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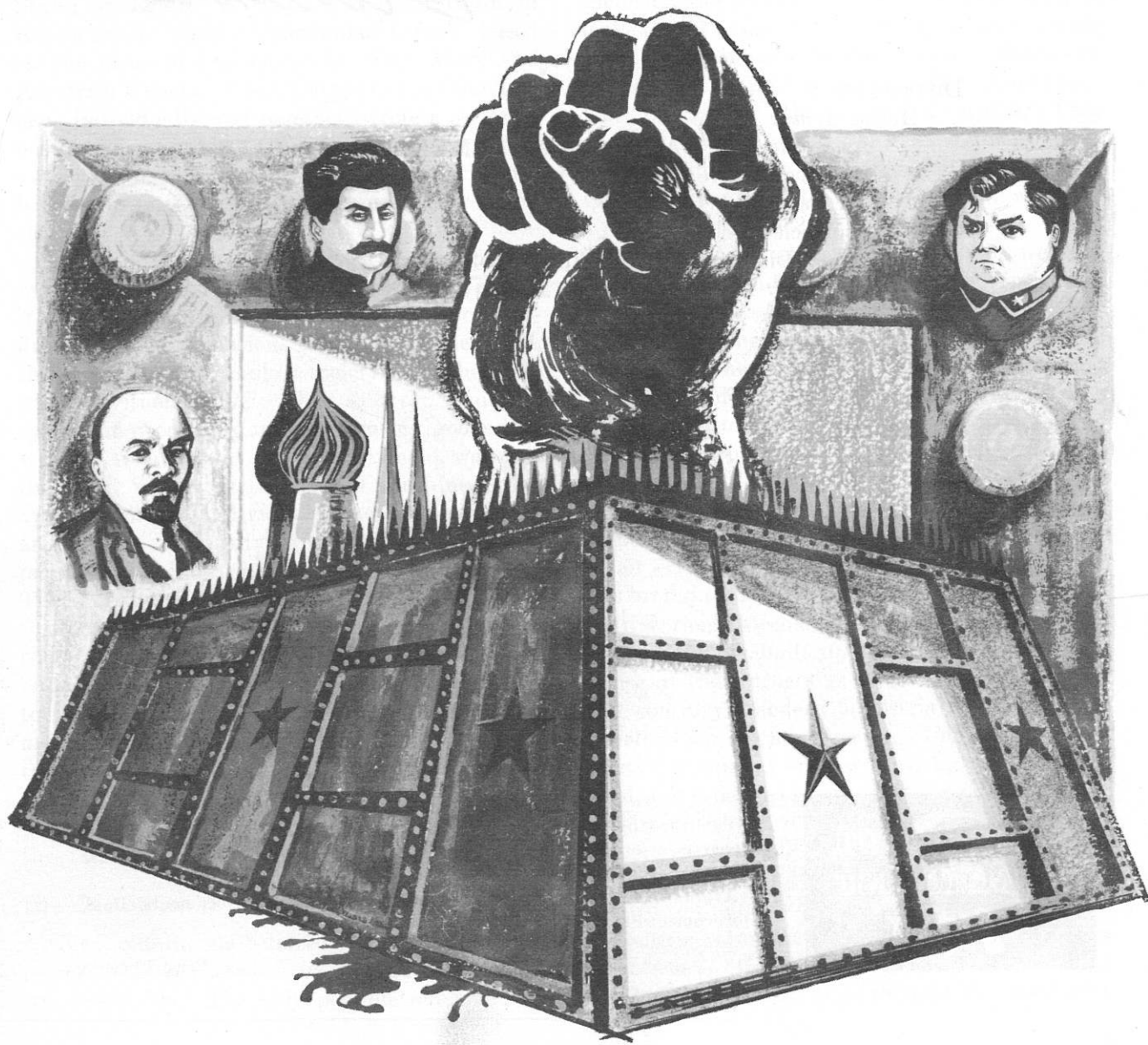
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**KNOW YOUR
COMMUNIST
ENEMY**

**COMMUNISM
IN THE U.S.S.R.**



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

20 January 1955

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C. E. Wilson

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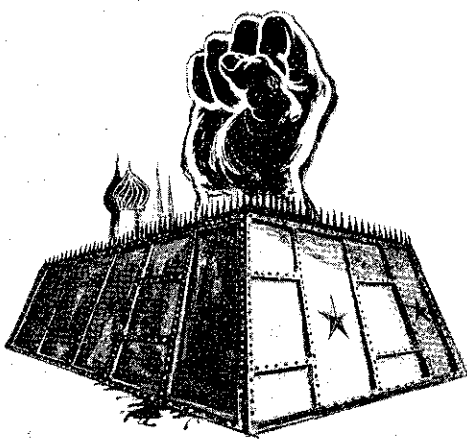
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COMMUNISM IN THE U. S. S. R.

THE BASIC IDEAS

Marx and Engels

The idea of communism is not new. Communism did not begin with Malenkov—or even with Stalin or Lenin. In fact, it did not begin in Russia at all. Russian communism is really based on the ideas of two Germans: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Some 100 years ago these two men, individually and together, wrote a series of books and pamphlets condemning the capitalist society of their time and predicting that it would be overthrown by a revolution of the working classes.

Marx and Engels believed that, for the time being, the state should own the factories, land, mines, stores—in other words, the instruments of production and distribution. Eventually, they said, there would be a classless society, and the state would “wither away.” They said the capitalist system of producing and distributing goods was wrong. What made it wrong, they held, was that the land, mines, factories, and machines were owned by private individuals. According to Marx and Engels, these private individuals—the capitalists—were interested only in making profits. Therefore they exploited their workers, paying them as little as possible and using the profits of their businesses to buy still more land, machines, and other means of production. Thus, according to Marx and Engels, as time went on, more and more wealth and power would become concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists (owners of the means of production), and the mass of the people would be workers, completely dependent on these owners for their living.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Marx and Engels believed that a struggle between these two classes—workers and capitalists—was inevitable. The only possible outcome was

that the workers would overthrow the existing government, seize power, and set up a working class dictatorship—“the dictatorship of the proletariat,” as they called it. This working-class dictatorship would then nationalize the land, mines, factories, and other means of production—that is, make them the property of the state—and operate them in the interest of the workers. Moreover, Marx and Engels believed that all this would happen *throughout* the capitalist world. They thought that the workers in France, for example, had more in common with their fellow workers in Germany and England than they did with the French capitalists. Communism was to be an *international* movement of the whole working class, as is shown by its first slogan: “Workers of the world—unite!”

