

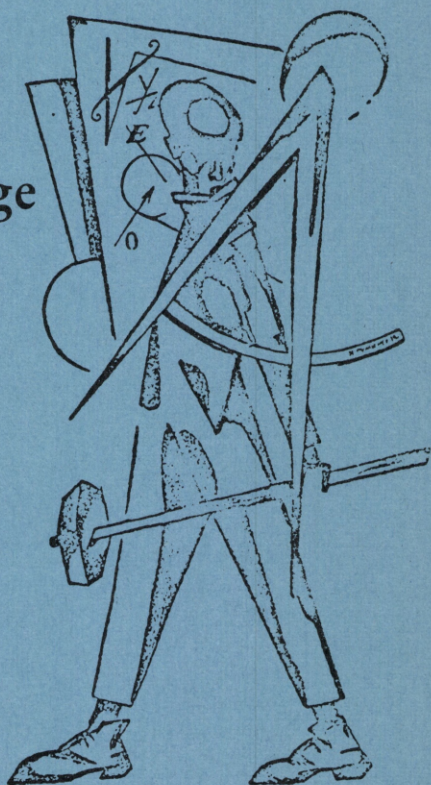
Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis
Stockholm Studies in Russian Literature

16

Aleksej Gastev

Proletarian Bard
of the Machine Age

Kurt Johansson



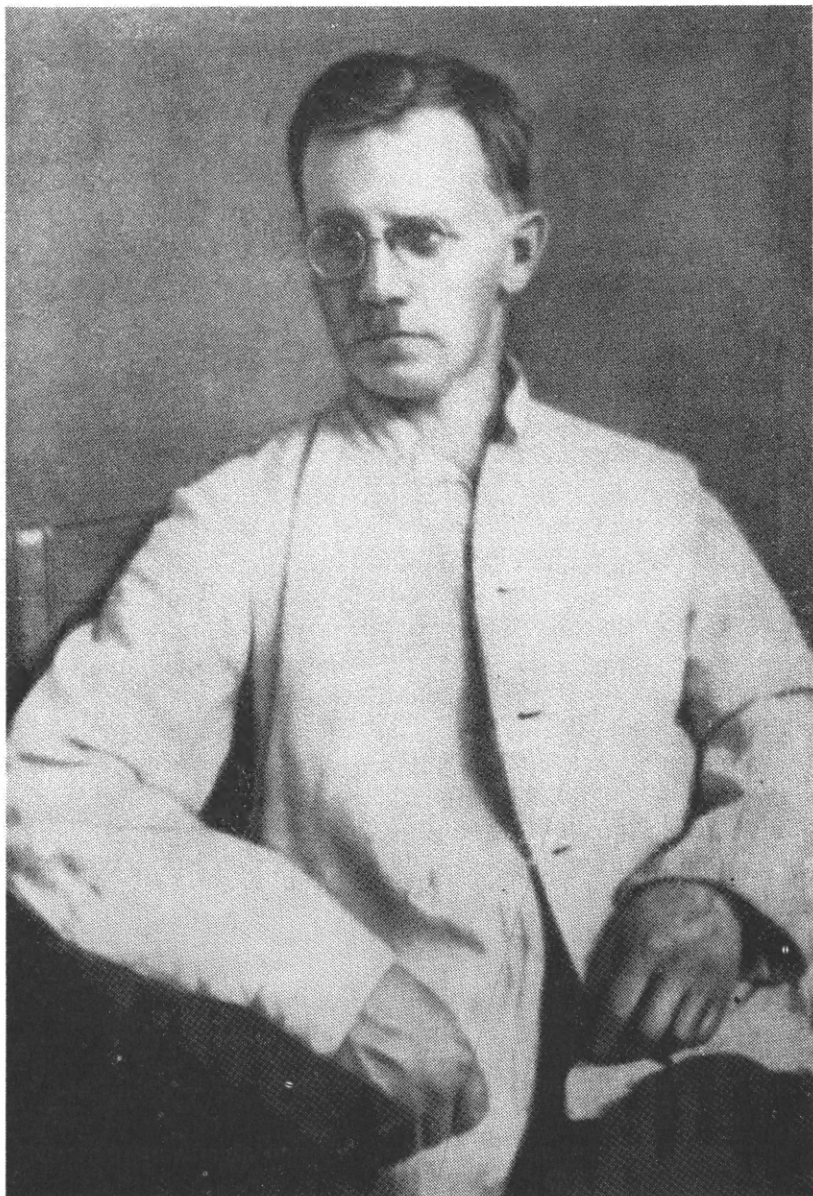
Almqvist & Wiksell International
Stockholm/Sweden

Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis

- Romanica Stockholmiensia
- Stockholm Contributions in Geology
- Stockholm Economic Studies. New Series
- Stockholm Economic Studies. Pamphlet Series
- Stockholm Oriental Studies
- Stockholm Slavic Studies
- Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology
- Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion
- Stockholm Studies in Economic History
- Stockholm Studies in Educational Psychology
- Stockholm Studies in English
- Stockholm Studies in History
- Stockholm Studies in History of Art
- Stockholm Studies in History of Literature
- Stockholm Studies in Human Geography
- Stockholm Studies in Linguistics
- Stockholm Studies in Modern Philology. New Series
- Stockholm Studies in Philosophy
- Stockholm Studies in Psychology
- Stockholm Studies in Russian Literature
- Stockholm Studies in Scandinavian Philology. New Series
- Stockholm Studies in Sociology
- Stockholm Studies in Statistics
- Stockholm Studies in Theatrical History
- Stockholmer Germanistische Forschungen
- Studia Graeca Stockholmiensia
- Studia Hungarica Stockholmiensia
- Studia Juridica Stockholmiensia
- Studia Latina Stockholmiensia
- Studies in North-European Archaeology

**Aleksej Gastej. Proletarian Bard of
the Machine Age.**





Aleksej Gastev (1882–1941?) in the 1920s.

Aleksej Gastev

**Proletarian Bard of the
Machine Age**

by

Kurt Johansson

ABSTRACT

This dissertation attempts to give an outline of Aleksej Gastev's life and works primarily up until 1920.

Aleksej Gastev (1882–1941?) belonged to the Russian proletarian intelligentsia. He was an active revolutionary, a journalist with syndicalist leanings, a metal-worker and trade-union leader, and one of the best proletarian poets. In later years he became perhaps the most important champion of the Taylor system and scientific management in Russia; as the founder and leader of the Institute of Labour (CIT) in Moscow he trained hundreds of thousands of new workers for Soviet industry. In 1938 he fell a victim to the Stalinist terror.

Besides presenting his biography, the present study tries to trace the development of Gastev's utopian ideas about the creation of a New Man suited to the industrial society of the future. In his articles and poems the worker is so intimately fused with machines that he adopts their rhythm and functional movements, himself becoming "mechanical". One chapter is specially devoted to Gastev's poetry, the collection *Poézija rabočego udara* ("The Poetry of the Factory Floor"). Four prose poems are analyzed in detail. These describe the future development of the proletariat, and also show how Gastev's manner of writing gradually becomes a kind of "Taylorized" poetry, that has been strongly influenced by futurism.

© Kurt Johansson
ISBN 91-22-00614-1

The cover-illustration is from the journal *Plamja* No. 49 1919 "Čelovek buduščego" ("Man of the Future").

On p. 1 CIT's emblem. The illustrations on pp. 106, 111, 113 are from A. Gastev, *Junost' idil*, Moskva 1923.

minab/gotab Stockholm 1983

Acknowledgements

It is no exaggeration to say that without the encouragement and advice of Prof. Nils Åke Nilsson this work would never have been written. I wish to express my deep gratitude to him.

I am much obliged to a number of colleagues in Sweden and abroad. I would like to mention especially Carin Davidsson, Boris Gasparov, Ben Hellman, Bengt Jangelldt, Henryk Lenszyc, Sven Linnér, Zinovij Papernyj, the late Gunnar Qvarnström, Regina Šaceva.

I am most indebted to Prof. Richard Stites for reading an early draft of the manuscript and providing valuable criticism and comments.

Information and material given by the Gastev family, the late Sofija Abramovna and her sons Aleksej and Jurij, has been invaluable for my research. I would like to thank Charles Rougle for translating my Swedish manuscript and for a number of astute observations and useful comments.

For financial support I extend my heartfelt thanks to The Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation. A grant from the University of Stockholm enabled me to study the Russian proletarian colony in Paris.

*In memory of my father
and to my mother and son*

Table of Contents

1.	1. Chronology	7
	2. Introduction	9
2.	1882–1910	12
3.	1. The Proletarian Colony in Paris (1910–1913)	34
	2. Gastev's Journalism in Paris	43
4.	Petersburg and Siberia (1913–1917)	54
5.	Petrograd – the Ukraine – Moscow (1917:1920)	57
6.	<i>Poèzija rabočego udara</i> ("The Poetry of the Factory Floor")	73
7.	Moscow (1920–1938)	104
8.	Epilogue	116
	Notes	118
	Appendix A: Gastev's Published Works 1903–1919	130
	B: The Texts of Four Poems	136
	C: The instruction "Kak nado rabotat" ("How to Work")	158
	Bibliography	159
	Index of names	167

