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Know Your Enemy

By

DELIA S. MARES

Foreword by

WILLIAM J. DONOVAN



Dallas

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Second printing, 1953

“When the American people have been able to define a problem, they have always been able to solve it.”

—Dwight Eisenhower
Houston, Texas, 1949

“Whether you take an optimistic or a pessimistic view of the chances of turning an armed truce into a peaceful competition of ideologies, the fact remains that we must deal in one way or another with the fanatic yet capable followers of Lenin. Therefore, it behooves us to understand them. . . . We must study the Soviet philosophy, we must examine and debate the creed of the Communist party as it has been formulated and defended both here and in foreign lands. Indeed I would go so far as to say that this is the number one educational need of the present moment.”—James B. Conant

From *Education in a Divided World*

Printed in the United States of America

FOREWORD

By WILLIAM J. DONOVAN

In writing "Know Your Enemy" Mrs. Mares has done a great service to the American people. Her book provides a concise exposition of the development of the Communist Party and its tactics of subversion.

Pointing out that the teachings of Marx as refined and explained by Lenin and Stalin constitute the "bible" of all Communist thinking and action today, Mrs. Mares devotes the major part of her book to an analysis and description of the life and teachings of these three "architects" of revolutionary Communism, and the role which they played in the development of the Communist state in Russia since the turn of the century. Her detailed analysis of the means employed by Stalin to perfect his absolute control over the lives of the Russian people and her lucid description of Soviet foreign policy furnish us with a valuable insight into the Soviet techniques of subversion employed so successfully on a global basis since World War II.

The author shows us that the discipline of the Communist Party is more like that of an army than that of any other political party. We should not underestimate its organization, its temper and its vigor. We face a ruthless and tenacious foe whose tactics may change even to temporary retreat but whose objective remains the same—a world empire.

The author helps us to comprehend the character of this war of maneuver which the Kremlin wages against us in every target country using the 5th column and the Communist Party as Stalin's Army of Occupation.

This book should be read by every citizen. All high school students especially should read it in order to prepare themselves to meet a danger which will challenge their future. Against such a foe we must exercise sustained effort perhaps for many years.

An imaginative and affirmative American foreign policy can be reached only by a realistic appraisal of the aims and objectives of the Soviet Union. The author gives us this appraisal.

—WILLIAM J. DONOVAN

September 25, 1952

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

General Donovan is uniquely fitted to judge this book because of his first-hand knowledge of Russian Communism and its tactics of world conquest. As soldier, statesman and advisor to presidents, he has pioneered in the understanding of the psychological, economic, and political factors in modern warfare. During World War II he founded and directed our first national foreign intelligence service, the Office of Strategic Services, which led to the present Central Intelligence Agency. Few living Americans can match a career which has taken him from fighting in Mexico and World War I battlefields through every trouble zone in the past thirty years, down to Iran and Korea.

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

Who Is the Enemy?

Ask any group of Americans, "What is the great threat to your country and you?" and most of them will answer, "Communism." But ask them what Communism is, and how it threatens us, and you will get a different answer from each one. One will say, "Russia wants to dominate the world by military force." Another will say, "Communists want to change our American way of life." A third will say, "Russian Communism is dictating the policies of many countries and thus influencing ours." These answers are all correct, in outline, but they are vague, and most Americans would find it hard to describe exactly what Communism is, how it is tightly linked with Russian dreams of world control, or why it appeals to so many people.

But Communism, as a political system, and Russian Communism, as a means of world conquest, are historical developments which can be understood if Americans are willing to acquaint themselves with a few historical facts. They *must* be understood if the United States is to survive, for it will take sound and united policy to overcome this continuing threat to our freedom and our lives. In a democracy like ours it is not enough

for the president and his advisers to understand a problem and work out wise policies to meet it. Congress must always vote the money to put those policies into effect, and Congressmen will support those policies only if the people understand and support them. The American people must know their enemy.

How Communism Got Its Name

Men have always been troubled by extremes of rich and poor, and have tried many times to make everyone equal by setting up communities where property was owned in common. Various groups of people in Europe and America tried this during the Nineteenth Century. These groups were called "communes," and the common ownership of property was called "communism." They existed as independent idealistic units as long as they had able leadership, but, when their leaders died or were followed by lesser people, the groups died out, one by one. They left behind them just one thing—the word "communism," and the vague idea that, if all property could be owned in common, everyone would be equal. The word and the idea were familiar to German thinkers in the middle of the Nineteenth Century—among them, Karl Marx. He proposed a totally different form of communism, which he called "scientific communism" because he supposed he was basing it on scientific principles.

What interested Marx, however, was not so much how "communism" was to be worked out in practical life, as how it was to be forced upon the entire world. His emphasis was on revolution. This is what attracted Lenin and other Communist leaders. As we shall see, the Communism of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin bears no resemblance whatever to the idealistic communes of the European and American experiments.

Communism's Big Three

Communism has three chief leaders, the German Karl Marx, 1818-1883, the Russian Lenin, 1870-1924, and the Soviet ruler, Stalin, 1879-1953. Gigantic photographs of this Communist trinity appear in party offices and government buildings throughout the Communist world. Marx was a scholar, writer and philosopher who worked out the ideas on which present-day Communism is based. Communists have placed Marx's *Das Kapital* and his other writings in the same position in which Christians have placed the Bible, as the essential truth about the world which may be interpreted but never seriously criticized or questioned. Although Lenin and Stalin have also written major Communist works, they claim simply to be putting Marx's teachings into action.

Lenin organized and trained the Communist Party as a small, disciplined, ruthless group determined to bring about a Marxist revolution in Russia by any and all

means. After years of exile abroad, Lenin returned to Russia during the first World War to lead the Bolshevik Party in setting up the Soviet state.

Stalin made the Communist Party practically identical with the government of Russia, reorganized the life of the whole country on Communist lines, and developed the Comintern, or Communist International, which is the international organization of all Communist parties all over the world. Through the Comintern (now replaced by the Cominform) are issued the orders which every Communist in France, Italy, the United States, China, or anywhere else, must obey.

Communists claim that every event, whether in Russia or throughout the world, is to be explained correctly only through the teachings of Marx as interpreted by Lenin and Stalin.

KARL MARX, 1818-1883

The World of Karl Marx

Marx, then, is the principal philosopher of Communism. He was born in the German Rhineland of a well-educated Jewish family which had become Christian. Marx's father was considered the leading lawyer of the city of Trier, and Marx's wife came from a well-to-do family in the same city. From his teens Marx was determined to give his life to helping his fellow-men and to lessening the injustices and miseries he saw around him. His newspaper articles and pamphlets were suppressed by the government of Prussia and in 1849 he was expelled from Prussian territory. After a short stay in France he took refuge in England where he lived and wrote freely for the rest of his life. He made very little money from his writing but depended on others for help, first on his wife's family, then on his friend and co-worker, Friedrich Engels. The latter was the son of a wealthy manufacturer who owned factories in Germany and in Manchester, England. The English factory was managed by Engels and its profits supported him and the Marx family for many years.

Trouble stalked the Marx family. Several children died and Marx himself suffered frequent painful ill-

nesses. Both his personal misfortunes and his idealistic nature made him deeply sympathetic with the factory workers, many of whom at that time were little better off than slaves. Child labor, crowded slums, inhumanly long hours wrecked hundreds of lives. These evils distressed other people besides Marx, and through trade unions and protective legislation conditions were beginning to be improved. Marx worked for some of these reforms, but he was primarily a student, intent on finding the causes of these evils so that they might be completely wiped out. From his researches in history he developed a theory about why these injustices existed, then a revolutionary program for changing them. Both his theory of history and his call to revolution are accepted without question by every Communist.

Every writer reflects the society in which he lives. Writers like Marx, who try to interpret their society and predict its future, are more influenced by their surroundings than they themselves realize. Americans who would understand Marx and, through him, the thinking of present-day Communists, must understand something of the nineteenth-century European world in which Marx lived. That world differed in two outstanding respects from the world of modern Americans. In the first place it was a world which was divided by sharp class lines. The son of working people could not expect to be anything but a working man

himself, whereas the sons of rich or noble families would automatically inherit their wealth and position. Resentment against this system brought thousands of Europeans to America, to help build a society where their children could advance according to their ability and effort, rather than be bound for life in the class to which their parents belonged. Marx never came to America and never knew a society like ours, where there is always room at the top for hard work and brains. As a matter of fact, the class system in which Marx grew up has been the rule throughout history—even to the present day. It is the United States and the English-speaking dominions like Canada which are the exceptions. The Marxist-trained Communist today can find millions of people all over the world who feel as imprisoned in their class as did the Europeans in Marx's Nineteenth Century.

The second outstanding difference between Marx's world and ours has to do with the influence of certain thinkers. Marx was really a professor without a job or a classroom who tried to explain the views of those he thought had the truest interpretation of history. Marx's chief guide was the German philosopher Hegel, who had worked out a pattern for human history which Marx found entirely convincing. According to Hegel, human history always takes place according to the following pattern:

1. Thesis.

Every movement in history proceeds uninterrupted along its course until it is challenged by

2. Antithesis, an opposite movement which has been developing within or beside the first movement. These two clash and after a period of struggle emerges
3. Synthesis, which is neither the first nor the second but a combination of the best features of both.

Both Hegel and later Marx believed that the whole of history could be explained in terms of the (1) thesis, (2) the antithesis, (3) the synthesis; and they called this process the dialectic. To this day every Communist shares this rigid view of history and the propagandists for Soviet Russia refer to it frequently. It is scarcely necessary to say that historians and philosophers of the free world do not believe that any such fixed pattern explains the complex and ever-changing actions of individual human beings. However, the idea of such a fixed pattern does appeal to people who want a mathematical explanation of non-mathematical problems. It appealed to Marx who was a serious student of mathematics, and Marx applied it to human situations to try to explain the reasons for poverty and injustice.

The "Class Struggle"

Marx's view of history therefore, grew out of Europe's class society and Hegel's explanation of history. Americans should understand it because the Communists' whole program of world revolution is built on Marx's teachings about the past, present, and future. Marx explains the past as formed by the efforts of various classes to get economic power and to keep it for themselves. There is a distinct pattern of how this process operates, which has repeated itself again and again in history. First a small group in the community obtains control of the ways other people earn their living; then a group immediately below them becomes strong enough to demand admission to the ruling group or to overthrow it in a violent struggle (class-war); having gained power this group in turn becomes oppressors and, in turn, must be overthrown. Marx used the example of the French Revolution of 1789-1793 to illustrate this process. The feudal nobility and the monarchy were ruling France in 1789. (Thesis). Their power and privileges were challenged by the rising merchants and business men of the towns, called by Marx and other historians the bourgeoisie (from the French, bourgeois, or townsman). (Antithesis). Finding themselves unable to obtain all the rights and privileges they desired by using peaceful means alone, the bourgeoisie joined with the peasants

to overthrow the nobility and execute the king, taking the ruling power for themselves. (Synthesis). They thus became a new ruling class, whom Marx regarded as oppressors of the next class below them, the industrial working class, or proletariat. According to Marx, only an uprising of the working class would force the bourgeoisie to give up the power they had taken from the nobility.

