

Repression as one of the cornerstones of the totalitarian system (on the example of Soviet Russia during the civil war of 1918-1920)

La represión como una de las piedras angulares del sistema totalitario (en el ejemplo de la Rusia soviética durante la guerra civil de 1918-1920)

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Summary: This article is based on the huge historical material. We consider roots, types and directions of political and socio-economic repressions in the world's history and Soviet Russia (USSR). Also we review reasons and consequences of these actions.

Keywords: power, politics, political party, political regime, political conflict, clans, repressions, concentration camps, suppression, revolutionary courts, Cheka (all-Russian Extraordinary Commission)

Resumen: este artículo se basa en el enorme material histórico. Consideramos las raíces, los tipos y las direcciones de las represiones políticas y socioeconómicas en la historia del mundo y la Rusia soviética (URSS). También revisamos las razones y consecuencias de estas acciones.

Palabras clave: poder, política, partido político, régimen político, conflicto político, clanes, represiones, campos de concentración, represión, tribunales revolucionarios, Cheka (Comisión Extraordinaria de toda Rusia)

Introduction

Political, socio-economic repression in the history of civilized humanity has often taken place as an essential element of the political system of non-democratic States. They were born in deep antiquity and served as a means of strengthening the political power of individual groups, tribes, clans, ethnic groups and, later, political parties, that is, they played an important role in human history.

In modern times, it can also be pointed out that they have not lost their relevance, although their application has changed. Mass executions practically stopped, political opponents were sent to

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hard labor, but it is also worth noting that after the fall of socialist regimes in Central Europe (East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Romania, etc.), the former administration was actively subjected to the regime “Lustration”, when representatives of the former authorities quit their jobs en masse, imposed other prohibitions on the profession. Even in a country such as the United States, which considers itself one of the "pillars of democracy," mass prohibitions were imposed on the profession and dismissal of persons who had the negligence to speak positively about the USSR and its policy during the period of the "witch hunt" after the end of World War II.

In recent human history, there have also been mass political massacres of political opponents in the 1960s-1970s. It is enough to recall China during the so-called "cultural revolution" of Mao Zedong and the massacres and executions of disaffected Khmer Rouge regimes in Cambodia. Thus, it can be clearly said that political repression is characteristic of countries that consider themselves democratic and of those whose political system is totalitarian.

On the basis of the above, it can be said that the problem of political, socio-economic repression has not lost its relevance in modern times, and their prerequisites, mechanisms of implementation and consequences require further study.

Purpose of study.

The problem of political repression is quite widely reflected in the scientific literature, both international and Russian (Soviet). The mechanisms of political repression were studied in detail as early as 1900 by E. Laviss and A. Rambo. We carefully studied materials related to political repression in Moscow Rus during the reign of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible. The history of political repression in China during the so-called "Taipin uprising" was touched upon by V. Korsakov. And the events leading up to the famous Bartholomew Night in France were actively investigated by D. Kruse. The subject of our study was scientific literature related to the political repression organized in 1976-1978 in Cambodia by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sari regime. Quite a lot of materials have been published about political repression in Soviet Russia.

Sources of study.

The authors relied on published documents describing the repression and affecting their political reasons, revealing the mechanisms of repression. Among them are materials related to the genocide of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1915. Widely used materials related to the description of the events of the civil war in Russia and political repression in the USSR in the 1930s.

Among the published documents, on which the authors relied, can be called the documents of the Russian Orthodox Church, because, as you know, it was the ROC that suffered the most serious repressions in the USSR during the 1920s and 1930s.

Important sources of the study were materials from the local Russian archives of the Ulyanovsk Region, the materials of which allow a deeper understanding and understanding of the direction, mechanisms and results of repressions. These are the materials of the Fund 200 (Ulyanovsk Provincial Executive Committee) of the State Archives of the Ulyanovsk Region, which contains memos on the suppression of peasant uprisings and uprisings against Soviet power, strikes of workers at industrial enterprises, etc. In addition, materials from the local authorities of the National Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan (NART) were used, in particular fund 98, as well as fund 2 (Provincial Executive Committee of the Penza Region) in the State Archive of the Penza Region.

Background and varieties of political repression

All kinds of repressions were common to the whole world, not only USSR. Honestly, suppressions were in every period of our history: Ancient Period, Middle Ages, New Age etc. Clans used to strive for power. Such problems could be solved in two ways: negotiations and suppressions. There were a lot of types of conflicts. The most common was inter-clans. If a clan wins, others will be repressed, because the winner wants to establish in the territory⁶. For example, let us consider the Ancient Rome period. The most powerful ruler came to the power with the help of violence. The clan killed other clans and people who were against the new government. Such emperors as Sulla, Caesar, Octavian, Caracalla and others came to power, killing all opponents and confiscating their property. Also there were a lot of religiously motivated crimes, with religious wars. Let us remember St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in August, 1588 when Catholic mob violence was directed against the Huguenots. Moreover, the Bohemian-Hungarian war (1466-1478) was caused by religious differences. But one of the worst wars was the Thirty Years War in Europe. It had also religion origins. Because of this war every third inhabitant of Germany was killed⁷.