1.1 Chronology

- 1882 Born in Suzdal'.
- 1898 or 1899 Enters the Moscow Teachers' College.
- 1900 Joins the Social-Democratic Party.
- 1902 Expelled from the college. Arrested.
- 1903 Sentenced to three years exile.
- 1904 Flees to Paris. Publishes short story "The Accursed Question" in Geneva.
- 1905 Professional revolutionary, active in the cities of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kostroma and Jaroslavl'.
- 1906 Delegate to the RSDRP's fourth congress in Stockholm. Arrested in Moscow. Sentenced to three years exile. Escapes to Paris.
Returns to Russia in the fall.
- 1907 Work and family life in Petersburg under assumed names.
- 1910 Contributor to *Žizn' dlja vsej*. Moves to Paris.
- 1913 Returns to Russia. Contributes to *Pravda*.
- 1914 Arrested. Exiled to Narym for four years.
- 1915 Flight to Tomsk and then to Novo-Nikolaevsk.
- 1916 The poem in prose "Èkspress". Contributor to the newspaper *Golos Sibiri*.
- 1917 Returns to Petrograd. Writes for several journals and newspapers. Elected general secretary of the All-Russian Metal-Workers' Union.
- 1918 First edition of *Poèzija rabočego udara*.
To the Ukraine in the fall.
- 1919 Appointed Commissar of the All-Ukrainian Art Soviet in Xar'kov.
- 1920 Moves to Moscow. The beginning of the Institute of Labor.
- 1921 Publication of *Pačka orderov* in Riga.
- 1923 Fifth edition of *PRU*.
- 1926 Sixth edition of *PRU*.
- 1931 Becomes member of Communist Party.
- 1932 Appointed chairman of the Soviet Bureau of Standardization.
- 1934 Takes part in international congress on standardization in Stockholm.

- 1936 Organizes training of Stakhanovites.
 1938 Arrested.
 1941 Officially declared dead on 1 October.
 1956 Rehabilitated.

Abbreviations used:

- BBS* *Bio-bibliografičeskij slovar'.*
BPI *Bibliografija periodičeskix izdanij Rossii 1901–1916.*
CIT *Central'nyj Institut Truda.*
ESG *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar' "Granat", T. 41.*
KNR *Kak nado rabotat'.*
NOT *Naučnaja Organizacija Truda.*
PO *Pačka orderov.*
PP *Proletarskie poëty pervyx let sovetskoj èpoxi.*
PRU *Poëzija rabočego udara.*
PV *Parižskij Vestnik.*
RP *Russkaja periodičeskaja pečat' 1895–1917.*
RSDRP *Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party.*
TU *Trudovye ustanovki, 1973.*
VCSPS *All-Union Soviet of Trade Unions.*
ZDV *Žizn' dlja vsej.*

1.2. Introduction

More than a hundred years have elapsed since Aleksej Gastej's birth in 1882. To most people, even in the Soviet Union, his name is nowadays unknown. And yet he was a significant political and cultural figure in the early decades of the twentieth century, first as an active revolutionary and later as a journalist and union leader. By the time of the Revolution in 1917 he had become known as perhaps the most outstanding Russian proletarian poet. It was above all he who introduced Taylorism in Russia, and during most of the 1920s and 1930s he was in charge of training new cadres of workers for Soviet industry. The main reason he has been forgotten is that he fell a victim to Stalin's terror in 1938 and remained until his rehabilitation in 1956 a non-person who could not even be mentioned, let alone published. Even after that date, however, relatively little has been written about him,¹ and as yet he has not received any comprehensive study or biography. Thus the present dissertation is a first attempt to fill that lacuna by outlining his life and works primarily up until 1920.

Gastej was both a worker and an intellectual, a representative of the so called proletarian intelligentsia. This makes him a relatively uncommon figure among prominent revolutionaries, most of whom had little contact with the workers and the factory floor. His detailed knowledge of conditions in the factories in which he was employed as a metal-worker in both Russia and France, of course, deeply influenced his general outlook and literary works. Everything he wrote is almost exclusively concerned with the proletariat. He himself called the various stages in his development "laboratories" (in 1927 he distinguished thirteen such stages).² There is a remarkable continuity here, his experiences in different areas before the Revolution leading directly to his contributions in the 1920s and 1930s, and it is characteristic that he should completely abandon literature in the early 1920s and devote himself entirely to the practical task of teaching the Russian people how to work.³

Beside presenting his biography, the present study has especially attempted to trace the development of Gastej's utopian ideas about the creation of a new man suited to the advanced industrial society of the future. His basic attitude was shaped by Černyševskij's *What Is to Be Done?* and by socialist literature from around the turn of the century. The ideal man in these works is thoroughly rational, fond of

work for its own sake, and selflessly devoted to society and the common weal. He is therefore also predominantly an ascetic who places heavy moral demands on himself and others. Other influences on Gastev's utopia derived from the general spirit of the times and were reshaped by him in accordance with his own particular experiences and temperament. There is first of all the notion that man functions like a machine and that everything in human life and society can be ordered and systematized much as in the natural sciences. Contemporary representatives of that point of view included Aleksandr Bogdanov in Russia and Frederick Taylor in America – both of whom influenced Gastev – and Jacques Lafitte in France.⁴ Secondly, there was the so called "Mythe du Moderne", with its emphasis on dynamism and speed and its idolization of technology and the machine. Gastev was receptive to the pulse of the new era as expressed in Italian and Russian futurism. In his works man is so intimately fused with machines that he adopts the rhythm and functional movements of the latter and himself becomes "mechanical", even in the way he thinks. This is what Gastev calls "machinism", and he regards it as a positive feature of a collective society. Thirdly, there is an emphasis on the collective, which of course derives primarily from socialist ideology and was a vital component of A. Bogdanov's theories. Gastev dreams of a mechanized collective, i.e. well disciplined proletarian masses, that could manage the enormous industrial production of the future rapidly and efficiently. The members of this collective lack all individuality and throw themselves enthusiastically into their labor. Here, thought Gastev, was the precondition for universal harmony and balance.⁵