Capitalism as Seen by Marx

When Marx turned from his examination of the past to the world around him, he saw in England and other European countries the early stages of a capitalist society. In Marx's terms, the bourgeoisie, having seized power from the nobility, were now owning and operating the factories and other business enterprises in which the miserable workers were slaving for their oppressors. As any American who is familiar with the novels of Charles Dickens knows, dreadful conditions prevailed in those early factory towns and workshops. Some of these evils were no doubt caused by the selfishness of the factory owners and managers; on the other hand part of the trouble was certainly due to the crowds of country people who poured into the cities seeking work, where as yet there were no houses or public institutions to care for such numbers. At that time the great humanitarian movements had not yet

taken shape, for society as a whole did not yet accept responsibility for the unfortunate. There was little organized charity or public welfare. But even in Marx's day trade unions had begun to be formed through which the workers could demand decent wages and working conditions. Enlightened factory owners were themselves helping improve conditions. Laws restricting working hours were passed during Marx's life-time. While Marx did try, toward the end of his life, to encourage some of these efforts at reform, he believed that improvement could be brought about most effectively only through a revolution in which the industrial workers, or proletariat, took over power from their oppressors, the capitalists or bourgeoisie.

What Marx Thought About Human Behavior

Before examining further Marx's prophecy of future revolution, which is the heart and soul of modern Communist doctrine, it is important to understand what Marx thought about human motives—the reasons why men act as they do. Perhaps because of his own unhappy life, Marx's view of human beings was pessimistic and bitter. He held that everything men do or think is determined by what class they belong to and by the interests of that class. Not just the manner in which they earn their living, but what political party they support, how they educate their children, what

religion they believe in, all these are determined by the position of their particular class in society. Government itself, he thought, is simply the tool of the ruling class, which uses government to maintain and increase its power over the other classes in the country. Marx's view of human nature is contrary to the teachings of Christianity that man can learn to care for his fellow-men, regardless of their position in society. It is contrary to the findings of modern psychology that men have many different reasons for their actions, some selfish, some unselfish, some conscious, some unconscious. This view led Marx to regard all capitalists as selfish, grasping individuals who would wring every penny of work from their wretched workers, while—he thought—the working class, not having the temptations of property, would be entirely virtuous. Private property was the root of all human evil. To Americans who do not think in class terms and who realize that all men have both good and bad within them, this Marxist—and Communist—view will seem ridiculous. But it undoubtedly has an appeal to many hungry and hopeless people in other parts of the world who are made bitter by poverty and suffering.

The name given Marx's interpretation of man is "materialism," because he claimed that men acted chiefly according to their material interests. He combined "materialism" with Hegel's "dialectical" interpreta-

tion of history to form the framework of Communism—"dialectical materialism." To a Communist dialectical materialism is as much a religious faith as is Christianity to a Christian or Judaism to a Jew. In the educational systems of Russia and Eastern Europe dialectical materialism has taken the place of Christianity, just as with the young people of China it is replacing Confucianism and Buddhism.

The Future According to Marx

On the basis of dialectical materialism, Marx thought he could foresee the future. Capitalism, he prophesied, carried in it the seeds of its own destruction. Every capitalist manufacturer must try to undersell his competitors, and so would install machinery to take the place of workers who must be paid wages. Wages would decrease. People would be thrown out of work. Thus, although more goods were being produced by more efficient methods fewer people could buy them. As each manufacturer fought for his narrowing market, he would substitute more and more equipment for the labor of human beings and thus reduce his own markets still further. In the end, said Marx, capitalism would so decrease the number of buyers of its goods that it would have to find new markets abroad. But there the process would continue and eventually capitalism must destroy itself.

The errors of this Marxist thinking are apparent to anyone who looks at the United States with unprejudiced eyes. Capitalism has enormously increased the number of goods available and it has also lowered their cost, but wages have increased—not decreased. The most capitalistic country in the world is also the country in which workers have the highest standard of living.

In the face of facts which prove Marx mistaken the Soviet propagandists try to show the accuracy of Marxist prophecies by exaggerating every evidence of poverty or conflict in the United States and by deliberate falsification of the facts. They claim to see in the world trade of the free peoples of Western Europe and the Americas the need of a decaying capitalism to expand its markets overseas. By the same Marxist reasoning they claim that all American aid to Europe and Asia, including the Marshall plan, was simply to provide abroad the markets which capitalism had destroyed at home. "American imperialism," they say, is the final stage of capitalism. Marx had said the capitalist system would decay, and the facts must be made to fit the theory. The Chinese Communist government, for instance, accuses the United States of fighting an "imperialist" war in Korea to protect its markets in Asia!

So to Marx, as to his Soviet disciples, dialectical materialism makes the future inevitable. The power

and wealth of capitalists would increase, he said, but their number would grow smaller and smaller as the stronger destroyed the weaker. Meanwhile everyone else would be absorbed into one working class of underpaid, underfed, and powerless human beings. Eventually all society would consist of just two classes, a handful of exploiters at the top, a mass of wage slaves at the bottom. Then the time would arrive when the proletariat or working class would throw off its shackles, seize control of government and all business from the capitalists, and bring in utopia, called by Marx "the kingdom of freedom." Early in their career, in 1848, Marx and Engels had written the *Communist Manifesto*—a flaming summons to the proletariat to proclaim the world revolution. Its closing sentences are still the most dramatic expression of revolutionary Marxism: "The Communists openly declare that their purpose can be achieved only by the forcible overthrow of the whole existing social order. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

Who would actually run government and business after the world was won was a question Marx never tried to answer. His failure to do so has had enormous consequences, for it left a vacuum which Lenin and Stalin have filled with practices Marx never anticipated, practices which stem from the dark tyrannical

past of Russia rather than from the free, more enlightened western Europe.

Revolution or Reform?

In the course of the generation after Marx's death, his ideas spread to many parts of the world. In each country the people who accepted Marx's view of life combined it with the ideas and experiences they already had; thus there came to be several different types of Marxism. Those Marxists who stressed violent revolution were attracted to the leadership of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks—later called Communists. It is they who threaten everything we wish to preserve.

In Western Europe, however, even many people who were impressed by some of Marx's thinking did not agree with him that a proletarian revolution was necessary or desirable. While they too realized the many evils in the capitalist system of that period, they believed that these evils were already being gradually remedied, partly by the united action of the workers in trade unions, partly by laws, partly by the capitalists themselves. These more moderate reformers argued that gradual change was more desirable and more lasting than a total revolution. They agreed with Marx that the government should own and operate certain important basic activities like transportation, banking, coal mining, and so on, but they also believed that

many economic activities should be left in private hands.

The greatest difference between them and the Russian Marxists was always in their attitude toward individual human beings. The Socialist and Social Democratic parties which urged some government ownership were equally determined to maintain the political freedom which Western Europe had won over the centuries—representative government, free speech, free press, the rights of an individual against the state. Today the Socialist parties in Western Europe and the socialist Labor party in England are among the most determined opponents of Communism. Since 1917 Communists have considered Socialists their most dangerous enemies.

As Americans See Marx

When millions of people in the world today accept Marx's ideas almost as gospel, it is essential that Americans examine them critically. Because our education is strongly influenced by the scientific principles of collecting all the facts before forming theories, most of us would quickly conclude that Marx who never knew America or our system of competition and free enterprise could not be an accurate prophet or a sound guide. We would point out that laboring men, far from becoming weaker, have grown stronger through their trade unions

and because of more enlightened management. In England they actually controlled the Labor government from 1945 to 1951. We would note that countless small businesses exist throughout America, placing hundreds of thousands of people in what Marx called the capitalist class, thus contradicting Marx's prophecy that the capitalist class would grow smaller and smaller. Finally we would observe that ownership of business and industry, which Marx thought would be concentrated in a very few hands, has spread out to millions of people who own insurance policies, a few shares of stock, or pension rights. As an American sees it, the very bases of Marx's call to revolution simply do not exist.

But in most parts of the world this is not the case. We must remember that in the world as a whole, particularly in Asia, trade unions are either non-existent or so weak they have little influence, and both the ownership and management of the largest part of a country's life is indeed centered in the hands of a very few wealthy families. People in such countries, ignorant of how the American enterprise system actually works and knowing little of competition, have no facts by which to criticize Marx's ideas and prophecies. On the contrary they find them attractive, since Marx promises to the underdogs who revolt all the power and privilege now held by their more fortunate fellows.

Different Meanings of "Capitalism"

How different have been the experiences of the United States on the one hand and most of the world on the other is vividly illustrated by what different meanings the word "capitalism" has for us and for them. To us it means opportunity, competition, a complex pattern of society in which wages, prices, profits shift constantly depending on the interplay of unions, consumers, managers, owners, and government. To most of the rest of the world, even including many people in Western Europe, capitalism means the control of the important businesses and industries by a few men who also have enormous power in the governments of their separate countries. So different are the meanings of this one word that it has been suggested that another word such as "enterprise" be used to describe the type of economic system we have in the United States.

What Influences Human Beings?

Nor do Americans agree with Marx about the character of human beings. Most Americans are strongly influenced by the teachings of the Bible that all men are capable of both good and evil. We see human beings as individuals, each one formed by his particular parents, early surroundings, education, and work into

a unique person. Because he has experienced many different influences he is capable of many different actions, and no one can certainly predict what any one person will do on all occasions. Marx on the other hand claims that the all-important influence is a man's class; if you know what class he belongs to, you can predict just how he will act. For instance, the Soviet rulers claim that because Americans are "capitalists" they will always try to oppress the rest of the world!

Here again what makes little sense to an American may be quite convincing to an Asiatic or an Eastern European. Centuries of inherited wealth and power had made the small ruling groups in those regions so hard and selfish that only violent upheavals like the Russian and Chinese revolutions could shake their stranglehold on those beneath them. That wealth and selfishness often go together has been observed from earliest times; religious teachers who never heard of Marx have stressed it again and again. Americans should not be surprised if a grain of truth be magnified into a mountain of envious condemnation, which of course is just what Marx's theory does. And the richest country in the world dares not forget how easily the envy of its poorer neighbors can be changed into hatred, especially when their ignorance of America's "enterprise" system makes them susceptible to Marxist propagandists.

The Use of Force

On using force to change the world, most Americans would disagree sharply with Marx. Most of us believe that changes which are forced upon unwilling people by superior power cause as many evils as they remedy. Force is a last resort, only to be used when all means of persuasion and argument have failed, and even then only in cases where people's lives and security are obviously threatened. To Marx and Engels, however, force was a necessary part of revolution. Marx had little patience with reformers, humanitarians, "improvers of the condition of the working class," who, he thought, were trying to oppose the onrush of the inevitable revolution. His writings urge the overthrow of existing society by force rather than its peaceful change through law. Finally the most telling argument against Marxism is to be found in the Communist governments which claim to be founded upon it. In Russia and her satellites Marx's "kingdom of freedom" is a slave state. Those peoples whose democratic traditions give them a free press have learned the terrifying facts of Communist oppression. In France, Italy, Western Germany, and other countries of Europe and Latin America, even well-organized Communist parties have lost ground as the threatening reality of life in a Communist state grows clearer. But here again we dare not forget that there are millions of people who have

no free press, who could not read newspapers if they had them, and whose thinking is at the mercy of the men who control the most powerful radio transmitters. They are incapable of criticizing Marx by factual knowledge of present-day Communism in Russia and elsewhere. If we hope to combat Marxist thinking in them, we must have a clear idea of what has happened to Marxism in the past seventy-five years. For this understanding we turn to the second of Communism's Big Three, the strategist of revolution, the Russian Lenin.