⁶ A clan is a political grouping within the ruling stratum (elite) of a particular society, state, tribe, united by common political, economic, social goals in order to establish political dominance. In ancient and medieval communities, this is a separate genus, several clans make up a tribe. In relation to more modern societies, a clan is a concept for designating a political group in the ruling elite of a society

⁷ Brekht Bertol'd. Mamasha Kurazh i ee deti. Hronika vremen Tridcatiletnej vojny. M.: Iskusstvo, 1957. – S. 112-118; Laviss E., Rambo A. Vseobshchaya istoriya s IV stoletiya do nashego vremeni. Religioznye vojny. T.V, - SPb, 1900. – S. 45-59

The third type of political conflicts was social conflict. In the human's history there were a lot of rebels and brave slaves and some bourgeois against their employers. Revenants threw out wealthy people and officials along with their families. Also soldiers used violence against the prisoners and insurgency. The Third Servile War or the War of Spartacus and the Taiping Rebellion are the best examples of social conflicts⁸

The fourth type of political conflict was a war of conquest. It is characterized by the most cruel repressions in the history of mankind. Examples of the occupation of Napoleon in Spain and the attack of fascist Germany on the Soviet Union are widely known.

There are four main types of conflicts, but the cause can have either deep roots or not. But sometimes it can be connected with genocide and total destruction of social strata, groups or all inhabitants. Not deep conflict characterized by struggle between ruling class and leading strata. To say simple, it is crackdown between family, or a little opposition. For example, in the aforementioned Ancient Rome, Sulla and other limited people were outlawed⁹. Also in the Ottoman Empire Sultans killed all siblings because the fear of loss the political power¹⁰. These examples show us the first type of conflict.

There were seldom the deeper characterized conflicts. The second type submitted to us as repressions to everyone who took part in the opposition side. The French Revolution was perfect example of deep-rooted crises. All civilian population, clergies and politicians were involved into a big rebel. During the war in Vendee there were the famous " Infernal Columns " (English: hellish columns). In Vendee without any justice were killed more than 10000 people¹¹. According to another information the number of repressed victims were from 400 000 to 1 000 000 people. - It was the first example of modern genocide in the world's history¹².

In some countries, for example in the Fascist Germany or Turkey deep-rooted rebellions were transformed into a social genocide. This is the third form, when people from a certain nation or social group or nationality were killed no matter what kind of people they were and what political point of view they had. Such nation were the Jews and Gypsy (in Germany), the Armenians and

⁸ Sm.: Vallon A. Istorija rabstva v drevnem mire. – M., 1941. – S. 113-115

⁹ Sm.: Tajpinskoe vosstanie 1850-1864 gg. Sb. dokumentov. – M.: Izd-vo Vostochnoj literatury, 1960; Korsakov V.V. Pekinskie sobytiya. Lichnye vospominaniya uchastnika ob osade v Pekine. Maj-avgust 1900 goda.- SPb.: Tip. A.S. Suvorina, 1901

¹⁰ Hitcel' F. Osmanskaya imperiya. – M.: «Veche», 2006. – S. 201-202

¹¹ Vandejskie vojny // Enciklopedicheskij slovar' Brokgauza i Efrona: V 86 tomah (82 t. i 4 dop.). – SPb, 1890-1907. – T. 5 A (10), - S. 144-145

¹² Ibid.

Greek (in Turkey in 1915)¹³ Elements of social genocide occurred during the February Revolution and in the early years of Soviet power. This was shown in the February events of 1917, when rebels killed every policeman in Kronstadt¹⁴.

Lately, in the Soviet time there were a lot of cases of firing on nobles and Cossacks. Their property was confiscated and they were exiled or killed¹⁵. Also an example of genocide was demonstrated against the evangelical in Paris¹⁶. Novgorodians were dispersed during the suppression of Ivan IV (Grozny) ¹⁷. These are examples of selective genocide.

But in the world's history there were examples of total genocide. This type is characterized by indiscriminate repressions to everyone. In the war of Chengishan, all the conquered countries were suppressed ¹⁸. So, there was in 1944 the Rwandan genocide, where the Hutu was against the Tutsi. More than 937 000 people lost their lives¹⁹. Also, in Cambodia, in 1975-1978 Pol Pot organized total genocide during the Khmer Rouge regime²⁰.

But what is the main reasons and background for the repressions' organization? Firstly, it is violent political conflict based on 2 or more opposite points of view. One side is trying to impose its opinion, social, economic and cultural program, while it is unstable for the other. In the basement of the conflict in the Soviet Russia after 1917 was a contrast between fantastic and unreal party's program (RCP (B)) and huge opposition struggling against these utopian ideas²¹. Unless the economic side of the experiments of the Bolsheviks, all decrees undermined national identity²². So, these were documents which cancelled private property and family as a bourgeois unit:

¹³ Genocid armyan v Osmanskoj imperii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov /Pod red. N.G. Nersisjana. – izd. 2-e, dop. – Erevan, «Ajyastan», 1983

¹⁴ Mel'gunov S.P. Martovskie dni 1917 goda. – M., 2006. – S 98; Martynov E.I. Carskaya armiya v fevral'skom perevorote // Martynov E.I. Politika i strategiya / Pod. red, S.V. Stepashina i dr.- M., 2003. – S. 222