Gastev differs as a poet from his proletarian colleagues. He was never really a member of their circle, despite the fact that his collection of poems *Poèzija rabočego udara* was published in 1918 as the first book of Proletkul't's book series. He was a forerunner, a model for the others. Although a number of poets were inspired by his themes, however, no one continued his experiments with free verse, and toward the end of his literary activity he was quite alone in his aspiration to "technicalize" verbal art itself through a kind of "Taylorization" of poetry.

Gastev's biography illustrates the history of the Russian workers' movement from the turn of the century to the beginning of the 1920s. As an individual he represents a remarkable combination of practical

knowledge and visionary aspiration; he was at one and the same time a revolutionary, a pioneer of time and motion studies, and a poet who celebrated iron and machines and considered that poetry could also be treated "with the chisel of the designer, the wrench of the fitter and the chronometer".⁶

The present dissertation is organized as follows: the bulk of the study (chapters 2, 4, 5, 7) is mainly devoted to a chronological account of Gastev's life and works. Chapter 3 deals with the Russian proletarian and revolutionary colony in Paris, in which Gastev was very active between 1910 and 1913, and also considers the articles he wrote while in France. Chapter 6 is devoted entirely to the collection *Poèzija rabočego udara*, and contains a detailed analysis of four characteristic poems. The three appendices include a bibliography of Gastev's works written between 1903 and 1920, the texts of the four poems analyzed in chapter 6, and Gastev's instruction "How to Work".

2.

Aleksej Kapitonovič Gastev was born on 26 September 1882 in the small central Russian town of Suzdal' in the province of Vladimir.¹ Like several other Russian revolutionaries (Lenin, Bogdanov, Buxarin) he came from a teacher's family. His father, Kapiton Vasilevič, taught in the local school, where for a time he also served as headmaster. The elder Gastev was interested in technology, inventing among other devices an electrical apparatus for the treatment of rheumatic ailments. Excessive drinking seems to have been involved in his sudden disappearance during a visit to Moscow in 1884. The circumstances surrounding his presumed death remain unknown. Gastev's mother, Ekaterina Nikolaevna, had been married once before. She had a cottage next to the Aleksandrovskij Monastery. As a widow she rented one of the rooms in the house to Kapiton Vasilevič. They discovered a mutual attraction and were married. Ekaterina Nikolaevna had a boy, Evgenij, from her first marriage. She bore Kapiton Vasilevič two sons – Nikolaj, born in 1880, and Aleksej, who was two years old when his father disappeared. She managed to give the children a decent upbringing despite straitened economic circumstances. She worked as a seamstress and had a small garden near the cottage. Aleksej later described his childhood home as clean and cozy and furnished in the national Russian style.²

Gastev's half-brother Evgenij died shortly after his term of military service, and the elder brother Nikolaj got a position with the postal service in the Suzdal' area. Ekaterina Nikolaevna stayed on in the cottage even after the children had grown up and moved away. Aleksej visited her there as often as possible until her death in 1913. He was 13 or 14 when he finished primary school. He intended at first to continue at a technical institute in Kursk, and spent a year studying for the entrance examinations. He failed, however, and so decided to become a teacher like his father.³ The minimum entrance age at the Moscow Teachers' College was 16, so Aleksej must have moved to Moscow in 1898 or 1899. In addition to pursuing the normal course of studies at the institute he continued to develop his technical interests, devoting himself in particular to metalwork and carpentry. His political activities date from 1900, when at the early age of 18 he joined the Social-Democratic Party (RSDRP) in Moscow. One may wonder what led this youth from a quiet, provincial town of craftsmen

like Suzdal', with his strict and probably religious upbringing, to become involved in politics. No information on the subject is available, but it may be assumed that his fellow students were an important factor, as institutes of higher education and even gymnasiums in the major cities were centers of political activity at this time. On 17 November 1901 a student demonstration was held in Manège Square in Moscow to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the death of Nikolaj Dobroljubov. Gastev, who was among the organizers, was expelled from the Teachers' College in early 1902, just before he was to have taken his final examinations. From this time on he devoted himself entirely to political activities, mostly in the form of propaganda and agitation among the industrial workers of the Moscow area. His first arrest came in December 1902, when he was accused of spreading illegal propaganda among the textile workers in Naro-Fominskoe. In July 1903 he received his sentence of three years exile to the province of Vologda.

