived in the Polish landlord in the position of powerless nations. Their language, culture and national customs were persecuted. Ukrainian and Belarusian national schools were destroyed. The majority of the population of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus was illiterate. Ukrainians and Belarusians were deprived of the right to hold public office. In the eastern outskirts, which the Polish government called "kroessi", almost all the land belonged to Polish landowners. The peasants of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus owned only dwarf plots, which did not provide them with even a half-starved existence. Along with the landowners in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, the farms of the "posadniks" were planted, i.e. Polish kulaks.

The peasants of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus more than once rebelled against the Polish lords. To suppress the uprisings, punitive detachments were sent to cruelly dealt with the peasants.

The Polish bourgeois government did not allow the development of industry in the eastern "kroess". Despite the enormous natural resources, industry in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus was declining, since the government considered the "kroess" only as an agrarian resource base for the western industrial regions of Poland. The workers of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus suffered from unemployment, they were paid two to three times less than workers in the central and western regions of Poland.

The intelligentsia was also in a difficult situation. Access to secondary and higher schools for Ukrainians, Belarusians and Jews was almost closed. Even if, at the cost of enormous

sacrifices and stress, few of them managed to get higher education, their knowledge and abilities were still not applied.

That is why the working people of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus greeted their liberator, the Soviet Army, with glee.

In Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, broad democratic elections to the People's Assemblies were held on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. Fulfilling the will of the people, the People's Assemblies of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus proclaimed Soviet power on their territory, decided to confiscate the lands of landowners, monasteries and major government officials and transfer them without any ransom to the use of the working peasantry, announced the nationalization of banks and large industry. The people's assemblies appealed to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with a request to admit the peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus into the great family of Soviet peoples. The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at meetings on November 1 and 2, 1939 satisfied the request of the workers of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus.

Strengthening the security of the northwestern borders of the USSR

The outbreak of the Second World War posed the urgent task of ensuring the security of the northwestern borders of the USSR for the Soviet government.

The Soviet government proposed to the Finnish government to conclude an agreement on such terms that would be beneficial for both states and would ensure the security of the northwestern borders of the USSR, in particular Leningrad. But the Finnish government took an irreconcilably hostile position in negotiations with the USSR. Provocations of the Finnish military began on the Soviet-Finnish border, up to the artillery shelling of the Soviet border units near Leningrad.

Therefore, the head of the Soviet government, Comrade Molotov, in his speech on the radio on November 29, 1939, declared that the Soviet government, faced with the fact of an attack by Finnish troops on the Soviet borders, was forced to withdraw its political and economic representatives from Finland. The Soviet Army was ordered to suppress all sorts of forays by the Finnish military. In his speech, Comrade Molotov exposed the slanderous fabrications of the foreign bourgeois press, which asserted that the USSR was pursuing the goal of capturing and annexing Finland to the USSR or establishing Soviet power there.



Разгром белофиннов на Карельском перешейке (1939—1940 годы).

“We stand firmly for the fact,” said Comrade Molotov , “that the Finnish people themselves decide their internal and external affairs, as they themselves consider necessary ...

The sole purpose of our measures is to ensure the security of the Soviet Union and especially Leningrad with its three and a half million population. ”

The Finnish military, which had long been in contact with the German fascists, incited by the ruling circles of England, France and the United States, embarked on a war with the Soviet Union. Despite the extremely difficult conditions, with frosts of fifty degrees, the Soviet Army broke through the fortifications on the Karelian Isthmus, which were considered impregnable and built in accordance with the requirements of modern military engineering.

The White Finnish army was defeated. It lost over half of its personnel in killed and wounded.

The Finnish government was forced to ask for peace.

On March 12, 1949, peace with Finland was signed. A new state security of Leningrad and Murmansk was established between the USSR and Finland. The Karelian Isthmus with the city of Vyborg and the Vyborg Bay was included in the USSR. The government of the USSR and the Finnish government made mutual commitments of non-aggression and pledged not to participate in alliances of powers directed against one of the contracting parties.

The peace treaty between the USSR and Finland once again demonstrated the policy of the Soviet Union in relation to small states. The USSR, which defeated the Finnish army, showed generosity towards Finland. He had the full opportunity to occupy all of Finland and to demand indemnity to reimburse his military expenses. But the USSR limited itself to the minimum necessary to ensure the security of Leningrad and Murmansk.

The VI session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the first convocation on March 31, 1940 made a decision on the transfer of the annexed territories of the Karelian ASSR and on the transformation of the latter into the union Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic. A new union republic appeared in the family of fraternal union republics.

Peaceful resolution of the Soviet-Romanian conflict over Bessarabia

The largest victory of the Stalinist peace policy was also the peaceful resolution of the protracted Soviet-Romanian conflict over the question of Bessarabia.

The Soviet government never put up with the forcible seizure of Bessarabia by Romania, which in 1918, taking advantage of the difficult military situation of Soviet Russia, occupied Bessarabia. For more than two decades, the Moldovan people were forcibly divided: on one side of the Dniester, Soviet Moldavia flourished, on the other, occupied Bessarabia, inhabited by Moldovans and Ukrainians, suffered under the yoke of the Romanian boyars. Romania turned Bessarabia into its colony. Bessarabia became a niche, a devastated and even more economically backward country. Even according to official Romanian data, as a result of poverty, child mortality in the villages of Bessarabia reached appalling proportions.

Romanian landowners, capitalists, high-ranking officials seized the land, factories, plants and turned the people of Bessarabia into slaves without rights. Tens of thousands of the advanced people of Bessarabia were killed and tortured to death by the Ciguranza, the Romanian secret police.

The working people of Bessarabia responded to the bloody oppression of the invaders with uprisings. The most significant were the Khotyn uprising in 1919 and the Tatarbuniar uprising in 1924. The Bessarabian people tirelessly fought for their liberation from the oppression of the Romanian boyars and for reunification with the family of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

The same heavy oppression was experienced by the people of Northern Bukovina, artificially separated from their Ukrainian brothers. Bukovina land was seized by landowners. Colonial oppression and exploitation reigned in Bukovina. The people of Northern Bukovina more than once rose to fight the Romanian invaders. In November 1918, a meeting of representatives of almost all the settlements of Bukovina took place in Chernivtsi. It made a decision on the annexation of Bukovina to Soviet Ukraine.

The Soviet Union came to the aid of the fraternal peoples of Bessarabia. On June 28, 1940, the Soviet government proposed to the Romanian government to return Bessarabia to the Soviet

Union. In addition, the Soviet government offered to transfer the northern part of Bukovina, inhabited by Ukrainians, to the Soviet Union.

The Romanian government accepted these proposals. The family of Soviet peoples included 3 million 200 thousand workers of Bessarabia and 500 thousand workers of Northern Bukovina. The population of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina with great joy greeted their liberator - the Soviet Army. The liberated peoples sent their delegates to the 7th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet with a request to form a union Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic and to reunite the Moldavian people of Bessarabia with the Moldavian ASSR.

The 7th session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 2, 1940 granted this petition and made a decision on the formation of the union Soviet Socialist Republic - the Moldavian SSR. In addition, it was decided to include Northern Bukovina and three Ukrainian-populated districts of Bessarabia into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Admission of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia to the USSR

The new international situation and the consistent peaceful policy of the Soviet Union raised the question of the USSR's relations with the Baltic countries in a new way.

Lithuania, like the other Baltic countries, received national state independence as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet government was the first to recognize the Republic of Lithuania. On July 12, 1920, a peace treaty was signed between the RSFSR and Lithuania, according to which a significant part of the former Vilna province and the city of Vilno, the capital of the Lithuanian state, were transferred to Lithuania.

Since its inception, the Republic of Lithuania has been the subject of intrigues of European states and, in particular, Poland, which openly sought to seize Lithuania. In 1920, despite the signing of the Polish-Lithuanian agreement, Poland captured Vilna and the Vilna region. The League of Nations recognized the capture of the Vilnius region. Only the Soviet government supported Lithuania's protest and did not recognize this takeover. Soviet-Lithuanian relations were based on mutual respect for the interests of both states. On September 28, 1926, the Soviet-Lithuanian non-aggression treaty and peaceful resolution of conflicts was signed. In 1934, the Soviet-Lithuanian non-aggression pact was extended for ten years.

The Soviet Union has always provided serious support to the Lithuanian state. In 1927 the Soviet Union averted the Polish-Lithuanian war, provoked by the reactionary circles in Poland. In 1937, Polish troops were again concentrated on the Lithuanian border, and only the intervention of the USSR did not allow turning this conflict into a war between Poland and Lithuania.

The peaceful and friendly policy of the Soviet Union was perceived by the working people of Lithuania with a sense of deep satisfaction and gratitude. But foreign imperialists tried to turn Lithuania into a military base against the USSR. During the elections to the Diet in 1926, the reactionary nationalist party led by Smetona suffered a complete defeat. Then, relying on the landlords, the military and the Catholic clergy, Smetona made a military coup and established his dictatorship. In Lithuania, a regime of lawlessness and oppression was created for the working people. Smetona increased the landowners' land ownership and imposed unbearable taxes on the small peasantry. The Lithuanian people have repeatedly risen to fight against the bloody regime of Smetona.

After the outbreak of the German-Polish war, the Soviet government, seeking to ensure the security of the borders of the USSR and Lithuania, proposed in October 1939 the Lithuanian government to conclude an agreement on mutual assistance and handed over to Lithuania the Vilna and Vilna region liberated by the Soviet Army free of charge. But the Smetonov clique, instead of honestly fulfilling the agreement concluded by Lithuania, began to prepare new provocations against the Soviet Union.

The USSR government demanded a change in the composition of the Lithuanian government and free admission to Lithuania of additional units of the Soviet Army to protect the security of the borders of the USSR and the Lithuanian state. The Lithuanian people greeted the Soviet Army with great joy. The newly created government organized democratic elections to the People's Seimas on July 14-15, 1940. In these elections, over 99% of voters voted for the candidates of the Lithuanian Labor Union. The People's Seimas unanimously adopted a resolution on the proclamation of Lithuania as a Soviet Socialist Republic and sent its plenipotentiary commission to the USSR to ask the Supreme Soviet to accept Soviet Lithuania into the Soviet Union.

The request of the representatives of Soviet Lithuania was granted. At the VII session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 3, 1940

Soviet Lithuania was accepted as an equal union republic within the Soviet Union.

The same path was followed by the Latvian bourgeois republic.

Soviet-Latvian relations were regulated by the peace treaty (August 1920), which also provided for the revival of economic relations between the two countries. But the ruling bourgeois-kulak circles in Latvia, incited foreign imperialists, abandoned the trade agreement with the USSR. Only at the end of 1926, after the fall of the reactionary government of Ulmanis, more normal relations with the USSR were established, enshrined in the Latvian-Soviet guarantee agreement (1927) and the Latvian-Soviet trade agreement (1927). After the reactionary coup carried out by the leader of the so-called "Peasant Union" Ulmanis, the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic freedoms were destroyed in Latvia. Despite the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact with the USSR on October 5, 1939, the Latvian bourgeoisie continued its intrigues,

Seeing that the ruling circles of Latvia are not capable of honestly carrying out the pact of mutual assistance, the government of the USSR proposed to change the composition of the Latvian government and demanded that units of the Soviet Army be allowed into Latvia.

Free elections to the Latvian Seimas gave a complete victory to the candidates of the "Working People of Latvia" bloc. The Seimas unanimously proclaimed Latvia a Soviet republic. At the request of the plenipotentiary delegation of the Seim, Soviet Latvia was admitted to the USSR at the VII session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 5, 1940 as an equal union republic.

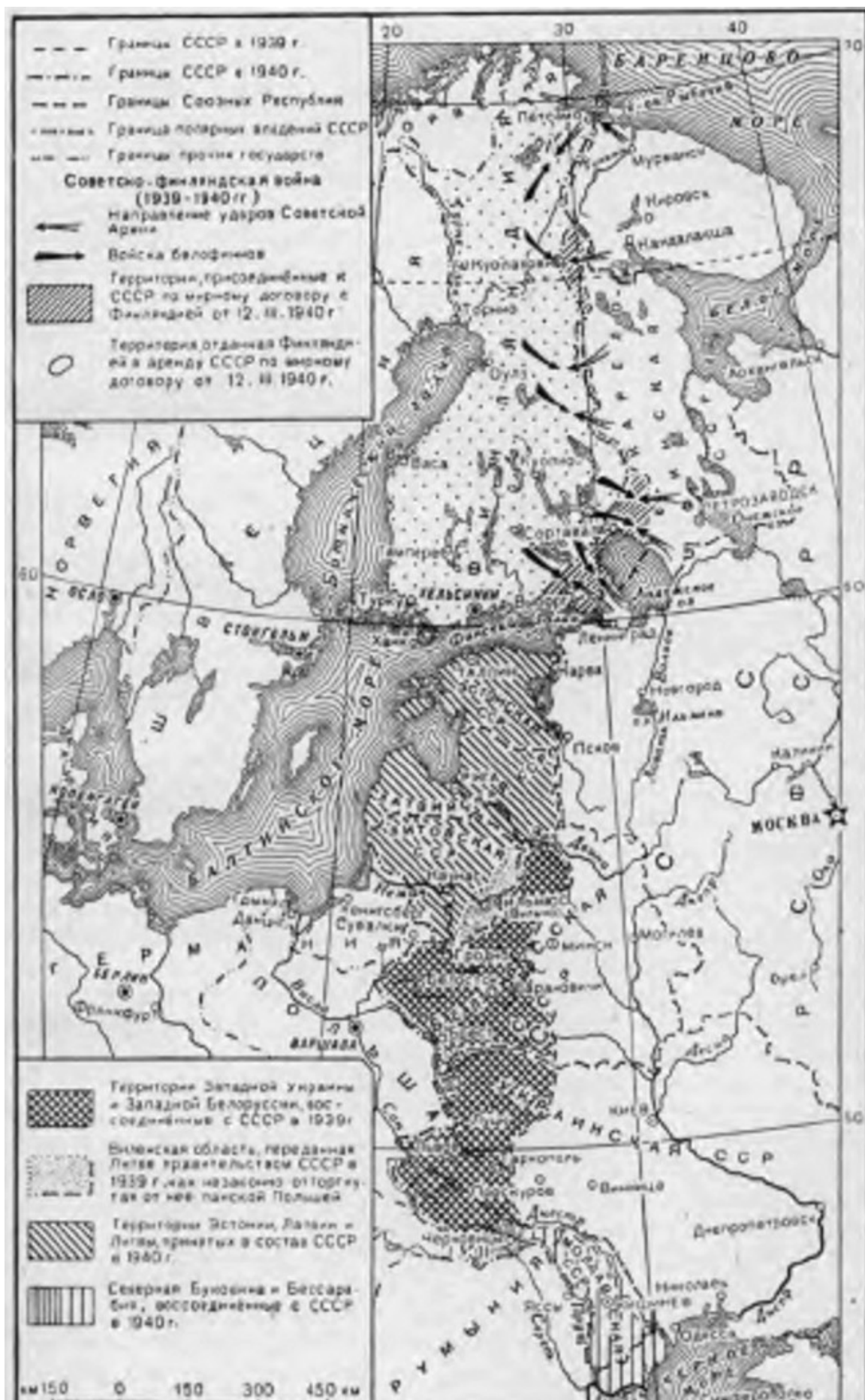
Estonian-Soviet relations were determined by the peace treaty signed at the beginning of 1920, which was the first breach in the blockade of the USSR by the Entente. However, the Estonian bourgeoisie, connected with states hostile to the USSR and incited by them, more than once supported anti-Soviet adventures. In May 1922, the Estonian authorities in Revel executed a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Estonian national hero Viktor Kingisepp and even appealed to the Soviet government with a protest against the renaming of the town of Yamburg, bordering Estonia, to Kingisepp.

The heroic uprising of the Revel workers against the white terror in Estonia in 1924 was used by the Estonian government for a new anti-Soviet campaign.

In 1925, the Estonian bourgeoisie, on the direct orders of the foreign imperialists, refused to conclude a trade agreement and a guarantee pact with the USSR. The Estonian government also sabotaged the mutual assistance pact, which was concluded between the USSR and Estonia on September 28, 1939. The Estonian ruling clique, having entered the military alliance of the Baltic countries, began to prepare a war against the USSR. But the vigilance of the Soviet government thwarted these provocations.