¹⁵ Sm.: Losev E. Mironov. – M., 1991. – S. 323-324; Spirin L.M. Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoj vojne v Rossii. – M., 1968. – S. 322-324; Venkov A. Pechat' surovogo iskhoda. – Rostov n/D, 1988. – S. 124-125

¹⁶ Kruze D. Monarhicheskaya vlast' i tainstvo smysla: soobshchenie o Varfolomeevskoj rezne // Varfolomeevskaya noch': sobytiya i spory. Sb. statej. – M.: RGGU, 2001. – S. 102-137

¹⁷ Povest' o pohode Ivana IV na Novgorod//«Izbornik», seriya «Biblioteka vseмирnoj literatury». - M., 1969. - S. 477

¹⁸ Bichurin I. Istoriya pervyh chetyrekh hanov iz doma Chingizova. – SPb., 1829 – S. 155

¹⁹ Rublev A. Afrikanskije skelety v amerikanskom shkafu // Imperiya lzhi. {Rezhim dostupa: <http://www.rusbaseda.ru/index.php?topic=3817.0;wap2>}

²⁰ Sm.: Bektimirova N.N., Dement'ev YU.P., Kobelev E.V. Novejshaya istoriya Kampuchii. — M.: Nauka, 1989;

Mosyakov D.V. Kampuchiya: osobennosti revolyucionnogo processa i polpotovskij «eksperiment». — M.: Nauka, 1986

²¹ Sitnikov V.V., Chukanov I.A. Realizaciya ekonomicheskogo programmy bol'shevistskoj partii v period stanovleniya Sovetskogo gosudarstva (1917-1930 gody). Monografiya. – Samara: izd-vo «NTC», 2007. – S. 114-116

²² Sennikov B.V. Tambovskoe vosstanie 1918-1921 gg. i raskrest'yanivanie Rossii 1929-1933 gg. – M.: «Posev», 2004

Decree on the emancipation of women in Vladimir's Sovok. (Council of Deputies in Vladimir²³)

1. Since the first of May, 1918 in Vladimir private rights to own the women have cancelled (marriage was cancelled as a capitalism stereotype). All women are declared free and independent. All women can have privacy and integrity from the age of 18. It is controlled by the Vigilance Committee and the Bureau of the Free Love.

2. Everyone who offend a woman or tried to ravish her will be convicted.

3. Anyone who rapes a woman will be a state criminal and convicted.

4. Every adult woman will become the property of the republic. She must be registered with the Vigilance Committee and the Bureau of Free Love and can choose one person (from 19 to 50) as a neighbor. N.B. A woman does not need to have a man's consent. Also, the preferrent man can not disagree with it. It works with the 18-year-old women too.

5. The right to have a neighbor-pal is an every month opportunity. The Bureau of the Free Love enjoys autonomy.

6. All kids born by such pair are the republic property. They are given to the soviet nursery, lately to the special Children's homes, named Community and grow up where at the expense of the Soviet Union.

N.B. According to this all kids are free from families' stereotypes and have a good education. They grow up as a new generation of activists in the World-Wide Revolution.

The Sovok of Vladimir 01.01.1918.

Also we have a decree from the Sovok of Saratov. It looks like the above-mentioned one, but have some differences. It was a testing variants, because all respond was on the local Sovoks, not on the CNS (the Soviet of People's Commissars). When the Saratov's decree was announced a lot of people left the city.

The Decree written by the Soviet of People's Commissars in the Saratov's district²⁴.

The marriage we used to know was a product of social differences. Also, there is no place for it in the Soviet Union. Till this time, marriage was a good weapon in the hands of Bourgeoisie against the Proletariat. With the help of it, all kinds of beautiful women were imperialists' property. According to these, the Saratov's Soviet of People's Commissars decide:

1. Since the first of January, 1918 the authority to own a woman (from the age of 17 to 32) was repeal

2. This decree has not got any influence to the married women with 5 or more kids.

3. Ex-husbands have an opportunity to use ex-wives extraordinary.

N. B. But if the husband rejects the decree, he has no right to do everything.

4. All women are not in private properties anymore and declare as working class's legacy.

5. The distribution of management of the exclusion women is under the control of the Advice of working, soldier's and country deputies.

6. Men have an opportunity to use a woman not more than 4 times a week, during the next 3 hours according to under-mentioned rules.

7. Every member of the working community should pay 2 % from the salary to the needs of national education.

8. Every man who wants to use the national heritage must have a certificate certifying his belonging to the working class.

9. Men which are not in the working class can have an exclusion woman only if he pays 1000 rubles in the fond every month.

10. The entire national heritage (women declared in this decree) will have 280 rubles a month by the National Generation Fund.