Marx and Engels predicted that the poor would get poorer, the rich would get richer, and that wealth would be concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists. Inevitably, this condition would produce a proletarian revolution, they said.

Marx and Engels were wrong. They did not interpret history correctly, nor did they understand the workings of capitalism in a free society. Their error was great, and the tragedy is that it has brought misery to vast numbers of people.

Inventions, mechanization, the growth of factories have not built up management at the expense of the workers as Marx predicted. Quite the contrary—modern industrial methods have benefited our workers greatly. Increased productivity has spread employment, lightened labor’s load, and produced *more goods to give more people* a higher standard of living. In the United States, for example, wages and leisure time have increased steadily, while class distinctions have tended to diminish or disappear.

Neither Marx nor Engels had the slightest idea or intention of fathering a Communist movement in Russia. In fact, they thought the revolution



Karl Marx (left) and Friedrich Engels were Germans whose writings laid the foundation for modern Russian communism.

they believed in would take place first in a highly industrial country like Germany or Great Britain. However, their works fell into the hands of Lenin and other Russian revolutionaries who accepted their main principles. Lenin and his followers made some changes to meet conditions in Russia. They made little progress, though, until the fall of the Czarist Government during World War I. In the period of political unrest which followed, the Bolsheviks seized power. They used military force to overthrow the elected Socialist government headed by Kerensky. The prime minister and his associates fled, and the Bolsheviks were in command. They consolidated their control and established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As a result, the Soviet Union became the main power base for international communism. Because of this, a brief review of Russian history is helpful.

RUSSIA BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Tyranny and Reform Under the Czars

Before 1861, most Russian peasants were serfs. As such, they were little more than slaves. Then, in 1861, they were freed by Alexander II. This action undermined the whole power of the ruling minority. Until then, this minority—consisting of the Czar (Emperor), the nobility, and the gentry—owned about 98 percent of all the land and more than 80 percent of all the people. This was the real basis of the authority of the Czar's government. Emancipation took away from the ruling minority its direct ownership and control over roughly half the land and all the newly freed serfs.

The Russian Empire was undergoing many other changes throughout the latter part of the 19th century, exactly at the time when Marx and Engels lived, worked, and wrote. (Marx died in 1883; Engels in 1895.) Two of these important

and far-reaching changes were: (1) the coming of an industrial revolution; and (2) the growth of a political opposition to a government that tried its best to resist progress. These developments—along with the freeing of the serfs—created the opportunities of which Lenin took advantage.

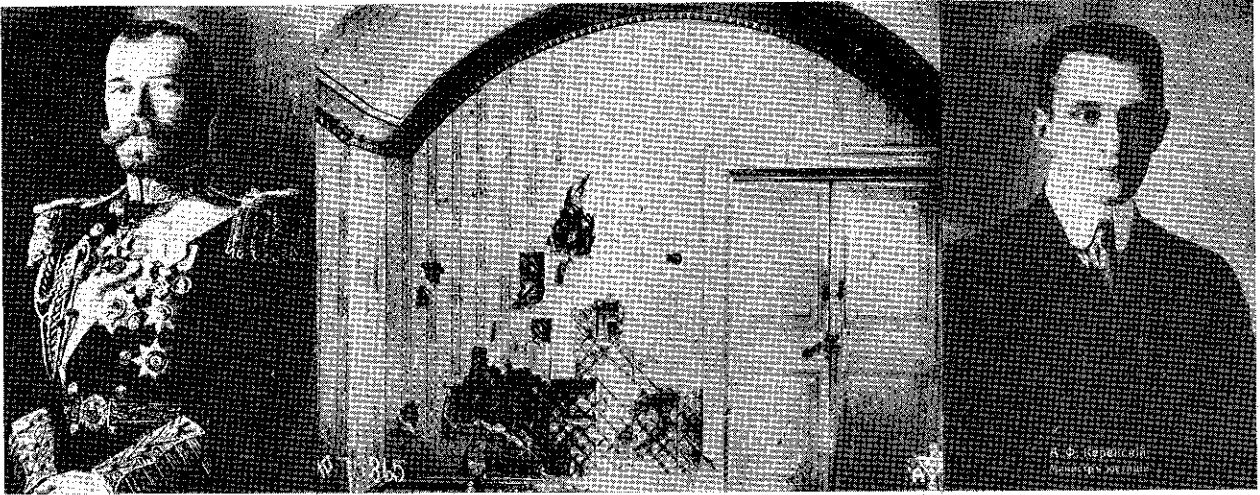
The ruling class, by various means, was able to retain its dominant position (or most of it) for more than a half-century, but the solid foundation upon which its power had rested was gone. Since the power of the Czar depended upon the power of this minority to control the land and the labor of the peasants, after the freeing of the serfs, the Czar's government was left hanging in the air. The system was ripe for change. In fact, the whole system was changing quite drastically, though in piecemeal fashion, long before the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Freeing of the serfs made other major changes inevitable. One of its effects was to increase the age-old, unceasing peasant pressure for ownership of the land. It also made more labor and capital available for industry.

Growth of Industry

Russian industrial growth began late but, once it began, was rapid. As in other countries, the industrial revolution increased the town and city labor population and raised many new problems—exploitation, slums, and unemployment, besides aggravating old ones. One simple set of figures will suggest some of the terrific tensions created by these economic and social changes. By 1900, the total value of Russian industrial production



Lenin was led to the study of Marxism through the works of George Plekhanov (circled), founder of the first Russian Marxist group.



Left: Nicholas II, last Czar of Russia. Center: Room where Czar and his family were murdered by the Bolsheviks. Right: Kerensky, head of the government that succeeded the Czar.

exceeded that of Russian agricultural production. Yet industry employed only about 10 percent of the population while 80 percent worked in agriculture. Thus, the masses of people on the land had extremely low incomes. This situation, plus the appearance of a population of city workers, provided a rich setting for various efforts at reform and various kinds of reformers and revolutionaries.

Along with the freeing of the serfs, the Russian government had also made several other major reforms. Then the government tried to back down on them. This was a habit of the Czarist government as long as it lasted. It couldn't turn the clock all the way back, but it tried to, and in doing so aroused bitter resentment and violence. This, in turn, led to more violent repression by the government. Revolutionary groups of several kinds sprang up, all of them small and totally lacking in popular support. All were suppressed, most of them completely. But as time went on, the government was less and less able to wipe out all opposition. One form this opposition took was the development, from the 1870's on, of labor unions. This grass-roots labor movement attracted to it a number of would-be leaders who saw in it a way of getting the popular support they so sadly lacked.