Gastev was sent to Ust'-Sysl'sk, some 450 miles east of the city of Vologda. His period of exile there has been described in a recent series of articles in *Krasnoe znamja*, the main newspaper of the Komi Autonomous Republic.⁴ Part of the trip was by boat, and he arrived on 30 July. He was given a small allowance by the state with which he was expected to pay his own living expenses. He was under police supervision the whole time and was required to report his whereabouts to a local official at regular intervals. The authorities probably regarded Gastev as a rather bothersome individual. He complained to the governor in Vologda that a large part of his subsistence allowance had been withheld by the police. He requested permission to work as a copyist for the forest inspector, and this was temporarily granted; when he applied to be a private tutor, however, he was denied: "Gastev cannot be permitted to engage in pedagogical activities". Not until he applied to the Ministry of the Interior was he allowed to tutor children up to the age of 14. According to the police chief's report of 29 January 1904, Gastev preferred to instruct older pupils in politics. By this time the young revolutionary (he was now 21) seems to have become the leader of the exile colony, organizing among other actions a demonstration to protest the brutal treatment certain of his comrades had suffered at the hands of the police. The authorities considered Gastev and his comrade Sinajskij to be a bad influence on the other exiles (and the local population as well). On 12

February 1904 it was decided to transfer them. Gastev was led under convoy to the village of Vizinga, and Sinajskij was moved to Jarensk. The revolutionary battle song "Otrečemsja ot starogo mira..." ("We Renounce the Old World" – the "Workers' Marseillaise" that later became the national anthem of the Provisional Government in 1917) was sung as the prisoners were assembled for departure.⁵ Gastev remained in Vizinga for a little more than two months. Feeling that village was too far removed from the center of events, Gastev applied for a transfer to Jarensk, which was granted on 29 April.

On 19 May Gastev received the good news that his "Za stenoj" ("Behind the Wall") a short story based on the life of the exiles in Ust'-Sysol'sk, had been published in the Jaroslavl' newspaper *Severnyj kraj*.⁶ This was his first printed literary work. It was signed I. Dozorov, the pen-name he would use for many years.⁷ [While awaiting his sentence in 1903, Gastev had already written for the newspaper *Vladimirskaia gazeta* under the pseudonym Odinokij (See Appendix A)]. Gastev arrived in Jarensk on 1 Juni 1904. After only ten days he fled. It was over 120 miles to the nearest railroad at Kotlas, but from there he could easily continue to central Russia. He does not seem to have had any difficulty in escaping from exile and leaving Russia. The governor in Vologda issued an order for his arrest which contains the first known physical description of Gastev: "Age 22 years; height 2 arshins and 5 vershoks [approx. 5'5"]; gray eyes, wears glasses; hair, eyebrows, moustache and beard light brown; nose, mouth and chin average; dressed in black frock-coat, leather boots, wears pants tucked into bootlegs, "kasarovo" hat with upturned brim [resembles a cowboy hat]; no distinguishing marks or characteristics".⁸

From Russia, Gastev made his way to Western Europe. He proceeded directly to Paris, the Mecca of Russian revolutionaries at the time, where he found employment as a fitter in a factory. In the evenings he attended courses at an institute organized by Russian émigrés⁹ and began studying French, which he eventually learned to speak fluently. According to a collection of Lenin's correspondence published in 1977, Gastev wrote several letters to him in the autumn of 1904.¹⁰ By the end of the year he was in Geneva, where he published at his own expense a short story in Russian entitled *Prokljatyj vopros* ("The Accursed Question").

He published his 24-page short story under the pseudonym A.

Odinokij (the solitary one). The main character, Vasilij, is a man in his thirties who has renounced his personal life and dedicated himself to working for the good of society. In this respect he recalls Raxmetov, one of the heroes of Černyševskij's novel *Čto delat'?* ("What Is to Be Done?"). Vasilij has dreamed of women ever since adolescence:

[...] and to kiss a woman, stroke her hair, her hands, touch her breasts, her waist, even just her dress, to be with them constantly, gaze upon them, be caressed by a woman – all this became for him a constant, morbidly passionate dream. His imagination and fantasies were filled with anticipation of this unknown bliss. And both woman herself and his passionate attraction for her seemed to him to be so bright, pure and poetic! In this attraction Vasilij found nothing filthy or mean [...]

He is seduced by a prostitute when he is about 17, and the fact that such wanton women exist never ceases to astonish him:

[...] but there are many cheerful, amazing women who will let you kiss them, hold them by the hand, hug them, and even (he whispered the following into his listener's ear) go to bed with them. Do you understand? Go to bed with them! Oh, they are amazing women! You can do whatever you want with them. Anything... absolutely anything! [...]

