## ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES IN THE USSR

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**Abstract.** It is shown that the administrative strata in the USSR is a class. It is shown that the class of Soviet managers was antagonistic to the working class.

*Keywords: Property, power, dispossession, armed uprising.* **Introduction** 

In 1923, the XII Congress of the RCPb, which took place without Lenin (the ailing Lenin was in Gorki), decided that the dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed in the form of the dictatorship of the party. Lenin, however, argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat is expressed in the form of Soviet power, a form found by the workers themselves (Speech at the 1st Congress of the Comintern, State and Revolution, etc.).

Thus, the party marked the trend of "separation from the masses", which was expressed in the stratification of society in the USSR already in the 30s and became obvious from secret in 1991.

What were the relations between the working class and the class of Soviet bourgeois managers in the USSR: the CPSU elite, general directors, etc.? Here are the results of privatization: Perm chemical plant "Kamtex" - 98% of the shares are held by the administration, 2% - by the labor collective. Perm "Vtorchermet" - 87% of shares owned by the plant administration. At Motovilikhinskiye Zavody, shop managers were granted privileges in purchasing shares, the vast majority of which ended up in the pockets of the administration. The general director of the Perm defense "Velta" Malmygin together with his son actually appropriated the plant, the general director of the "Motovilikhinsky plants" Bulaev fired 40 thousand of 50 thousand workers, and so on. Yeltsin, by his decree, gave the general directors 5% of the shares of the enterprises they manage for free.

# Management as a property relation

What is the class point of view on the personality of Stalin, on the "red" directors, Soviet ministers, first secretaries of the regional committees of 49

the CPSU, etc.? Property, Marx wrote to Annenkov, is not a person's relationship to things, but the relationship between people about things. Already in Roman law, property relations are subdivided into use (as among the peasants of Russia after 1917), ownership (the Soviet state owned land) and disposal (management). Consequently, the manager of things is the owner.

The owner of the means of production is called a capitalist, a bourgeois. Consequently, the Soviet layer of managers headed by Stalin was a layer of capitalists.

"Classes are large groups of people that differ in their place in a historically defined system of social production, in their relation (mostly enshrined and formalized in laws) to the means of production, in their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, in methods of obtaining and size the share of social wealth that they have. Classes are such groups of people, of which one can appropriate the labor of another, thanks to the difference in their place in a certain structure of the social economy "(Lenin," Great Initiative").

The administrators of the USSR are an army of 19 million people, i.e. large group of people. The place of managers in a historically defined system of social production is quite distinguishable and is enshrined in laws. It is the managers who dispose of the means of production in the USSR; their role in the social organization of labor is defined. The size of the share of social wealth received by managers is much higher than the average level for the USSR, plus state dachas, plus the best sanatoriums and special hospitals with the best doctors, the best cars with personal chauffeurs, the best chefs and the best food, not to mention the "privileges" - about a special food distributor with or with judicial immunity of deputies.

Consequently, the Soviet party-state-economic nomenklatura was a class - according to Lenin's definition. And this class is the capitalist class.

In Marxist-Leninist theory, the antipode of the working class is the capitalist class. Consequently, the working people in the USSR and the class of Soviet managers are antipodes. Between these two classes there is a constant struggle in one form or another. Strikes and uprisings in the USSR prove that the working people and the managerial class in the USSR are antagonists.

Let us note only those episodes of the class struggle that took place during the reign of Stalin. We omit conflicts on ethnic grounds, conflicts that were of an anti-communist nature or were inspired from the outside in relation to the working people.50

# Riots and uprisings in the USSR up to 1941 1925-1929

In 1925, only in the Middle Volga region 11 strikes took place, in 1926 - 15, 1927 - 16, 1928 - 30, 1929 - 56 (Kamardin I.N. Labor conflicts in the Middle Volga region 1918-1929 (based on materials from Penza, Samara and Simbirsk provinces Diss. cand. of hist. sci. - Penza, 2001).