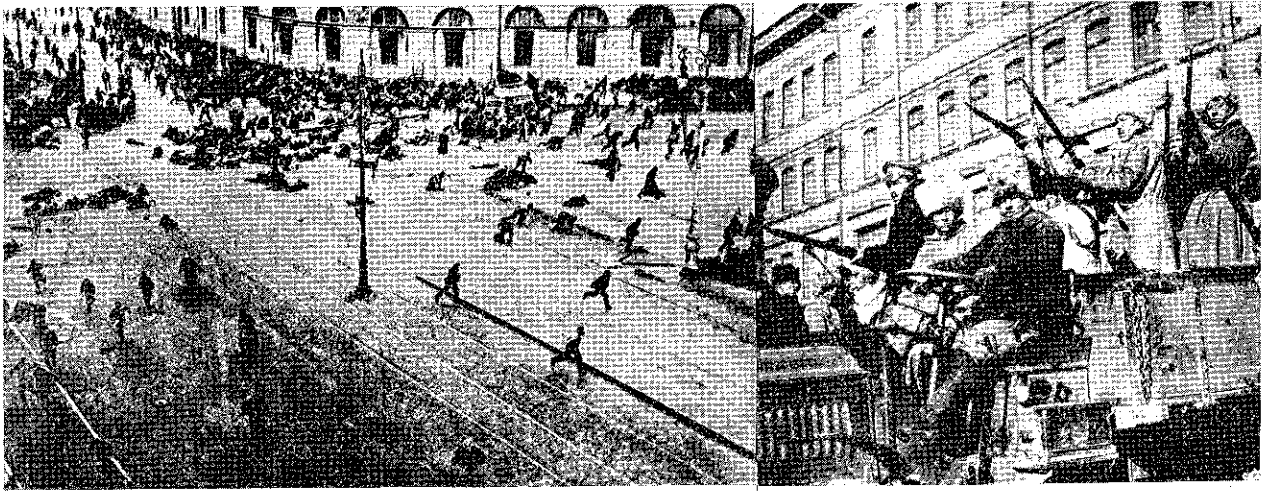
These leaders and would-be leaders were of several kinds. One group was led by George Plekhanov, a disciple of Marx. He found it slow going at first, partly because government action forced him into exile, partly because he had competition from rival leaders, and partly because

Marxism, as such, never had any real appeal to the masses. Despite all these obstacles, Plekhanov and his handful of associates were able to organize a few tiny Marxist groups within Russia. About six such organizations were formed during the first 15 years, and all efforts to unite them failed. An attempted unification in 1903 resulted only in a make-believe unity. What it did, in fact was to split the Russian Social Democratic Party into two groups, the Mensheviks (minority), and the Bolsheviks (majority).

The Rise of Lenin

Lenin eventually emerged from a number of vicious squabbles as the leader of the Bolshevik wing of Russian Marxism. He was the son of a Russian schoolmaster. When the Czarist government hanged his older brother as a dangerous revolutionary, it made Lenin its sworn enemy. And when the non-Marxist, liberal opponents of the Czar's government did not support the family in its hour of tragedy, they also incurred Lenin's bitter and never-ending hostility. This was the state of Lenin's mind when he discovered the writings of Plekhanov and was led through them to a study of Marx and Engels. That study included not only their printed theories but also the tactics employed by Marx and Engels and their earlier followers. These tactics included such now familiar things as gaining a monopoly of power, infiltration of non-Party organizations, deliberate falsehoods, and "united fronts."

Lenin, after a rather brief apprenticeship to Marx and Engels, formed his own party by split-



The 1917 Revolution was really a series of small revolutions throughout Russia. Left, Petrograd: Bolsheviks fire on crowds in streets. Right: Revolutionists in Vladivostok.

ting the Russian Marxist groups in 1903. Those who followed him became known first as Bolsheviks and later as Communists. Nor did Lenin win the undisputed leadership of even this small group until many years and many fights later. Eventually, however, he succeeded in creating the kind of group he wanted.

What Lenin wanted—and finally got through his shrewdness, ruthlessness, and persistence—was a small, carefully selected, highly trained, and rigidly disciplined band of full-time professional revolutionaries. The years of building (roughly from 1903 to 1917) were lean ones and full of difficulties for Lenin and his group. He and many of his followers spent the time in exile, living from hand to mouth but always dedicated to their goal of world communism. The movement was always very small and frequently torn by violent dissents. It was poor. It was infiltrated, even at its highest levels, by police spies.

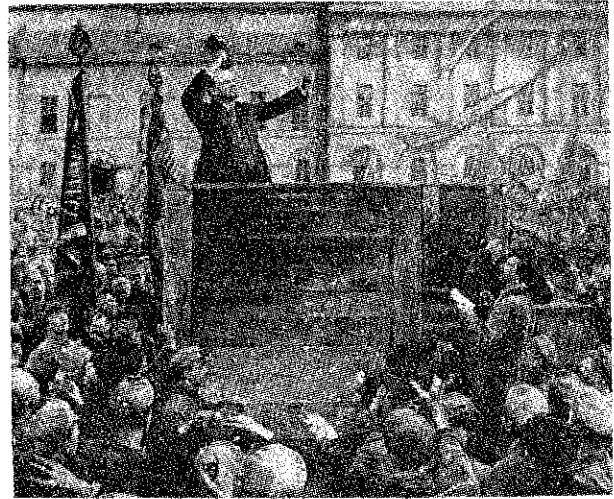
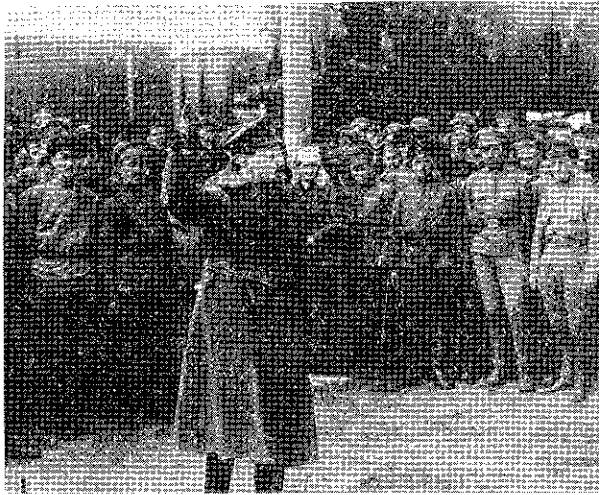
Why did Lenin and his followers persist? Perhaps partly because they had no alternative, but mostly because they were dedicated fanatics. There were people who, like Lenin himself, had given “the whole of their lives” to their cause. The Bolsheviks surrendered everything they had—time, strength, money, friends, family, country, and moral scruples—to the Party. Few among the other opponents of the Czarist system were prepared to go so far.