Vasilij's weakness, his "animal passion", fills him with self-contempt and becomes "the most accursed, the most tragic question of his life". He yearns for a different kind of love with a different kind of woman. Together they would "read, think, experience, share the same spiritual needs and ideals, work together, share both happiness and sorrow... Nothing more...". The arrival of spring arouses his repressed instincts, and Vasilij once again gratifies them in the arms of a prostitute, which causes him new and even more intense qualms of conscience. What is to be done? Vasilij hints that much of the problem derives from society's view of women and from morality, which has created "a cult of female purity and chastity". The only answer as far as he is personally concerned, however, is to resist his sexual passion and "let the human being within him triumph".

[...] he vowed to himself that this would never happen to him again, that he would never again be torn between his passion and his conscience.

Gastev's story has little aesthetic merit, but it does give us some insight into his personality. It is the first work which he himself published. It is plausible to regard the story as a personal confession. His choice of pseudonym, A. Odinokij, is also revealing. The problem in a larger perspective was how the "new man", of whom Raxmetov was the Russian archetype, was to solve the problem of sex. How was the revolutionary to combine dedicated political struggle and his existence as an ordinary being with emotions and sexual needs? Probably influenced by the heroes of Černyševskij's novel, most Russian revolutionaries had strong ascetic leanings, renouncing personal indulgences and striving toward the ideals of chastity and total commitment to the Cause. Leading figures such as Lenin, Krupskaja and Bogdanov fit the picture well.¹¹ Gastev had obviously been trained in the same ascetic spirit. Later in life he omitted mentioning personal, intimate feelings in his writings, as if he were afraid of them, and when he drew his picture of the future new man in a collective society, he liberated him from all disturbing emotions: everything was to be organized on a collective basis.

Z.S. Papernyj is the only Soviet critic to have commented upon Gastev's story. He notes a certain similarity to Majakovskij's first love poem. "The question of how to love and how to live were inseparable for them both".¹² It may be added that the theme of the conflict between youthful idealism and the biological instincts was a prominent one in late 19th-century Western and Russian literature. L. Tolstoj's *Kreutzer Sonata* (1889) is perhaps the most important aesthetic formulation of the argument that sexual lust is the root of all evil. The theme appears also, for example, in L. Andreev, whose short stories "V tumane" ("In the Fog") and "Bezdna" ("The Abyss") aroused a debate around the year 1903. In his enlightening book on the women's movement in Russia Richard Stites points out that "the purely sensual view of sex was nothing new to Russian literature [he quotes Čexov's "Pripadok" ("A Fit of Nerves") in evidence] but it appeared with greater frequency and audacity in post-1905 writings".¹³ The problem treated in Gastev's story was thus a very topical one.

We have little information on Gastev's first sojourn in Paris. On the basis of *Prokljatyj vopros* we may conclude that he was an energetic young man with an ascetic disposition, and that he had both revolutionary and literary ambitions. During his visit to Geneva in

late 1904 he probably became acquainted with Lenin or Krupskaja. He had already written several letters to Lenin and in the following summer he sent reports to him and the newspaper *Proletarij* on the strikes northeast of Moscow.¹⁴ In early 1905 he was back in Paris. In an article written several years later for the journal *ZDV* (May 1910), he describes the enthusiasm with which the Paris workers greeted news of the disturbances in Petersburg. Thousands gathered together and cried: Long live Russia! Long live the Proletariat!

Probably on the orders of the Bolshevik wing of the party, Gastev returned to Russia in the early spring of 1905. He was by this time a professional revolutionary, and his first assignment was in the city of Jaroslavl'. He was sent there by the central committee and placed at the disposal of *Severnyj sojuz* (The Northern Workers' Union). Its code name was "Semjon Semjonovič" (the initial letters of the Russian name being S S). For several months Gastev was very active in the large textile industries located northeast of Moscow in the cities of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kostroma and Jaroslavl'. Several of the big strikes took place there.¹⁵ The textile workers' wages and working conditions were wretched: their working-day was at least 11 hours, they were totally unprotected against arbitrary dismissal, they lacked any form of accident, health, or old-age pension insurance. Most of the workers were unskilled former peasants and therefore expendable.

One faction in the Russian Social-Democratic movement known as the "economists" considered the improvement of the workers' social conditions as their primary goal and the strike as the best means by which to attain it. This was the same method advocated by the French syndicalists, whom Gastev later joined. Lenin was an energetic opponent of the economists, demanding instead political action and organization. Gastev's position in this conflict is not entirely clear. He seems to have been on both sides of the issue: he participated in and helped organize strikes designed to improve the material welfare of the workers but also advocated the Bolshevik thesis of infusing the working class with revolutionary consciousness. Gastev stayed only a short while in Jaroslavl'. The memoirs of one eyewitness testify to his oratorical skills: "It seems that at one political meeting a non-socialist politician by the name of P.P Viktorov was holding forth against Marxism [...] a worker in the audience unexpectedly stood up, and, to the astonishment of all, began debating with the learned gentleman.