On June 21, 1940, the working people of Estonia swept away the warmongers and put a people's government in power. The July 14-15 elections ensured a democratic composition of the Estonian State Duma. At its very first meeting, a unanimous decision was made to declare Estonia a Soviet republic and to join it in the USSR.

The VII session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR at a meeting of August 6, 1940, heard a statement by the plenipotentiary commission of the Estonian Soviet Republic and unanimously accepted the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic into the USSR as an equal union republic.



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THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE AGAINST THE GERMAN Fascist Invaders

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CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE AGAINST THE GERMAN Fascist Invaders

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THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE AGAINST THE GERMAN Fascist Invaders



The treacherous attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR

Fulfilling the grandiose tasks of the third Stalinist five-year plan and unswervingly and firmly pursuing a policy of peace, the Soviet government, at the same time, did not for a moment forget about the possibility of a new attack by the imperialists on our country. Comrade Stalin tirelessly called on the peoples of the Soviet Union to be ready for mobilization. In February 1938, in his reply to a letter from Komsomol member Ivanov, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Indeed, it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the fact of the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, for example, the fascists, will not try to launch a military attack on the USSR on occasion ."

Comrade Stalin demanded that the defense capability of our country be strengthened. *"It is necessary ,"* he wrote, *" to strengthen and strengthen our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Aviation, Osoaviakhim in every possible way. It is necessary to keep our entire people in a state of mobilization readiness in the face of the danger of a military attack, so that no "accident" and no tricks of our external enemies could catch us by surprise. .. "*

Comrade Stalin's warning alerted the Soviet people, made them watch the intrigues of their enemies more vigilantly and strengthen the Soviet Army in every possible way. The Soviet people understood that the German fascists, led by Hitler, were seeking to unleash a new bloody war, with the help of which they hoped to win world domination. Hitler declared the Germans to be the "superior race" and all other peoples to be inferior, inferior races. The Nazis treated the Slavic peoples and, first of all, the great Russian people, which more than once in its history fought against the German aggressors, with particular hatred. The Nazis set their goal, in case of victory in the world war, to oust a significant part of the Slavs from Europe beyond the Urals, and physically destroy the other part.

The Hitlerites dreamed of using the enormous resources of the Soviet country - oil, coal, foodstuffs for the implementation of their further plans of conquest. Hoping to crush the Soviet Union in a short time, Hitler then hoped to throw all his strength into conquering the rest of the world. The Nazis based their plan on the plan developed by General Hoffmann during the First World War for a military attack and the lightning defeat of Russia. This plan provided for the concentration of huge armies on the western borders of our homeland, the capture of the vital centers of the country for several weeks and a rapid advance deep into Russia, up to the Urals. Subsequently, this plan was supplemented and approved by the Hitlerite command and was called the "Barbarossa plan".

On the night of June 22, 1941, Hitler's army suddenly and treacherously attacked the USSR, despite the non-aggression pact that existed between the USSR and Germany. At the same time, Germany secretly concluded treaties with the governments of Italy, Hungary, Romania and Finland on a joint war against the USSR and gave them the order to pull their forces to the borders of the Soviet Union. Hitler hoped to win the war in two or three months. His calculations were based on a significant preponderance of the number of the German army, which had long been mobilized, well-armed, and already had military experience. Hitler also hoped for the fragility of the Soviet rear: he believed that under the influence of military failures, the Soviet system would not survive, conflicts would arise between workers and peasants, and national strife would rise between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The monstrous war machine of the Hitlerite imperialists began its movement in the Baltics, Belarus and Ukraine, threatening the vital

centers of the Soviet country.

The liberating nature of the war between the USSR and Germany

A formidable danger loomed over the Soviet country. Comrade Stalin warned the Soviet people of this danger in his radio speech on July 3, 1941. He called on the Soviet people to put an end to complacency and carelessness. peacetime, to defend their homeland and the conquests of the October Revolution, to rise to the patriotic war against the fascist invaders. In this historic speech by Comrade Stalin, the liberating, just character of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union was precisely defined. At the same time, Comrade Stalin showed the unjust, aggressive nature of the war on the part of Hitlerite Germany, which carried out a treacherous and robber attack on our country.

Comrade Stalin revealed the predatory plans of the Nazis. He showed that the victory of Germany brings the peoples of the USSR enslavement and oppression:

“The enemy is cruel and implacable ,” said Comrade Stalin. “ His goal is to seize our lands, watered with our sweat, to seize our grain and our oil, obtained by our labor. It aims to restore the power of the landowners, restore tsarism, destroy the national culture and national statehood of Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldovans, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and other free peoples of the Soviet Union, their Germanization, their transformation into slaves of German princes and barons. Thus, it is about the life and death of the Soviet state, about the life and death of the peoples of the USSR, about whether the peoples of the Soviet Union should be free, or fall into enslavement. ” (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, p. 13).

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the war with Hitlerite Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. This is not only a war between two armies. This is a nationwide patriotic war against the fascist oppressors, the purpose of which is not only to eliminate the danger hanging over our country, but also to help all the peoples of Europe groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

Comrade Stalin's speech is an example of scientific foresight and at the same time a program of the struggle of the Soviet people against Hitlerite

Germany. At the call of Comrade Stalin, all the peoples of the USSR rose to defend their homeland, its honor, freedom and independence.

The collapse of the fascist plans of lightning war

Already in the first months of the war, the entire inconsistency of the fascist plans and calculations for a lightning-fast defeat of the Soviet armies, for the fragility of the Soviet rear was revealed. Temporary advantages of the enemy - surprise attack, quantitative superiority in tanks, aircraft, automatic weapons, the absence of a second front in Europe - made it possible for Germany to achieve certain tactical and operational successes.

But the forces of the Soviet Union were deployed and strengthened during the war.



In the very first days of the war, the State Defense Committee was created, headed by Comrade Stalin. Under his leadership, the entire country began to actively rebuild on a military basis. A general mobilization and training of reinforcements for the Soviet Army was carried out. The military industry expanded. From areas threatened by occupation, enterprises were transported to the east - to Siberia, the Urals, and Central Asia. The Soviet Army stubbornly defended every inch of Soviet land. The Soviet command opposed the onslaught of the enemy with the Stalinist strategy and tactics of active defense. Exhausting and

exsanguinating the enemy's manpower, the Soviet Army strove to eliminate the enemy's temporary advantages as soon as possible. The soldiers of the Soviet Army selflessly defended Soviet cities and villages to the last opportunity. So, the battle near Smolensk lasted almost 30 days. The German tank division that had broken through to Smolensk was destroyed on the streets of the city. Tens of thousands of German soldiers were killed in the Smolensk region. The defense of Odessa was even longer and more stubborn. The city defended itself for almost 70 days. The Germans and Romanians threw 18 divisions against

Odessa. The defenders of Odessa had only 4 infantry divisions and a small number of sailors and people's militias. The city has been bombed 360 times. Fascist barbarians destroyed the city with artillery fire.

They cut off the city's waterworks and deprived the city's defenders of water. Nevertheless, the Germans did not manage to break the courage and resilience of the inhabitants of the city, nor to take Odessa by storm. The city was abandoned by the Soviet troops for strategic reasons. Stubborn battles were fought along the entire border from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. Carrying out the Stalinist tactics of active defense, the Soviet Army stubbornly held back the powerful avalanche of Hitler's hordes. Hitler's army suffered huge losses.

The Nazis' calculations for the lightning-fast defeat of the Soviet Union failed.

Defeat of the Germans near Moscow



Especially furious was the onslaught of the enemy on the capital of the Soviet Union - Moscow. In order to encircle and capture Moscow, the German command launched a general offensive on October 2, 1941. The Germans tried to take Moscow into huge "ticks": through Rzhev - Kalinin from the north and through Orel - Tula from the south. Hitler was so confident in the implementation of this plan that he even scheduled a parade of German troops on Red Square for November 7, 1941. However, the Soviet Army thwarted the extravagant plans of the Nazis.

Residents of Moscow organized a people's militia to repel the enemy. More than 100 thousand volunteers of the Muscovite militia made up new divisions, which were a strong barrier on the enemy's path to the capital. Tens of thousands of Muscovites quickly surrounded Moscow with solid defensive lines. Moscow was declared a state of siege. The defense of the capital was led directly by Comrade Stalin.

At the moment when the enemy was breaking through to Moscow, Comrade Stalin on November 6, 1941, spoke at a meeting of the Moscow Soviet with a report on the 24th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this report, Comrade Stalin showed the reasons for the temporary setbacks of the Soviet Army, exposed the failure of the enemy's villainous designs and concluded that the defeat of the German imperialists and their armies was inevitable. Comrade Stalin outlined the prospects for the war, noting three main factors that should lead to the inevitable defeat of the Hitlerite imperialists.

The first factor is the fragility of the European rear of fascist Germany, against which all the peoples of Europe enslaved by the Germans must rise. The second factor is the fragility of the German rear itself, which will loosen more and more as the military failures of the Hitlerite army. The third factor is the creation and strengthening of the military coalition of the USSR, Great Britain and the United States of America against the German fascist imperialists.

Considering all these factors, Comrade Stalin predicted an inevitable turn in the entire course of the war in favor of the Soviet Union and its allies.



The next day, November 7, 1941, Comrade Stalin spoke at the parade of the Soviet Army on Red Square. Remembering the fighting traditions of

our great ancestors, Comrade Stalin called on the soldiers and commanders of the Soviet Armed Forces to follow their example in the heroic struggle for the freedom and independence of the Soviet homeland:

"Let the courageous image of our great ancestors - Alexander Nevsky, Dimitry Donskoy, Kuzma Minin, Dimitri Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov, Mikhail Kutuzov, inspire you in this war, " said Comrade Stalin, " ! Let the victorious banner of the great Lenin overshadow you! " (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, p. 40).

These historic speeches by Comrade Stalin inspired the Soviet Army and the entire Soviet people to new heroic deeds. The soldiers of the Soviet Army fought with unprecedented courage on the outskirts of Moscow. The Guards Division under the command of General Panfilov became especially famous during the defense of Moscow. 28 guardsmen from this division, under the leadership of political instructor Klochkov, defended an important line in a battle that lasted over 4 hours. The enemy threw fifty powerful tanks against the 28 heroes. Almost all of Panfilov's men fell in an unequal struggle, but the enemy was detained and then thrown back by the reinforcements that arrived in time. Thousands of Muscovites voluntarily fought on the outskirts of the capital. Fighters of different nationalities fought with them on the fields near Moscow. The heart of the Soviet Union - Moscow - was defended by the entire Soviet people.

Up to 35 German divisions were drained of blood by the heroic defenders of Moscow in October 1941. The German October offensive on the Soviet capital failed. Then Hitler demanded a new, decisive blow from his troops. In November, 51 divisions were sent to Moscow, including 13 tank and motorized rifle divisions. The Germans tried to cover Moscow with new "pincers" and "wedges". But the Soviet Army, which had grown stronger in battles, staunchly resisted and exhausted the enemy with powerful counterattacks. At the same time, the Supreme High Command was preparing for a decisive offensive.

The order for the offensive was given on December 6, 1941 by Comrade Stalin. For 40 days, the Soviet Army crushed the Germans near Moscow. During this time, she captured and destroyed about 500 enemy tanks, a large number of guns and other weapons, the Germans suffered heavy losses in manpower. As a result of the offensive operations of the Soviet Army, the enemy was in places driven back more than 400 km from the capital.

The defeat of the Germans near Moscow was the decisive military event of

the first year of the war and at the same time the first major defeat of the Germans in the Second World War. It showed that the Soviet Army is a powerful military force, capable not only of withstanding the onslaught of the German fascist troops, but also of crushing them in open battle. This dispelled the myth of the invincibility of the Hitlerite army, which spread in Europe. The defeat of the Germans near Moscow inspired both the Soviet people, who were temporarily under the yoke of the Nazi occupiers, and all the peoples of Europe enslaved by the Nazis to fight the invaders.

Simultaneously with the defeat near Moscow, the Germans suffered defeats in the north - in the Tikhvin area and in the south - in the Rostov-on-Don area. This showed that the Soviet Army had grown into a serious fighting force. By the anniversary of the Soviet Army - February 23, 1942 - the Moscow and Tula regions, a significant part of the Kalinin, part of the Leningrad and Smolensk regions were completely liberated. In total, during the winter campaign of 1941-1942. our troops liberated more than 60 cities and 2 thousand settlements.

But the German war machine had not yet been defeated. Her forces were still very significant and they were used exclusively on the Soviet front. During 1941, the Soviet Union was actually fighting alone against Germany. In July 1941, an agreement was signed between the governments of the USSR and Great Britain on joint actions in the war against Nazi Germany. In 1942, the Soviet Union and Great Britain signed an agreement on alliance in the war against Germany and her accomplices in Europe, and on cooperation and mutual assistance after the war for a period of 20 years. The United States of America also signed a military agreement with the Soviet Union.

But the conclusion of these treaties did not mean that the ruling circles of Britain and the United States abandoned their anti-Soviet policy. The reactionary elements in every possible way delayed the opening of the second front in Europe. The intrigues and intrigues of the reactionaries led by Prime Minister Churchill and his associates in Britain and the United States were aimed at weakening the Soviet Union in every possible way in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany, at all costs to drag out the course of hostilities on the Soviet-German front.

The German imperialists have always feared a war on two fronts. All their strategy and tactics were based on beating their opponents one by one. During the First World War, Germany fought in the west against England and France and in the east against Russian troops. Of 220 German divisions on the Russian front in 1914-1916. fought 85 divisions, and together with Germany's allies - 127 divisions. The rest of the divisions of Germany and its allies were on the Western Front. During World War II, Hitlerite Germany fought for a long time, mainly on the Eastern Front and used all its main forces to fight against the Soviet

Union. Of the 256 German divisions in 1941-1942, no less than 179 divisions operated against the USSR. The Soviet Army had to repel the powerful onslaught of the Hitlerite armies alone.

Taking advantage of the absence of a second front, the Nazis launched a new offensive in May 1942. Dozens of German divisions were withdrawn from the Western Front and thrown into the Soviet-German front. Having occupied Kerch, the Nazis resumed the assault on Sevastopol. The defense of Sevastopol lasted 250 days. The Black Sea sailors valiantly defended Sevastopol.

At the height of the fighting for the defense of Sevastopol, Comrade Stalin sent greetings to its defenders:

"The selfless struggle of the Sevastopol people," he wrote, "serves as an example of heroism for the entire Red Army and the Soviet people."



Stalingrad battle

In the summer of 1942, having created a large preponderance of forces in the southwestern direction of the Soviet-German front, the Nazis achieved significant tactical successes, reaching the region of Voronezh, Stalingrad and Novorossiysk. Hitler still considered his main goal to be the capture of Moscow. This time he intended to bypass Moscow from the east, cutting it off from the Volga and Ural rear. In Hitler's new plans, a special role was assigned to the capture of Stalingrad, which was of great strategic importance. Being at the crossroads of the most important water and railways, Stalingrad connected the country's centers with the Caucasus

and Transcaucasia, with Astrakhan and Baku, with the Volga region and the eastern regions of the USSR. Stalingrad was also the most important arsenal, supplying the Soviet Army with tanks and other weapons.

Against Stalingrad, the Hitlerite command threw the 6th Army under the command of Field Marshal von Paulus. Over 1,500 guns fired at the city. Many thousands of aircraft bombarded it daily with high-explosive and incendiary bombs. Stalingrad steadfastly and courageously repelled the fierce attacks of the enemy. The workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant and other enterprises continued to work under enemy fire and supplied the defenders of the city with tanks and ammunition. Heroes of the Civil War, former participants in the heroic defense of Tsaritsyn, took an active part in the defense of Stalingrad.

After a month of fierce fighting, the Germans managed to reach the Volga in some places. The city was cut into pieces, but did not give up. General Chuikov's 62nd Army, which defended Stalingrad, defended every street, every house. So, senior sergeant Yakov Pavlov with a handful of his fighters defended the house he occupied for months, turning it into a well-fortified point. The Stalingrad people called this house "Pavlov's house".