Revolution: 1905 and 1917

The first great attempt to change the system was made in 1905. The forces that produced this 1905

revolution were varied and complex and had been building up for a long time. Finally, following Russia’s defeat in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), there were strikes, peasant riots, and student uprisings. Financially the country was weak, agitation was widespread, and many groups demanded reforms. However, the revolution itself was largely spontaneous and unplanned. All of the opposition groups—Marxist and non-Marxist, Socialist and anti-Socialist—took part in one way or another, but none of them really directed the movement. Moreover, the groups quarreled so bitterly with each other that they lost much of what they at first appeared to have won. They did succeed in limiting the autocracy, but did not establish a democratic or truly representative form of government. Many observers at the time felt that Russia had started along the road toward a liberal, constitutional regime; and progress was certainly made in this direction, despite the efforts of the Czar and his chief advisers to block it. But the basic problems were still unsolved when Russia became involved in World War I in 1914.

This war subjected the Russian people, their government, their economy, and their social system to terrific stresses and strains. It was too great a burden. After some 28 months of war, Imperial Russia simply came apart at the seams. All of a sudden, the whole system of imperial government literally ceased to exist. It was not overthrown; it fell. This was the revolution of March 1917. *It was not a Bolshevik revolution.* The Bolsheviks had no part in bringing it about, and no one person or group directed it. Even more



Leaders of the Revolution: Leon Trotsky (left), Lenin's close associate, speaks to troops; right, a painting shows Lenin in a characteristic pose addressing Red Army men.

than in 1905, this first 1917 revolution was a spontaneous and confused uprising. It led to the second or Bolshevik revolution of November 1917, not because anyone had planned it that way from the beginning, but because of a series of chances plus Lenin's and Trotsky's daring skill in exploiting the situation.

THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER

Revolution and Civil War

When the first 1917 revolution took place, Lenin was in Switzerland, Trotsky was in New York, Stalin was in Siberia, and most of the other Bolshevik leaders were either in jail or in exile. The revolution caught them all standing flat-footed and off base. It is only fair to add that it caught practically everyone else the same way—but the others did not claim to have a formula that enabled them to foresee the future. The provisional government, which tried to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the old regime, granted pardons to political exiles, and the Bolsheviks returned to circulation. But for the first 2 months, despite Lenin's efforts to guide his followers by letters from Switzerland, they took no effective steps toward seizing power. Finally, Lenin asked the German government, through a Swiss socialist, to be allowed to return to Russia through Germany. The Germans—still fighting Russia on the Eastern front—had everything to gain by such a move. Lenin wanted Russia to get out of the war, and if he took power, the Germans hoped that he would destroy Russia's military power. Germany would

then be able to concentrate on the Western front. The result was that Lenin, with 35 comrades, was allowed to pass through Germany in a sealed railroad car on his way to Russia. Determined to exploit the situation for all it was worth, he arrived in the capital, Petrograd (now called Leningrad), in April 1917.

Two rival groups were seeking control of Russia, but neither had much real power or anything like nationwide authority. One of these was the Provisional Government. This was run by the old middle-of-the-road and conservative opponents of the Czar. It had the support of the French, the British, and Americans, but it had few real contacts with the people and little popular support. Moreover, it was constantly attacked by the extremes of both left and right. It had no real power to enforce its authority. Its main rival was the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. It was made up of 2,500 workmen and soldiers from the factories and military detachments of Petrograd. There were also socialists representing the peasants. Thus, the Soviet, although it lacked general support, had much closer contact with the masses than did the Provisional Government.

The Soviet (or Council) was made up of a great variety of left-wingers: Mensheviks, non-Marxian socialists, anarchists, and Bolsheviks. This, plus the fact that the Soviet seemed to have a slight edge over the Provisional Government, determined Lenin's strategy. He set out simultaneously to build up the Soviet and to gain control of it. But first he had to convince his followers that



Kharkov labor delegates protesting Bolshevik brutality were murdered by Communist leaders as they approached with upraised hands.

this was the correct policy. It was a sharp fight, but a short one. It took him a month to establish Bolshevik control over the Soviet in the capital, Petrograd.

What were the people doing during this period, which has been described as Russia's one real era of freedom? The peasants, who were the largest single group in the population, were busily taking over all the farm lands they could get. There were riots and murders as they kicked out the old landlords and most of the richer peasants and added their lands (about 248 million acres) to what they already had. In many cases, manor houses were burnt to prevent the return of the occupants. So, by the time the Bolsheviks first seized power in the capital and in Moscow (November 1917), the peasants already had almost all the land fit to cultivate. This gives the lie to the Bolshevik claim that they gave the land to the peasants. What the Bolsheviks did was first to say "O. K., the land belongs to the peasants." This was while the Bolsheviks were still fighting for survival. Then, when their position was stronger, they took the land away.

Most of the soldiers, to take another large group, "voted for peace with their feet," as Lenin once put it—that is, they deserted, most of them going home to their villages to get their share of the land. This had started long before November, but the Bolsheviks did play a major part in encouraging desertions and the breakup of the Russian armies.

Factory workers, in about 8 cases out of every 10, tried to take over the plants and run them.

With few exceptions, this resulted in the total stoppage of production. As with the peasants' seizure of the land, Lenin and his Bolsheviks temporarily went along with the situation. But as soon as they could, they took control from the workers.

All three groups—peasants, soldiers, and workers—knew what they wanted. They wanted peace—this was foremost. The people were completely war-weary by 1917. Any group that tried to keep Russia in the war, as the provisional government did, was signing its own dismissal notice. The peasants—and this included most of the soldiers—wanted clear title to the land they had taken. They were not interested in "due process of law" any more than in the "treaty obligations" to continue the war. But the provisional government wanted the land problem settled in proper legal fashion. A third thing that the people wanted was more food and other supplies.