It turned out that this worker was none other than the outlawed party functionary and now famous poet Gastev".¹⁶

Gastev's next assignment was in "the Russian Manchester", Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The city was the site of the first major strike of 1905, which began on 12 May and was supported by some 40,000 workers for a period of 72 days. Gastev is described as one of its leaders.¹⁷ A milestone in the history of the Russian workers' movement was reached at this time. On 15 May was founded the first Soviet of Workers' Deputies, which originally consisted of 110 members. The strike became radicalized as the summoning of the military on 3 June resulted in bloody clashes with the workers. A growing famine led to vandalism and the plundering of shops on 24–25 June. Although the Soviet decided to call off the strike on 1 July, certain demands advanced by the employers caused it to continue until 18 July. The workers did not achieve any improvements in their conditions. Due to the length of the strike and the resoluteness and solidarity of the strikers, however, it acquired considerable significance in neighboring industrial areas and even became known outside of Russia. Financial support was not only sent from Moscow and Petersburg, but also poured in from Hamburg, Warsaw, Geneva and even distant New York.¹⁸

It was discovered only a few years ago that a number of articles published in the Social-Democratic newspaper *Proletarij* and the letter to Lenin signed "Popovič" were written by Gastev. (The code name "Popovič" together with Gastev's first name Aleksej or Aleša recalls one of the heroes in the Russian bylinas). These letters and articles were detailed reports on the situation in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the morale of the workers.¹⁹ In one letter (dated 10–12 June) Gastev wrote:

The mood in Ivanovo is militant. After the slaughter here what is needed is bullets, not literature! All verbal torrents are received as either demagoguery or simply mockery. The movement in Ivanovo is of the Bolshevik type. The Social-Democratic organization has done more than merely give the masses slogans. It has proved the master of this situation; every detail, every clash, all the pressure brought to bear has been led by the organisation.

The letter consisted of three pages in Gastev's cramped handwriting. It was in effect an assessment of the revolutionary situation as a

whole. It also contained a number of suggestions, one of which emphasized the need to arm the workers.

The events in Ivanovo-Voznesensk had repercussions in Kostroma some 65 miles to the north, where a strike broke out on 21 June. Gastev was again among the organizers, this time under the cover-name Lavrentij. In *The Year 1905 in Kostroma* eyewitnesses described Gastev as an excellent speaker capable of immediately captivating his audience.²⁰ Although he was young and relatively short, he had a strong and resonant speaking voice. Gastev was elected chairman of the Kostroma Workers' Soviet and a delegate to planned conferences.

Anticipating clashes with the police, special combat detachments of armed workers were organized. Similar "boevye družiny" had already been formed in Petersburg after Bloody Sunday. Gastev was also among the leaders of these groups. As is evident from the letter to Lenin, he considered that armed struggle was necessary. A telegram dated 25 July from the governor to the Ministry of the Interior gives us an idea of the situation in Kostroma:

At about 8:00 PM today the workers gathered for at political meeting in the factory district of Kostroma. A squadron of Cossacks was dispatched to disband it. The order to disperse was ignored, and the crowd insulted and verbally threatened the Cossacks. After repeated warnings and signals the squadron commander opened fire. There were casualties.

The strike in Kostroma lasted approximately three weeks. The Workers' Soviet decided to call it off when the factory owners reduced the working-day by one hour and agreed to certain wage increases.²¹

Gastev continued to be active as a revolutionary agitator in the Northern District throughout August and September, participating in meetings and discussions, always unannounced and under assumed names to elude the police, who were of course anxious to put a stop to his activities. In October he went into hiding in his home town of Suzdal' and in the neighboring town of Gavrilov-posad.²² When the armed December revolt in Moscow was crushed, Gastev went to Rostov and infiltrated the 48th Artillery Brigade stationed there. He is reported to have dressed in uniform, frequented the barracks and even roomed together with the soldiers. The revolutionaries attemp-

ted to spread their ideas among the troops and procure weapons and ammunition. Persistent persecution and arrests by the police, however, made it necessary to curtail subversive activities after a short while.

For Gastev the year 1905 was an intense and crucial period, and considering his youth, his contribution was considerable. The high points were his participation in the first Workers' Soviet in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and his chairmanship of the Soviet in Kostroma. It should of course also be realized that however serious his political commitment, Gastev must have been attracted by the element of adventure in defying Tsardom and the excitement of outwitting and eluding its police spies. Reminiscences of this year appeared later in his articles in *ZDV*,²³ and the enthusiasm and belief in a better future that moved the workers during this struggle are given literary expression in one of his major works *Poèzija rabočego udara (PRU)* (literally – "Poetry of the Worker's Blow" but better rendered by the figurative "Poetry of the Factory Floor").