**12.5.1927** - a one-day strike of workers of the open-hearth shop of the Verkh-Isetsky metallurgical plant, the largest enterprise in the city of Sverdlovsk (Ural Oblast). 200 people took part. The reason was the "insensitivity of economic leaders to the needs of the workers." The leaders of the strikers were a former Red Army soldier, a participant in the Civil War, and a member of the church council of the factory village, who had previously served with the "whites".

In the summer of 1927, according to a JSPD report on industrial strikes, there were on average more than 3 strikes a day across the country. Almost all of them arose spontaneously, 75% of them, as in any capitalist country, were associated with the demand to raise wages.

**1928-1929** Stalin's permission in 1925 to peasants to sell and buy land (which led to the concentration of 60% of the land in the hands of 6% of peasant farms and thereby caused a crop failure), the curtailment of the NEP in 1927 (which, according to Lenin, was calculated for decades), the beginning of industrialization at the expense of the countryside, Accelerated collectivization and dispossession of the middle peasant, which ran counter to the Decree on Land, Lenin's speeches about the middle peasant and the decisions of the XV AUCPb Congress, led to an increase in the infant mortality rate (to the level of the first decade of the XX century). The peasants - it was easy to predict - responded with mass slaughter of livestock (the livestock was restored only by the end of the 50s), a reduction in crops and uprisings.

For example, 03.22.1928 - a peasant uprising in the Zyryansk district of the Tomsk Oblast, November 1 - a peasant protest in the village of Udelny Uty of the Vyunicheskaya volost of the Bryansk Okrug against the organization of a collective farm (in April, the organizers of the protest, the Kizikov brothers, received 10 years in prison). Let's compare. Number of peasant uprisings from 1900 to 1917: Year - Number: 1900 – 49; 1901 – 50; 1902 – 340; 1903 – 141; 1904 - 91; 1905 – 3228; 1906 – 2600; 1907 – 1337; 1908 – 931; 1909 - 933; 1910 – 1030; 1911 – 613; 1912 – 300; 1913 – 135; 1914-1915-1916-1917 - 5782. Total for **1900-1917: 17560.** That is, 944 per year. Reference: "The JSPD recorded more than **13,000** riots and mass demonstrations in villages from **January 1928 to December 1929.**" 51

That is: 6,500 per year.

In 1929, 244,000 peasants took part in the demonstrations.

The unrest of the lower classes against the policy of Moscow intertwined with the "friendship of peoples": September 26 - October 11, 1929 - Takhta- Kupyr uprising in Kazakhstan: Karakalpaks and Kazakhs at a gathering in the village of Andatkol decided to armed resistance to the authorities, seized the city of Takhta-Kupyr, causing a pogrom institutions. At the same time, an uprising began, engulfing the Syrdarya Okrug.

In November, a major uprising broke out in Chechnya in the Shalinsky and Urus-Martanovsky regions. On December 8-28, a large-scale operation of the North Caucasian Military District and JSPD units was carried out, during which 450 people were arrested, up to 60 were killed and wounded. The loss of government troops was 43 people, of whom 21 people were killed and died of wounds. Also in November - an uprising in the Batpakkarinsky region of Kazakhstan. The rebels took possession of the regional center, smashed the party and administrative institutions, the police, released the arrested and announced the overthrow of the government - but were soon defeated by the JSPD. About 200 people were arrested.

In December - an uprising in Bulun (Yakut ASSR) - "an armed protest against the policy of the district committee of the party." The rebels, supporting the Soviet regime, demanded a significant softening of the policy pursued and more attention to the opinion of the local population.

From 17.12.1929 to 14.2.1930 in the Central Black Earth Oblast 38 peasant demonstrations took place, in which more than 15,000 people took part.