11. Woman who expect baby will be free for four month (3 before born and 1 after)

²³ Ibid. S. 34

²⁴ Ibid. S. 35

12 A month year old baby will be given to the National Nursery and grow up where till the age of 17.

13. If twins were born, parents of the kids will have 200 rubles awards.

14. People who extend venereal diseases will respond

But sometimes conflicts were based on religion differences, when with the help of repression one part of society try to show off their attitude to the others. Seeing peoples' sufferings, the patriarch Tikhon sent a message to the Bolshevik's government. Under we show full document because it is mostly unknown. It was written in the pre-revolutionary Russia, that it is why we decided to simplify it for better understanding. Moreover, it shows us the reasons why the Orthodox Church becomes an enemy to the Soviet Union ²⁵.

Patriarch Tikhon: «By the grace of God». Now we are going through the hard times. Russian Orthodox Church has a lot of enemies which are hiding the truth. Instead of love and peace, they spread devil, hate, murder. All Commandments were forgotten, innocent people became victims of repressions. There were a lot of incidents, when people were beaten or killed as in the dark night as in the middle of the day. There is no justice in our country (in such cities as Moscow, Sevastopol etc.). Cruelty and violence are normal and ordinary for today.

Grief, sadness, sorrow occupied our hearts. We follow the testament of the Apostle and want to tell the truth.

Stop, madmen. Stop your blood-full repression. It is pure cruelty, it is satanic, because of it you will set on fire in the hell and will have a curse on your family in the next generation. By the power which was given by God, we exclude you from the church even if you are still having Christian names and belong to the church by roots.

We ask you not to have a contact with these people and "remove the evil far from you" All actions by these people are harmful for Orthodox Church. Marriage was declared as useless. Churches are destroying by new power. Saint Kremlin's cathedral was attacked by the armaments. The Chapel of the Savior was robbed and insulted. All Orthodox Church lands were taken away, schools became collages and church was announced as national legacy. Religion is useless, according to the Bolshevik's opinion and our property was picked up. People disagree with the anger against the Orthodox Church but politics go on and demonstrate cruelty and violence and destroy religion, though it is an important part of Russian culture.

Where is the border of abuse against us? How to stop it and save Orthodox Church?

We need all of you, all Christians to protect from bullying our religion. Church's enemies capture the power. We should resist with the help of our faith and show to the madmen that they have no rights to call themselves as owners of national rights. We should stop them, because we disagree with it, we want to save our religion.

If we must remain the goal of Christ, we must do it together. Nothing can separate us from God's love: no sadness, no sadness, no abuse, no anger, no problem, no sword. And you, brothers, shepherds immediately go and inspire everybody to take part in our mission. Priests make coalition, find fighters. Church's enemies would be humbled.

Russia was not exception in the religious suppression. Let us remember the conflict in Spain in the 15 centuries. Muslim and Catholics were struggled for the territory. More than 3000

²⁵ Akty Svyatejshego Tihona, Patriarha Moskovskogo i vseya Rossii, pozdnejshie dokumenty i perepiska o kanonicheskom preemstve vysshej cerkovnoj vlasti. 1917-1943 gg. / Sost. M.E. Gubonin. – M., 1994. S. 82-85

Christians were killed. In 1526 Arabs were tortured as a revenge for the previous events²⁶. Also there was a conflict in India and Pakistan between Muslim and Buddhists²⁷. All in all, this terror was characterized by the main religion which was trying to suppress the opposite ones. Sometimes conflicts become a consequence of the conqueror wars. When the victorious country tries to establish a totalitarian regime on the territory of the captured state. It always goes with the help of political, economic, cultural suppression, for example Greek, Serbia, Bulgaria occupation etc.).

Let us consider the history of the Soviet Union. Repressions played the main part in it. There were a lot of works, articles about consequences and extend of these actions, that is why we don't want to write about it. Let us draw our attention to the reasons. There were long before the Great October Revolution. A lot of theories- Marxists decided to use terror as a way of building Socialism. K. Marx and F. Engels suggest use in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" revolutionary suppression²⁸. In 1852 Engels said that we should make experiment, because other ways had already old-fashioned. We were not ready for changes. While we were waiting the result of our politic, we were declared as freaking out²⁹.

A lot of talented scientists rejected this social-dangerous illusion. Moreover, famous psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud in his lection "About Attitude" said that Marxists tried to replace the Holy Bible and the Karan with their theory. According to this the reason of their fall is that it is impossible to change human nature in such a little time. People refuse to choose the new politics, with new attitude, new problems of working class. Freud expected that people's enthusiasm to the Bolshevik's calling could not lasting longer. The most difficult time would come when Bolsheviks answered to their devotee about suffering and limits of the new life³⁰.