The soldiers of the division of General Rodimtsev, who swore an oath "to stand to death", showed iron fortitude and courage. Stalingrad snipers, led by Vasily Zaitsev, incapacitated fascist soldiers and officers, firing from their shelters without missing. The resilience of Soviet soldiers was manifested especially during tank battles. At the end of July 1942, during one of these battles, four armor-piercing soldiers received the task of stopping the offensive of two dozen enemy tanks. Despite the fact that the trenches of the brave men were thrown with earth from the bursts of shells, and their armor-piercing rifles were heating up from the continuous shooting, the Soviet armor-piercers did not stop fighting for a minute. In this battle, the four of them destroyed 15 German tanks, and the rest were forced to turn back.

In another battle at Stalingrad, 33 Soviet armor-piercers, led by the communists Kovalev and Evtifeev, engaged 70 German tanks. Having destroyed 27 German tanks in this battle, they did not allow a single one outside the Soviet defenses. The entire history of the defense of Stalingrad is full of such examples of valor and heroism.

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the soldiers of the Stalingrad Front wrote a letter to Comrade Stalin, in which they promised not to allow the enemy to the Volga:

"At Stalingrad," they wrote, "we defend our Motherland, we defend everything that is dear to us, without which we cannot live. Here, near

Stalingrad, the fate of our Motherland is being decided. Here, at Stalingrad, the question is being decided - whether or not to be free for the Soviet people ...

Sending this letter from the trenches, we swear to you that until the last drop of blood, until the last breath, until the last heartbeat, we will defend Stalingrad and will not allow the enemy to reach the Volga . "

Each person who signed the letter sought to back up his oath with military deeds. The whole country came to the aid of Stalingrad. Everyone understood that the fate of the homeland depended on the outcome of the struggle for Stalingrad. The heroic defense of Stalingrad allowed the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army to prepare reserves, develop and implement a plan to defeat the Germans at Stalingrad. At dawn on November 19, 1942, after a powerful artillery preparation, the troops of the three fronts broke through the enemy's defenses and went on the offensive. Having defeated the flanks of the enemy, the Soviet Army surrounded the elite German units and proceeded to destroy the surrounded grouping. By the beginning of February 1943, two German armies, numbering 330 thousand people, ceased to exist. About a third of this army, led by Field Marshal von Paulus, was captured.

The Stalingrad operation, developed and carried out under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, has no equal in the entire world military history. For the first time in the history of wars, such a huge mass of enemy troops was surrounded and eliminated. Comrade Stalin, giving a description and assessment of the Battle of Stalingrad, said in his report on November 6, 1943:

"In order to have an idea of the scale of that unprecedented massacre in history that took place on the fields of Stalingrad, you need to know that at the end of the Battle of Stalingrad, 147,200 killed German soldiers and officers and 46,700 killed Soviet soldiers and officers were picked up and buried.

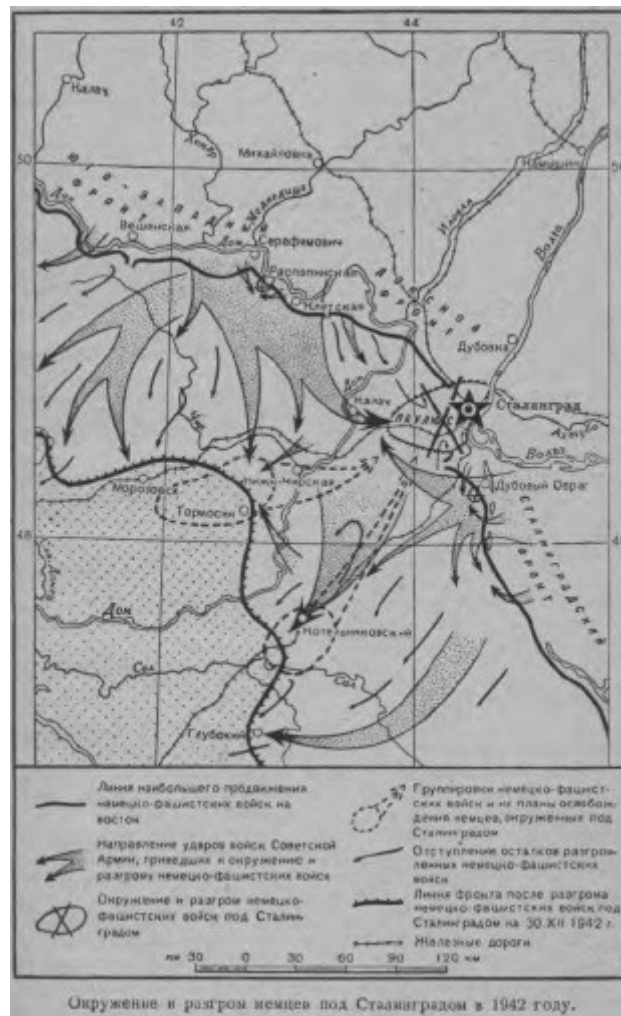
Stalingrad was the decline of the German fascist army. After the Stalingrad massacre, as you know, the Germans could no longer recover " (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, p. 113) .

The Stalingrad victory created a fundamental turning point in the entire course of the Great Patriotic War. The heroic defense of Sevastopol and

Odessa, the defeat of the Germans near Moscow, stubborn battles near Leningrad, the greatest battle in history at the walls of Stalingrad laid a solid foundation for the victory over the Nazi armies.

A radical turning point in the course of the war

In the winter of 1942/43, the Soviet Army, in difficult conditions, advanced along a front of 1,500 kilometers and almost everywhere dealt blow after blow to the fascist army. Enemy troops were driven far from Vladikavkaz, from Stalingrad, from Voronezh.



The balance of forces on the Soviet-German front has changed. In defensive and offensive battles, the Soviet Army in twenty months of the

war put out of action several million German fascist soldiers and officers. Including the Romanian, Italian and Hungarian armies, thrown by Hitler on the Soviet-German front, were completely defeated. This eliminated the advantage of the German fascist army in the field of conducting major military operations. The Soviet Army, having mastered the experience of modern warfare, has become a completely cadre army, having learned the tactics of maneuvering, encircling and destroying enemy manpower and equipment.

In the spring of 1943, there was a temporary respite during military operations. Both sides were preparing for decisive battles. The Nazis were accumulating forces for a new big offensive. In Germany, a general, "total" mobilization was carried out. The number of German divisions on the Soviet-German front was increased to 257. Industry in occupied Europe worked hard, arming the German army.

At the beginning of the summer of 1943, the Germans launched an offensive near the Kursk salient, which was formed as a result of the winter offensive of the Soviet Army in the area of the Orel - Kursk - Belgorod railway. The Germans counted on a blow from both sides - from the Oryol bridgehead in the north and from the Belgorod region in the south - to surround and destroy the Soviet troops concentrated in the bend of the Kursk Bulge, and then to launch an offensive on Moscow. To fulfill this plan, the Germans concentrated 17 tank and 18 infantry divisions and a huge number of aircraft on a relatively narrow front. Never before has so much equipment been used as in the battles near Kursk.



There were 100-150 tanks and 100-200 guns per kilometer of the front. Despite this, the Germans failed to break through the front of the Soviet Army. The Soviet Army created a defense in depth. Soviet artillery successfully destroyed enemy tanks. Having exhausted and bled the main forces of the German fascist armies, the Soviet Army itself went on the offensive. Exactly one month after the start of the German offensive, on August 5, 1943, the Soviet Army captured the cities of Orel and Belgorod. Thus, the most powerful and dangerous at this moment for our country, the Oryol fortified foothold of the enemy, which the Hitlerite command hoped to use for a new offensive against Moscow, was eliminated.

The Battle of Kursk, Orel and Belgorod marked the beginning of a powerful summer offensive for the Soviet Army. Soviet troops launched battles for Kharkov. On August 23, 1943, Kharkov was liberated from the German invaders. At the same time, operations began to liberate Donbass. As a result of the rapid offensive on September 8, 1943, the city of Stalino was liberated. The German command tried to stop the Soviet offensive on the water lines - on the Desna River and especially on the Dnieper. But the Soviet Army successfully crossed the Desna, and then the upper reaches of the Dnieper and liberated on September 25, 1943 Smolensk - the most important strategic center of the Germans' defense in the western direction.

The offensive operations of the Soviet Army in the summer of 1943 showed that it could attack in the summer as successfully as in the winter. These operations put the Hitlerite army in front of a serious crisis and upset the Germans' hopes for successfully waging a protracted defensive war on the Soviet-German front.

The summer offensive of the Soviet Army ended with a stubborn struggle for the Dnieper. The German command pulled together huge forces to defend the powerful defense zone along the Dnieper. The Germans occupied the well-fortified right mountainous bank, blew up all the bridges, and destroyed all ferry facilities. They were convinced of the impossibility of crossing the high-water and wide Dnieper, which in its middle and southern reaches up to 600 meters wide. Nevertheless, the Soviet troops unexpectedly for the enemy began a crossing at a number of points. The crossing took place without pontoons, on improvised means, that is, on what was at hand. The Ukrainian partisans rendered great assistance to the troops of the Soviet Army in crossing the Dnieper. On boats and rafts prepared in advance, they ferried the vanguard detachments of the Soviet Army to the right bank.

Having seized several important bridgeheads on the right bank of the Dnieper, the Soviet Army launched an offensive to liberate Kiev. After stubborn battles Kiev was taken by storm on November 6, 1943. A Czechoslovak brigade took part in the liberation of Kiev together with Soviet troops. Then, within one week, the Soviet Army advanced 130 kilometers from Kiev. Developing the offensive, the troops of General Vatutin occupied Zhitomir on December 31, 1943. At the same time, the troops of the Belorussian Front liberated Gomel and thus marked the beginning of the liberation of Belarus. The Soviet offensive in the Ukraine and Belarus was supported on all other fronts, from Finland to the Crimea.

Anti-Hitler Coalition Conferences

After the failure of the "lightning war", the entire Hitler strategy focused on dragging out the war, disrupting the strengthening of the alliance and friendship between the USSR, Great Britain and the United States. But the vital interests of all freedom-loving peoples made it necessary to quickly and completely defeat the armed forces of fascist Germany and its vassals.

In October 1943, a conference of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union,

Great Britain and the United States was convened in Moscow. The Moscow conference developed the necessary measures to shorten the duration of the war against Germany and its allies. The conference outlined the basic principles of post-war international cooperation and security. The conference spoke in favor of the restoration of a free and independent Austria and the need to establish a democratic government in Italy. Signed by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, a declaration adopted by the conference on the responsibility of the Nazis for the atrocities they committed was published.

A month after the Moscow conference, in November 1943, a conference of the leaders of the three powers opened in Tehran - Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR I.V. Stalin, US President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Churchill. The Tehran Conference adopted the "Declaration of the Three Powers", in which the unanimous decision was expressed to crush Hitlerite Germany and ensure peace and security for the peoples in the future. The leaders of the three powers who signed the declaration said: "We express our determination that our countries will work together both during the war and in subsequent times of peace." On the question of the military plans of the Allies, the declaration emphasized the firm determination to deal a final blow to Hitlerite Germany and defeat her armed forces on land, on water and in the air.



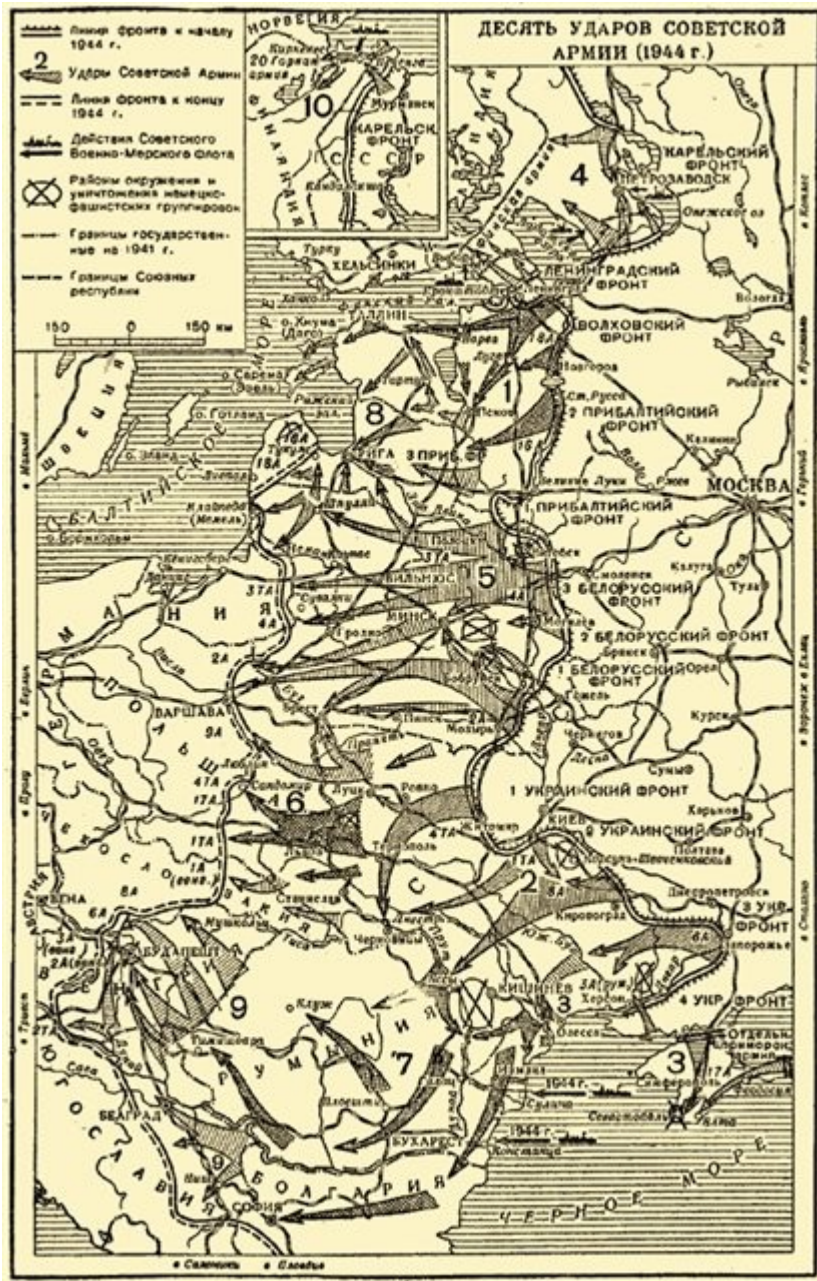
However, Churchill later, in the name of the selfish interests of British imperialism, resorted to all sorts of tricks in order to slow down the opening of the second front, to cause as much damage as possible to the Soviet state. The reactionary circles of the United States also took the same position of disrupting the second front and all-round exhaustion of the USSR.