LENIN, 1870-1924

The Russia That Produced Lenin

There is a saying about France that is even truer about Russia; "The more it changes, the more it is the same thing." Today's Soviet tyranny is the direct descendant of a Czarist tyranny already centuries old when Lenin was born in 1870. Unlike the countries of western Europe and the Americas, where the people had gradually won civil liberties and a share in their governments, Russia in the Nineteenth Century was still an absolute monarchy. Although the nobility varied in wealth and in the lands they controlled, they were sharply separated from the peasants who were almost slaves. Not until 1861 was the custom of serfdom as in the Middle Ages abandoned in Russia. Over both nobility and peasants the Czar had the power of life and death. There were no laws or constitution to check his power, and how cruelly he used it depended on the personality and whims of the particular Czar. Secret police, confessions forced under torture, exile in Siberia, and death blotted out the few brave men who demanded reforms.

How did it happen that while the people of western and central Europe were winning more and more free-

dom from their rulers, Russians lay so long under the crushing heel of the Czars? A thousand years of Russian history give the answer. Differences between Russia and the rest of Europe go back to the fourth century after Christ, when the Roman Empire divided into the Eastern and Western Empires. In the Western Empire, of which Rome was the capital, the language and alphabet were Latin, official Christianity was Roman Catholic, and many independent units of government survived because the Romans had permitted more self-government than any other rulers of the ancient world. From the civilization of the Western Empire were formed the nations and civilizations of western and central Europe; Italy, England, France, Spain, Germany, Scandinavia, Poland, Austria, and so on—whence came most of the people who built America. In the Eastern Empire, of which Constantinople was the capital, the language and alphabet were Greek, official Christianity was Greek Orthodox, and the rule of the emperor was absolute, for, according to Eastern custom, the ruler had absolute power over his subjects. From the civilization of the Eastern Empire came the Russian alphabet, Russian religion, and Russia's absolute system of government.

By contrast with the Western world Russia has suffered great disadvantages. Western Europe has had written languages and well-developed civilizations for

three thousand years, whereas written language in Russia is only a thousand years old, dating from the ninth century after Christ when two Christian missionaries from the Eastern Empire used a form of the Greek alphabet to write down the speech of the semi-barbaric Slavic tribes who inhabited what is now Russia. Since all of western and central Europe used the Latin alphabet and all educated Europeans knew Latin, language differences cut Russians off from the stimulating and vigorous life of the rest of Europe for almost a thousand years. They missed the broadening experience of the Crusades, the development of free cities in the Middle Ages, the interchange of knowledge among scholars who wandered from Rome to Paris, from Brussels to London, from Prague to Vienna. Russians never felt the desire for religious freedom which gave birth to the many Protestant churches. The Greek Orthodox Church was the only form of Christianity they knew and it was completely under the control of the Czar, never a counterbalance to royal power as were the churches of western Europe. Most important of all, the Czar's power over the lives and liberties of his subjects was unlimited. The great mass of the peasants, unable to read and write, were practically the slaves of the landowners, and the landowners in turn had no rights against the Czar. Three hundred years after the English nobles had won important rights

for themselves and all Englishmen in the Magna Charta, the Russian Czar, Ivan the Terrible, could display his power to a visiting Englishman by ordering one of his courtiers to jump to certain death.

In fairness to the Russians, we must remember that for generations their energies were absorbed by endless wars against the Tartar invaders from Asia who swept across the unprotected Russian plains, burning homes and murdering everyone in their path. Eventually the Russians drove out their Tartar conquerors, but not until the latter had strengthened the Russian tendency toward absolute, or as we now say, totalitarian, rule. Later enemies came from the west—Swedes, Germans, and Poles. Russia did not win the seacoast of the Baltic, which meant easy access to the west, until the reign of Peter the Great—1689-1725. His efforts to bring western discoveries and ideas to Russia resulted in new industries and a great new city, St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), but they did not bring individual freedom or checks on the absolute power of the Czar.

The Ice Begins to Crack

The American Revolution in 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789 set off a chain reaction which penetrated even the frozen tyranny of Czarist Russia. The armies of Napoleon, on fire with the French revo-

lutionary cry of "Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!" swept all the way to Moscow and, though driven back defeated, they shook Russia to its foundations and lit the desire for more freedom among the educated class. Russian history in the Nineteenth Century is a story of the continuing struggle between the increasing number of Russians who wanted to break the chains of ignorance, poverty, and tyranny, and Czars who tried to make the chains even tighter. Violence bred more violence. The liberal Czar, Alexander II, who freed the peasants in 1861, was assassinated by a group of Russians who were convinced that only by killing their rulers and destroying the whole government could they achieve a better world. These Nihilists (from the Latin word "nihil," or nothing) had none of our western institutions through which to spread their ideas. There was nothing resembling a Congress, all printing was heavily censored, the secret police were everywhere, often worming their way into the Nihilists' own groups. Other Russians tried the more constructive method of working among the peasants, hoping to arouse them to want more political rights and serving them as teachers, doctors, and nurses. But the obstacles were enormous. The peasants understood so little of what the reformers were trying to do for them that they sometimes turned them over to the police.

Russian Power Expands

Along with stern control of life within Russia there was pressure outward. Throughout Russian history there had been occasional attacks on neighboring areas, but in the 18th century there began an organized expansion led by the Czars themselves. Peter the Great had changed Russia from an inland country to a seapower by pushing her frontiers west to the Baltic Sea. In the East he seized land from Persia to the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea. His successors in the 18th century pushed south to reach the Black Sea. Large parts of Poland and the Ukraine were seized by Russia when Poland was divided up among Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Georgia, the future home of Stalin, and Turkestan came under Russian control. Meanwhile in the Far East Russian colonizers were settling in key points on the Pacific and staking out claims to parts of Siberia.

The process continued through the Nineteenth Century, extending Russian domination farther and farther eastward over the half-civilized peoples of central Asia. Russia took the Liaotung Peninsula from Japan in 1895 after Japan had taken it from China. By various deals with the weak Chinese government of the early 1900's, Russia asserted claims to Far Eastern positions which she has maintained ever since. In the west Finland and Bessarabia came under Russian rule.

Over a hundred years ago the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston, wrote: "The policy and practice of the Russian government have always been to push forward its encroachments as fast and as far as apathy or want of firmness of other governments would allow it to go, but always to stop and retire when it met with decided resistance, and then to wait for the next favorable opportunity to make another spring on its intended victim."

Industry Comes to Russia

Meanwhile factories were beginning to be built in Russia, a hundred years after the factory system had begun in Western Europe. Between 1881 and 1896 the number of factory workers rose from 770,000 to 1,742,000. Here was the beginning of the working class, the proletariat which Marx thought would overthrow existing governments. Marx himself had not expected Russia to take the lead in class war. Like many Germans, he regarded the Slavic Russians as his inferiors. According to his explanation of history, moreover, the bourgeoisie must establish capitalism before the final revolution was possible and, in Russia, during Marx's lifetime, there was little capitalism because there were few factories—Russia was still in the agricultural Middle Ages. Marx was greatly surprised that his work, *Das Kapital*, was actually translated

into Russian in 1868, even before it was put into English. Russian reformers, blocked on every side by the Czar's tyranny and the peasants' ignorance, had begun to read Marx.

Lenin's Early Life

Among Marx's eager Russian readers was the young son of a school inspector in the town of Simbirsk on the Volga River. Although not of the nobility, the Ulyanov family were well-educated and, like so many educated Russians in the Nineteenth Century, were seriously interested in bettering the lives of the people. The father wore himself out trying to improve the schools in his district, only to see all his work destroyed in an outburst of Czarist oppression. The oldest son was hanged for his part in a plot to kill the Czar. The second son Vladimir (who is usually known by his revolutionary name of Lenin) found getting an education made difficult by the fate of his brother. Only his mother's persistence finally obtained permission for him to live and study at Kazan, later at Samara. There he studied Marx and became convinced that Marx's interpretation of history was accurate and that class war was the only way Russia could be freed from the evils of Czarism. Lenin had given up the Christianity of his family long before and now his belief in Marx's ideas became the religion of his entire life. But Marx had never ex-

plained how the class war was to be fought, what was to be its strategy, who were to be its officers. This was the task to which Lenin now set himself.

By this time there were thousands of industrial workers in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), and a wave of strikes broke out in 1896-7. Lenin and his fellow Marxists distributed revolutionary literature and tried to organize the workers into a revolutionary party. But his activities ended with exile to Siberia in 1897. Czarist exile was much milder than the forced labor imposed by the present-day Russia on its political prisoners, and Lenin could write letters, obtain books and magazines, and enjoy the companionship of the fellow-revolutionary Nadya Krupskaya, who became his wife. When he returned to Moscow in 1900, he found the police hot on the trail of the Social Democrats (as the Russian followers of Marx were called). He decided to continue his revolutionary work from abroad, chiefly from England and Switzerland.

Lenin Plans the Revolution

Marx had failed to say just how the revolution of the proletariat would come about; therefore, Lenin's first problem was to work out a revolutionary program to fit Russia and eventually the world. Russia presented a particularly difficult problem, because the change from a farming to a factory society was only just be-

gining. The peasants greatly outnumbered the industrial working-class who, according to Marx, would bring about the revolution. Moreover, Lenin realized that neither the peasants nor the working class had enough education to provide the necessary leadership. That would have to come from educated men like himself. Lenin's solution of these difficulties was the Party (now called Communist) which he first outlined in the pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?*, published in 1902. Here he described the organization of a small, carefully selected, disciplined and secret group of men determined to overthrow the government in power and set up a Marxist state.

Secret organizations had existed in Russia for generations, forced underground by the secret police and press censorship. But these groups had been loosely knit and thus easily destroyed by the police, like the one to which Lenin's older brother had belonged. Lenin saw the need of a strong central authority exercising absolute discipline over all its members. Each member would obey without question the orders received from above. Only one or two at the top would know all the plans; the members often would have to carry out orders in ignorance of their purpose. This prevented the police from tracking down a whole group after they caught one member, but it made the men at the top very powerful indeed since they were not answerable

even to their own associates. So began the Party—called Communist after 1917. Now Lenin had united the prophecies of the German Marx with the revolutionary underground of Czarist Russia. As the world has learned to its sorrow, it was a fateful union.

This drastic proposal met with plenty of opposition from Lenin's associates in the revolutionary movement. Many of them believed in freedom in the western sense of the word; freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom to work with other parties. In this they resembled the Socialists of Western Europe. Even then, some of these Russian moderates saw where Lenin's autocratic Party would lead. In 1903 it was Trotsky (later to be Lenin's close ally) who wrote:

"The organization of the Party takes the place of the Party itself; the Central Committee takes the place of the organization; and finally the dictator takes the place of the Central Committee. . . ."

Although Lenin failed to win many of his fellow-revolutionaries to his idea of a secret organization, he succeeded in strengthening his own hold on the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party. An example of his political cleverness occurred at a party convention which had to meet in England for fear of the Russian police. Having on one occasion polled a majority vote for his program, Lenin began to call his faction the Bolshevik, or majority party. His opponents

were thus named the Mensheviks, or minority party, although as a matter of accuracy, the names should have been reversed. In the struggle for control of the Russian Marxists the name Bolshevik was an advantage to Lenin.