But Russian Bolsheviks did not draw their attention to it. Everybody knows Lenin's famous words about importance of "revolutionary terror". Lenin developed the Terror's Ideology for his own nation. There are a lot of documents - descriptions "how to use above-mentioned method". This is one of it, Lenin's telegram to the Penza's Communist from the 11th August, 1918:

²⁶ Arnu A. Istorija inkvizicii. – SPb, 1995. S. 112-113

²⁷ Yakovlev A.YU. Indiya: terror i antiterror: monografiya. M., 2012. - S. 143-156

²⁸ Marks K. Sochineniya [v 50 t] /K.Marks, F. Engel's, 1954-1986. – T. 28. – M.: Gospolitizdat, 1962. – S. 490-491

²⁹ Ibid. S. 491

³⁰ Frejd Z. 35 lekcija "O mirovozzrenii". V kn.: Osnovy psihoanaliza.- M.: Nauka, 1989.- S. 239

"To Penza 11/8/1918. To comrades Kuraev, Bosh, Minkin and other Penza's Communists. Rebels in the five peasants' districts should be crackdown. This is the aim of all revolution; this is the last fight with peasants. Example:

1. Hang (without any doubt hangs) not less than 100 peasants, rich men, fists.
 2. Publish their names
 3. Take off all their bread.
 4. Appoint the hostage, according to yesterday telegram. People should see and hear how they suffer, how the scream, how the will be hanging.
 5. Telegraph the receiving and execution.
- Yours, Lenin³¹.

It could be a mistake to confirm that Bolsheviks' leaders had not had any choice in that situation. During the Civil War there was a question about the survival of the Soviet Union, with the struggle between the White (the Mensheviks) and interventionists. In Lenin's opinion, terror regime should be the basement of the system of the government. In the 17th of May 1922 after the end of the Civil War Lenin wrote a letter to the People's Commissar for Justice Kurskiy. He sent description how did the proletarian court should work. These are some phrases from it: the court should not exclude terror, moreover it should legitimize it. We must formulate this broadly, because only the time of revolution helps us use it in this way³². So, let us draw our attention to other works of famous Bolsheviks. For example, L. D. Trotskiy wrote: "The regime of the General Labor Duty should be control in a compulsory manner...repression for our needs is a necessary weapon in the socialist dictatorship's hands"³³.

This is a part of his speech in the 9th meeting of RCP(B) (Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)) in spring 1920. Trotskiy was one of the main supporters of the General Labor Duty. According to this idea, workers and peasants should always be like mobilized soldiers and formed special parts close to the military divisions. Everyone must be a soldier of labor and cannot control himself³⁴.

The resolution of the aforementioned meeting announced that a police system would be added to the economy because of the end of the civil war and the stable position of the Soviet Union³⁵. It was characterized by getting army close to the industry. So, the man power was focused as in the industry, as in the military. Government was inspired by the General Labor Duty and wanted to continue this politic after the Civil War. But this decision went against the discoverers' opinion

³¹ RGASPI (Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj arhiv social'no-politicheskoy istorii), Fond 2, OP. 1, D. 6898, L. 9

³² Lenin V.I. Poln. Sobr. Soch. – T. 45. – S. 189

³³ Cit. Po: Frolov N.S. Tragediya naroda /N.S. Frolov. – Kazan': Pamyat', 1999.- S. 14

³⁴ IX s"ezd RKP(b).Protokoly, M.:Gospolitizdat,1960, S. 92-94

³⁵ Kommunisticheskaya partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v rezolyuciyah, resheniyah s"ezdov, konferencij i plenumov CK. - M.: Politicheskaya literatura, 1983.- T. 2.-S. 265

about this period characteristic³⁶. Bukharin said that all proletarian coercion from repression to General Labor Duty was a method to make a communistic mind after the capitalism era³⁷.

In professor A. A. Ivanov opinion, we could not divide repression from the repression's politic leaded by the government³⁸. We agree with him and think that the government was inspired by the idea of building the welfare society. Part of the Russian community supported this idea, but mostly people try to protest. It caused a lot of socio-economic repressions from the Bolsheviks' Government.

The repressions' politic had three sides. The first is socio-economy part. Communists confiscated nobles' lands, factories, money and private property includes rare arts collections³⁹. These actions were not against everybody. It was against the segment of population⁴⁰.

There were events which touched all Russians. In the period of the Military Communism (1919-1920) social property was confiscated with no cost. The default of banks and other financial organizations caused hyperinflation, as a result a lot of people had no money for a living⁴¹. In the middle-Volga provinces started forced removals of valuables and jewelry and people's gold and silver things even if it was in the bank.

Several times government asked inhabitants to donate valuables for the National Bank in fear of execution. In this period there were a lot of searches and the right to the inviolability of the home, private life and even life became useless. Also exemptions of jewelry were in the military camps which were active since World War 1⁴².

Since December, 1918 was forbidden all lotteries. The total sum of confiscated jewelry in the Samara Province was 250 thousand of rubles, so was in the Kazan⁴³. In Penza government seized valuables not only from citizens, but also from jewelry stores⁴⁴. In the Simbirsk's State Bank from the private bank accounts were confiscated 521 thousand 761 hundred rubles and 245 thousand and 6 hundred rubles from the valuables, which were held in the bank. In the Simbirsk's Mutual Credit

³⁶ Chuntulov V.T. *Ekonomicheskaya istoriya SSSR*. - S. 59

³⁷ Cit. Po: Bushkov A.A. *Stalin. Krasnyj monarh* / A.Bushkov. – Spb.: Izd. Dom «Neva», 2004. – S. 335

³⁸ *Politicheskie repressii v Tatarskoj ASSR skvoz' prizmu podlinnyh dokumentov i vospominanij*. – Kazan': «Redakciya Kniga Pamyati», 2011. – S. 4

³⁹ *Trudy Vserossijskogo s"ezda zaveduyushchih finansovymi otdelami*. – M., 1919,– S. 34

⁴⁰ *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Ulyanovskoi oblasti (daleye GAUO), Fond 200, OP. 2, D. 392, L. 4 – 5*

⁴¹ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 1, D. 125, L. 129 - 130

⁴² GAUO, F. 200, OP. 1, D. 125, L. 124

⁴³ NART, F. 98, OP. 1, D. 40, L. 33 - 55

⁴⁴ GAPO, F. 2, OP. 1, D. 13, L. 143

Society was confiscated money for the total sum more, than 1 million 599 thousand 363 hundred rubles⁴⁵.