Ten blows of the Soviet Army in 1944



The fourth year of the war was the year of decisive victories for the Soviet Army. During this year, the Soviet Army inflicted ten crushing blows on the German fascist invaders, as a result of which the German fascist occupiers were completely driven out of our homeland and military operations were transferred to the territory of enemy states. **First hit**

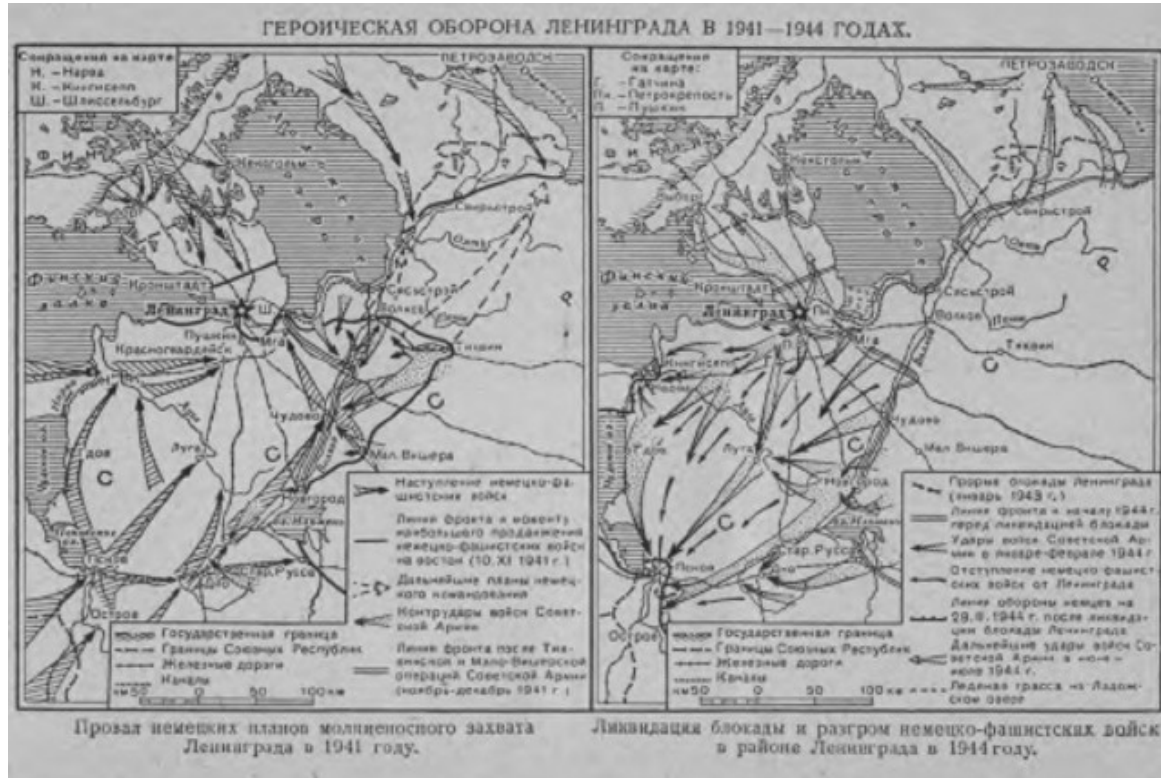
the Germans and their allies in 1944 was inflicted near Leningrad. For two years, the troops of the Soviet Army, defending Leningrad, courageously repulsed the pressure of the Germans. In the fall of 1941, the Nazis tried to take Leningrad by storm. Having failed, they, with the help of the Finns, surrounded Leningrad from all sides. In the conditions of a complete blockade, Leningraders experienced hunger and cold. The Germans placed heavy long-range cannons around the city and fired at the city blocks every day. But neither famine, nor artillery shelling, nor daily bombing could break the fortitude of the heroic defenders of the city of Lenin.



True to their revolutionary traditions, Leningraders turned their city into an indestructible fortress. Cut off from the "mainland", the city-fighter continued to resist. The entire life of the besieged city was led by the Leningrad Committee of the Bolsheviks, headed by A.A. Zhdanov.

The entire Soviet country and personally Comrade Stalin showed tireless concern for the heroic Leningraders. To alleviate the plight of the courageous defenders of Leningrad, an ice track was laid across Lake Ladoga, at the direction of Comrade Stalin, along which food was delivered to Leningrad by cars. Residents of the city called the Ladoga ice track "the road of life." Under the conditions of a severe blockade, under the continuous strikes of bombs and shells, the Leningrad workers did not leave their machines and machines, and the factories continued to work

for defense. In the blockaded city, despite terrible hardships and constant bombing, ordinary Soviet life continued. Even children and adolescents who did not have time to evacuate continued to study in cold classrooms and sometimes in bomb shelters.



Patriotism, courage and resilience of Leningraders helped the besieged hero city to withstand while the Soviet Army gathered forces to liberate it. In January 1944, the troops of the Volkhov Front went on the offensive, crossed the river Volkhov and cut off the escape route for the Germans. Trapped in a ring in the Novgorod region, the German troops were destroyed. The troops of the Leningrad Front also went on the offensive, which on January 20 joined up with the troops of the Volkhov Front. Soon the Soviet Army liberated the entire Leningrad region. The defeat of the Germans near Leningrad opened up the possibility of liberating the Baltic states and brought closer the defeat of the German ally, Finland.



















The second blow was dealt to the Germans in Ukraine and brought the liberation of the right-bank Ukraine. At the end of January, the Soviet Army launched an offensive from the regions of Kirovograd and Belaya Tserkov. In February, Soviet troops surrounded and destroyed 10 German divisions and 1 brigade in the Korsun-Shevchenkivskyi area.

The German command hoped that the spring impassability in Ukraine would halt the advance of the Soviet Army. But these calculations did not come true. In the early spring of 1944, despite the spring thaw, along the roads covered with a thick layer of liquid mud, the Soviet Army launched an offensive with the aim of completely liberating the right-bank Ukraine. On the way of the Germans' retreat, large and small "cauldrons" were created, in which a large number of enemy manpower and equipment perished.



Fight on the outskirts of Odessa. April 9, 1944

Troops of three Ukrainian fronts went on the offensive.

On March 26, 1944, the troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front reached the state border of the USSR with Romania - r. Rod. In early April, Soviet troops defeated the Germans in the foothills of the Carpathians and reached the state border of the USSR with Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Army crossed the river. Prut and entered the territory of Romania. Thus, the war was moved outside our country.



Meeting of Soviet soldiers with residents of Ternopil. April 1944



Forcing the Dnieper. 1943 year



On October 23, 1943, troops of the 51st Army of the 4th Ukrainian Front liberated the city of Melitopol and took the direction to Sivash



Street battles for Kharkov in August 1943

The third blow was dealt to German and Romanian troops in the Crimea region. Possessing the Crimea, the Nazis endangered the Soviet Black Sea Fleet and the entire Black Sea coast. Crimea was for them a bridge to the

Balkans and a means of pressure on Turkey. The Nazis strongly fortified the approaches to the Crimea, in particular the gate to the Crimea - Perekop, as well as the Sevastopol region and considered them impregnable.

The fighting for the liberation of Crimea began in April 1944. Troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front broke through through Perekop and Sivash into the Crimean steppe. At the same time, the Primorskaya army, which in 1943 seized a small bridgehead in the Kerch region, also broke through the front and moved to join the troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front. Simferopol was liberated on April 13.



The remnants of the defeated German fascist troops fortified in Sevastopol. The Soviet Army began on May 7 the assault on the Sevastopol fortified area. After three days of fierce fighting on May 9, Sevastopol was liberated. The Black Sea Fleet and aviation destroyed enemy transports, preventing the evacuation of German troops and military cargo from the Crimea. A month before that, on April 10, 1944, Odessa was liberated. The liberation of Crimea changed the situation on the Black Sea and brought the Soviet Army closer to the Balkans.

The fourth blow was dealt to the Finnish troops in the region of Karelia and led to the liberation of most of the Karelo-Finnish republic. During the war, the Germans and Finns created a powerful network of fortifications on the Karelian Isthmus - the so-called "Karelian Wall", or "New Mannerheim Line". The White Finns considered this line of defense impregnable. However, the Soviet Army successfully broke through all the Finnish fortifications. Vyborg was taken on June 20, 1944. A week later, the Murmansk railway was cleared of the enemy and the capital of the Karelo-Finnish republic, Petrozavodsk, was liberated.



The photo was taken immediately after the liberation of Petrozavodsk from the Finnish invaders. 1944 Finnish concentration camp



The destroyed building of the Severnaya Hotel. Petrozavodsk. 1944. Photo by G.A. Ankudinov



Demining of railway tracks in Medvezhyegorsk. 1944. Photo by G.A. Ankudinov



1944 Soldiers of the Red Army salute in honor of the restoration of the border with Finland



The meeting of the inhabitants of Petrozavodsk on May 9, 1945. The 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of the KFSSR Yu.V. Andropov. May 9, 1945 Photo by G.A. Ankudinov. [Photo](#) .

The fifth blow to the German troops was struck in the summer of 1944 in Belarus and Lithuania. The Germans attached great importance to this sector of the front, through which the shortest route to Germany lay. Using numerous rivers, lakes and swamps, the German fascists turned the whole of Belarus into a powerful fortress. To take this fortress, the Soviet Army launched an offensive simultaneously with the troops of the three Belorussian fronts. Near Minsk, the troops of the three Belorussian fronts drove the Germans into an iron ring. On the morning of July 3, 1944, Minsk was liberated. About 60 thousand German soldiers and officers taken prisoner in Belarus were sent through Moscow to prisoner of war camps.



2nd Baltic Front. Crossing the water line. Rezekne district. 1944 year



A column of Soviet tanks passes through the streets of Minsk. July 3, 1944



Pilots of the Normandie-Niemen air regiment.



They are about to see Moscow The German prisoners taken during Operation Bagration are waiting, sitting at the Moscow Hippodrome, to be

led through the streets of Moscow. July 17, 1944



Captured German senior officers and generals are sent prisoner. July 17, 1944



They passed through Moscow. A column of captured Germans is walking along the Garden Ring, heading for the Kursk railway station. In a sense, Hitler's dream of having his troops march across Moscow was satisfied. Walked. But not the troops. And guarded. July 17, 1944



Captured Germans are being taken across Moscow. July 17, 1944 [Photo](#) .

Soviet troops marched victoriously to the West. On July 13, the capital of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, the city of Vilnius, was liberated. Having liberated Belarus and most of Lithuania, the Soviet Army entered the territory of the allied Poland, approached the borders of Germany.

The sixth blow to the German troops was dealt by the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, which liberated Western Ukraine. On July 27, Lviv, the center of Western Ukraine, was liberated. Continuing a successful offensive throughout the summer, the Soviet Army completely liberated the Ukrainian land from the German fascist invaders, crossed the Vistula and formed a powerful foothold behind the Vistula trap Sandomierz.



On the streets of the Liberated Lviv. [Photo](#)

The seventh blow was struck in August 1944 by the troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front and the 3rd Ukrainian Front, which liberated the capital of the Moldavian Republic, Chisinau, on August 24. German-Romanian troops tried to resist in the Iasi area, but the group of Germans and Romanians got into the "pot" here and was completely destroyed. The swift offensive of the Soviet Army in Moldova ended with the capture of the capital of Romania - Bucharest on August 31. Lacking the strength to continue the war, Romania surrendered. The new Romanian government signed the armistice terms proposed by the Soviet Union and declared war on Germany.



Bucharest.

The brilliant victory of the Soviet troops in Romania influenced the entire course of the war in the Balkans and in southeastern Europe. The Soviet government appealed to the Bulgarian government with a note dated September 5, 1944, in which it declared that since Bulgaria was actually fighting against the Soviet Union, the latter would henceforth consider itself at war with Bulgaria. But the Bulgarian people did not want a war with the Soviet Union. On September 9, he overthrew the fascist government. The new, democratic government of Bulgaria concluded a truce with the USSR and declared war on Germany. On September 13, the troops of the Soviet Army entered the capital of Bulgaria - Sofia.



Residents of liberated Sofia. September 15, 1944

As a result of the seventh blow, the way to the borders of Hungary was opened for the Soviet troops, an opportunity was created to liberate Yugoslavia.

The eighth blow was dealt by Soviet troops to the German invaders in the Baltic states, which was the closest approach to East Prussia. Up to 40 German divisions were concentrated in the Baltic to defend this important bridgehead. Developing a successful offensive, Soviet troops reached the southern coast of the Gulf of Riga and cut off the German troops from East Prussia. On September 22, the troops of the Leningrad Front, together with the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, liberated the capital of Estonia - Tallinn. On October 10, the capital of Latvia, Riga, was liberated.



As a result of the eighth strike, Finland was incapacitated, which on September 19, 1944 signed an armistice agreement and declared war on Germany.

The ninth blow was dealt by the Soviet Army to the enemy in the area between the Tissa and the Danube. The result of this blow was the withdrawal from the war of the last ally of Nazi Germany - Hungary. In October 1944, Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, was liberated. At the same time, the troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front crossed the Carpathians and by the beginning of November 1944 liberated most of the Transcarpathian Ukraine, extending a helping hand to the Czechoslovak people.



Budapest liberated

On February 13, 1945, Soviet troops stormed the Hungarian capital, Budapest. In Hungary, a Provisional National Government was created, which concluded an armistice with the Soviet Union and declared war on fascist Germany.

The tenth blow was dealt to the Germans in the north, in the Arctic, where on October 15, 1944, the city of Petsamo (Pechenga), the center of the region that had long belonged to Russia, was liberated. In 1918 and 1940 the Soviet Union voluntarily ceded the region and the city of Pechenga to Finland. The Finns turned this area into a staging ground for an attack on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Army defeated the Germans and liberated the city of Pechenga. Continuing the offensive, the Soviet Army entered Norway and made it easier for the Norwegian people to fight for their liberation.

Thus, as a result of ten blows inflicted by the Soviet Army in 1944 on the German fascist troops, fascist Germany was defeated on a huge front from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. The Hitlerite bloc collapsed. Under the blows of Soviet troops, the former allies of Hitlerite Germany - Romania, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, who started a war against it, were put out of action. Thus, the isolation of Germany was completed. On July 29, 1944, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR awarded

Comrade Stalin the Order of Victory for exceptional services in organizing and conducting offensive operations of the Soviet Army.

Liberation of the peoples of Europe



The victories of the Soviet Army played a decisive role in ensuring the military successes of the Allies in North Africa and Italy. The diversion of the main strategic reserves of the Germans from the West and the destruction of the best German divisions on the Soviet-German front provided the opportunity for the successful development of large-scale Allied offensive operations in Europe. The Soviet Union alone bore the brunt of the war, and the Soviet people with their blood defended not only

themselves, but other peoples as well.

Britain and the United States of America during the three years of the war in every possible way delayed the opening of a second front in Europe against German troops. But when, after the huge victories of the Soviet Army, it became clear that the Soviet Union was capable of occupying the entire territory of Germany and liberating France by its own forces, Britain and the United States decided to open a second front in Europe.

Under the direct influence of the victories of the Soviet Army, the peoples of Europe enslaved by the Germans intensified their resistance. The hatred of peoples towards the fascist invaders especially increased during the years of the German occupation of a number of European countries. The fascists established in all the countries they conquered, the so-called "new order", which in fact repeated the old slavery or serfdom. Having seized foreign territories, the Germans enslaved the European nations - the French, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Dutchmen, Belgians, Serbs and others.

The Hitlerite Party, as the party of the most rapacious and robber imperialists among all the imperialists in the world, implemented its cannibalistic racial theory everywhere. The Germans established a slave-serf system in all countries and covered Europe with gallows. They destroyed the best cultural works of all peoples. The German fascists dealt with the population of the Soviet regions occupied by them with particular fury and cruelty. Hitler's orders condemned Soviet people to death for the slightest resistance or opposition to the Germans.

German executioners shot, burned, hung and tortured Soviet people in thousands. Collective farms in the areas of occupation were destroyed. Their lands were given to German landowners and kulaks. The Germans forced the collective farmers driven from the land to work for new landowners or drove them to Germany for hard labor. Millions of people died from backbreaking labor for the German conquerors. The Germans destroyed the best monuments of Russian national culture. They destroyed the museum-estate of the great writer of the Russian land Leo Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana, the house of the great Russian composer Tchaikovsky in Klin, the house-museum of the Russian writer Chekhov in Taganrog, desecrated the great relics associated with the name of Pushkin, etc.

Even in 1941, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the so-called "new order" in Europe is a volcano ready to explode at any moment. The enslaved peoples of Europe were waiting only for an opportunity to rise up against their oppressors. As the Soviet Army approached the state borders of the

USSR, the peoples of all countries occupied by the Germans rose up for a general liberation struggle against the occupiers.

The Soviet Army came to their aid. She played a decisive role in the liberation of Yugoslavia. On October 20, 1944, the Soviet Army liberated the capital of Yugoslavia, Belgrade. In early 1945, the Soviet Army liberated a number of large Polish cities. On January 17, 1945, Soviet troops together with the troops of the 1st Polish Army liberated Warsaw, the long-suffering capital of the Polish Republic. The Soviet Army also rendered great help to the freedom-loving peoples of Czechoslovakia, who offered continuous resistance to the Nazi invaders. Thus, the Soviet Army fulfilled its mission of liberation towards all the peoples of Europe and helped them throw off the yoke of the German enslavers.