The Social Democratic Party was a political party as Americans understand the word. Lenin's Bolshevik Party really resembled an organized conspiracy. Because the Communists have continued to call themselves a party, they have been able to take advantage of the freedom which Western Europe and the United States grant to political parties. Actually Communism has had the elements of a conspiracy since the early days of the Twentieth Century.

The First Revolution—1905

Lenin was in Switzerland when the First Russian Revolution took place. Defeat by Japan in 1904 and 1905 set off a spontaneous and nationwide uprising which tried to bring to Russia some of the democratic freedoms of western Europe. Soldiers, sailors, peasants, workers, educated men and women, even some of the nobility took part. For over a year they seemed successful. A Duma (a kind of imitation of our Congress) was called. Censorship of the press was relaxed. Soviets, or Councils of workers and peasants, were organized all over the country, and some held considerable power.

Then the Czar regained control and most of the reforms were lost. But if the Revolution itself was a failure, it had shown the weakness of the Czarist government and had given valuable training to those who would lead the successful revolution of 1917.

Lenin's active part in the 1905 Revolution was small, but he wished to learn everything possible from the experience, interpreting it always in the Marxist terms of dialectical materialism and the class struggle. He was more determined than ever to perfect his secret autocratic party inside or outside the Social Democratic Party. When he found that he could not persuade his moderate associates, the Mensheviks, to adopt his program, he used more drastic means to strengthen his power and weaken theirs. While he argued that the members of the Revolutionary Party should accept orders without question, he himself defied Party orders when he did not agree with them. Against the wishes of the majority he urged his followers to collect stores of arms, which were paid for sometimes by outright hold-ups, sometimes by using funds which had been given to the Party for peaceful purposes. When the Central Committee called Lenin to account for disobeying orders and using means the majority disapproved of, he frankly admitted that he had purposely carried confusion into the ranks of the Mensheviks who had opposed him, and asserted that he would always

do that in case of a split. In other words he would use any weapons whatever even against those of his own Party who disagreed with him. Here we see clearly the Communist doctrine that the "end justifies the means," a doctrine which has excused the most frightful cruelty and treachery on the ground that the Dictatorship of the Party was necessary to bring in the Marxist "kingdom of freedom." The Mensheviks, like the Socialists of western Europe, were too humane and freedom-loving to accept such a doctrine, and by the time the first World War began they and Lenin had definitely parted company. Among the small group of Russians who remained loyal to Lenin was the Georgian, Djughashvili, known today by his underground name of Stalin.

Lenin Guesses Wrong

In the summer of 1914 Lenin watched the war-clouds grow darker over Europe. As a Marxist he saw the approaching war as the death struggle of the capitalistic states. He confidently expected that all the working-class parties of Russia and Europe, whether Socialist, Menshevik, or Bolshevik, would see that the revolutionary moment had arrived and refuse to support the capitalist and bourgeois governments of their various countries. He was terribly shocked when the German Socialists remained loyal to Germany, the French Social-

ists to France, and so on. When he recovered from the blow, he was more convinced than ever that only a Party dictatorship could bring about the proletarian revolution. For the next three years from Switzerland he attacked the "reactionary war" and called for the "revolutionary war." Beyond the "revolutionary war" he did not look. He realized, of course, that the revolution of the bourgeoisie against feudalism had not yet happened in Russia, and therefore he did not expect the "dictatorship of the working class" could take over society at once. But unlike many other Russian Marxists, Lenin did not propose to wait. The Party would take over. The Party would train the workers, educate the peasants, destroy all the former ruling classes. Although at first it would have to be a dictatorship, this would not last, thought Lenin. When the evils left by the capitalist and land-owning classes had been swept away, everyone would be so wise and good, not having any personal property to make them bad, that things would almost run themselves, and the state would "wither away."

We know now how wrong Lenin was. The Communist Party did bring about the revolution and did take control of the nation. But the government was always a dictatorship of the Party, not of the working-class, and it never showed any signs of withering away.

The Democratic Revolution of March 1917

The revolution which broke out in Russia in March, 1917, was not a Marxist revolution. Three years of defeat in the First World War had completely destroyed the people's faith in the Czarist government. When the soldiers were ordered to fire on a crowd which had assembled to demand food, they threw down their arms and joined the rebels. The government collapsed. Into the breach stepped, not Lenin's Bolsheviks, but a group of nobles, professors, men of moderate views, who hoped to complete the work of 1905 and transform Russia into a democracy like England, France, or the United States. These formed a Provisional or temporary Government. At the same time Soviets (Councils) like those of the 1905 revolution were gradually being formed all over Russia, in the larger cities, in the army, and later in the country areas. For a time it looked as if the centuries-old tyranny of the Czar had given way peacefully to a democratic republic on the western European model. The Provisional Government set free all political prisoners, abolished all racial and class distinctions; established equal rights for women, trial by jury, freedom of press, organization, and assembly; provided for elections based on universal suffrage, the independence of Poland from Russia, and other democratic achievements. In April, 1917, Lenin

called Russia the "freest country in the world." But he had not changed his Marxist plans.

Lenin Makes History to Fit Marx

When the Czar abdicated in March, 1917, Lenin was in Switzerland. Lenin was on fire to go to Russia, but the Provisional Government knew his extreme views and was not anxious to have him return. Moreover, Germany lay between him and Russia, and the two countries were at war. It was the German government which solved his problem. Knowing of Lenin's opposition to the war, they arranged for his passage in a sealed train across Germany, hoping that when he arrived in Russia, he would weaken the Russians' will to fight and thus aid a German victory. This is just what happened, although the smashing defeat of the German armies by the Allies in 1918 made the German victory over Russia useless.

From the moment of his arrival in Russia in April, Lenin worked to bring about the Marxist class revolution. With the Bolsheviks in Russia and those like Stalin and Trotsky, whose exile had been ended by the Provisional Government, Lenin planned the Bolshevik Revolution. Circumstances helped him. The Provisional Government really represented the ideas of the upper and middle classes; the Soviets throughout the country represented the demands of the workers and peasants.

As time went on, their differences of purposes were harder and harder to resolve. The peasants who had wanted land for centuries now took advantage of conditions to seize it from the landlords without waiting for a constitution or permanent government. The workers began to take over the mines and factories. While the Provisional Government wished to continue the war against Germany, the soldiers simply refused to fight and deserted in thousands. Finally, the non-Russian peoples like the Finns and Ukrainians, who had been brought into the Russian Empire by conquest, demanded complete freedom and separation from Russia. The confusion played into Lenin's hands.

By this time Lenin's Bolsheviks had established themselves in key points throughout the capital and had won a large following in the Soviets of soldiers, workers, and peasants. In the fall of 1917 Lenin decided that the time was ripe for the Bolshevik Revolution. He organized the Politbureau of six men to direct the Communist Party in siezing and governing Russia. Although many of his followers still shrank from violence, his determination carried the day, and the Bolshevik (now called the Communist) Party took over control of the government on November 7, 1917. The Communist Party has controlled Russia ever since.

Lenin became the Premier of the first Soviet Government, Trotsky the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Stalin

the Commissar for Nationalities (meaning the non-Russian peoples like the Finns, Ukrainians, Georgians, and Asiatic peoples of Siberia). The new rulers knew everything about how to make revolutions, nothing about how to run a government. Only one had ever had any business experience. But they had complete faith in Marxism as the explanation for everything; they believed themselves chosen by history to bring about the proletarian revolution in Russia and the world. Convinced as they were of the accuracy of Marx's prophecies, they expected similar revolutions to take place in other parts of Europe almost immediately. They were sure that the "toiling masses of workers" in Germany and other countries would follow their example, overthrow the capitalist governments and unite with Communist Russia to bring a new and better day for all mankind. They believed as strongly in their mission to make a better world as have many Christian missionaries. Indeed to the early leaders of the Russian Revolution Communism was a religious faith, replacing the Greek Orthodox Christianity which they had rejected with scorn.

In the task of governing Russia the Communist leaders had no intention of cooperating with those whose views differed from their own. Before he seized power, Lenin had insisted on the need for a Constituent Assembly to write a permanent constitution for Russia.

Such an assembly was elected by popular vote and met, for one day, in January, 1918. When it turned out to have a majority of Mensheviks and moderates, Lenin angrily dissolved it by threat of arms. The pattern of Communist power had been set, permanently. There has never been a truly popular election since.

Government for the People

If the Communist dictatorship was not to be *by* the people, it did claim to be *for* the people, that is, for the workers and peasants who were the vast majority. Lenin did not interfere with the peasants' seizure of the landlords' estates. His original Marxist program had called for state ownership of land. However, he understood the peasants' wish to own their own land, and the collective farms were postponed until later. Industry and mines, which had been largely owned and controlled by British, French, and Germans, were taken over by the Soviet government. The Finns, who had been unwilling subjects of the Czars, received their independence; and it was the Georgian, Stalin, as Commissar for Nationalities, who went to Finland to proclaim its freedom. The hated war with Germany was brought to a close by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, a humiliating defeat for Russia soon to be reversed by the defeat of Germany itself. In order to discredit the Czarist government and the governments of western Europe

which they branded as "capitalist" and "imperialist," the Soviet government made public all the secret papers of the Czar, proclaiming that they themselves would never profit by deals made at the expense of other peoples.

Two Years of Civil War

These measures won wide support among the workers and peasants. They even impressed many outside Russia, who thought they saw in the Soviet revolution new and successful means of righting age-old wrongs. But revolutions always wear two faces. When great changes take place, some people always suffer. The men who direct revolutions cannot have pity for their victims or they they would be unable to carry out their self-appointed tasks of changing society for the benefit of another group. Cruelty becomes the other face of the revolution. To the inevitable cruelty of all revolutions, Marxism's teaching of class war added fury. The Reds hunted down and murdered the members of the former upper classes. Their opponents, known as the Whites, struck back. There were counter-revolutions assisted by armed forces of British, French, Czechoslovaks, Turks, and Poles, for other countries feared the spread of Red Communism. Even a small force of Americans was landed in Siberia. Although they accomplished nothing and withdrew quickly, the Communist government resented our intervention bitterly, and has never allowed

the Russians to forget that the Americans were their enemies during the Civil War.

In the life and death struggle with the Whites the Communist leaders became more and more totalitarian. Government agents took food from the peasants to feed the towns and the armies and did it so ruthlessly that the peasants began to revolt. Industries were down to a fraction of normal because of the disasters of the Civil War—hunger and inflation. To meet this problem the Government organized "Labour Armies," forcing people to work at any tasks the Government needed. A Communist secret police, the Cheka, was organized to deal with counter-revolution, sabotage and, eventually, any opposition.

The Kronstadt Uprising

The Russian people, who had thought the Revolution would bring them better and freer lives, could not accept these methods without protest. In 1921 occurred an anti-Communist uprising in the naval base of Kronstadt, one of the chief supports of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Sailors, soldiers, and civilians, many of them Communists, demanded that the Party dictatorship be ended and a more widely representative government put in its place. They protested with words; they were answered with guns. Their defeat was the end of or-

ganized resistance to the Communist dictatorship of Russia.