There was also a fourth thing that these three large groups, along with the rest of the people, wanted desperately—leadership. Changes had been coming so fast that the ordinary man felt very insecure.

This sort of situation is made to order for demagogues. And when the demagogues—who specialize always in telling the people what they, the people, want to hear—are members of a disciplined group trained to take advantage of confusion, they have a very special advantage. That is where Lenin and his Bolsheviks came in. They were trained and disciplined and shrewdly led. Moreover, they had no scruples and would promise anything to gain power.

But mark this well! In spite of the situation just described, the Bolsheviks were not able in 1917 to get the support of the majority of the people. In fact, taking the people as a whole, the largest single group in 1917-18 were the so-called Social Revolutionaries, who favored a kind of peasant socialism that was peculiarly Russian. *The Bolsheviks in late 1917 and early 1918 were strong only in the industrial cities like Moscow or Petrograd and in the military units stationed closest to those centers.*

Starting from these centers the Bolsheviks moved outward, following the main lines of communication and transportation—the workers in these strategic fields had been won over early to the Bolshevik side. Every province, every district, every city and settlement had to be persuaded

or forced to accept Bolshevik rule. In other words, *there was not just one quick Bolshevik revolution* in Russia, but a whole series of them. In addition the United States and the Allies intervened in the civil war and supported the White (conservative) opponents of the Bolsheviks. The struggle was a long bloody one, and it was not until 1921 that Bolshevik victory seemed at all certain. Even then, many opponents and many very grave problems continued to confront Lenin and his followers. But by the time Lenin died in January 1924, most of the lands and peoples of the old Russian Empire had been brought under the control of the men in the Kremlin. How did they do it?

THE COMMUNISTS CONSOLIDATE THEIR POWER

Methods

The Bolsheviks won control through skilled leadership, hard work and sacrifice, and luck—and because disunity among their opponents enabled them to eliminate first one and then another. *No single method or device did it all.* Force, terror, persuasion, deceit, promises, and real accomplishments all played a part. Force and terror were applied through the Red Army, through a system of secret police that was set up at the very beginning of the Bolshevik regime, and through “food requisitioning squads.” These squads stole from the peasants in order that the city populations (where Bolshevism was strongest) might survive. The rationing of food, housing, clothing, and other necessities—literally, the rationing of a chance to live—was another effective means of carrying out the Bolshevik program. Most of the upper and middle class groups were driven from the country or eliminated unless they could be induced to serve the regime. Persuasion took many forms, running from actual bribery to promises of a bright new world tomorrow. Many of the promises were deliberately deceitful, many proved impossible to fulfill, but some were kept and certain groups benefited from them.

Although not attracted by the Bolshevik program and promises, many Russians were swept along with the tide. Open opposition was too costly, but there *was* opposition. The Soviet economy was in desperate condition after 3 years of civil war and foreign invasion. By 1921, the reserves of the old czarist order were gone. There were shortages of all necessities, and agricultural

and industrial output were down. Unrest and discontent increased. There was famine, disease spread, strikes occurred, open opposition to the Communists appeared, and finally there was an open revolt at Kronstadt.

Lenin used force to stop the revolt, but he also saw the need for a change in policy. To save the state and to retain control of the situation, he therefore did two things: instituted a New Economic Policy (NEP), and temporarily put aside the campaign for world revolution, stressing national development instead. The NEP permitted some private industry, free internal trade, and allowed the peasants to sell surplus crops in the open market. The NEP was designed to increase the supply of goods and to preserve the state. The partial return to a proven system of production was highly successful: agricultural and industrial production increased, and the monetary system was strengthened.

Trotsky, who had played a leading role in the rise of the Bolsheviks, opposed the new policy as a betrayal of the world revolution. The argument raged for years, and many other opponents of the government lined up behind Trotsky. Al-



“The Wrong Way To Make Russia Prosperous.” This poster gives voice to the opposition to the Bolsheviks during the Civil War period.



Old Bolsheviks Nicolai Lenin (left) and Joseph Stalin in a photograph taken in 1922 at Gorki, where Lenin died 2 years later.

though Stalin shared with Trotsky the idea of communizing the whole world, he felt that Trotsky wanted to move too fast, that communism should get a firmer hold on Russia itself before pressing for world revolution. Finally, in 1927 Stalin had him expelled from the Party. The next year Trotsky was exiled. Stalin's victory meant concentration of effort on internal development and Russia's national security.

To put his program for strengthening Russia into effect, Stalin discarded the NEP in 1928 and announced the first 5-Year Plan. Under this Plan, heavy industry was to be developed and agriculture collectivized. The program got underway rapidly, and the poorer peasants were recruited into collectives. But the kulaks saw no advantages in collectivization and resisted it. (The kulaks were called "rich" peasants. Although they owned slightly more than their fellow villagers, by our standards they were still very poor.) Stalin would not stand for opposition, and the government liquidated the nearly 6 million members of the kulak group ruthlessly. They were driven from their land and sent to labor camps in distant parts of the Soviet Union. The figures are staggering: tens of thousands of

peasants were killed, hundreds of thousands transported to labor camps.

Peasant resistance to collectivization was fierce. Farmers killed more than half their livestock and destroyed crops rather than turn them over to the government. On top of this, bad weather in 1931 caused crop failures. In spite of shortages, the government collected its share first. The result of Stalin's harsh agricultural policy was a terrible famine in 1932-33, in which from 3.3 to 10 million people are estimated to have died.

The Party won its major point: *it forced or persuaded the peasants to join collective farms.* But a very large number of peasants continued a sort of passive resistance despite the bribe of being allowed to have their own small garden plots.

One result of this forcible collectivization was that the people's freedom was further reduced. A peasant without land or with only a very small plot is in a helpless condition. He has to work for someone else, either on a collective farm or in industry. Both collective farms and industries in the Soviet Union are run by the Party bosses. So the landless peasant depends directly for survival on the Party. A very large measure of his freedom is lost, and that is just what the Party wants.

Industrialization

To understand why the Communists fought so hard for collectivization, you must know that the Party bosses set out in 1928 on a forced-draft program of industrialization. Their goal was, in their own words, "to overtake and to surpass the West." This was a tremendous undertaking and required a huge labor force, which was largely supplied from the landless peasantry. But taking men and women off the farms changes them from food producers into food consumers. Therefore, some way had to be found to get more production than before out of those who were still working on the farms. To increase production, the peasants were forced into collectives. Individual farmers were taxed out of existence. If they resisted, or if they were "rich" peasants, their land was confiscated, they were sent to concentration camps, or they were shot. Peasant opposition was stubborn, but the government was determined to get the food from them at its own price. So industrialization and collectivization went hand in hand in the Soviet Union.