Heroic struggle of Soviet partisans

In the war against the Nazi robbers, Soviet patriotic partisans who operated in all Soviet regions temporarily occupied by the Germans played a huge role. In a radio speech on July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin called on all Soviet people "to create unbearable conditions for the enemy and all his accomplices in the regions occupied by the Germans, to pursue and destroy them at every step, and to disrupt all their measures." Thousands and hundreds of thousands of Soviet patriots responded to Comrade Stalin's call. People of all professions and all ages went to the forests and joined the partisan detachments. The Soviet people will not forget the name of one of the first partisans - Moscow schoolgirl Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya. In 1941, she voluntarily joined the partisan detachment and bravely fought against the Nazis.



During one of the partisan operations, Zoya was captured. She was subjected to monstrous torture, but no amount of torture could break the heroic spirit of the Soviet patriot. Not having obtained any evidence from the young heroine, the Nazis decided to hang her publicly. At the place of execution, Zoya turned to the peasants, who were driven to watch her execution, with a fervent appeal to destroy the Nazis. "Do not be afraid," she said, "Stalin is with us. Stalin will come! "

Shura Chekalin, a 16-year-old student of the Komsomol, showed the same fortitude and devotion to the homeland. Having joined the fighter battalion as a volunteer, Chekalin was cut off in the rear of the enemy during one of the battles. He found a partisan detachment and became an active scout. But the Germans managed to capture the young partisan. After inhuman torture, they took Shura Chekalin to execution. At the gallows, the hero proudly declared to the Germans: "You cannot hang us all! There are a lot of us!". The young patriot died singing the Internationale.



The people's avengers, as the people called the heroes-partisans, directed their blows to the most vulnerable places of the enemies. They destroyed the rear offices and enterprises of the enemy, tore apart German communications, destroyed carts, struck at enemy reserves, and blew up bridges. The partisans drew the masses of the population, languishing under the yoke of the German invaders, into an extensive war of liberation. The partisan forests became a nightmare for the Germans. Repeatedly, the German command sent punitive detachments to "comb" the forests and destroy the partisans. But the partisans, with the help of their scouts, learned about the movement of the punitive detachments and took their own countermeasures.

Facilitating the advance of the Soviet Army, the partisans disabled thousands of kilometers of track, thereby depriving the retreating German units of vehicles. The partisans saved the peaceful Soviet population from extermination and from being hijacked into German fascist slavery. They freed the prisoners and returned the property plundered by the Germans to the population. The partisan movement was especially widespread in Ukraine and Belarus.

Guided by the instructions of Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine created the Ukrainian headquarters of the partisan movement, which took the necessary measures to expand the partisan struggle against the occupiers. The underground Bolshevik organizations were at the head of the partisan movement everywhere. Thus, under the leadership of the secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), A.F. Fedorov launched a successful military activity underground organizations of the Bolsheviks of Chernigov region.



Partisans of one of the detachments are waiting for the enemy on a forest road



Partisans of one of the detachments in ambush

In the course of the partisan war in Ukraine, outstanding commanders and organizers of the partisan movement, such as S. Kovpak, A. Fedorov,

S. Rudnev, P. Vershigora and others, emerged. For courage and heroism, they were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and S. Kovpak and A. Fedorov were awarded the second gold star of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

Before the war, S. A. Kovpak was the chairman of the local council in the small Ukrainian town of Putivl. After the occupation of Putivl by the Germans, Kovpak and Rudnev organized a partisan detachment, the fame of whose deeds spread widely throughout Ukraine. In 1942, Kovpak, along with other partisan commanders, was summoned to Moscow for an appointment with Comrade Stalin. There, it was decided to organize a deep partisan raid on the right-bank Ukraine in order to rouse the people to fight the Germans and strike at enemy communications. Kovpak's detachments launched a great war of extermination in the Carpathian Ukraine. They destroyed several oil refineries, more than 50 thousand tons of oil. To fight the partisan detachments of Kovpak, the Germans threw troops from Galicia and Hungary. However, partisan detachments broke through the encirclement and returned to Ukraine.



The 7th company of Putivel partisans on the march in the Carpathian roadstead, on the right, in formation - company commander S.N. Efremov

The Carpathian raid of the Kovpakites had not only great military, but also moral and political significance. He showed that the Nazis were powerless to conquer the Ukrainian people, and had a great influence on the rise of the partisan war in Western Ukraine. The partisan struggle in Ukraine took on a nationwide character. Relying on the support of all the people, during the Patriotic War, the partisans of Ukraine disabled over 450 thousand enemy soldiers and officers, derailed several thousand military echelons with manpower and equipment, blew up and burned 2,200 railway and highway bridges, destroyed hundreds of warehouses with ammunition and equipment, recaptured from the Germans and distributed to the Soviet population a large number of echelons with bread and cattle, which were taken away by the Germans from Ukraine.



Partisans drive out a German punitive detachment from the village

The Leninist-Stalinist Komsomol also remained a reliable and active assistant to the Bolshevik party behind enemy lines. Ukrainian youth, led by Komsomol members, launched a heroic resistance to the German fascist invaders. An example of such resistance is the struggle of the Krasnodon Komsomol members. In the small mining town of Krasnodon (Donbass), an underground Komsomol organization called "Young Guard" was created. She set herself the goal of waging an irreconcilable struggle

against the German invaders. At the head of the "Young Guard" were young Komsomol members raised by the Bolshevik party - Oleg Koshevoy, Ivan Zemnukhov, Sergei Tyulenin, Ulyana Gromova, Lyubov Shevtsova and others. Young Guard Komsomol members wrote and distributed leaflets, destroyed lists of people slated for theft into fascist slavery, attacked enemy vehicles,



As a result of betrayal and provocation, the Young Guard organization was exposed and captured by the Gestapo. The Germans subjected the young underground workers to terrible torture, but none of them showed weakness and cowardice. Fascist monsters brutally tortured the heroes of the Komsomol, threw them alive into the pit of a mine 53 meters deep. The Soviet government praised the heroic activities of the "Young Guard" and posthumously awarded its leaders the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. The partisan movement also reached enormous proportions in Belarus. In 1944, the army of the people's avengers of Belarus numbered hundreds of thousands of people. Among them there were many thousands of women who fought on an equal basis with men in partisan units.



Belarusian partisans



By the summer of 1942, small partisan groups and detachments united in brigades and large formations. The partisans learned how to deal with enemy tanks and aircraft. The cadres of combat partisan commanders were forged. In the fall of 1942, shortly before the offensive of the Red Army near Stalingrad, the leaders of the Belarusian partisans were summoned to a meeting with Comrade Stalin, who gave them specific instructions on the tactics and methods of partisan struggle. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belarus created the headquarters of the partisan movement and daily led the liberation struggle of the Belarusian people against the fascist German enslavers. The leadership of the combat activities of numerous partisan detachments from a single center was one of the features of the Soviet partisan movement.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the partisans of Belarus exterminated more than 500 thousand German soldiers and officers, destroyed 298 enemy aircraft, 1 192 tanks and vehicles and many other weapons. Particularly important was the so-called "rail war" of the Belarusian partisans, the purpose of which was the simultaneous and massive destruction of rails on all railways of the territory occupied by the Germans.

Rail war was a powerful means of disorganizing railway traffic behind enemy lines. During the three years of the war, Belarusian partisans destroyed 10,239 railroad trains and blew up 4,274 bridges.



Partisan parade in Minsk on July 16, 1944

The Belarusian partisans not only disrupted the military and economic measures of the Germans, but also destroyed the German authorities. During the war, the partisans of Belarus killed hundreds of military and civilian officials of the occupation apparatus, including Hitler's henchman - General Commissioner of Belarus von Kube. The great merit of the partisans of Belarus was the salvation of hundreds of thousands of Soviet people from extermination and theft into fascist slavery. Partisan detachments freed prisoners of war and civilians imprisoned by the Nazis in prisons and camps. More than 150 thousand people, with the help of partisans, crossed the front line from occupied Belarus and joined the ranks of the Soviet Army.

True to their patriotic duty, the Belarusian partisans showed the greatest courage and heroism. Their glorious military exploits were highly appreciated by the Soviet government, which awarded up to 100 thousand partisans and partisans with orders and medals of the Soviet Union. The high title of Hero of the Soviet Union was awarded to 70 partisans. The names of such partisans as Konstantin Zaslouov, Bumazhkov, Kozlov, Pavlovsky and many others entered the history of the Great Patriotic War. Among the partisans - Heroes of the Soviet Union, there were also brave daughters of the Belarusian people - Osipova,

Mazanik,

Maslovskaya,

Troyan.



The name of the fearless commander of the Orsha partisans, Konstantin Zaslonov, became especially famous. Before the war, he was the head of the locomotive depot in Orsha. Remaining in the German rear, Zaslonov carried out a lot of sabotage work at the Orsha railway junction. When Zaslonov's activities became known to the Germans, he went into the woods and led the fighting of the partisans. In the fight against the Nazis, Konstantin Zaslonov died a heroic death.

A wide partisan movement also developed in the Bryansk forests and in the Leningrad region. As a result of the successful hostilities of the partisans, entire areas located in the rear of the enemy were liberated from the German fascist invaders.

Bryansk partisans

In the liberated regions - "partisan lands" - Soviet power and collective farms were restored, which worked under the protection of their courageous liberators - partisans.



The working class during the Great Patriotic War

The military successes of the Soviet Army were facilitated by a mighty patriotic upsurge that engulfed the entire Soviet rear. The military industry was quickly evacuated to the far eastern regions and soon began to supply the Soviet Army with everything it needed. Created during the days of the Stalinist five-year plans, the coal and metallurgical base in the East made it possible to partially compensate for the loss of enterprises in the western and southern regions occupied by enemies. The evacuated enterprises very often began to work in areas where before that there was no industry at all. The construction of new enterprises was carried out at a military pace. The local and evacuated population worked selflessly and intensely in the most difficult conditions.

The history of wars does not know such a scale of organizational work in the rear, which was shown by the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War. The Kuznetsk Combine quickly replaced the temporarily lost Donbass. New powerful blast furnaces were built in Magnitogorsk. The

largest metallurgical plant appeared in Chelyabinsk. Many old factories in the Urals have been reconstructed anew. The Urals have become a powerful arsenal for the Soviet Army. During the war, new enterprises in the machine-building, automobile, electrical and chemical industries grew up in Siberia and Central Asia.

The unprecedented rise of socialist emulation, the growth of Stakhanov's methods of labor, mass inventions - all this spoke of the tremendous creative energy of the working class, its unbreakable will to victory. Women and adolescents began to play a huge role in military enterprises. During the war, trade schools and factory apprenticeships gave industry over two million trained workers. Women mastered complex professions and showed examples of labor heroism. Front-line youth brigades arose at enterprises.

On the initiative of a Moscow worker, Ekaterina Baryshnikova, a mass movement of Soviet youth began to overfulfill production plans with a reduced number of workers. Katya Baryshnikova fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan in a team with three workers instead of six. Baryshnikova's initiative was taken up by young workers throughout the country. This freed up tens of thousands of additional workers for the industry of the Soviet Union. Comrade Stalin, in his May Day 1944 order, noted the great merit of the working class, which, in the difficult conditions of war, achieved decisive successes in the mass production of weapons, ammunition, and uniforms for the Soviet Army.

The collective farm peasantry during the war. The collective farm peasantry worked just as selflessly to ensure victory over the German-fascist invaders. In the days of the Great Patriotic War, collective farmers and collective farmers displayed a high awareness of national interests. With their hard work, they ensured the regular supply of the Soviet Army and the country with food and raw materials. Women collective farmers have shown themselves to be a great force in the village. The female tractor brigade of Daria Garmash (in the Ryazan region) during all the years of the war gave a record output per tractor. The all-Union competition of women's tractor brigades, initiated on her initiative, was of great benefit to the homeland. The collective farm youth was the initiator of new methods of labor in agriculture, raising its productivity.

Soviet intelligentsia during the war

Together with the workers and peasants, the Soviet intelligentsia made an invaluable contribution to the victory over the enemy. She boldly followed the path of innovation in technology and culture, successfully developed science, and creatively applied scientific achievements in the production of weapons for the Soviet Army. Academician scientists of all specialties have achieved great success in the development of physics, chemistry, mathematics, medicine and other sciences, directing their achievements towards the cause of defeating the enemy. Academicians Burdenko, Abrikosov, Orbeli, Bogomolets and others, with their remarkable achievements in the field of medicine, saved the lives of many wounded soldiers. Academicians Zelinsky, Bardin, Baykov, Pavlov, Vavilov and many others armed the Soviet Army and industry with their works in the development of physics, chemistry, metallurgy. Academicians Lysenko, Pryanishnikov and others have developed new methods to increase agricultural productivity. Academic botanists Komarov, Keller and others during the Patriotic War worked hard to increase the productive forces and use the natural resources of the USSR. Soviet geologists, academicians Fersman, Obruchev and others worked in the same direction. Thanks to the works of Soviet scientists, the richest deposits of various valuable minerals were discovered. The USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as the academies of sciences of the union republics, have achieved great success in all branches of science. Soviet scientists, designers, inventors, engineers and technicians, together with the entire Soviet people, helped to ensure the superiority of the armed forces of the Soviet state and hasten the great victory over the enemy. Keller and others during the Patriotic War worked hard to increase the productive forces and use the natural resources of the USSR. Soviet geologists, academicians Fersman, Obruchev and others worked in the same direction. Thanks to the works of Soviet scientists, the richest deposits of various valuable minerals were discovered. The USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as the academies of sciences of the union republics, have achieved great success in all branches of science. Soviet scientists, designers, inventors, engineers and technicians, together with the entire Soviet people, helped to ensure the superiority of the armed forces of the Soviet state and hasten the great victory over the enemy. Keller and others during the Patriotic War worked hard to increase the productive forces and use the natural resources of the USSR. Soviet geologists, academicians Fersman, Obruchev and others worked in the same direction. Thanks to the works of Soviet scientists, the richest deposits of various valuable minerals were discovered. The USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as the academies of sciences of the union republics, have achieved great success in all branches of science. Soviet scientists, designers, inventors, engineers and technicians, together with the entire Soviet people, helped to ensure the superiority of the armed forces of the Soviet state and hasten the great victory over the enemy. Obruchev and others. Thanks to the works of Soviet scientists, the richest deposits of various valuable minerals were discovered. The USSR Academy of

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The rise of the spiritual and moral strength of the Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War was facilitated by the wonderful works of Soviet fiction and Soviet art. During the war Soviet writers helped the front with their talented publicistic words, collaborating in the front and rear press. Soviet writers faithfully reflected the traits of Soviet man born of the socialist system. The images of Soviet patriots with great artistic truth were shown in their works during the war by such remarkable Soviet writers and poets as Alexei Tolstoy, Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexander Fadeev, Wanda Vasilevskaya, Konstantin Simonov, Ilya Erenburg, Alexander Korneichuk, Leonid Leonov, Samed Vurgun, Boris Gorbатов, Leonid Sobolev, Boris Polevoy, Vasily Grossman and many others.

Devotion to the Soviet homeland, willingness to give his life for the conquests of the Great October Revolution, conscious service to the cause of socialism, dedication to the Soviet people and the great party of Lenin-Stalin - this is what characterizes the main features of Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War, talentedly reflected by Soviet writers. "I don't agree to all Russia. I need Soviet Russia," says the hero of B. Gorbатов's story "Alexei Kulikov is a Fighter". These words express the feelings and heroes of Gorbатов's story "The Unconquered". The truly heroic character of the Soviet man, organically connected with his people, is shown in the poem "Zoya" by Margarita Aliger and in the novel "Young Guard" by Alexander

Fadeev. Such outstanding works as "Russian People" by K. Simonov, "Front" by Korneichuk, "Rainbow" by Wanda Vasilevskaya, "Invasion" by Leonov, "They Fought for the Motherland" also speak about the strength and inflexibility of the people's spirit, about the courage and firmness of the Soviet man. Sholokhov, "Pulkovo Meridian" by Vera Inber and others. High Soviet patriotism, faithfully reflecting the true feelings of the peoples of the USSR, were shown in their works by the best masters of Soviet art. In the midst of fierce battles against fascism, wonderful Soviet symphonies, songs, paintings and sculptures, exciting films were created. During the years of the Patriotic War, Soviet art workers created works of art imbued with a noble feeling of love for their homeland.