Lenin, however, was alarmed. The uprising persuaded him to modify some of his extreme plans for complete government ownership of all economic activity. The N.E.P., or New Economic Policy, which lasted from 1921 to 1929, permitted private business to operate in small-scale industries and trade. The government would continue to own and operate the principal factories, the railroads and shipping, and would control all business to some extent. Still, there was more freedom for the peasant farmers and for little businesses than before or since, and many people profited by the opportunity to enrich themselves, for which they later paid a terrible price.

But if Lenin yielded some of his Marxist principles to the needs of the moment, he only tightened the hold which the Communist dictatorship had fastened on the country. The more moderate parties like the Mensheviks (similar to the Socialists of western Europe), who had cooperated with the Bolsheviks in bringing about the revolution, were now suppressed. So was the possibility of opposition groups within the Communist Party itself. The differences of opinion on matters of policy could no longer be expressed openly by Communists; all must accept the decisions of the Politburo. This drastic change from the earlier freedom of dis-

cussion to a single dictatorial authority marked a change in the nature of the entire revolution. Theory became less important than practice. The idealist gave way to the administrator.

Lenin—Politician and Idealist

Lenin himself seems to have been something of an idealist. No matter how great his power, he was personally modest and informal in his manner, in contrast to Stalin who demanded personal adoration from his subjects. Lenin's personality was contradictory; he was a practical politician, who knew how to capture and hold absolute power, and an idealist, who understood that power corrupts those who hold it, and who hoped that the dictatorship of the working class would give way to a society without classes. As history and psychology teach us, Lenin's hope was impossible. Dictatorships never yield willingly. On the contrary, they must constantly increase their power and destroy opposition for fear they will be destroyed by the enemies their oppression has created.

What the course of the Communist dictatorship might have been under Lenin, we shall never know. He died in 1924, after having been greatly weakened by two previous strokes in 1922 and 1923. During the years of his illness power over the dictatorship had gradually been slipping into the grasping hands of a man who

differed from Lenin in background, education, experience, and character, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Stalin.

STALIN, 1879-1953

Stalin's Place in the Revolution

Stalin's part in the Russian Revolution will not be finally judged until many years after his death. Today, after almost thirty years of absolute power, there can be no doubt that the dictatorship of the Communist Party, set up by Lenin to bring a better life to the workers and peasants, fitted Stalin as an iron glove fits the hand that wears it.

Of all the men who made the two Russian Revolutions, Stalin came from the lowest class, the peasant serfs; he came from the most remote part of Russia, Georgia in the Caucasus; had the most limited education, attending the school for Greek Orthodox priests in Tiflis until he was expelled at the age of twenty for his political views; and had the fewest contacts with the Western world beyond Russia. During the early years of the century, when Lenin, Trotzky, and many other Bolshevik leaders were studying and writing, adapting Marx's ideas to fit Russia, working out the theory of the Revolution, Stalin was the practical revolutionary, organizing riots and protests, distributing illegal pamphlets, promoting the 1905 Revolution, and gradually

becoming personally familiar with the other men in the revolutionary underground. Few knew him, but he knew many. He had a remarkable memory, tireless energy, tremendous grasp of detail. Even while most Russians had never heard of him, he had already begun to spin the web in which he was to enmesh them all.

How did it happen that this son of a Georgian shoemaker outstripped all his more promising associates, most of whom died or disappeared later in Stalin's purges? Until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 less is known about Stalin than almost any of the revolutionary leaders, partly because his family was unimportant and lived in a remote part of Russia, partly because he was a professional revolutionary, always working in secret and hiding from the police. For instance, we know almost nothing about his first marriage, except that his wife died during the 1905 revolution. Moreover, since 1928 Soviet writers have been building up the worship of Stalin by destroying some records, manufacturing other "evidence," and changing the "facts" more than once to please the dictator. Since all books and papers are printed by the government, Soviet historians are unable to give us accurate information about Stalin's early life. Western historians, however, have dug through the mass of material, true and false, and can now give us a fairly clear picture of Stalin's early life.

Stalin's Georgia

The country of Georgia lies in the Caucasus region which divides Europe from Asia. Like the larger land of Great Russia, Georgia has seen endless fighting between invaders from the East and West, and has been influenced in turn by the civilizations of Asia and of Europe. Georgia was converted to Christianity from Constantinople five hundred years before western Russia, but in the late Middle Ages (1453) the Turks captured Constantinople, and Georgia was cut off from contact with Europe until 1783 when it came under Russian control. Life had remained unchanged for centuries. Its language was Asiatic, unrelated to Russian, which together with English, German, French, Latin, and Greek belongs to the Indo-European family of languages.

The little Georgian town of Gori is rich in legends of bandits and highwaymen. Here in 1879 to the poor shoemaker Vissarion Djugashvili, born a serf and only recently freed by the emancipation order of Czar Alexander II, and his wife Ekaterina, the daughter of serfs, was born Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, now known as Stalin. While the boy was young his father gave up trying to make a living in his own workshop and went to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, to work in a shoe factory. Stalin could, therefore, claim later that he came from both the peasants and the proletariat, or working-

class. He himself was never one of the "toiling masses" whom he claims to represent. The father died when his son was eleven, and from then on his mother supported the family. She had ambitions for Joseph, her only surviving child, although she herself could not read or write Georgian and probably knew no Russian at all. She sent him to the church school in Gori, where he must have felt the class difference between himself and the children from the upper classes, but where he also showed an extraordinary memory and a quick mind. His success was more remarkable because he had to learn the Russian language in which the school was conducted. He always spoke with a Georgian accent. When he was fifteen he entered the Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary at Tiflis, which his mother hoped would prepare him to be a priest. The teaching at the seminary was dull and dogmatic; the students were treated almost like prisoners, living in barracks and subject to spying by the monks. The Russian heads of the seminary tried to stifle the Georgian patriotism of their students but only succeeded in arousing more anger and opposition. Early in his five years at the seminary Stalin began taking part in anti-government activities, at first primarily as a Georgian patriot, then later as a Marxist.

Factories had begun to be built in Tiflis and the other cities of the Caucasus while Stalin was still in school, and there was beginning to be a working class.

Moreover, Marxists from other parts of Russia were being exiled by the Czar to the Caucasus, bringing with them books, ideas, and contacts with other Russian revolutionaries. By the time Stalin left the seminary in 1898 (authorities do not agree on whether or not he was expelled) he had become aware of Marxist ideas and had joined a Georgian Marxist group. From then on his life follows a pattern almost unknown to Americans, that of the professional revolutionary. He held no regular jobs but got his living from party comrades and party funds. He organized strikes, led demonstrations, helped print propaganda in various cities of the Caucasus. Some of this propaganda was based on Lenin's publication, *Iskra*, which was being smuggled into Russia from abroad and was the center about which an organized revolutionary party was beginning to form. The police caught up with Stalin in 1902, and from then until January, 1904, he was in prison. He returned to find that the Marxist movement, called the Russian Social Democratic Party, had split into two parts: the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, who wanted a rigidly controlled Party of a few obedient members (the origin of the Communist Party), and the Mensheviks, who believed in working with everyone who shared their goals and general ideas. It was a split between autocracy and democracy in the development of the Russian revolution. Autocracy and Lenin won. From the mo-

ment he understood the issues, Stalin sided with Lenin.

In the Russian revolution of 1905 the Caucasus was one of the most successful centers. Though not a conspicuous leader Stalin participated in many important events and was elected a delegate of the Caucasian Bolsheviks to the Party's all-Russian conference held in the province of Finland. There he met Lenin. There is no evidence that Lenin was particularly impressed at this time, but Stalin had cast his lot with Lenin's autocratic Party and he never left that leadership. In 1917 it was an enormous advantage to him to be able to claim loyalty to Lenin's Party from years before. For Americans, it is important to realize that it was Lenin's practical revolutionary program, not Lenin's ideas of Marxism, which won Stalin. Indeed Stalin seems to have become a Marxist not so much because he was convinced that Marx's theories were sound as because Marxists were the most vigorous opponents of the Czarist government, and the "Promised Land" of Marxism (Stalin's own phrase) offered the most attractive goal for the discontented workmen of Russia. In none of Stalin's few writings before 1917 do we find the Marxist analysis which marked Lenin's works, nor do we find the appeal to Marxist authority on all phases of life, which is such a conspicuous part of the Soviet life today. The practical working out of

Lenin's plans for the Bolshevik (later to be the Communist) Party, absorbed all Stalin's attention.

For many years he had little to show for his efforts. The 1905 Revolution gradually petered out, though it lasted longer in Stalin's Caucasus than in other parts of Russia. Stalin stayed in Russia. Undaunted by the failure of 1905, he concentrated his efforts on the oil-workers in the Caucasus, meanwhile gradually enlarging his own contacts with the Bolsheviks all over Russia. He wrote frequent articles for Lenin's publications, often urging discreetly that the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party be transferred back to Russia, rather than maintained abroad. Always taking Lenin's side, he gradually came more and more to Lenin's attention. His patience was at last rewarded in 1912 when Lenin named him a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. He had just begun publishing his own paper, *Pravda*, in St. Petersburg when the police cracked down. He was banished to Siberia in 1913 and did not return until the outbreak of the Revolution in February, 1917.

Return from Siberia

It was Stalin's good fortune to return to the scene of action before Lenin or the other revolutionary exiles arrived from western Europe and America. Not being

well known, however, he wisely contented himself with holding things together until Lenin's return, he himself taking no part in the quarrels over the proper application of Marxist doctrine which split the revolutionary leaders. After Lenin arrived from Switzerland in his famous sealed train, Stalin supported Lenin in his struggle to swing the Bolsheviks over to his program for a second revolution to set up the dictatorship of the Communist Party. Although he remained inconspicuous among the revolutionary leaders, he carried out many difficult tasks, acting as a leg-man for Lenin. During that summer of 1917 when Lenin was in hiding and Trotsky in prison, it was Stalin who held the Party together. When they returned in the fall, Stalin withdrew again into the background.

According to what reliable records we have, he remained in the background during the critical days of October and November, when the Bolshevik Party overthrew the Provisional Government of moderates and took over control of Russia. He supported the Bolshevik Revolution chiefly through anonymous editorials in his paper *Pravda* in which he savagely attacked not just the bourgeoisie but even those of his own revolutionary associates who had favored moderate change rather than armed revolution. "The revolution," he wrote, "is incapable of regretting or burying its dead."

The First Steps on the Ladder

In the new Bolshevik government Stalin was named Commissar of Nationalities. There had been no such post in the Czarist or Provisional Governments; Stalin started with only a table for an office. Gradually he gathered around him a staff of Georgians, Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, and others. His first public appearance as Commissar of Nationalities was in November, 1917, when he announced to the Finnish Social Democratic Congress that the Bolshevik Government had proclaimed Finland's independence of Russia. This was in line with his pre-revolutionary argument that every oppressed people in the Russian Empire should be free to set up an independent government. Stalin and Lenin both had prepared a declaration to this effect immediately after the Bolshevik seizure of power, hoping that after the various nationalities had carried out their own Bolshevik or working-class revolutions they would join the Russian Bolsheviks of their own accord. It soon became clear that this was wishful thinking. The threat of the disruption of Russia, particularly from the Ukrainians, became so great that in less than two months Stalin changed his ideas. He announced that the principle of self-determination did not apply to the bourgeoisie but only to the "coiling masses." In other words, only to those who acknowledged Bolshevik leadership.