**1930.** In the summer, a "Memorandum on Wages at State Enterprises" was prepared for the top leadership of the USSR by the INFO JSPD, which contained generalized data on the number of strikes and the number of participants in strike actions in the country from January 1929 to August 1930. From January to August 1929, 174 collective protest actions, in which 15 707 people took part. In January-August 1930, there was a decrease in the number of strikes to 147 cases, as well as the number of participants to 11,833 people. During the year, about 2.5 million peasants took part in 13.754 uprisings, riots and demonstrations against the regime, of which 3,712 were "women's uprisings". 176 riots were of an insurrectionary nature. Large peasant demonstrations (with up to 1000 participants) took place in the Volga region, Ukraine, Siberia, the North Caucasus, and Kazakhstan. According to the JSPD, about 20,200 people were sentenced to death.52

Through the fault of the leadership, the entire textile industry stood idle for 4 months due to a lack of raw materials, a number of other light industry enterprises, hundreds of heavy industry enterprises worked at 2/3 and even half (M. Ryutin, "I will not kneel." M.: Publishing house of political literature, 1992 ).

In January, 109,486 people took part in protests against collectivization.

In February, 214,196 people took part in the peasant unrest. Mass uprisings of Russian peasants and Kazakhs in Kazakhstan during collectivization: in Sozak of the Syrdarya Okrug, in Eastern Kazakhstan (Ust-Kamenogorsk and Zyryanovsk districts), in the Irgiz district of the Aktobe Okrug, in the Sarysu district. All uprisings were brutally suppressed by the JSPD troops (about 400 peasants died in Sozak). North Caucasus: mass unrest and uprisings in the villages and towns of Barashkovskoe, Veselo-Vozne-senskoe, Konstantinovskaya, Novy Yegorlyk, Novo-Manychskoe. Armed demonstrations of the Kuban Cossacks in the villages of Stavropolskaya (under the leadership of the former red partisan Antonenko), Troitskaya, Uspenskaya, Petropavlovskaya, Novo-Maryevskaya and Novo-Troitskaya. Ukrainian SSR: peasant uprisings against collectivization in a number of districts of Shepetovsky, Tulchinsky, Berdichevsky and Odessa Okrugs. In March, the number of participants in anti-collective farm protests was 1,434,588 people. In the North Caucasus alone, there were 335 riots with more than 82,000 participants.

The insurrectionary movement covered a number of villages of Itum- Kalinsky, Shatoevsky, Chemberloevsky, Galanchezhsky districts and the Khamkhinsky village council of the Galashkinsky district of the Chechen and Ingush Autonomous Oblasts. The number of forces participating in the operation to suppress it by the troops of the North Caucasus Military District and the NKMD exceeded 5000 people. 9 detachments were defeated, 19 were killed in shootings, 122 people were arrested. The uprising in the Altai Krai, led by the authorized JSPD Dobytin: he freed and armed the arrested "kulaks". His detachment defeated administrative institutions and police stations in several villages, eliminated 10 of their workers. Some members of the Tujlei troops joined the rebels.

3-4 March - Bichurskoe armed uprising against collectivization in Chita Oblast. Suppressed by the JSPD squad.

March 7-8 - a peasant uprising in the village of Severnaya, Nizhnesaldinsky District, Ural Oblast The attempt to bring three "kulak" families to the assembly point in Salda provoked a strong protest from the entire village.

March 28 - April 1, in Lipovka, Losevsky District, Rossoshansky Okrug, Central Black Earth Oblast, the peasants prevented the eviction of their 53

fellow villagers - "kulaks".

March-April - Sarbaz uprising in Kazakhstan.

In April - a strike at the Telegin weaving factory in the Shuisky Okrug of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk industrial Oblast, the largest of all in the textile industry, which arose due to poor food supplies.

In April 1992, mass demonstrations of peasants were registered.

In total, according to INFO JSPD, in January-April there were 6117 anti-collective farm demonstrations, in which 1,755,300 people took part. 800 uprisings were suppressed with the use of weapons. 15,000 JSPD workers were injured, many of them killed and injured.

In May - workers of the Revda metalworking plant (Ural Oblast) went on strike due to non-payment of wages for 2 months.

Armed anti-collective farm uprising of peasants in Ashap, Oktyabrsky district, Perm Oblast.