The same mobilizing role was played by outstanding works of Soviet cinematography - the films "Kutuzov", "Zoya", "Georgy Saakadze", "Rainbow", "Bogdan Khmel'nitsky", "She Defends the Motherland" and others. Works of Soviet cultural workers during the Great Patriotic War will go down in history as a glorious feat of the Soviet intelligentsia. Outstanding wartime works that played an important role in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany were awarded the Stalin Prizes by the Soviet government.

Caring for the Soviet Army

The entire Soviet people showed the greatest concern for the Soviet Army. One of the manifestations of this concern was the widespread popular movement to raise funds for the fund of the Soviet Army. At the end of 1942, in the midst of the battle for Stalingrad, the collective farmers of the Tambov region collected a significant amount of money for the construction of tanks for several days. The initiative of the Tambov collective farmers was taken up by the collective farmers of the whole country. On the initiative of the Saratov collective farmer F.P. Golovaty, many collective farmers began to donate all their personal savings to the fund of the Soviet Army. In a letter addressed to Comrade Stalin, F. Golovaty said that he had donated all his savings in the amount of 100 thousand rubles for the construction of a combat aircraft. He was allowed to choose a fighter at the aircraft plant and make an inscription on it: "A gift to the Stalingrad front - from the collective farmer of the Stakhanovets artel Golovaty". Comrade Stalin sent greetings and gratitude to Golovaty for his gift: "Thank you, Ferapont Petrovich," Stalin wrote, "for your concern for the Red Army and its air forces. The Red Army will not forget that you gave all your savings to build a combat aircraft. "



Many thousands of workers from different regions and national republics followed the example of the collective farmer Golovaty. As of March 31, 1943, over seven billion rubles and a large number of things and products were collected for the fund of the Soviet Army. During the war years, the defense fund received about 13 billion rubles and a huge amount of bonds. In addition to creating a defense fund, the Soviet people provided the state with great assistance by signing up for loans.

The strong unity of the rear and the front during the Great Patriotic War not only destroyed all the enemy's hopes for the fragility of the Soviet system, but became the most important condition for the complete defeat of the Germans.

II

THE DEATH OF HITLER GERMANY IN 1945



The year 1945 has come - the year of the final historic victories of the Soviet Army and the complete defeat of Nazi Germany. [spoiler] On October 23, 1944, the troops of the 3rd Belorussian Front, under the command of General of the Army Chernyakhovsky, invaded East Prussia. In January 1945, the great

the liberation campaign of the Soviet Army, as a result of which the capital of Poland, Warsaw, and a number of large Polish cities were liberated. Together with the Soviet Army, the Polish army, formed with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union, fought for the liberation of Poland from the Nazi invaders. Continuing the offensive, the Soviet Army captured the main stronghold of the German military - East Prussia. At the same time, Soviet troops liberated the ancient Polish territory, Silesia, which is the largest coal basin in Europe after the Ruhr. Forcing the Oder, Soviet troops entered Pomerania and the Brandenburg province.

The victories of the Soviet Army raised the question of the future fate of Germany. In order to agree on a coordinated policy in relation to defeated Germany and on future policy in relation to a liberated Europe, a new conference of the leaders of the three allied powers was convened, held in early February in Crimea, near Yalta. The heads of three governments J.V. Stalin, F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill developed a program

actions for the final defeat of Germany. They pledged to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to create guarantees that Germany would never again be able to disrupt world peace. The leaders of the three Allied Powers declared that they were determined to destroy Hitlerite Germany, to disband all German military forces, to destroy the German General Staff, to confiscate military equipment, to liquidate or take control of the entire German war industry, and to subject all criminals of war to fair and swift punishment, and recover damages in kind for the destruction caused by the German fascist invaders. It was also decided to liquidate the Hitlerite fascist party and all Hitlerite organizations and institutions.

At the same time, the leaders of the three powers declared that their goals did not include the destruction of the German people. When Nazism and militarism are eradicated, the German people will find ways to live with dignity in the community of other nations. To maintain peace and security, it was decided to establish, together with other allied powers, the international United Nations Organization. The Crimean Conference also adopted the "Declaration on a Liberated Europe" and a number of other decisions. However, the decisions of the Crimean Conference were systematically frustrated and thwarted by the ruling circles of Great Britain and the United States, which in every possible way hinder the establishment of a truly democratic peace and international cooperation.

In early April, the Soviet Army completed the defeat of the Königsberg grouping of German troops. On April 9, 1945, she captured the main city of East Prussia - Königsberg (now Kaliningrad). At the same time, other parts of the Soviet Army liberated the capital of Austria - Vienna from the German invaders.

The circle around the fascist capital - Berlin - was narrowing. Hitler, in his appeal to the German army and the German people, declared that the Soviet Army would never enter Berlin. The last reserves of the Germans, including the elderly and teenagers, were thrown against the units of the Soviet Army. But on April 25, the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front and the troops of the 1st Belorussian Front united and completed the complete encirclement of Berlin. On the same day, a meeting of Soviet and allied forces took place on the Elbe. The Germans agreed to surrender to the Anglo-American forces, but refused to surrender to the Soviet forces. Without a fight, they gave the cities to the British and Americans and surrendered to them in whole units. But the Soviet troops, especially on the way to Berlin, the Nazi soldiers continued to offer fierce resistance.

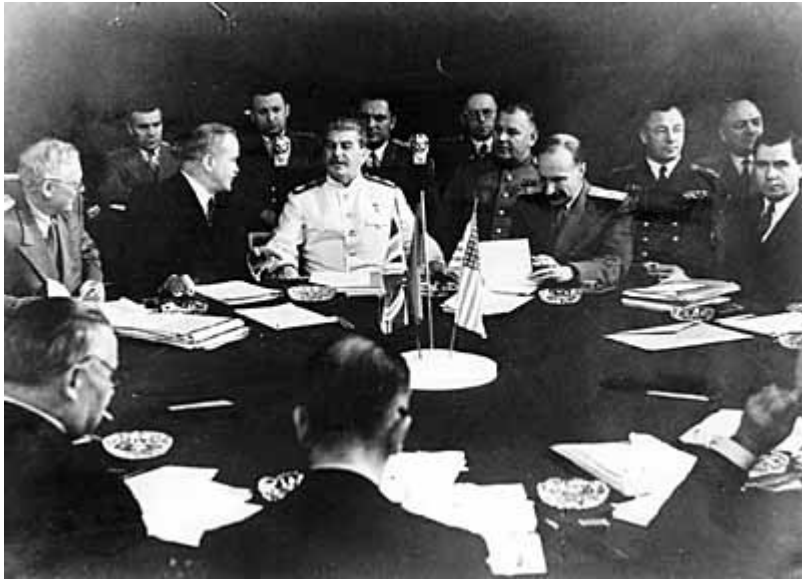
The Soviet offensive on Berlin was carried out simultaneously from different directions. On the night of April 20, tens of thousands of guns

opened fire on Berlin. After artillery preparation, thousands of tanks moved to Berlin. From the air, about five thousand aircraft fell on the battle formations of the Germans. On April 21, Soviet troops, having broken through the Berlin defenses, started fighting in the suburbs. The encirclement ring was shrinking ever closer. Finally, the forward units broke through to the center of Berlin and hoisted the red banner over the German Reichstag. In the order of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief Comrade Stalin on May 2, 1945, the long-awaited news was reported: Berlin was taken by the Soviet Army.

The Allies demanded unconditional surrender from Germany. On May 8, 1945, the leaders of the German armed forces signed the act of unconditional surrender. The Germans reported the suicide of Hitler, Goebbels and other leaders of Nazi Germany. The rest of the leaders of the fascist state, including Goering, Field Marshal Keitel and others, were arrested and brought to trial at the International Tribunal. In his address to the people on May 9, 1945, Comrade Stalin announced that the great day of victory over Germany had come: "Now we can," said Comrade Stalin, "with good reason to declare that the historic day of the final defeat of Germany has come, the day of the great the victory of our people over German imperialism.

The great sacrifices we made in the name of the freedom and independence of our Motherland, the innumerable hardships and sufferings experienced by our people during the war, hard work in the rear and at the front, given to the altar of the Fatherland, were not in vain and were crowned with complete victory over the enemy. The age-old struggle of the Slavic peoples for their existence and their independence ended in victory over the German invaders and German tyranny. From now on, the great banner of freedom of peoples and peace among peoples will fly over Europe "(Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, p. 193).

On June 26, 1945, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded JV Stalin for exceptional services in the organization of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and for their leadership in the Great Patriotic War with the second Order of Victory. On the same day, by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Comrade Stalin was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, and on June 27 - the highest military rank - Generalissimo of the Soviet Union. After the successful completion of the defeat of Nazi Germany, not far from Berlin, in Potsdam, a conference of the three allied powers took place, which lasted from July 17 to August 2, 1945.



The decisions of the Potsdam Conference were supposed to consolidate the historic victory over German imperialism and ensure a lasting and just peace. At the conference, it was decided to establish a Council of Foreign Ministers of five powers - the USSR, USA, Great Britain, France and China. The Council of Foreign Ministers was entrusted with the immediate task of preparing the drafting of peace treaties for Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, as well as developing such terms of a peace treaty with Germany that would ensure lasting peace and security of peoples and would prevent the revival of German imperialism.

At the Potsdam Conference, it was decided to harmonize the Allied policy towards Germany during the period of Allied control. An agreement was also reached on the transfer of Polish lands along the Oder and Nyssa under the control of the Polish state and on the transfer of the city of Konigsberg and the adjacent area to the Soviet Union.

The decisions of the Potsdam Conference, despite the fact that they bear the signatures of the current leaders of the British and US governments, have been systematically and maliciously violated and violated by them. The entire post-war policy of Great Britain and the United States is a gross departure from the agreed decisions taken by the Allies at conferences in Crimea and Potsdam. This retreat is dictated by the imperialist interests of these countries, which do not want international cooperation, but are striving to unleash a new war for world domination.

THE DEATH OF THE JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS



After the defeat and surrender of Nazi Germany, the Allies faced the task of eliminating imperialist Japan, which continued the war even after the surrender of Nazi Germany. True to its allied duty, the Soviet Union joined the Potsdam Declaration of the United States, Britain and China on July 26, 1945, which demanded Japan's unconditional surrender. The Japanese imperialists were the primordial enemy of the Russian people. They have repeatedly tried to seize our territories in the Far East. Back in 1904, during the Russo-Japanese War, Japan tried to cut off our country from the Pacific Ocean, from the exit to the ports of Kamchatka and Chukotka. In 1918-1922, when the Soviet Republic fought off the interventionists, defending its independence, the Japanese imperialists tried to seize

Soviet Far East. The young Red Army, in a hard struggle, drove the Japanese invaders from Soviet soil. The Japanese organized a new attack on the Soviet Union in the area of Lake Khasan in 1938. In 1939, the

Japanese attacked the Mongolian People's Republic in the Khalkhin Gol area, with which the Soviet Union had a mutual assistance agreement. These attempts were also eliminated by the valiant Soviet Army. During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union with Germany, the Japanese kept the elite Kwantung Army on the Soviet border, threatening to cross the border at any time.

The Soviet state could no longer tolerate the constant threat in the East. In order to ensure security for our country not only in the West, but also in the East, to help establish peace in the world as soon as possible, the Soviet Union on August 9, 1945, joined the war against the Japanese invaders. The Soviet Army launched an offensive in the Far East in several directions. In a short time, the Soviet Army defeated the largest grouping of Japanese troops - the Kwantung Army - and liberated Manchuria.



The entry of the USSR into the war with Japan and the military successes of the Soviet Army led to the defeat of imperialist Japan. Unable to continue the war, Japan surrendered on September 2, 1945. The Soviet people could present their fair account to the Japanese invaders. **“For forty years we, people of the old generation, have been waiting**

for this day,” said Comrade Stalin about the surrender of imperialist Japan. “And now, this day has come. Today Japan has declared itself defeated and signed the act of unconditional surrender.

This means that southern Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands will withdraw to the Soviet Union and from now on they will serve not as a means of separating the Soviet Union from the ocean and as a base for a Japanese attack on our Far East, but as a means of direct communication between the Soviet Union and the ocean and the base of our country's defense against Japanese aggression. ... Our Soviet people spared no effort and labor in the name of victory.

We have gone through difficult years. But now each of us can say: we won. From now on, we can consider our Fatherland free from the threat of a German invasion in the west and a Japanese invasion in the east. The long-awaited peace has come for the peoples of the whole world ” (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, pp. 205-206).

IV

REASONS AND SOURCES OF VICTORY OF THE SOVIET UNION



The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War aroused the admiration of all progressive mankind. The whole world recognized the great merit of the Soviet Army, which, with its heroic, selfless struggle, saved civilization from the German fascist barbarians and from the Japanese imperialists. The Soviet Army appeared before the whole world as a liberating army, and the Soviet Union as the savior of civilization and progress in Europe and the whole world.

What was the source of the great victory of the Soviet

Army?

If the Soviet Army was able to successfully fulfill its duty to the homeland and its mission of liberation in relation to the peoples of Europe, then it did this primarily due to the fact that it was selflessly supported by all the peoples of the Soviet Union, that its victory was ensured by the entire state and social system of our country.

The victory of the USSR, as Comrade Stalin emphasized in his speech on February 9, 1946, means, firstly, that the Soviet social system has won, having stood the test in the fire of war and has shown its full viability; the victory of the USSR means, secondly, that the Soviet state system was victorious, that the multinational Soviet state withstood all the tests of the war and proved its viability; the victory of the USSR means, thirdly, that the Soviet armed forces were victorious, the Soviet Army was victorious, which heroically withstood all the difficulties of the war and defeated the strongest enemies.

The socialist system generated by the October Revolution gave our people and the Soviet Army great and invincible strength. As a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR, as a result of the successful implementation of three five-year plans for the development of the national economy, it became possible to prepare the country for active defense. The victory of the policy of industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture created material opportunities for organizing defense.

The Soviet multinational state, amid the unprecedented difficulties of the Patriotic War, showed itself to be strong and indestructible. As an example of a multinational state created on the basis of socialism, the Soviet Union has the source of its strength in the indestructible friendship of the peoples of our country. Under the leadership of the great Russian people on the fronts of the Patriotic War, Ukrainians and Belarusians, Georgians and Armenians, Uzbeks and Turkmens - all the peoples of the immense Soviet country - fought heroically. In the glorious family of Heroes of the Soviet Union, there are many names of Soviet patriots of various nationalities. Russian pilot three times Hero of the Soviet Union Alexander Pokryshkin, Ukrainian partisan Sidor Kovpak, Belarusian partisan Sosnovsky, Kazakh Tulegen Tokhtarov, Georgian Mikhail Pakhokidze, Latvian Janis Vilhelms, Estonian Mary, Jew Gorelik and many others are now the pride of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Brave representatives of all the peoples of the USSR fearlessly went into battle with the cry: "For the homeland! For Stalin!"

The Soviet state, created as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in a short historical period, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, led by the greatest leaders of working mankind, Lenin and Stalin, ensured the transformation of our country into an invincible fortress.

The leading and guiding role of the Bolshevik Party in the popular masses is the most important source of strength for the Soviet Union. During the Patriotic War, the Bolshevik Party was the inspiration and organizer of the nationwide struggle against the fascist invaders. As a result of the organizational work of the party, all the efforts of the Soviet people were united and directed towards a common goal.

In the conditions of the Great Patriotic War, the mighty force of Soviet patriotism, associated with the entire glorious past of the peoples of our country, manifested itself. The best qualities of the Soviet people and their fighting traditions were reflected in the mass heroism at the front and in the rear, which the Soviet people showed, defending the honor, freedom and independence of the Soviet homeland. Many names of Soviet heroes have now become legendary. Such, for example, is the immortal name of Captain Gastello, who in the first days of the war sent his plane engulfed in flames at the accumulation of enemy equipment; such is the name of the Hero of the Soviet Union, Guardsman Alexander Matrosov, who with his body closed the embrasure of the bunker, which was interfering with the advance of the advancing units of the Soviet Army; such are the 28 soldiers of Panfilov's Guards Division, who defended the line near Moscow to the last drop of blood; such are the 16 guardsmen at Stalingrad, who all perished, but repulsed a furious attack of 12 enemy tanks at the decisive moment of the enemy's offensive. The entire Soviet people fondly recalls the names of the Heroes of the Soviet Union, Komsomol members Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, Sasha Chekalin, Viktor Talalikhin, sniper girls Natasha Kovshova and Maria Polivanova, heroes of Krasnodon led by Oleg Koshev and many others.