The next great decision in which Stalin participated concerned the war with Germany. Many of the Bolshevik leaders maintained that they would never make peace with the Kaiser, holding out for a peace with the revolutionary Marxist government which they had convinced themselves would appear in Germany. In the same vain hope, Trotsky dragged out his negotiations with the Germans at Brest Litovsk because he thought the German working class was on the point of revolution. Lenin, more realistically, saw that Russia could not continue the war. He was willing to give up the immediate plans for promoting world revolution in order to save the Communist revolution in Russia. Again Stalin sided with him, and both gained popularity through this decision.

Civil War

By this time the Civil War in which the Revolution fought for its existence against the Whites and the Allies absorbed all the energies of the Bolshevik Government. Trotsky was a magnificent leader in the field, Lenin directed the entire situation from Moscow, while Stalin performed such indispensable administrative tasks as maintaining the supply of food to the capital in spite of wartime chaos and inefficiency. It was in the performance of this task that his hatred and jealousy

of Trotsky first came into the open. Lenin appeared to have quenched the quarrel for a time, but it continued to smolder beneath the surface.

One other incident of this period has a great significance for Americans, now that China has been conquered by the Communists and Korea invaded. In the fall of 1918 when the World War ended, revolutions broke out in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Lenin and his fellow Bolsheviks mistakenly judged these to be the first of a series of proletarian revolutions, and the Communist International was hastily organized under Bolshevik leadership to direct the "world revolution." With the new name of Cominform or Communist Information Bureau, this organization has continued to direct the activities of Communist parties all over the world. While Lenin's and Trotsky's attention was directed toward the West where they thought the star of revolutions was rising, Stalin wrote two editorials in *Pravda*, entitled "Do Not Forget the East" and "Ex Oriente Lux" (Light from the East), reminding his Russian readers of the opportunities for Communist expansion in Persia, India, and China. He headed one editorial as follows: "The West with its imperialist cannibals has become the center of darkness and slavery. The task is to destroy that center to the joy and jubilation of the toilers of all countries."

The Web Widens

By 1920 the Civil War was over. Although not yet widely known, Stalin now held three positions of the greatest importance. As Commissar of Nationalities he managed the affairs of all the non-Russian peoples, with many languages, many religions and many stages of civilization, mostly Oriental. His Commissariat was the medium through which Russian Communism remolded these ancient ways of life and through which these newly-communized areas in turn influenced the development of the Communist Party. As Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, he was in a position to control the entire administration of the Party personnel.

These positions had already given Stalin tremendous power over the day-to-day decisions throughout the government. The Inspectorate was intended to correct the dishonesty and inefficiency of the civil service. In line with his Marxist dogma, Lenin believed that the essential goodness of the working-class would enable teams of workers and peasants to correct this dishonesty and inefficiency simply by inspecting government offices at any time. Actually, of course, this simply became another, and equally inefficient, part of the bureaucracy, with Stalin in a position to watch the whole government closely. As a member of the Politbureau, Stalin shared with four (later six) men the making of policy

for the whole country. He was also the permanent liaison officer between the Politbureau and the Orgbureau (Organization Bureau) in charge of the Communist government when in 1922 he became the General Secretary of the Communist Party. This was a new office established to make the work of the Central Committee of the Party and the Politbureau more efficient. The Politbureau was supposed to decide all questions of policy but the practical carrying out of its decisions rested with the General Secretariat, in other words, with Stalin.

Lenin Becomes Alarmed

This concentration of power in Stalin's hands had gone on so quietly that not even Lenin had been aware of it. Unlike the other revolutionary leaders, Stalin always stayed in the background, never putting himself in the limelight and always appearing as Lenin's devoted follower. But now even Lenin became alarmed, partly by the power Stalin had acquired, partly by his use of it. Lenin was especially angry over Stalin's treatment of a revolt in his native Georgia. As Commissariat of Nationalities Stalin had begun by allowing the various races and areas of Russia considerable freedom. Now, however, he took the position that the rule of all peoples should be centralized in Moscow as had been the case under the Czars. Alarmed by these and

other actions of Stalin, Lenin tried to check his power in the Party and in Russia. He attacked him openly in the official newspaper *Pravda*. He even went so far as to add to his will the recommendation that Stalin be removed as General Secretary. But it was too late. Lenin's first stroke in the spring of 1922 was the beginning of the end. During the next two years he tried from time to time to check Stalin, but in vain. His will was not read to the Party's Central Committee until four months after his death, and by that time no one dared challenge Stalin's power.

Trotsky had hoped to be Lenin's successor, and he was not one to submit without a struggle. But in the struggle with Stalin he was hopelessly outclassed. Abandoning his former background position, Stalin now managed all the details of Lenin's funeral to give himself the maximum prominence. For some unexplained reason Trotsky did not even appear. Then followed a grim struggle within the Politbureau, in which Stalin now sided with one group against Trotsky, now with another. His most effective tactics were to wait until Trotsky or his friends made some statement about Marxism or Bolshevik policy, then rip it to pieces, showing how it was contrary to what Lenin had taught. This was easy to do, because Lenin had himself made contradictory statements. In trying to carry out the Russian Revolution according to Marx's theories of

dialectical materialism and the class struggle, Lenin had twisted some of Marx's ideas and ignored others. Trotsky, too, had changed his thinking in the course of his long and conspicuous revolutionary career. It was easy for Stalin to attack Trotsky for not having followed Lenin. Stalin, on the other hand, could not be attacked in return. He had done little writing or speaking about Marxist theory or its practical application in Russia and what he had done consisted chiefly of violent condemnation of the bourgeoisie and glowing accounts of the "Promised Land" of Socialism (i.e. Marxism).

Even so, Stalin found that he could not fight Trotsky entirely on negative grounds. The several hundred thousand members of the ruling Communist Party were such convinced Marxists that Stalin had to explain his struggle with Trotsky in Marxist terms. Trotsky had always been closely associated with Communist movements outside of Russia. He was well-educated by broad European standards and had always maintained that the Russian Revolution could only succeed as part of the world-wide revolution of all the working-classes. As late as 1924 Stalin had agreed with him on that. He wrote in his pamphlet *The Foundations of Leninism*, "... can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries? No, it cannot." But in

the same year he withdrew the first edition of that pamphlet and wrote another. In *Problems of Leninism* he took the opposite view, that the efforts of Russia alone could build "socialism in one country." Now he could oppose Trotsky on theoretical grounds. Stalin's formula turned out to have two enormous advantages: by emphasizing Russia and Russian efforts he mobilized all the patriotic feelings of a people who were largely ignorant of any world but their own, by soft-pedaling the world revolutionary doctrines he lulled into false security many people in other countries who were afraid of the contagion of Russian Communism.

Now that Stalin was armed with a theoretical weapon as well as his power over the personnel and the daily practice of government, Trotsky and his friends gave up the unequal struggle. Some of them confessed their mistakes and asked to be forgiven, the first use of a technique of Soviet dictatorship which has since broken thousands of its fellow-Russians and the unfortunate peoples it rules. Trotsky refused to recant, but his loyalty to the revolution was so strong that he could not openly attack its existing leadership. He resigned as Commissar of War in 1925, was expelled from the Politbureau in 1926, and from Russia in 1929. But he continued to be a powerful figure with the Communist parties outside Russia. Stalin carried the

feud outside Russia, and it raged all through the thirties, driving Trotsky from one place of exile to another but never silencing his denunciations of Stalin. Trotsky was murdered by Communist agents in Mexico in 1940 while at work on Stalin's biography.

Achievements of the Revolution

Until he finally drove Trotsky into exile in 1929, Stalin followed closely the policies of government laid down by Lenin. The early revolutionaries had been sincere if ruthless men, who had believed they could build a better world for the toiling masses of Russia. In those early days it seemed as though they had. Indeed, only when one contrasts the lives of Russian workers and peasants before the Revolution, and after, can one understand how the Soviet government could command such loyalty from its people, and even, at first, win the admiration of people from other parts of the world. These changes deserve to be more widely understood by Americans.

The peasants profited most—at first. In the turmoil of the Civil War they simply seized for themselves the land belonging to nobles and officials. Although this was contrary to the Marxist doctrines against private property, Lenin accepted it as inevitable in Russia. Because the peasants were the producers of food, they were able through the twenties to obtain favorable treatment

from the government (especially after the New Economic Policy was established). By 1929 there had developed several classes among the peasants; the kulaks who hired other peasants to help them work their successful farms, a middle group who owned and operated their farms without hiring other help, and the poorest peasants who worked on the kulaks' farms. In the twenties the peasants began to have the benefits of education and some medical care.

In accordance with Marx's doctrine of the proletarian revolution, the industrial workers in the cities became a favored class. Their children had special educational opportunities. They themselves were placed in every kind of important position. They received (and still do) many social welfare benefits; maternity leave, disability compensation, free care in illness, old-age pensions, opportunities for vacations. Their factories were centers of interesting social activities. As is frequently pointed out by Communist propaganda, there is no unemployment in Russia.

One permanent achievement of the Revolution was in freeing Russian women from their deeply inferior position. The first Revolution of 1917 granted them full equality of opportunity with men, and the Bolshevik Revolution continued this gain. Women hold many kinds of positions in professions, government, and industry and have equal rights under Soviet law.

One of the most impressive revolutionary achievements was in education. In Czarist days this had been the privilege of the upper classes. Now it was available to all. Thousands of enthusiastic Communist teachers taught the peasants how to read and write; high schools and technical schools were built to train the new generation of Soviet youth. It may not be entirely true, as the Communists claim, that illiteracy has disappeared altogether, but it has been greatly reduced. An instance told by two Americans who lived in Russia during the twenties is illuminating. In 1917 in one part of the Caucasus lived a tribe so primitive that it possessed no written alphabet. By 1932 this same area had its own high school.

In Czarist days thousands of villages never saw a doctor. Now the government trained doctors and health workers and sent them throughout Russia.

As we have seen, one of the original principles of the Revolution was the equal treatment of all racial groups, including those not belonging to the ruling group of Great Russians. This policy, with which Stalin as Commissar for Nationalities was closely identified, brought great benefits to the Oriental peoples in the Russian Empire. The Jews, who had been dreadfully persecuted under the Czars, were now accorded the same rights as other groups. It was this period of racial equality which won some American Negroes to Communism.

American newspaper men and others who visited the Soviet Union during the twenties tell us that there was lively interest in the arts, literature and science, and constant interchange with Western ideas. The ban on differences of opinion within the Party had not yet spread to the entire country. Along with vigorous intellectual activity went a tremendous enthusiasm for the new life the Russians thought they were building. The patriotism which had been roused by the Civil War now produced new factories, government buildings, schools and hospitals. The price of dictatorship by the Communist Party seemed small compared to the enormous improvements over life under the Czars.