In the Ukrainian SSR - 65 mass protests against the eviction of "kulaks" of the third category. The peasants demanded the return of the dispossessed from exile and the return of the confiscated property to them. In May-June - "kulak" uprising in the Bratsk region of Irkutsk Oblast. The peasants freed Antonovo, Dubynino, Ust-Vikhorevo and Sedanovo, and shot several people from the Soviet activists. Suppressed by parts of the JSPD.

May 18-19 - "woman's revolt" in Staro-Belokurikha, Altai Krai: during the eviction of kulaks, about 300 women gathered around the building of the village council, declaring that they would not surrender the "kulaks", beat several village councilors. After one of the activists was wounded by a shot from a Berdan gun, the riot subsided. The JSPD arrested 14 participants in the performance who were convicted.

In June - mass absenteeism of miners in the coal trust "Luganskugol".

During the month, 886 anti-collective farm actions were recorded in the country.

In July, workers from 7 coal mines of the Stalinugol trust (Donbass) went on strike.

618 anti-collective farm performances throughout the country. July 26-27 - an attempted uprising in Ust-Pristan, Altai Krai.

In August - 256 anti-collective farm performances across the country.

August 12 - the secret "Short instruction-list on the protection of state secrets in the press", according to which, "it is not allowed to publish information in the press about strikes, mass anti-Soviet demonstrations, as well as about riots and unrest in detention houses and concentration camps." **1931.** 

April 20 - the uprising of the special settlers of the Petropavlovsk timber 54

industry enterprise (Nadezhinsky district of the Ural Oblast).

June-September - Mangyshlak uprising in Kazakhstan.

From July 6 to August 1 - the Chumakov uprising - a large peasant uprising against the "dispossession". (Chumakovsky District of the West Siberian Krai, now Novosibirsk Oblast). The rebels captured 24 villages, towns and farms.

From July 26 to August 2 - the Chainskoye uprising, the performance of the special settlers of the Parbig commandant's office of Siblag (Tomsk Oblast), up to 1500 people participated. Caused by the dire financial situation of the peasants expelled from Kuzbass and Altai. The rebels captured one of the village commandant's offices, however, extremely poorly armed, were unable to resist the JSPD, police and party activists. August 27-31 - an uprising on the territory of the Mukhorshibir ayman of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, led by the Soviet worker Kravchenko, who managed to unite several underground peasant cells, which consisted mostly of middle peasants and poor peasants. Among the slogans - "Down with the dictatorship of the party, all power to the working peasantry!" **1932.** 

March 23 - another uprising on the border of Chechnya (villages of Shali, Goity, Benoi, Nozhai-Yurt) and Dagestan. The rebels blocked the Red Army garrison in Benoi, tried to seize the Sterech-Kertych oil fields, but by early April they were defeated by units of the NCMD Red Army. The population (especially women) took part in the uprising en masse. April-May - anti-collective farm uprising in Taimyr. It began with a speech by the indigenous population (Dolgans and Nenets), dissatisfied with the arbitrariness of the local authorities. The rebels began to kill officials, defeated the detachment aimed at suppressing the demonstration, and issued several appeals. JSPD units were thrown into the suppression, at the end of May the rebel leaders were killed or arrested, the local population ceased resistance.

Uprising of Vichuga weavers on April 5-12. Reason: On April 1, rationing norms for the issuance of bread were reduced (from 12 to 8 kg for workers and from 8 to 4 kg for dependents). The uprising engulfed the cities of Teikov, Lezhnev, Yuzh and other factory centers of Ivanovskaya Oblast and was suppressed by force of arms.

April 7-9 - anti-government demonstrations in the city of Borisov (Byelorussian SSR): large groups of residents destroyed grain warehouses, organized a demonstration and a procession of women and children to the Red Army barracks.

May 3 - a grain riot of 300 women from the village of Ustinovtsy (Okty55

abrsky district of Kostroma Oblast).