There are still major weaknesses in the Soviet economy. However, to understand the strength of our enemy we must face the fact that certain accomplishments have been tremendous. The USSR has been transformed from a backward, peasant country into a powerful industrial state: this is one of the facts of life today. Yet living standards remain very low. They cannot at the same time build tanks and washing machines, H-bombs and refrigerators, warplanes and autos in sufficient quantities to provide high living standards and still be strong militarily. So they deny their people the washing machines and cars and refrigerators in order to produce the tanks and warplanes and other weapons. They pick and choose, in other words, and when they give top priority to any item it is likely to be built well and in large numbers—as witness their MIG-15's and their Joseph Stalin tanks. It is foolish to deny or ignore their strengths, but it is equally silly to forget that they are plagued by grave weaknesses in some parts of their economy, especially agriculture.

One of the things that communism has done in Russia has been to shift the country from an essentially agricultural economy to an increasingly industrialized one. The enormous cost of this has come mostly out of the hides of the people. It is an inefficient as well as an inhumane method. The Communist bosses still keep millions of their fellow citizens at slave labor and continue to deny freedom to the others. The bosses are also persisting in their long-continued drive to get all peasants completely under their thumbs. And

this, as noted, has met both active and passive resistance.

The Communist Purge

Opposition within the Party has been ruthlessly stamped out. During the 1930's, a series of purge trials destroyed all within the Party who had at any time belonged to an opposition group. The victims of the 1936-38 Moscow trials were the founders of the new state. Yet they confessed treason and membership in a plot to restore capitalism in Russia, slandered themselves, and glorified Stalin. The trials consolidated Stalin's power and position, and they drew the attention of the Soviet people away from their own hardships. In the free world, the trials were viewed as a mockery of justice and legal procedure. But they served Stalin's purpose of doing away with any who had opposed or who might oppose him.

It would be a serious mistake to suppose that since 1917 all or most Soviet citizens have actively or passively resisted their bosses. It would be an equally bad mistake to suppose that no one but the bosses had ever profited from the new regime and its changes. These could be dangerous mistakes for us to make because they would lead to the serious error of underestimating the actual and potential strength of an enemy.

Winning Support of the People

A study of the history of the Communist regime in the USSR will reveal that many Soviet citizens have had new opportunities since 1917. These have not in any sense been equal opportunities for



Soviet labor: Women go to work in the fields (left) while the collectivist nursery cares for their babies. Right: Slave laborers build the White Sea Canal.



L/R: Old Bolsheviks Stalin, Rykov, Kamenev, Zinoviev in 1925. In the purge trials of the 1930's, Stalin liquidated all the others.

all. More millions have been deprived of all opportunity, including even the chance of bare survival. But those people who have been given chances to better themselves were told that such opportunities never came to ordinary people who lived under other systems or governments. This is simple deceit, but Malenkov and his government would eventually be forced out of business if they could no longer use deceit and force. Also there are other factors: many Soviet citizens have carried on only because human beings are unwilling to give up even when life is miserable, and many have fallen along the way. But there are others who believe that their masters have earned their gratitude and loyalty.

The Communist regime has gained two important advantages by giving opportunities to some Russian families that never had them before. First, it has acquired the highly trained personnel

it must have in order to keep going. Second, by giving able persons opportunities to use their abilities, it has tapped reservoirs of national strength that the old Czarist regime largely ignored. In this way the Communists have not only recruited the specialists they need; they also have made sure that these specialists have good reason to be loyal to the Party.

Let it be clearly understood that this group which "never had it so good" is a minority—perhaps 1 out of 10 Soviet citizens. But the total Soviet population is about 210 million, and even if only 1 out of every 10 belonged to the privileged minority, that would make 21 million people who had reason to be actively loyal to the Communist regime. The majority of the Soviet people do not have either privileges or opportunities. What most Americans regard as necessities in the way of food, clothing, and shelter are, to most of the Soviet people, luxuries beyond their reach. Moreover, the Soviet people have never known the peace and security that we normally take for granted. But this majority can be pretty well led and controlled by the 21 million or so who have a real stake in the regime, for these people hold the positions of leadership and authority.

One of the built-in characteristics of the Communist system is that it depends on tensions to keep people in line. Ever since 1917, the peoples ruled by the Kremlin have been forced to live in a state of national emergency such as we have known only in times of all-out war. Now and then some of the tensions have been temporarily relaxed, as they were soon after Stalin's death. But the tensions have never been entirely removed, nor have all tensions ever been relaxed at the same time. These tensions are shown, of course, in the systematic and planned use of terror—the con-



L/R: Molotov, Voroshilov, Beria, Malenkov, two unidentified guards, Bulganin, Khrushchev, Kaganovich, Mikoyan at Stalin's bier.

stant threat of the secret police—and by such harsh laws as the one that makes absence from work a criminal offense. They are also shown by the warlike language used to spur people on to work harder and longer—“Mobilize for the spring planting!”—“Win the *battle* of the grain harvest!”