The Five-Year Plans

The watershed of the Revolution is the year 1928. Trotsky was out of the government and Stalin's rule was unchallenged. According to Americans who lived in Russia, at that time, there occurred in that year the first indications that a change in Russian life had begun. The dictatorship of the Communist Party was reaching out its tentacles over all phases of life. Other more spectacular events for a time claimed people's attention. The first of the Five-Year Plans had begun. This was the tremendous program for making Russia an industrial nation in a few years. The obstacles were enormous and

would surely have daunted a less determined man than Stalin. Capital was lacking, trained engineers were lacking, skilled workmen were lacking, crucial raw materials were lacking. Somehow the obstacles were overcome, partly by colossal efforts of the self-sacrificing Russian people, partly by the assistance of highly-paid technical men from the West, partly by the threat of imprisonment and exile for failure. Every factory had its workers who were agents of the secret police. Grumblers never knew when a fellow worker might denounce them. Those who were branded as uncooperative found themselves in the chain gangs of forced labor working at the most killing jobs. In order to carry out his plans, Stalin had to adopt the practice of the hated capitalists, more pay for more work. This was disguised as "Stakhanovism," named after the miner who supposedly showed how greater efficiency would produce greater results. Actually, it simply meant higher rewards for higher productivity—quite different from the early Communist slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Great as was the human price of these Five-Year Plans, they succeeded in turning Russia from a backward agricultural country into one of the leading industrial nations, capable of supplying an army which could meet Hitler's armored divisions. While no one

trusts all the boasts made by the Soviet rulers about their industrial achievements, the G. I.'s in Korea have had bitter evidence that for war production their industrial development is excellent!

Man-Made Famine

One of the methods of manning the new factories was to bring in peasants from the farms. This was possible on a large scale because Stalin had now begun to transform farming also. Earlier in the twenties Trotsky had argued that the Marxist doctrine of government ownership of all the means of production required that the individual peasant farms should be collectivized and placed under strict government control. Stalin had opposed this. But now a practical problem arose. The small farms which the peasants owned as a result of the breaking-up of estates in the Revolution did not produce enough food for the growing industrial cities. The government could not collect enough food for the factory workers. If the many small farms could be collectivized into fewer large farms, farm machinery could be used to raise more crops. But the peasants did not want to be collectivized. Stalin therefore chose the shortest and most brutal way. Since it would have been impossible to collectivize all the peasants against their will, he made use of the envy which the poorest peasants felt for their more successful fellow-farmers, the

kulaks. The poorest peasants were promised a share in the land and livestock of their more prosperous neighbors when the kulaks' property should be collectivized. With their help the government was able to wipe out the kulaks. Some were murdered resisting, thousands were sent to Siberia, millions died of starvation when their means of livelihood was taken from them. The kulaks' lands were then organized into large collective farms on which farm machinery could profitably be used, and the factories were lashed into producing more and more tractors for the farms. Terrible suffering ruled the countryside. The kulaks killed their livestock and burned their buildings rather than turn them over to the government. Figures tell the story. In 1929 Russia had 34 million horses, in 1933 there were 16.6 million. Thirty million cattle were killed out of 66 million and two-thirds of all the sheep and goats. There was famine in Russia's richest farm land.

The opposition was so strong that Stalin finally slowed down the drive for collectivization and made a few concessions to the peasants' desire for something of their own. But to those in Russia and elsewhere who had eyes to see, the true nature of the Stalin dictatorship was now revealed. The Communist rule would not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of its own countrymen to carry out an arbitrary decision, even when the same plans could probably have been accomplished more

slowly without wholesale murder. Among those who were sickened by the cruelty was Stalin's second wife, the daughter of a working-man who had befriended Stalin in his underground days. She committed suicide in 1932.

Death to the Opposition!

There were others, particularly in the government and in the Communist Party, who were out of sympathy with such brutal measures. Stalin increasingly feared plots to overthrow his dictatorship. Most of all he feared the older revolutionaries. He had always hated them for their intellectual superiority; now he feared the moral authority they still held with the Party members and the people. He knew they felt he had betrayed Marxism for the sake of his own personal power. He knew that they were disgusted by the oriental pomp and ceremony which he now received, so different from the modest manner of Lenin. They had no sympathy with the slavish praise of former Czars which the government now promoted.

When a close friend in the Politbureau was assassinated in 1935, Stalin began the great purges and trials which terrified Russia and shocked the world. Some of the "old Bolsheviks" were induced to sign unbelievable confessions of disloyalty and treason. Others testified on the stand that they had plotted to assassinate

Stalin, restore capitalism, bring in foreign armies, destroy Russian factories and people. Thousands simply disappeared from their homes without a trace. With the exception of a few of Stalin's hand-picked followers, like Molotov, almost every man who had taken a prominent part in the first fifteen years of the Revolution was wiped out. History books were rewritten to omit the parts they had played. Among the purged were two chiefs of the secret police which had sent thousands to their deaths.

During the French Revolution such terror had produced a spontaneous uprising from the people themselves and the dictator had been overthrown. This did not happen in Russia. The Russian people had simply exchanged the dictatorship of the Czar for the dictatorship of the Communist Party, and under neither had they learned how to unite to overthrow a tyrant. This was partly due to the nature of the Bolshevik Revolution itself. In 1917 leadership of the popular discontent had been quickly captured by a group of professional revolutionaries with a definite program. Convinced by their Marxist gospel that their views were right and all others wrong, they rapidly destroyed possible opposition by silencing the parties that differed with them. Because of the backwardness of Russia, there had always been comparatively few men with ability and training for leadership. Possible leadership from the former

upper classes was wiped out during the Civil War, and leadership among the revolutionaries was narrowed down to the extreme Communist group led by Lenin. When Stalin destroyed these in turn, an entire generation of the most intelligent and aggressive Russians had disappeared.

Another reason why Russia accepted the purges passively was that the great majority of people were now directly dependent on the government. Probably millions of the peasants on the collective farms and workers in the factories were not personally touched by the terror. They still saw Stalin as the leader who had given them jobs, schools, hospitals, security. The loyalty which ignorant Russians had once felt toward their Czar and their church was now directed toward Stalin.

Stalinism Triumphant

With all opposition dead or silenced, Stalin felt free to make Russian life and thought the reflection of his personal preferences. The earlier equality among all Communists gave way to heavy emphasis on rank. Stalin and the higher government officials had better homes, better cars, better food. They appeared at public gatherings in uniforms and with ceremonies which divided them sharply from the common people.

The earlier internationalism and respect for racial differences gave way to Stalin's insistence on the supe-

riority of all things Russian. Racial groups like the Jews or the Ukrainians who cherished any non-Russian traditions were frowned upon sternly. In the Communist countries of Europe, the anti-Jewish attitudes of Czarist Russia have been revived.

The lively intellectual life of the early revolution was frozen to suit Stalin's views. Art and music were judged by his preferences. Books and magazines reflected his style. Even science must conform to what Stalin considered to be in the interest of Russian Communism. These restrictions were frequently justified in the name of "Marxism" which was Stalin's habitual smoke screen for his policies.

Tragic though these policies have been for Russia, they have been even more tragic for the unfortunate countries of Eastern Europe which have fallen under Stalin's yoke. Being closer to the West, these countries had more freedom, more enlightened people, a higher standard of living than Russia. When Stalin applied to them his techniques of exterminating leadership, destroying personal freedom, and collectivizing farms and factories, he destroyed in a few years the slow flowering of centuries.

Foreign Policy or World Revolution?

Of the many sides of Stalin's rule, his foreign policy is most familiar to Americans. Since the 1917 Revolu-

tion, Americans have been uneasy about Russian policy. Even while Russia's leaders were proclaiming that they wanted peace with all nations, the Communist parties in other countries were preaching the gospel of world revolution. In the first few years after the establishment of the Communist International in 1919, the various Communist parties of Europe, Asia, and America kept some independence of each other and of Moscow. But as Stalin extended his power over the Communist Party within Russia, he strengthened his hold on the various parties outside Russia as well. Eventually they became merely stooges of the Kremlin, carrying out whatever role Stalin assigned to them, the Party line. This meant that Russia had a deadly advantage over an opponent. Both had the customary weapons of diplomacy and ultimately of arms but, in addition, Stalin could count on disciplined fifth columns which would spy, sabotage, foment strikes, create confusion and distrust, hinder essential legislation, as he might command.

The twofold character of Soviet foreign policy was not fully realized for a long time. Stalin himself, being more concerned about the practical government of Russia than the promotion of world revolution, was slow to realize the marvelous weapon the Communist parties gave him. In the Chinese Revolution of the 1920's, for instance, he supported Chiang Kai Shek

rather than the Chinese Communists, perhaps because Trotsky took the opposite stand.

But since the early thirties the Communist parties of the world, whether American, Italian, or Chinese, have been an essential tool of Russian policy. Some Americans will remember the days of 1934, 1935, and 1936, when Stalin, alarmed by Hitler's rise to power, ordered the Communist parties to join in "Popular Fronts" against Fascism. Even before 1917 Lenin and the Bolsheviks had regarded the moderate parties of the Socialists and the Social Democrats as their worst enemies because they supported gradual reform rather than violent revolution. But now the Communists held out the olive branch to any party, including the bourgeois, middle-class parties, which would help them oppose the Nazis and the Fascists. During the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, Russia sent airplanes and munitions to the Loyalists while Communists from all over the world came to fight in the Loyalist armies. This policy of cooperation against Fascism for a time deceived many idealistic non-Communists in other parts of the world who understood the immediate threat of Fascism and welcomed any help against it. On the other hand, personal experience of Russian Communist tactics in Spain and elsewhere disillusioned many European Communists who have since become Stalin's bitterest critics.

The Nazi Juggernaut

Meanwhile Stalin was frantically trying to build a secure system of alliances against the menace of Nazi Germany. As late as the summer of 1939 British and French diplomats believed that Stalin sincerely desired an agreement with them against Hitler. Then came the stunning news of the Stalin-Hitler Pact which let loose the Nazi attack on Poland. Within a few days the Communist parties throughout the world suddenly silenced the anti-Nazi chorus of the past five years. Now, overnight, it was the British and French "imperialists" who were the aggressors. Communist sabotage contributed to the fall of France in May, 1940.

A year later the Party Line reversed itself violently when Hitler attacked Russia. After June 21, 1941, the Communist parties throughout the world threw their whole weight behind the Allies. They were particularly effective in the French and Italian underground and emerged from the war with greatly increased power and prestige. Only as Russian aggression has become brutally clear have the Communist parties lost ground in Western Europe.

Russia at Bay

The supreme test of Stalin's dictatorship came with World War II, and even his enemies must admit that the dictatorship met the test. Not without showing

glaring weaknesses, however. Thousands of disoriented Russian soldiers and civilians surrendered to the Nazis, and had the Germans been more skillful in using the Russians' dissatisfaction, the final result might have been different. Faults of leadership and morale made the first year disastrous, but Russian staying power, which Stalin symbolized so well, and American equipment, often delivered at great cost of American lives, helped turn the tide. The costly effort to industrialize Russia and collectivize her agriculture now gave the Russians the arms needed to drive the Nazis from Russia.

Many cherished Communist theories went by the board. The campaign against religion had gone on for years, not just against the Greek Orthodox Church but against all religion, the "opiate of the people," in Marx's words. But with the need for rallying every source of Russian patriotism, Stalin now restored the Holy Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church and honored its ruling bishop. This reconciliation was an advance to Stalin in his post-war conquests of the Balkan countries, also largely Greek Orthodox. Other religious groups, Protestant and Roman Catholic, have not been so favored.