With the "legal" robbery of civilian's government organized "illegal" too. With the help of armed forces robberies broke into the apartments and took up everything what they wanted⁴⁶.

In the villages armed forces confiscated all bread and food. There were a lot of cases of violation during the Prodravverstka time⁴⁷. For example in the village of Repyevka, Simbirsk district, Simbirsk province. A square which were headed by Kuznetsov acted like thieves and picked up all goods at night. Because of these all peasants could not protest. All in all, the squad took 10 960 poods of grain without giving special receipts. Later they gave receipts only for 4000 poods without any compensation for the other part⁴⁸. In the village of Staraya Maina, Melekessky district, Samara province a lot of peasants were arrested and beaten⁴⁹. The Bolshevik policy of "war communism" as the ideological basis of repression

Also, in Buguruslanskoe bread was threw away into the snow⁵⁰. In the district of Kazan all food were confiscated and inhabitants had not anything to eat⁵¹. Such situation was in Cheboksary too⁵². There was a lot of violence during the period of the Prodravverstka in other parts of Russia.

According to the government decision all shops and markets were closed. All traders were robbed. It happened according to this plan: unexpected a market was cordon off with the help of armed forces. In Simbirsk in the seventh of July, 1920 was a total confiscation of all goods with the pickup to the special transport. Everything was robbed without any notes and recipes which were required by the law of Prodravverstka. Also closed shops were opened and a lot of money was stole from people's pockets⁵³.

It is important to say about church robbery in that time. To begin with, this property was collecting during the previous centuries by the national money of peaceful inhabitants. It was after the Civil War in 1922-1923, government thieves were covered by the importance of struggling with

⁴⁵ GAUO, F. 183, OP. 8, D. 45, L. 55

⁴⁶ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 2, D. 113, L. 4

⁴⁷ GAPO, F. 2, OP. 1, D. 13, L. 143 - 145

⁴⁸ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 2, D. 230, L. 124

⁴⁹ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 2, D. 357, L. 1; D. 263, L. 32

⁵⁰ GASO, F. 1, OP. 1, D. 266, L. 47

⁵¹ NART, F. 98, OP. 1, D. 61, L. 38 ob.

⁵² NART, F. 98, OP. 1, D. 212, L. 6 ob.

⁵³ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 2, D. 124, L. 101

hunger⁵⁴. Moreover, the hunger was caused by these themselves politics. So, church's robbery lasted till the Stalin's death in 1953.

But in the different time there were different motivation. Firstly, it was the importance of building of the socialism "Collectivity". It gave people a lot of trouble. Only in 1929 there were more than 1300 meetings of peasants against that. In these action took part more than 240 00 people⁵⁵. The answers of government were repressions and exiles. The most powerful and financial independent peasants was harmed by it. The Kulaks were exiling till 1933 in Russia and till 1950 in the other district of USSR⁵⁶.

The process of industrialization started in 1944 with national procedure. It was forced removing people to unlive and undeveloped districts. For example in Leningrad (Saint Petersburg) headed by Kirov a lot of citizens left their flats and moved to not inhabited areas⁵⁷. To sum it up, financial terror was mixed with social actions and millions of people had not got any rights.

Since 1929 RCP(b) Central Committee and SNK (State Political Directorate) decided to use prisoners labor. In hard-to-reach areas were opened thousands of camps which was connected by the big system of GULAG (Main Administration of Camps). A lot of people were in inhuman conditions⁵⁸.

It goes without saying that violence against a huge part of the population has caused a lot of anger on the part of people. It was not only nobles, sellers and fists. It was everybody includes peasants, seamen, workers and solders. Abdurahman Avtorkhanov said that pre-revolutionary Russia was "the prison of nation" and after-revolutionary Russia was "the grave of nation"⁵⁹. Russia started with the bloody war which divided people. To say honest the White Movement was spontaneous and had revenge character but the Red Movement was ruled by the government⁶⁰. A. A. Ivanov thought that the repression politics was against the nation and a part of civilians which he was disagree with the ideas of ruler party⁶¹.