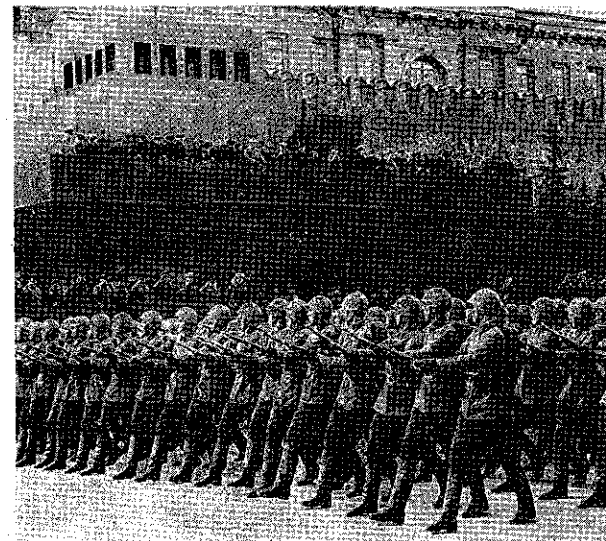
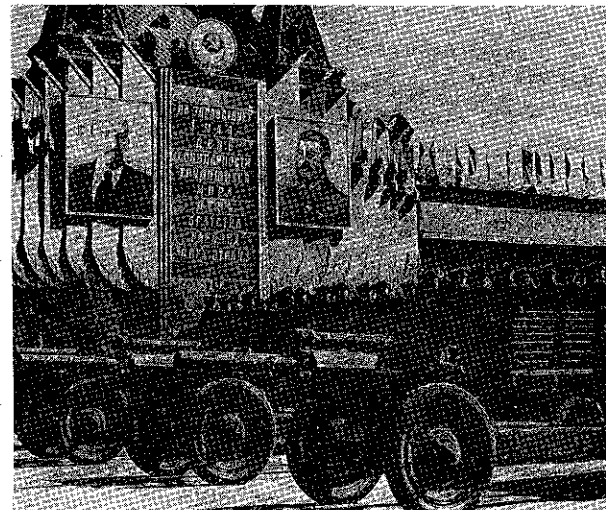
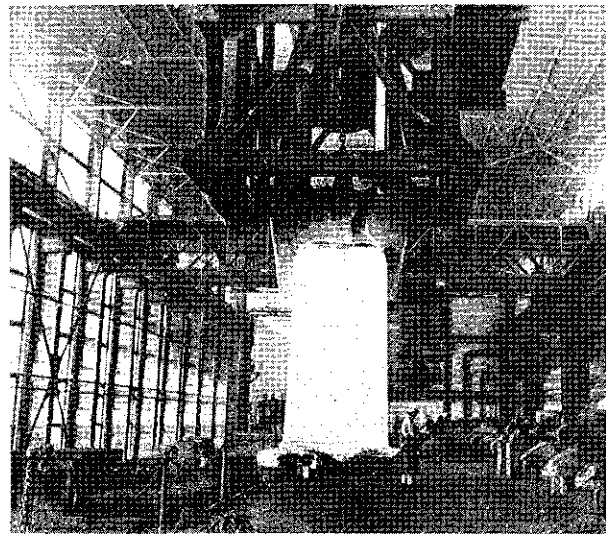
But communist-created tensions now involve the whole world and land the problem squarely in *our* laps. This situation leads us back to Marx and Engels.

SOVIET COMMUNISM AND THE FREE WORLD

Marx and Engels, as we have seen, raised the banners of what they called the class war. They also declared that classes were international—that the world was divided not between Germans and Frenchmen and Britishers, but between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” In other words, Marx and Engels said in effect that there were 2 worlds, and that there would be 2 worlds until 1 swallowed or destroyed the other. These teachings, along with others, were imported into Russia by Plekhanov, Lenin, and lesser leaders. There they took on a special Russian—or Soviet—meaning.

Originally, Lenin and his associates did not believe that the Communists could seize and hold power in one country only. Lenin himself said, “We are living not only in a state, but in a system of states and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist (capitalist) states for a long period is unthinkable. At the end either one or the other will win.”

At present, Soviet leaders speak of the world as being divided into “the imperialist and anti-democratic camp”—meaning the free world—and “the anti-imperialist and democratic camp,” which is their double-talk way of describing themselves and their satellites. True, the Soviet Communist leaders still talk about what they call “peaceful co-existence” and “the possibility of the peaceful settlement of all disputes.” But they also say, in so many words: “The fate of the world will ultimately be decided by the outcome of the inevitable struggle between the two camps.” When will this decision be made? They haven’t named any special year, but they have publicly stated that “. . . the second half of the 20th century will see the complete victory of Communism throughout the world.”



The USSR is now second in steel production (top). Soviet industry stresses arms for world's largest military machine (center, bottom).

So far as we can tell, the men who say such things do so because, in the first place, they believe what they are saying. This belief is part of what they inherited from Marx and Engels, through Plekhanov and Lenin and Stalin and others. Lenin and his successors have always believed that their "capitalist enemies," as they call us, will destroy them unless they can destroy the "capitalist enemies" first. This belief they have attempted to pass on to their subjects. That is what is back of the "Hate America" campaign, which has been going full blast for the past several years. As we have said, the Russian leaders probably believe what they are saying. But whether they do or not, the campaign serves a useful purpose from their point of view. It gives them a way of explaining and justifying the constant state of emergency they are imposing on the Soviet people. It is a way, and an effective one, of keeping the pressure on their people to work harder, to sacrifice more, and to follow the bosses' orders without question.

TO SUM UP . . .

This short account of how Communism came to Russia has shown several things. It has shown that Communism got its chance in Russia because the old government and the old social and economic system had collapsed. It collapsed mostly for reasons that had little to do with Marx or Lenin or the Communist movement. But Lenin was quick to see the opportunity, quick to take advantage of every break that came his way, and skillful in forcing the breaks.

The Communists had no large following in Russia in 1917. They were a small, determined group of professional revolutionaries who won and held power by their energy, ruthlessness, and devotion to their cause.

The Communists promised much, and they actually achieved only a small part of what they promised. They made Russia into a great industrial power and made opportunities available to the few who would cooperate with them. But many of their promises were lies, and the price of their achievements has been the complete enslavement of the Russian people to the few men who run the Communist Party.¹

Finally, you have seen how Marx's and Engels' idea of a world-wide working-class revolution has been adapted to fit the aims of Soviet imperialism, so that Soviet communism today is a threat to the entire world.²

There is no short and simple answer to this threat. All this pamphlet has aimed to do is to give you a better understanding of how communism came to Russia and how it has changed that country.

Knowing these facts, you have a better understanding of how the Communists are seeking to achieve their goal of world domination.

¹For a more detailed account of how the Communist Party controls the Soviet people, see the pamphlet *How the Soviet People Are Ruled*, in this same series.

²For a more detailed treatment of international communism, see the pamphlet *International Communism: Its Teachings, Aims, and Methods*, in this same series.

Summary...

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Communism is based on the ideas of Marx and Engels.

1. State control of production and distribution.

2. Class struggle and "dictatorship of the proletariat."

3. Eventual "withering away" of the state.

B. Their theories were developed without reference to Russia.

C. Russian revolutionaries adapted Marxism to conditions in their own country.

II. RUSSIA UNDER THE CZARS

A. Ruling classes lost power with freeing of serfs in 1861.

B. The industrial revolution increased greatly the number of city workers.

C. Labor unions and others opposed the government.

1. Plekhanov and his Marxist followers.

2. Menshevik and Bolshevik branches of the Russian Social Democratic Party.

D. Lenin became the leader of the Bolsheviks.

1. Plekhanov influenced Lenin to study Marx and Engels.

2. Lenin developed his followers into disciplined revolutionaries seeking to overthrow Czarism.

E. The 1905 Revolution.

1. Not planned or directed by any one group.

2. It did not solve basic problems.

F. The 1917 Revolution.

1. World War I brought the collapse of the Czarist government.

2. The Kerensky government assumed power after the fall of the Czar in March.

a. Conservative group, not in contact with masses.

b. Had allied support but no real authority.