In the early days of the Revolution, the internationalist emphasis had been strong and had been one of Communism's appeals to idealistic people abroad. But

Stalin, the Georgian, had little enthusiasm for internationalism, and as supreme ruler he had shifted the entire propaganda emphasis toward Russian nationalism. For many friends of Russia, the glorification of bloody tyrants like Ivan the Terrible had finally destroyed their illusions. But in the great war for survival the revival of purely Russian as opposed to Communist loyalty was a source of strength, and Stalin used it to the utmost.

With the Communist parties abroad Stalin played a very clever game. In a move calculated to quiet the suspicions of his British and American allies, he announced in 1943 that the Communist International, or Comintern, had been dissolved, thus supposedly making each Communist party independent of Moscow. But in the same year when Stalin was angrily demanding that the British and Americans open a second front, Communist-led unions in the United States were making the same demand. And, as we know now, all through the war Communists from many parts of Europe and Asia were being trained in Moscow for the days after the war when they could conquer their countries for Communism.

Russian Imperialism Once More

The Hitler Pact opened the way for Stalin to renew the march of Russian imperialism of previous centuries.

Half of Poland fell under his control. The Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, which had been independent since World War I, were forced in 1939 to grant Soviet Russia military rights which were soon extended to complete domination. Briefly controlled by the Nazis during World War II, they were completely absorbed by Russia at the war's end, their higher standards of living reduced to the level of Russia's and their native leadership wiped out.

Finland, which dared to resist Soviet demands for military bases, was attacked in 1939 and, after successful resistance at first, was eventually defeated and lost considerable territory.

As the Russian armies rolled back the Germans in 1944 and 1945, they swept into the countries of eastern Europe which had been Hitler's satellites; Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Native Communists of these countries who had been trained in Moscow now returned and with the help of the Red Army's bayonets took over the governments in the name of Communism.

Poland, for all its gallant fight for freedom, fared no better. Breaking the promise he had made to Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta, Stalin installed a government of Polish Communists who would dance to the Krenlin's tune. When even these did not satisfy Stalin, a Russian general was made boss of Poland.

To the South a tempting prospect arose. For centuries Russia had coveted an outlet to the Mediterranean Sea and only the British and French armies of the Crimean War had prevented her from seizing it in 1854 from the Turks. In 1946 and 1947, Yugoslavia seemed safely in Stalin's camp, led by the Moscow-trained Communist Tito. If a Communist insurrection could succeed in Greece, and if Turkey could thus be isolated, Stalin might hope to control the eastern entry into the Mediterranean. Courageous resistance by the Greeks and the unyielding stand of the Turks, with military and economic help from the United States, blocked this plan. A year later, when Tito broke Yugoslavia's ties with Russia, this danger to the West receded. A nucleus of Communist power, Albania, still remains in this region. It is tiny but strategically important since it is opposite the heel of Italy.

But Tito's rebellion against Russian domination has had more than strategic consequences. He claims that Yugoslavia is the land of true Marxism and dialectical materialism, while Stalin has betrayed the Communist faith. Tito's Yugoslavia is an independent socialist state, and Tito's insistence that Marxists do not have to take orders from Moscow has had repercussions in Communist parties all over the world.

East Germany had been invaded by the Russians in their westward drive. At the Potsdam Conference of

July, 1945, the United States, Britain, and Russia divided Germany into four zones of occupation, British, French, American, and Russian. Out of the first three has come West Germany, on the way to complete independence. Out of the Russian zone has been hammered one more Soviet province ruled by Russians arms and Moscow's henchmen.

Czechoslovakia regained its independence from the Nazis at the of the war only to lose it three years later. Czech Communists were a minority of the nation but a Moscow-planned conspiracy overturned the democratic government of President Benes in 1948. Since then the Czechs have worked for their Russian masters.

The Iron Curtain had now reached the heart of Europe.

Target—Asia

Lenin and the early Bolsheviks held that the overseas colonies of the western European democracies were the result of "capitalist imperialism" seeking to find new markets for its products. The peoples of Asia, whether living in British, French, and Dutch colonies, or under varying degrees of dependence on western nations, bitterly resented their lack of national independence. Lenin's call to throw off the "imperialist oppressors" found ready listeners. Marx's doctrines were expanded into an international class-war, in which

the oppressors were the western democracies, and the Asian peoples the "toiling masses."

China, in constant revolution since the middle of the Nineteenth Century, was early chosen by Lenin as a promising field for Communism. It was divided, weak, and resentful of western domination. The Chinese Communist Party was started by Russian agents in the early '20s and in a few years attracted enough members to threaten Chiang Kai-Shek's control of South China. In a prolonged campaign, he drove them out of the south and they took refuge in the northwest, chiefly the province of Yenan. Here they established a government based on support by the local peasants; they trained an army which carried on guerrilla warfare against the Japanese; and they perfected the techniques of popular revolution. Just as Lenin had done to Russia, the Chinese leader Mao-Ese-tung applied his Marxist doctrines to China. After the defeat of the Japanese by the Allies, Mao's Red Army over-ran all of China and set up the so-called People's Government. Though perhaps less directly controlled from Moscow than the European satellites, Mao's China has followed policies identical with those of Stalin's Russia.

Encouraged by the success of Communism in China and undoubtedly aided by the Chinese government, Communists are actively promoting revolution in other parts of Asia. They have maintained uninterrupted hos-

ilities in Indo-China against France ever since World War II, operating from well-established military bases. In Malaya their guerrilla warfare has cost the British heavily.

In the newly independent democratic countries of Asia, such as India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and the others, the Communist parties thrive on the recurrent famines and the age-old poverty. Hatred is readily aroused against the richest "capitalist" country in the world, and every instance of racial trouble in the United States is effective propaganda among the dark-skinned people who are sharply sensitive to any claims of white superiority. Thousands of Soviet books and pamphlets, sold far below cost, pour into India and Pakistan from Russia and are widely read in that vast area.

The most brutal outbreak of Communist aggression in Asia was of course the invasion of South Korea by the Russian-trained armies of North Korea. It met heroic resistance by the United States aided by the United Nations. After the North Koreans were defeated, the Chinese Communists in turn threw thousands of troops into the effort to conquer the whole country for Communism. They have not succeeded. Three years of bitter warfare have proved that the free world will fight to stem the tide of Russian-dominated Communism.

Moscow's Fifth Column in the Free World

The threat of Communist activity spreads into every nation of the free world. Strongest of the Communist parties are those of France and Italy, so strong that they consistently poll a fourth to a third of the votes and must be reckoned with by every government. Without the Marshall Plan which restored the war-destroyed economies of western Europe, the Communists might well have taken over those governments completely. As it is, their fierce opposition to the United States has slowed the progress toward a European Defense Community which would help to check Soviet expansion. Both France and Italy still have the sharp class distinctions which Marx knew, and both have great numbers of poorly paid industrial workers. Italy, moreover, has more than two million unemployed and many land-hungry peasants to whom the Communists promise jobs and land.

In the countries to the south of us, "Yankee imperialism" is the Communists' chief target. They appeal to the resentment many Latin Americans feel against the wealth and power of the United States. Meanwhile the class divisions and the widespread poverty in these countries make Marxism attractive to many. So far native Communists have gained governmental power only in Guatemala, dangerously close to the Panama

Canal. But their influence is growing. Perón, dictator of Argentina and violently anti-United States, welcomes their support and encourages their propaganda.

In the troubled countries of the Middle East, from Iran to Egypt, the rising tide of nationalism has played into Russia's hands. Anti-British and anti-American feeling is used by Communists to Moscow's advantage. Great extremes of wealth and poverty and widespread ignorance aggravate the problem.

Farther distant from Russia, the many conflicts in Africa between natives and Europeans, blacks and whites, subjects and rulers, are potential Communist opportunities.

Among the weakest of the Communist parties are those in the United States, Great Britain, and the countries with firmly established democratic governments and disappearing class divisions, such as the Scandinavian countries. So here the Communist parties have concentrated on infiltration and espionage. The alarming success of British and American spies, including highly regarded scientists like Alan Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs, in betraying atomic secrets to the Russians shows that in Communism Russia has an all-purpose weapon.

Stalin's Successors

When Stalin died in March, 1953,* the most powerful man among his successors was Georgi Malenkov,

* Note: Stalin died in March, 1953.

be made to justify any action on the grounds that it is promoting world revolution. In the original Marxism there were idealistic elements, but the Russian emphasis is all on hatred—hatred of the “imperialists,” hatred of “monopoly capitalists,” hatred of the United States. Because the United States is the most prosperous nation in the world today, Russian Marxism tries to make us the Number One target for the discontents and resentments of less privileged peoples.

The Leninist invention of a disciplined, centralized, and autocratic Communist Party provides the international conspiracy to promote world revolution under the control of Moscow. Its techniques of spying, sabotage, fomenting unrest, and outright revolt have been frighteningly successful. Its members surrender freedom of thought and the restraints of conscience. In return they expect to wield enormous power over other peoples' lives.

The Stalinist machinery of government has created a huge concentration of industrial, economic, and military power, which could be directed solely toward war at any time. Revolt from within is made almost impossible by the secret police. Millions of Russians are part of the government, loyal to it, incapable of imagining another kind of life.

Every Communist and every Communist group is armed in some degree with the theoretical weapons of

Marx, the tactical weapons of Lenin, the physical weapons of Stalin. Americans who wish to identify their Communist enemies should look for these three weapons.

In Berlin, Korea, Indo-China, all over the world, the battle-lines are drawn.

whom Stalin had apparently chosen to succeed him and who became Premier of the U.S.S.R. Since there are no laws in the Soviet dictatorship providing for the orderly transfer of power from one man to another, it is impossible to predict where the leadership will eventually be concentrated.

Malenkov was born in Orenburg, in the largest Soviet Republic, Great Russia, in 1902. Apparently his family were of middle-class, or in Soviet language "bourgeois" origin, although that fact is not mentioned by Soviet writers. He joined the Red Army late in the Civil War, more as a political worker than a front-line fighter. When the Civil War ended, he became a member of the Communist Party and steadily rose in the party machine, particularly in the Soviet capital Moscow. He was one of the chief assistants of the secret police chief who carried out the bloody purges of the Thirties, and he survived his chief who also fell as a purge victim. During World War II he was one of the five-man State Defense Committee in charge of industry and transportation. His success in building up Russia's industrial plant and maintaining the fierce pace of wartime production was rewarded by an appointment as an alternate on the Politburo in 1941, and as a full member in 1946. Since then he has maintained his high place in the Soviet leadership and has won out over formidable rivals, including the chief of the secret

police, Beria, who was purged a few months after Stalin's death. Having been Stalin's deputy when the Cominform was founded in 1947, Malenkov's personal power undoubtedly extends into the Communist organizations outside Russia.

To his successors Stalin left an empire far exceeding the imperial dreams of the Czars. He left a police state capable of controlling millions of subjects. He left a conspiratorial organization devoted to creating a worldwide Communist empire controlled from Moscow. He left his conviction that division among the free countries would weaken them and destroy their ability to resist the expansion of Communism. Above all, he left a tremendous industrial development, growing at a rate faster than the rate of growth in the West, and pouring most of its production not into a higher standard of living for its people, but into the terrible instruments of modern war.

Whatever policies the men in the Kremlin may follow, these are the realities on which those policies are founded.

Marxism—Leninism—Stalinism

Russian Communism today is a threefold menace.

The Marxist doctrine of class war and proletarian revolution can be used wherever people feel deprived of things other groups enjoy. Russian Marxism can