The victory of the Soviet armed forces was also ensured by the Soviet military art and wise Stalinist military strategy. The Soviet Army won because the organizer and inspirer of its liberation struggle was the leader of the peoples, the greatest strategist and commander, Comrade Stalin.

“At different stages of the war, Stalin's genius found the right decisions, fully taking into account the specifics of the situation. Stalin's art of war was manifested both in defense and in offensive. At the direction of Comrade Stalin, the active

defense of the Soviet troops was combined with the preparation of a counteroffensive.

The offensive was combined with a solid defense. Comrade Stalin masterfully developed and applied new tactics of maneuvering, tactics of simultaneous breakthrough of the enemy's front in several sectors, designed to prevent the enemy from gathering his reserves into a shock fist, the tactics of breaking through the enemy's front at different times in several sectors, when one breakthrough follows another, designed to force the enemy to waste time and energy on regrouping his troops, the tactics of breaking through the enemy's flanks, entering the rear, encircling and destroying large enemy groups of troops. Comrade Stalin divined the enemy's plans with ingenious insight and reflected them. In the battles in which Comrade Stalin led the Soviet troops, outstanding examples of military operational art are embodied " ("Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. A Brief Biography", pp. 231-232).

V

THE WORLD-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people, which ended with the defeat of Nazi Germany and militaristic Japan, was a turning point in the history of mankind.

"The results and consequences of the victories of the Red Army," says Comrade Stalin, "went far beyond the Soviet-German front, changed the whole further course of the world war and acquired great international significance" (Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, ed. 5, Gospolitizdat, p. 121).

Not a single capitalist country, not a single army could have withstood such an onslaught of brutalized fascist hordes, armed to the teeth, which not only withstood, but also overcame the great Soviet Union and its heroic Soviet Army. This reflected the invincible might of the country of

socialism, born of the Great October Socialist Revolution and growing during the years of the Stalinist five-year plans.

The victory of the Soviet people over the strongest imperialist predator clearly showed the whole world the enormous advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist one, was one of the most important results of the struggle between the two systems, into which the world split as a result of the world's first victorious proletarian revolution.

The outcome of the Patriotic War is a great historical lesson, which serves as a formidable warning to all who are trying to unleash a new war. The Soviet armed forces, relying on the even more increased economic and political might of our state, on their rich military experience, will always fulfill their duty to the homeland.

The Great Patriotic War was not only a war for the freedom and independence of our socialist fatherland; at the same time it was a war for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe from Hitler's tyranny. In a gigantic armed battle with fascism, as the most predatory and robber squad of the imperialists in the whole world, socialism won, and this victory predetermines the entire future fate of mankind.

The great victory of the Soviet Army not only helped the peoples of Europe throw off the yoke of the German fascist enslavers, but also inspired them to further struggle for a new, just system without landowners and capitalists. At the present time, the working people of a number of European countries, having established the people's democratic system, are successfully building the foundation of socialism with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Army opened the way to freedom and independence for the great Chinese people, for the peoples of Korea and the countries of Southeast Asia, liberated the German people from Hitler's rule, as a result of which the conditions were created for the formation of the German Democratic Republic. This is one of the greatest values of the world-historical victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War.





During the Great Patriotic War and in the post-war period, feelings of love, trust and gratitude towards the Soviet Union on the part of all honest people of the world grew immeasurably. The image of the Soviet soldier will forever remain in the memory of the peoples, saving world civilization from destruction and destruction with his blood, courage and military skill.

As a result of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the authority of the Soviet Union throughout the world has grown immeasurably. The Soviet country stands firmly at the head of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp, and is an insurmountable obstacle on the path of the warmongers. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, its relentless struggle against aggression and colonial oppression has earned itself the respect and gratitude of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries fighting for their freedom and independence.

In the struggle for peace, freedom and independence, the peoples of the world turn their eyes and hopes to the one who, in the difficult years of

the war, with his wise and inspired leadership ensured the defeat of the fascist hordes and brought liberation to the enslaved peoples, who unswervingly defends the cause of peace among peoples, frustrating all the intrigues of the arsonists war - to the leader of the peoples of the whole world, the great Stalin.









VI

**THE POST-WAR FIVE YEARS OF RESTORATION AND
DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOLK ECONOMY OF THE USSR**



The historic victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War ensured the transition of the USSR to the track of peaceful socialist construction. On February 10, 1946, the Soviet people elected new deputies to the Supreme Soviet with great unanimity, which was to do a great deal of reconstruction work after the war. The first deputy of the people, Comrade Stalin, in his historic [speech on February 9, 1946, at a pre-election meeting of voters in the Stalin district of Moscow](#), revealed to the Soviet people the broadest prospects for a new flourishing of the country of socialism, a huge economic and cultural upsurge of our homeland, strengthening the economic and defense might of the Soviet state, the growth of the welfare of the masses.

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the second convocation approved a law on a five-year plan for the restoration and development of the national economy for 1946-1950. The victory of the USSR in the Patriotic War was achieved at the cost of great sacrifices. The German invaders inflicted tremendous damage on our country. Therefore, the Supreme Soviet demanded, as the first task, to restore the affected areas, restore the pre-war level of industry and agriculture, and then surpass this level on a significant scale.

For this, it was necessary to ensure the priority restoration and development of heavy industry and railway transport, to achieve an upsurge in agriculture and industry that produces consumer goods, to

create an abundance of basic consumer goods in the country and to ensure a general increase in the material well-being of the peoples of the USSR. As a condition for a powerful advance in the national economy of the USSR, the new five-year plan provided for further technical progress in all sectors of the national economy, ensuring high labor productivity. The new five-year plan also provided for the hard work of the entire Soviet people to fulfill the main economic task of the USSR - to catch up and overtake the main capitalist countries economically.

The five-year plan outlined a high rate of accumulation of funds required for new capital construction. The volume of investments for 1946-1950 was planned in the amount of 250.3 billion rubles, which exceeded the size of capital investments in the first five-year period by five times and in the second five-year period by more than two times. One of the tasks of the five-year plan was to further increase the defense capability of our socialist homeland. Five-year plan for the restoration and development of the country's national economy for 1946-1950. became the basis of the economic and cultural activities of the Soviet people in the post-war period, opening a new glorious stage in the history of our homeland.

The enemies of the Soviet Union counted on the fact that the USSR would not be able to overcome the post-war difficulties on its own. But the calculations of the imperialists turned out to be untenable. The Soviet people perceived the post-war five-year plan as a combat program in line with their vital, vital interests. With his selfless labor and heroic struggle for the early fulfillment of the five-year plan, he achieved not only the fulfillment, but also the overfulfillment of his plans. The advantages of the Soviet social and state system, Soviet patriotism and labor exploits of the Soviet people ensured the rapid pace of restoration of the national economy. As a result, the five-year plan was successfully completed, and the most important tasks of the plan were significantly exceeded.

Socialist competition and its highest form, the Stakhanov movement, have played and continues to play a huge role in the struggle for the successful fulfillment of the post-war Stalinist five-year plan. It helps Soviet people to achieve those highest indicators of labor productivity which, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, are necessary for the transition from socialism to communism.

The Soviet government and the Soviet people in every way encourage and

glorify innovators and initiators of advanced methods of socialist labor. In 1947, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree conferring the title of Hero of Socialist Labor and awarding orders and medals to collective farmers and agricultural workers for obtaining high yields of grain and industrial crops and for success in raising public livestock. Thousands of agricultural leaders and the best masters of collective farm production annually receive the title of Hero of Socialist Labor or are awarded orders and medals.

The main task of the five-year plan was to restore the affected areas of the country, restore the pre-war level of industry and agriculture, and then surpass this level on a significant scale. By the end of the five-year plan, this task was successfully completed.

The five-year plan provided that the output of the entire industry of the Soviet Union in 1950 should increase by 48% compared with the pre-war 1940. This level of production was not only achieved, but also significantly surpassed by the industry of the USSR. In 1950, industry produced 73% more output than in 1940. During the post-war five-year plan, more than 6,000 industrial enterprises were restored, rebuilt and put into operation, not counting small state and cooperative enterprises. The industry of the regions affected by the war was not only restored, but also significantly expanded on the basis of new, modern technology.

In accordance with the tasks of the post-war five-year plan, the tasks of the priority restoration and development of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and the coal industry were successfully completed. During the war, the metallurgical industry in the south of the USSR was completely destroyed. By the end of the post-war five-year plan, it was all restored on a new technical basis and now produces more metal than before the war. The entire coal industry of Donbass, completely destroyed during the war, is now also fully restored and gives more coal than before the war. New Donbass is the largest and most mechanized coal basin in the country. The restoration and development of other areas of the coal industry proceeded just as successfully. In the eastern regions of the country - in the Urals, in the Kuzbass, in Karaganda, etc. - Coal production by the end of the five-year plan was more than two times higher than pre-war production. During this five-year period, new coal deposits were also successfully developed in the northern and other regions of the country.

In terms of coal production, the Soviet Union came second in the world.



1947 poster

**ДОВЕДЕМ В 1950 ГОДУ
ЧИСЛО ШКОЛ ДО 193 ТЫС.
А ЧИСЛО УЧАЩИХСЯ
ДО 31 800 ТЫС.**





ДОБЬЕМСЯ ВЫСОКИХ УРОЖАЕВ ВИНОГРАДА!

УРОЖАИ



The oil industry in the regions of Grozny and Maikop and the oil industry of Western Ukraine, which was destroyed during the war, have been fully restored and technically re-equipped. The importance of new oil regions in the East has grown. New large oil fields and oil refineries have been created in Bashkiria. Oil production and processing are rapidly developing in the Kuibyshev region, in the Turkmen, Uzbek and Kazakh union republics. High rates of oil production are the pride of the country - oil-bearing Baku. As a result of these achievements, the target of the five-year plan for oil production has been exceeded. Soviet mechanical engineering is developing at a rapid pace.

Relying on the achievements of domestic science, Soviet machine builders created and mastered many new modern types of machines and mechanisms. The five-year plan called for an increase in the production of equipment in 1950 in comparison with the pre-war period. This plan has been significantly exceeded. The five-year plan provided for an increase in rail freight turnover for 1950 in comparison with the pre-war level by 28%. By the end of the five-year plan, railroad transport, like all industry, exceeded the targets of the five-year plan. During the post-war five-year plan, not only was the fleet of locomotives and wagons increased and updated, but also a base for domestic electric and diesel locomotive building was created.

The introduction of new technology made it possible on a large scale to carry out the technical re-equipment of the national economy and to increase the level of mechanization of labor-intensive and heavy work.

This was also facilitated by the rapid restoration of power plants and the creation of new powerful power plants, which now generate more electricity than before the war.

The Soviet state is introducing new modern technology in all branches of the national economy. During the five-year period our designers have created hundreds of types of new automatic and semi-automatic machine tools. Automatic machine lines are increasingly being introduced into production. For the first time in the world industrial technology in our country, automatic factories were designed and put into operation, where the direct participation of a person in the production process is minimized. In contrast to the bourgeois countries, where the development of technology is delayed amid the deepening general crisis of capitalism, in the country of socialism technology is developing unhindered and at an accelerated pace. The Soviet Union ranks first in the world in terms of production techniques and the saturation of industry and agriculture with new technology.

Rapid technical progress, advanced training of our cadres, creative initiative and the heroic, innovative work of workers, engineers, technicians and scientists ensured a significant increase in labor productivity in the USSR. The five-year plan outlined an increase in labor productivity in industry in 1950 over the pre-war level by 36%. This five-year plan target has been exceeded. The workers unleashed an enormous amount of work to save raw materials, materials, fuel and electricity, and by their Stakhanov work, they achieved a significant reduction in the cost of industrial products. In 1948, a patriotic movement for above-planned accumulations developed in the USSR. This movement embraced many thousands of enterprises and acquired national significance.

Agriculture in the USSR achieved tremendous success in the postwar five-year plan. Of great importance for the further strengthening and development of collective farms was the resolution of the February plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in 1947 "On measures to improve agriculture in the post-war period." This decree indicated that the main task of the party in collective-farm development is the further organizational and economic strengthening of the agricultural artel, the multiplication of the public property of the collective farms and the all-round improvement of the social economy.

The Soviet government, seeking to ensure sustainable harvests, especially in arid, dry, steppe and forest-steppe regions, has developed an ambitious plan for the transformation of nature. In October 1948, the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of VKG1 (b) adopted a historic resolution "On the plan of field-protective afforestation, the introduction of grass crop rotations, the construction of ponds and reservoirs to ensure high and stable yields in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the USSR."

The Stalinist program of struggle for a high harvest, for the subordination of the natural elements to the will and reason of the Soviet people was enthusiastically accepted by millions of collective farmers and all Soviet people. As a result of the heroic labor of the Soviet people, in a short period of time, forest plantations were produced on vast areas. Several thousand ponds and reservoirs have been built on collective and state farms in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the USSR. In August 1950, the government made an important new decision to install temporary irrigation canals instead of permanent ones. The new irrigation system on areas exceeding 4 million 300 thousand hectares will increase the size of irrigated areas and significantly increase labor productivity in irrigated agriculture.

As a result of measures taken by the government and the selfless labor of collective farmers in 1950, the gross grain harvest exceeded the level of the pre-war 1940 by 345 million poods. The gross harvest of cotton, sugar beets and other crops also exceeded the pre-war level. In order to raise public collective and state farm productive livestock raising, the Soviet government worked out a three-year plan for the development of livestock raising, which suffered greatly during the war. During the years of the post-war five-year plan, the livestock population on collective farms was not only restored to the pre-war level, but also exceeded it. Collective and state farms have also achieved a significant increase in the number of pedigree livestock.

The Party and the government render great assistance to collective farms, state farms and machine-tractor stations, equipping agriculture with a variety of machine equipment. Tractor factories and agricultural engineering factories destroyed during the war are now all restored and provide tractors, combines, plows, tractor and other machines several times more than before the war. A large collective farm equipped with advanced technology requires knowledge of the basics of agricultural technology and mechanization. The Soviet government launched a tremendous amount of work to introduce the foundations of advanced agrobiological and other agricultural sciences into the practice of agricultural production.

The increase in the production of grain and industrial crops and the growth of livestock raising have created a solid raw material base for the further development of the light and food industries, for creating real conditions for maximizing products and for further increasing the material well-being of our people.

In order to strengthen monetary circulation and expand Soviet trade at uniform state prices, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Bolsheviks), on December 14, 1947, adopted a resolution on monetary reform and the abolition of cards for food and industrial goods. This event helped restore the full-fledged Soviet ruble and facilitate the transition to expanded Soviet trade at uniform prices. The monetary reform and the abolition of the rationing system created favorable conditions for accelerating the growth of the national economy and for raising the material standard of living of the working people.

After implementing the currency reform, the Soviet government carried out several cuts in retail prices for consumer goods. This increased the real wages of workers and employees and increased the incomes of collective farmers. The consumption of the people in 1950 significantly exceeded the pre-war level. The government is taking all measures to restore the houses destroyed by the war and to further the rapid growth of the country's housing stock. In the postwar years, over 100 million square meters were restored and built. m of living space only in cities and many millions in rural areas. In the post-war years, thousands of new schools, libraries, children's institutions, a large number of new hospitals, sanatoriums, rest homes, clubs, theaters and cinemas were restored and rebuilt. Thus, the rise of the national economy in the USSR is accompanied by further raising the standard of living of the Soviet people.