⁵⁴ GAUO, F. 200, OP. 4, D. 13, L. 34 - 36

⁵⁵ SHkol'nye uroki po teme: «Istoriya politicheskikh repressij i soprotivlenie nesvobode v SSSR». M.: Prava cheloveka, 2004. – S. 6

⁵⁶ Istoriya Ukrainy. Kollektivizaciya [rezhim dostupa: <http://instiel.uzhgorod.ua/post/show/4>

⁵⁷ Kirilina A. «Neizvestnyj Kirov» SPb.: Neva; M.:OLMA-Press, 2001. – S 112-114

⁵⁸ SHkol'nye uroki po teme: «Istoriya politicheskikh repressij i soprotivlenie nesvobode v SSSR». M.: Prava cheloveka, 2004. – S. 128

⁵⁹ Avtorhanov A. Imperiya Kremlya. Sovetskij tip kolonializma. - Berlin, 1988. – S. 45-46

⁶⁰ Sm.: Mel'gunov S.P. Krasnyj terror v Rossii, 1918-1923. Izd. 2-e, dop. – Berlin., 1924

⁶¹ Politicheskie repressii v Tatarskoj ASSR skvoz' prizmu podlinnyh dokumentov i vospominanij. – Kazan': «Redakciya Kniga Pamyati», 2011. – S. 4

This is the second part of government terror - a suppression of the inside opposition. It was widespread protest against the Red Movement repressions. The main directions of government were arrests and destruction of leaders of legal oppositions, for example Octyabrists and Kadets. All opposite parties were suppressed. In that time the White Movement was beaten and destroyed.

When there were peasants' rebels in 1918-1921 all opposition was repressed. Thousands of peasants and farmers were killed during "the Chapannoe Rebellion" in Simbirsk and Samara in 1919 and "the Vilochnoe Rebellion" in the Kazan and Vyatka provinces in 1920⁶².

The confiscation of goods and provisions was followed by killings, hangings and shootings. All financial free part of population was announced as public enemies. They were exiled and killed. Their property was confiscated. In province was fixed public respond for making plan. This plan was to complete the norm of Prodravverstka and if it was impossible was fixed a "Hunger norm". It meant that all provision was confiscated, except a little part, which was not enough for a living. So, 3- 3,5 month later the fixation of the "Hunger Norm" the great hunger would come. The power did not help women, kids and older generation. All families were arrested, exiled to camps and the property was confiscated⁶³.

The rebel-worker movement was out of the law. They were during the repressions in Petrograd, Astrakhan, Izhevsk, Vothkinsk etc. This movement was destroyed⁶⁴. These rebellions were suppressed in the period of New Economic Politic⁶⁵. Also the seamen protest in Kronshtadt in 1921 was won by the government. In the 1920s, intra-party opposition was found and killed or exiled due to disagreement with basic party ideas⁶⁶.

The third part of government terror is - preventive repressions. It aim was to make people scared. With the help of such actions people did not want to led a revolution⁶⁷. A lot of people were harmed by this kind of repression. The system of punishment and moral suppression was created.

⁶² GAUO, F. 2720, OP. 1, D. 11, L. 22, 72

⁶³ GAUO, F. 2720, OP. 1, D. 11, L. 22, 72

⁶⁴ Sm.: Borisova L.V. Trudovye otnosheniya v Sovetskoj Rossii (1918-1924) – M., 2003; Piterskie rabochie i «diktatura proletariata». Oktyabr' 1917 – 1929. Dokumenty i materialy. – Sb. dokumentov. SPb., 2000; CHurakov D.O. Revolyuciya, gosudarstvo, rabochij protest: formy , dinamika i priroda massovyh vystuplenij rabochih v Sovetskoj Rossii v 1917-1918 gg. – M., 2004; Narodnoe soprotivlenie kommunizmu v Rossii. Nezavisimoe rabochee dvizhenie v 1918 godu Parizh, 1981

⁶⁵ RCKHIDNI, F. 76, OP. 3, D. 166, L. 3; D. 208, L. 12

⁶⁶ Gosudarstvo protiv svoego naroda. CHernaya kniga kommunizma [rezhim dostupa: http://www.goldentime.ru/nbk_09.htm]

⁶⁷ Ibid

The main aim was to keep society in fear and in the workplace. In addition, people must agree with everything that the party in power does. Camps were the main punishment tool.⁶⁸.

The main part of repressed people did not take part in rebellions and did not do anything which was out of the law. They were repressed because of their position, underground religion or nation⁶⁹.

To this list of repressed we can add "rich part of population" which was sent to camps. There were a lot of reasons why people were sent. The most common were "did not want to work", "present the opposite party or attitude", "was noble by blood" etc⁷⁰. Most people were innocent; they were guilty only because the authorities wanted to punish them. All this process was controlled by the local authorities. It proved in documents. For example, this is an appeal from the Simbirsk Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. January 3, 1918:

“...There were a lot of bourgeois officers, priests, officials, clerks, ladies, cadgers in Simbirsk. They spread gossips and lie. They blew people's mind. It is important to rein in this "bastards" (in original was used "svolochi") and prevent counter-revolution⁷¹”.

The "Social Cleaning" feared because a lot of people were announced out of the law. Repressions were against everybody even royal officers which refused to be a part of Red Movement Army, gendarmes and clergy. These people were old pre-revolutionary intelligentsia.

Government did it not because these people took part in opposition, but because they could be in counter- revolution opposition. Otto Lacis was one of the supporters of "Iron Felix" (Zhelezniy Felix) and the chairman of Cheka said to workers of Cheka and descendants: "Try not to find proofs that defendants acted against the Soviet. It is important to diagnose in what group they are and what education they had. This question should determine the fate⁷²".