3. Petrograd Soviet was rival of Kerensky group.

a. Made up of worker, soldier, and peasant representatives.

b. In close contact with the masses.

III. THE COMMUNISTS TAKE OVER

A. Lenin first got control of Petrograd Soviet.

B. Confusion and weakness of Provisional Government enabled Bolsheviks to seize power.

C. From cities, Bolsheviks moved out to force their rule on all through a series of revolutions.

IV. THE COMMUNISTS CONSOLIDATE THEIR POWER

A. Force, terror, persuasion, deceit were used by Communists to win control.

B. Opposition was suppressed brutally.

C. The New Economic Policy instituted to increase production.

D. Stalin continued stress on internal development, began first 5-year Plan in 1928.

1. Agriculture collectivized, kulaks liquidated.

2. Drive to industrialize the nation.

E. Economy transformed from agricultural to industrial.

F. Purges in 1930's removed internal opposition.

G. Support of people won by giving opportunity to some who never had it before.

H. System uses tensions and emergencies to keep people in line.

V. SOVIET COMMUNISM AND THE FREE WORLD

A. Conflict with free world held inevitable.

B. This is justification for the permanent state of emergency under which people live.

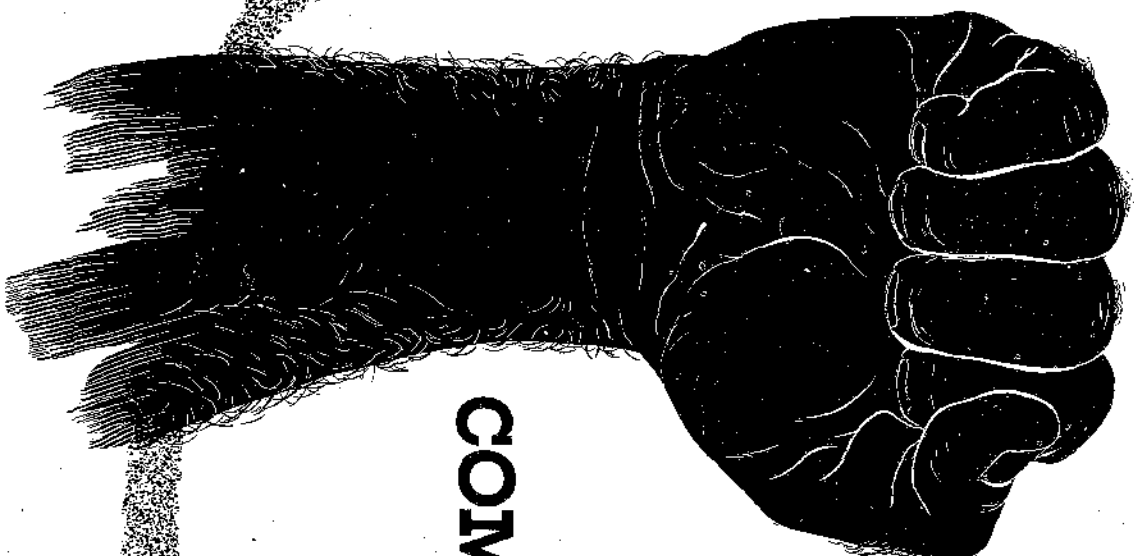
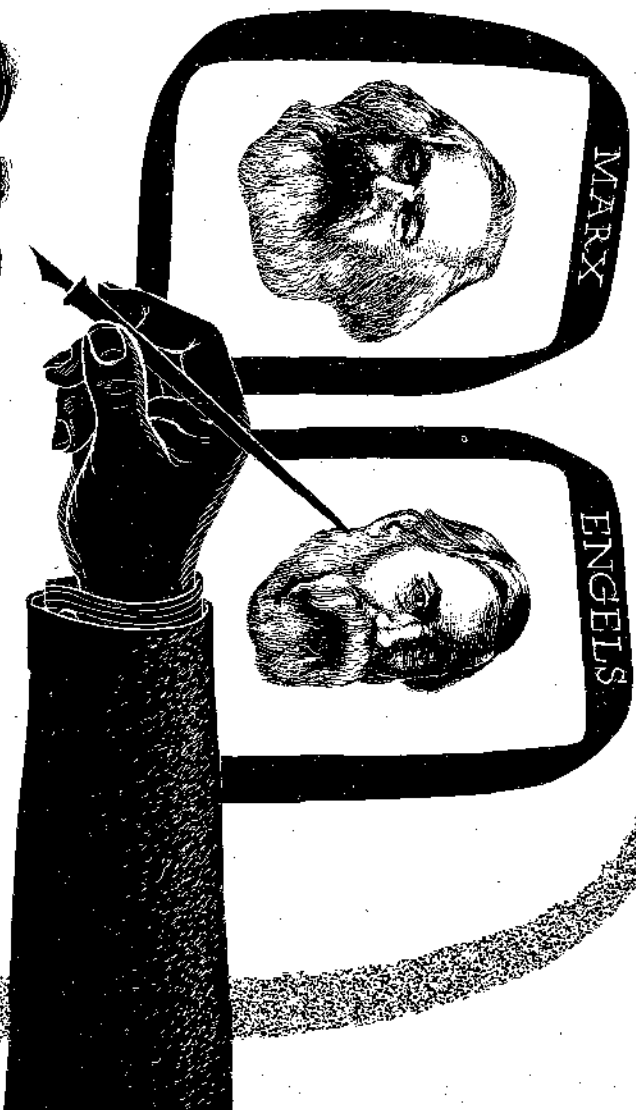
VI. SUMMARY

A. The Communists gained power in Russia because the old system collapsed and Lenin was skillful in taking advantage of the breaks.

B. Communists were few, but they were determined and fanatic about their cause.

C. Communist promises have come true to only a small extent.

D. The ideas of Marx and Engels, adapted by the Soviets, have emerged as a communist imperialism menacing the world.



The writings of
Marx and Engels
were molded to
produce the evils
of **SOVIET**
COMMUNISM