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THE SOVIET UNION ON THE ROAD TO COMMUNISM



The five-year plan for the restoration and development of the national economy of the USSR became an integral part of the grandiose Stalinist program of building a communist society in our country. The successful implementation of the post-war five-year plan ensures the development of Soviet society along the path that was outlined by the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks - towards completing the construction of a socialist society and a gradual transition from socialism to communism. The successes of the post-war Stalinist five-year plan made it possible for the Soviet government to make a major step forward in fulfilling the main economic task of the USSR - to catch up and overtake the main capitalist countries economically, that is, in terms of production per capita.

In this sense, the decisions of the party and government on the construction sites of communism are of great importance. Such construction projects are new grandiose structures that are possible only under the conditions of a planned socialist economy: the construction of the Kuibyshev and Stalingrad hydroelectric power plants on the Volga, the Main Turkmen Canal, the Kakhovka hydroelectric power plant on the Dnieper, the South Ukrainian and North Crimean canals, the Volga-Don shipping canal. The completion of the great construction projects of the Stalin era will be a decisive contribution to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. Each of these new construction

projects is a complex set of technical structures, including hydroelectric power plants, dams, canals, reservoirs, new irrigation systems, etc. Only newly created hydroelectric power plants will provide 10 times more electricity.

The electrical energy of the new stations will find wide application in industry, agriculture and in all other areas of the national economy. This will allow the commissioning of new industrial enterprises based on the most advanced technology. The new facilities will make it possible to turn the desert and semi-desert regions of the Caspian and Central Asia, the arid regions of the Trans-Volga region, southern Ukraine and northern Crimea, the Stalingrad and Rostov regions into flowering granaries, which will additionally give millions of poods of wheat, rice, cotton and various industrial crops. Thus, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state direct all the efforts of the Soviet people towards the further flourishing of our country, towards creating conditions for the successful construction of communism.

The postwar five-year plan outlined enormous tasks in the field of raising the cultural and technical level of Soviet people. In 1950, according to a five-year plan, the total number of students in primary and secondary schools was to be 31.8 million. Already in the third year of the five-year plan, this plan was exceeded. The state pays exclusive attention to the planned training of cultural and technically trained workers. Schools and colleges of state labor reserves were to train 4.5 million young skilled workers for the national economy in the first five years after the war. These tasks were exceeded.

The further development of Soviet science, technology, literature and art plays an enormous role in the implementation of the new five-year plan and in the further movement of our country towards communism. In the Soviet Union, for the first time in the world, a creative fusion of labor and science is taking place. Science in the Soviet Union became the basis for the conscious organization of social relations and the planned leadership of the socialist national economy. During the years of the Stalinist five-year plans, a new multimillion-strong Soviet intelligentsia has grown up in the country, emerging from the people and closely associated with them. Advanced Soviet science is paving the way for the knowledge and transformation of nature, the use of the forces of nature for the benefit of the masses.

At the pre-election meeting of voters on February 9, 1946, Comrade Stalin set the task for Soviet scientists: to move forward continuously in order to

"... not only catch up, but also surpass in the near future the achievements of science outside our country."

These words were perceived by Soviet scientists and cultural figures as a call for active participation in the implementation of the new five-year plan, in creating conditions for the transition to communism.

The great luminary of science, Comrade Stalin, showed that economic successes in the Soviet state are inextricably linked with the successes of advanced science, but that science cannot develop without a struggle of opinions, without replacing outdated formulas and conclusions with new ones.

Creative discussions in the field of science on agrobiolgy, physiology, and especially on questions of linguistics have shown the profound validity of Stalin's instructions. **Comrade Stalin's speeches in the discussion on linguistics are an example of creative Marxism in the field of science and provide a sharp turning point in the development of not only linguistics, but also other social sciences.**

Science and culture enjoy great respect and attention from Soviet society and the state. The annual award of the Stalin Prizes is a true showcase of the creative successes and achievements of the Soviet people in the development of science, in the building of socialist culture. The Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin personally are tirelessly helping the Soviet intelligentsia to move forward and ensuring their high creative enthusiasm. In 1946, V. I. Lenin's works (4th edition) and I. V. Stalin's works began to be published, which are of great importance in the matter of Marxist-Leninist education and ideological training of the Soviet intelligentsia and the entire Soviet people. The greatest contribution to the treasury of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism is Comrade Stalin's brilliant works on linguistics.

In recent years, the most important decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks were adopted on issues of ideological work in the Soviet state. AA Zhdanov's report on the magazines "Zvezda" and "Leningrad" and the decisions of the party on ideological issues were a combat action program for all workers of socialist culture. In the **decree of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of February 10, 1948 "On the opera" Great Friendship "by V. Muradeli"** anti-popular formalistic mistakes and distortions in the work of a number of Soviet composers were sharply criticized. The party press helped to expose the anti-patriotic group of rootless cosmopolitans in criticism, literature, art and science.

Communism cannot be built without overcoming the remnants of capitalism in the minds of people. Therefore, the Party is intensifying its struggle against manifestations of a non-communist attitude towards labor and socialist property, and is resolutely fighting various bourgeois influences in the field of ideology. The success of the Soviet people in their movement towards communism largely depends on the success of the Party's ideological work aimed at further improving the cause of the communist education of the working people.

The instructions of the Party help workers in literature and art to overcome shortcomings, correct mistakes and mobilize their creative forces to create new, full-fledged works worthy of the Soviet people. Soviet writers, after the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party on Literature, created new outstanding works. In the Soviet national republics, remarkable writers and poets have grown up, whose works are pouring into the common treasury of Soviet multinational culture in a wide wave. **Soviet people are proudly aware that the USSR is the stronghold of genuine democracy and peace among peoples, a country of progressive social thought, education, science, literature and art.**

The Soviet Union, which saved humanity from fascism, is the bulwark and hope of all progressive humanity. The working people of the whole world pin their hopes on the USSR and its successes for getting rid of the yoke of imperialism. The Soviet government is firmly and unswervingly marching in the vanguard of all progressive humanity, fighting for peace, democracy and socialism. Comrade Stalin has repeatedly pointed out that the existence of different economic systems and ideologies does not exclude the possibility of peaceful cooperation and business relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries. True to its policy of peace, the Soviet Government is resolutely fighting the warmongers, exposing the aggressive plans of the American-British imperialists, who are claiming world domination.

The imperialists fear the growing strength of socialism. The ideological servants of the imperialists, their politicians and diplomats, their writers and journalists are trying in every possible way to slander the Soviet country, the countries of people's democracies and their achievements. The reactionary bourgeois intelligentsia, which is experiencing a deep ideological decay and decay after the war, slanders the Soviet Union in every

possible way, seeking to belittle the successes of Soviet culture. From the long "cold war" the American imperialists are striving to go over to the third world war, threatening mankind with an atomic and hydrogen bomb, bacteriological and chemical weapons and other means of mass extermination of people.

The first act of open aggression by the American imperialists was an attack on the peace-loving and industrious Korean people, who are striving for the peaceful unification and independence of their homeland. Covering their aggression against Korea with the flag of the United Nations, the American-British imperialists are simultaneously using their majority in the UN to "justify" their broad plans for preparing for war, setting up their military bases in all parts of the world, organizing and mobilizing reactionary fascist forces throughout the world, etc. . n. The threat of a new world war raised many millions of people of goodwill in all countries in the struggle for peace. Hundreds of millions of people have signed the historic Stockholm Appeal calling for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the promotion of world peace.

More than half a billion people have signed the appeal of the World Peace Council to conclude a Peace Pact between the five great powers. In this historic struggle, the Soviet Union is at the forefront. **On March 12, 1951, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR unanimously adopted a document of enormous, world-historical significance - the Law on the Protection of Peace. This law says:**

"To consider that the propaganda of war, in whatever form it is conducted, undermines the cause of peace, creates the threat of a new war and is therefore the gravest crime against humanity."

Together with the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracies, the great People's Republic of China and all the advanced, progressive humanity of the world stand guard over peace.

The active struggle of the peoples of the world for peace is of decisive importance in preventing a new war. "Peace will be preserved and consolidated," says Comrade Stalin, "if the peoples take the matter of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end" (Stalin, Conversation with a Pravda correspondent, Gospolitizdat, 1951, p. 14).

Armed with advanced Marxist-Leninist teachings, inspired by the great ideas of communism, the Soviet people perfectly understand the superiority of the Soviet worldview and the advantages of the Soviet social system. They are full of pride for their Soviet homeland, for its great achievements. At the same time, the Soviet people value the services of other peoples to history. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in world history. It showed that capitalism has become a brake on the progress of mankind, that the continuation of the policy of the imperialists, which led mankind to two world wars, threatens the peoples with new wars and terrible disasters.

The convulsive efforts of the imperialists, under whose feet the ground is shaking, will not save capitalism from impending doom. We live in an age when all roads lead to communism. Our socialist homeland is victoriously solving the problem of a gradual transition from socialism to communism, showing the peoples of the whole world a real opportunity to build a happy and free life without capitalists. The leader and organizer of the Soviet people in their struggle for communism is the great party of Lenin and Stalin. Armed with knowledge of the laws of social development, the revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the party successfully solves the problems of socialist construction .

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, a multinational socialist state was created, the driving forces of Soviet society were formed and strengthened: friendship of peoples, moral and political unity of Soviet society, life-giving Soviet patriotism. Under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people created a powerful socialist industry and collective farm system, built a socialist society. During the Great Patriotic War, the party aroused the entire Soviet people to fight for freedom and independence of the homeland, organized a world-historic victory over the German fascist and Japanese imperialists. In the post-war period, the Bolshevik Party inspired and organized the Soviet people to fulfill the ambitious tasks of restoring and developing the national economy.

"The successes we have achieved," said Comrade Beria in his report on the 34th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on November 6, 1951, "once again confirm that the policy of the Bolshevik Party is the only correct policy that ensures the steady growth of the power of our Motherland, the growth of the well-being of the working people ... In the struggle for the implementation of the magnificent program of communist construction, the Soviet people rallied even more closely around their native Communist Party, around the inspirer and organizer of our victories - the great Stalin ...

Conscious of their strength and the correctness of their path, the Soviet people, with unshakable calm and faith in the future, continue their great creative work. No force in the world can hold back the victorious movement of the Soviet people towards the final triumph of communism. "



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History of the USSR - Key dates

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History of the USSR

(edited by Professor A.M. Pankratova. Uchpedgiz. M., 1952)

Key dates

- 1894-1917** The reign of Nicholas II.
- 1895** Organization of the St. Petersburg Union of the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class.
- 1897-1900** Lenin in exile.
- 1898, March** 1st Congress of the RSDLP in Minsk.
- 1900-1903** Lenin's Iskra.
- 1902, March 9** Batumi demonstration led by Comrade Stalin.
- 1903, July** - August II Congress of the RSDLP.
- 1904-1905** Russian-Japanese War.
- 1905, January 9 (22)** "Bloody Sunday" - the beginning of the revolution.
- 1905, April** III Congress of the RSDLP.
- 1905, May** Tsushima.
- 1905, June** Uprising on the battleship Potemkin.
- 1905, October** All-Russian October general political strike.
- 1905, October 17** Manifesto of Nicholas II.
- 1905, December** Armed uprising in Moscow.
- 1906, April** IV Congress of the RSDLP.
- 1906, April - July** I State Duma.
- 1906, November** Stolypin Agrarian Law.
- 1907, February - June** II State Duma.
- 1907, May** V Congress of the RSDLP.
- 1907, June 3 The third June** coup.
- 1907-1912** III State Duma.
- 1912, January** Prague (VI) conference of the RSDLP (b).

- 1912, April 4 (17)** Lensky execution.
- 1912, April (May 5, O.S.)** The first issue of Pravda is published.
- 1912-1917** IV State Duma.
- 1914, July 19 (August 1)** The beginning of the First World War.
- 1914, November** Arrest of the Bolsheviks - deputies of the IV State Duma.
- 1917, February 25** General strike in Petrograd.
- 1919, October – November** The defeat of Yudenich near Petrograd.
- 1919, November 14** The capture of Omsk by the Red Army.
- 1919, December 27** Kolchak and his Prime Minister Pepeliaev are arrested in Nizhneudinsk.
- 1919, December 28** Letter from V.I. Lenin to the workers and peasants of Ukraine on the occasion of the victory over Denikin.
- 1920, March - April** IX Congress of the RCP (b).
- 1920, March - November** Fight against the White Poles and Wrangel.
- 1920, November** Assault on Perekop and liquidation of the Wrangel regime.
- 1921, March** Signing of the peace treaty with Poland in Riga.
- X Congress of the RCP (b)** - a decision on the transition to a new economic policy.
- 1922, March-April** XI Congress of the RCP (b).
- 1922, April** J.V. Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP (b).
- 1922, October 25** The liberation of Vladivostok by the Red Army and partisans from the Japanese invaders.
- 1922, December 30** Formation of the USSR.
- 1923, April** XII Congress of the RCP (b).
- 1924, January 21** Death of V.I. Lenin.
- 1924, January** Adoption of the Constitution of the USSR by the II All-Union Congress of Soviets.
- 1924, April** Lectures by Comrade Stalin "On the Foundations of Leninism" at the YM Sverdlov Communist University.
- 1924, May** XIII Congress of the RCP (b).
- 1925, April** XIV Conference of the RCP (b) - completion of the restoration of the USSR national economy to the pre-war level.
- 1925, December** XIV Congress of the CPSU (b) - Congress of industrialization.
- 1926, October-November** XV conference of the CPSU (b).
- 1927, December** XV Congress of the CPSU (b) - Congress of collectivization.
- 1928-1932** The first five-year plan.
- 1929** The year of the great turning point.
- 1929, July** Conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 1930, June - July** XVI Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) - the Congress of the unfolded offensive of socialism along the entire front.
- 1931, June** Six conditions of Comrade Stalin.
- 1933-1937** Second five-year plan.
- 1934, January-February** XVII Congress of the CPSU (b) - the congress of the winners.
- 1934, December 1** The villainous murder of S. M. Kirov by Trotskyite-Zinoviev-Bukharin bandits.
- 1935, August** Beginning of the Stakhanov movement.
- 1936, June - November** National discussion of the draft of the Stalinist Constitution of the USSR.
- 1936, June** The villainous murder of A. M. Gorky by Trotskyite-Zinoviev-Bukharin bandits.
- 1936, November-December** Extraordinary VIII All-Union Congress of Soviets.
- 1936, December 5** Adoption of the Constitution of the USSR.
- 1937, December** National elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.
- 1939, March** XVIII Congress of the CPSU (b).
- 1939, September 17** The Soviet Army crossed the border to protect the life and property of the peoples of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus.
- 1939, November 1** Inclusion of Western Ukraine into the USSR with its reunification with the Ukrainian SSR.

- 1939, November 2 The** inclusion of Western Belarus in the USSR with its reunification with the BSSR.
- 1939, December** National celebration of the 60th anniversary of Comrade Stalin.
- 1940, March 12** Signing of the peace treaty between the USSR and Finland.
- 1940, March 31** Transformation of the Karelian ASSR into the Union Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic.
- 1940, June** Liberation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina from the yoke of the Romanian boyars.
- 1940, August 2** Formation of the Moldavian SSR.
- 1940, August 3** Adoption of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR.
- 1940, August 5** Adoption of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR.
- 1940, August 6** Adoption of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR.
- 1941, June 22** Germany's perfidious attack on the USSR.
- 1941, December** The defeat of the Germans near Moscow.
- 1942, November - 1943, February** The defeat of the German armies at Stalingrad.
- 1943, July** Battle of Kursk.
- 1945, May 2 The** capture of Berlin by the Soviet Army.
- 1945, May 8** Germany's unconditional surrender.
- 1945, August 9, the** Soviet Union declared war on Japan.
- 1945, September 2** Japan's unconditional surrender.
- 1946, February 10** Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the second convocation.
- 1947, November 7** Thirty **years of the** Great October Socialist Revolution.
- 1949, December** National celebration of the 70th anniversary of Comrade Stalin.
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ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ
ВЕЛИКАЯ ПАРТИЯ КОММУНИСТОВ,
ПАРТИЯ ЛЕНИНА-СТАЛИНА,
ЗАКАЛЁННЫЙ В БОЯХ
АВАНГАРД СОВЕТСКОГО НАРОДА,
ВДОХНОВИТЕЛЬ И ОРГАНИЗАТОР
НАШИХ ПОБЕД!



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