All preventive measures were written in plenary of the Samara Province committee of Russian Communist Party (b) on 29 of September, 1919. The resolution was about fight with the White Terror. According to the recommendation the government of Samara started big preventive terror. In towns and province "hanging people" were arrested and sent to camps. Someone who was charged with criminal penetration to communist party was shot. Government promoted brazen reprisal killings to people who disorganized work in the state institutions. Representatives of bourgeoisie, industrialists, and other well off were taken as hostages.

⁶⁸GASO, F. 81, OP. 2, D. 146, L. 154

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ GASO, F. 1, OP. 1, D. 92, L. 14

⁷¹ Cit.po: GAUO, F.200, OP.2, D.120, L.44

⁷² Kniga pamyati zhertv politicheskikh repressij. Butovskij poligon 1937-1938 gg. Vyp. 6. – M.: 2006. – S. 284-303

In the resolution also was written that: “Bourgeoisie who showed doubtless animosity to the Soviet Government should be shot”. It meant that wealthy classes and social groups should be physical liquidated⁷³.

As a result of all the arrests, shots, donations, rallies, terror and suppression, a huge robbery of the economic and social elite of the pre-revolutionary country took place. Later arrests, camps and confiscation of property continued and ended this proses.

L. D. Trotskiy commented the exile of the smartest and the most talented philosophers, historians, literary figures, economists and philologists. The significant step was the Philosophers' ship. He said:

*"We expelled these people because they were innocent, and we could not shoot them, but we also could not stand together"*⁷⁴. Repressions in 1934-1941 with the rush in 1937-1938 were against the politic elite. Moreover they were against the chairmen, and members of party's and country's nomenclature⁷⁵.

Political repression in the Soviet Union

Not long ago was opened and proved that the successor - N. S. Khrushchev since 1953 to 1960 authorize the criminalization under Article 58-10 Criminal Law Russian Soviet Republic more than 10 thousand people⁷⁶.

During the Patriotic War repressions were transformed to deportation of "unwelcome people". It started from the German in 1941. The number of deported was 1 million 2 hundred⁷⁷. Next to German, Chechens, Ingush, Balkar, Kalmyks and Crimean Tatars were also deported. The total sum of exiled population was more than a million. Also a lot of people did not arrive to the final destination because the transfer was badly organized⁷⁸. In 1946-1947, deported people and captured soldiers were massively repressed. A. I. Solzhenitsyn thought that during this communist's period were repressed more than 66 million 700 thousand people⁷⁹. So said A. Antonov-Ovseenko and M.V. Kapustin⁸⁰.

⁷³ GASO, F. 81, OP. 67, D. 18, L. 354

⁷⁴ Sociologicheskie issledovaniya. – 1990. – S. 121

⁷⁵ Gosudarstvo protiv svoego naroda. CHernaya kniga kommunizma [rezhim dostupa: http://www.goldentime.ru/nbk_09.htm]

⁷⁶ Bushkov A.A. Ledyanoj tron / A.A. Bushkov. – SPb.: Izd. Dom «Neva», 2005. – S. 289

⁷⁷ CHernaya kniga kommunizma. Tri veka istorii. – M., 2001

⁷⁸ Istoriya Rossii. XX vek. SHkol'nyj slovar'-spravochnik / pod obshch. Red V.V. Barabanova. – M.: Astrel' AST, 2002

⁷⁹ Kniga rekordov Ginnesa. – M.: Izdatel'stvo AST, 1989. – S. 215

⁸⁰ Literaturnaya gazeta. - 1996. – 17 oktyabrya; Kapustin M.V. Konec utopii? Proshloe i budushchee socializma / M.V. Kapustin. – M., 1990. – S. 113-149

So, the ex-member of politic bureau of the Central Committee of Communist Party said: "During the Bolshevik's period changed only forms of repressions, the reasons were the same. Regime, government, elite did all their best to support and improve their power, their ideology and their property⁸¹".

Socio-economic, politic violence in the Soviet Russia and USSR was a country terror, because it was controlled by the government. With the help of calls, appeals, directions etc. repressions were active. These documents were signed by some people, which was illegal in accordance with the rules of the period. To conclude, these actions were criminal in nature and were illegal.

Exactly, in 1920-1930 these people create laws which made everything legal. Articles made repressions possible, but it could not justify them. We can also imagine that in a country a squad of robbers came to the power and re-made the laws according to their flavor and attitude. So was happened in the USSR.

CONCLUSION

In general, political repressions were not communist inventions. It was a historical experience. But this terror mixed and plus everything known before and summed all negative.

In the Soviet history there were three kinds of repressions. At first it had deeper character and touched all parts of society. In 1920-1930 was a social genocide to nobles and wealthy men. But in 1930 - 1950 the situation changed, repressions came to the elite and leaders from the other "lower" part of society.

Impossible repressions were only in Russia. It was all because the coming to the power group that did not have social bases. They tried to compel utopian program based on demagoguery idea. Lots of people were disagree and wanted to fight with it. As a result, they waged the war for possibility to be free and live in peace.

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