On May 5, a crowd of residents of the village of Chasnikovka (Poltava Oblast) destroyed a warehouse at the Sencha station. On the same day, at the Sagaydak station (Poltavkaya Oblast), about 800 people pushed aside two policemen and village activists who were guarding the bread, and took most of what was in the barns with them.

On May 6, about 400 peasants from the villages of Liman and Fedunki (Nikolaev Oblast) made an unsuccessful attempt to take away the bread.

**1933.** According to the JSPD, for 6 months (July-December), labor unrest occurred in 10 cities of the Urals, at enterprises in the Donbass, 8 factories in Leningrad, in Serpukhov, Novosibirsk, Sormovo, Balakhna, Odessa, Kherson, Nikolaev.

#### 1934

According to the JSPD, during the period from March 1 to June 20, 80 collective protests were recorded at enterprises and construction sites in the USSR. They were attended by 3143 people. The total number of strikes and "AWOLs" among workers in industry and construction amounted to 185 cases, in which 8707 people took part. September 13 - USSR Prosecutor V.M. Bochkov sends a memo to the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars V.M. Molotov. It cites individual cases of collective protest actions at industrial enterprises and construction sites in the country: at the Kirovo-Chepetskaya CHPP, at the construction of a military facility in Sevastopol, at the Stalingrad Oblast Construction Trust, at a confectionery factory in the Byelorussian SSR.

During the years of the 1st five-year plan, workers went on strike at the Stalin plant, the plant. Voroshilov, Shostensky plant, at the "Krasnoye Sormovo" plant near Nizhny Novgorod, at the "Hammer and Sickle" plant of Machinotrest in Moscow, the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant and other enterprises.

# Riots and uprisings in the USSR after the war 1945

21 July. From the speech of the writer MS Shaginyan at the party meeting of the Union of Soviet Writers: "I was in the Urals, there 15,000 workers of the Kirovsky plant rebelled, a real riot, because the conditions were bad. The district committees and the regional committee of AUCP (b) learned about this only when they ran over during the riot. The director was not at the plant for two months. After this riot, he released 2 million rubles for the improvement".

August-September - unrest of workers was noted at the evacuated factories in Novosibirsk, Omsk, Kazan. 56

# 1946

September - Workers at the construction site of the Elfa electrical plant (Vilnius) declared a strike: at the beginning of the month, ration prices for food were significantly increased by the "decision of the party and government" and the workers announced that their salary of 200 rubles would not even be enough for lunch.

At the end of the month, unrest at the "Abrau-Dyurso" grape and wine plant (Krasnodar Krai) following the decision of the authorities to remove a large number of categories of workers, employees and dependents from the card supply.

**1948.** August - a powerful uprising ("mass self-liberation") of several hundred prisoners of the North-Pechora ITL on the construction of a railway Chum-Labytnangi (Komi ASSR).

**1948 –** after the arrival of the front-line soldiers in the Ege-Hai camp, uprisings began.

In the fall of **1952**, at night, a new uprising took place in the Ege-Hai camp № 6.

January 19 - a strike and an armed attack on the supervisory staff in Kamyshovy camp (Myskovsky district of Kemerovo Oblast. March 18 - in the 1st department of the Mountain camp (Norilsk, Krasnoyarsk Krai), the convoy was disarmed by prisoners "with the intention of raising an armed uprising in Norilsk."

From May to August **1953** - an uprising in the Norilsk camp.

#### Conclusion

All these conflicts were suppressed by force of arms, the captured rebels received a prison sentence, were sent to a concentration camp or shot.

After Khrushchev came to power, the uprisings continued, the most powerful was the workers' uprising in Novocherkassk in 1962. The condemnation of Khrushchev's policies and his removal from power did not change the picture, especially in 1967 there were many uprisings. Strikes and uprisings broke out in the 70s and early 80s.

In the official propaganda of the USSR, power is called the power of the workers, working people. Workers and peasants in the USSR went on massive strikes and rebelled, including with a weapon in their hands. Consequently, power in the USSR was not the power of the workers.57

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