As is apparent from a number of articles Gastev wrote under the pseudonym A. Nabegov for the Social-Democratic newspaper *Kostromskij golos*, at the beginning of 1906 he was still in Rostov and Kostroma in the Northern District.²⁴ Here Gastev appears as a political journalist, analyzing the situation after the defeat of December and sharply delineating his position on various questions. The views expressed here clearly coincide with those of the Bolshevik faction. The first article, entitled "Spontaneity and Organization", appeared on 1 February. It was directed against a new proletarian newspaper, *Rabočaja gazeta*, organ of "The Independent Social Party of Workers", and contains Gastev's views on the Labor Movement. As Lenin had done in 1902, he maintains that the movement consists of two strata: the conscious, determined vanguard of workers (members of the Party) and those with little awareness of their situation who are only interested in immediate concrete improvements. He regards this newspaper as an organ for the second, cautious stratum and points out that the paper expresses the same views on socialism as certain conservative groups with Slavophil leanings, regarding it as an alien philosophy imported by the intelligentsia from Western Europe. In his conclusion Gastev raises an important theoretical question, namely whether the majority or the minority is the rightful leader of the Labor Movement. By this

time he was convinced that only the Social-Democratic Party (i.e. the minority) was capable of leading the working class forward, and he rejects the notion of an "independent workers' party". As we shall see, he changed his views on this issue about one year later.

Gastev's final contribution to *Kostromskij golos* is a long article on the peasant movement, an unusual theme for him, but one of particular political significance in 1906. The agrarian question was given special attention at the 4th Party congress in Stockholm two months later.

Gastev attended the congress as the delegate from the Kostroma district, arriving in Sweden via Turku, Finland. The congress lasted from 19 April to 8 May. 140 delegates participated, most of them registering with the Swedish police under false names and home addresses.²⁵ The majority stayed at the Hotel Blå Bandet and Hotel Malmsten, both run by the abstinence movement. The congress was held at the People's Palace (Folkets Hus). There Gastev became acquainted with prominent Social Democrats, several of whom later became influential leaders of the Soviet state: Lenin, Krupskaja, Djugašvili (Stalin), Lunačarskij, Vorošilov, Frunze, Deržinskij, and others.

The purpose of the congress was to unite the Social-Democratic Party. To Lenin's disappointment the Mensheviks won a majority of seats (7 of 10) in the election to the Central Committee.²⁶ "The congress dragged on in a string of long sessions and interminable debates and squabbles", writes I. Deutscher in his biography of Stalin.²⁷ The minutes show that Gastev also spoke, supporting Lenin on the agrarian question. The crucial issue of the debate concerned land reform. "Lenin ... wanted the ownership of all land to be vested in the central government."²⁸

Petersburg was attired in vernal green by the time Gastev returned. Several years later he described the contrast he experienced between the beauty of nature and the city on the one hand and the despair of the Russian workers now that all their hopes of revolution had been dashed to the ground:

I remember that morning in May. The sunlight danced; silvery dewdrops dripped from the leaves; birds twittered in the gardens and the life of the street hummed all around. The coolness of the fresh air made you want to inhale in greedy breaths. And ... was it really true

that on this morning beautiful Nevskij Prospekt was being tread by malicious, exhausted people reeking of liquor?²⁹

Already by the end of May he was back in Kostroma, where he appeared at secret meetings and reported on the decisions of the congress in Stockholm. He dwelled in particular on the question of land reform, emphasising the importance of arousing the peasants to true political awareness. It was decided to send agitators to the countryside, and Gastev himself went to the Makarevo district some 65 miles northwest of Kostroma. In June 1906 a district party conference was held in Moscow. The police succeeded in fulfilling Minister of the Interior Stolypin's order to arrest all the leading revolutionaries in attendance. On 8 June Gastev was put in the Butyrka prison,³⁰ receiving a short while later his second sentence of exile, which this time was 3 years in the northern province of Arxangel'sk. After only a month he fled abroad, again to Paris and Geneva. We have no information on this period, but he seems to have returned very soon to Russia. He was at any rate in Kostroma by November.

In connection with the strikes in 1905 the struggle between the police/military and the workers had hardened to the extent that the latter began to form special armed combat detachments. So called military-technical bureaus were established to train workers in such arts as sabotage and the procurement of weapons and ammunition. These detachments were placed under direct Party control. When the Party coffers began to be drained, the groups were dispatched, on specific orders from above, to rob banks or simply plunder.³¹

As early as June Gastev had been elected the ideological leader of the combat detachment in Kostroma, for which duties he assumed the cover-name Spiridon. The executive leader of the group was M.S. Kedrov (who later became known for his cruelty as an officer of the Čeka in the Arxangel'sk area).³² Gastev's activity in the group must, however, have been brief. Towards the end of the year a conflict arose within the technical bureau which led to the disbandment of the detachment.³³ Gastev was evidently charged to report the fact to the Central Committee. This meant that he visited Lenin, who at the time was in Terijoki on the Gulf of Finland. Lenin responded to the news with the order that combat detachments were not to be disbanded. On his way back Gastev was arrested in Petersburg and

thrown into the Kresty Prison; he allegedly managed to send the message from Lenin to Kostroma by smuggling it out on a cigarette paper.³⁴

*

Gastev's first wife, Anna Ivanovna Vasil'eva, must have been a significant figure in his life during these hectic years. From a working-class family in Moscow, she was an energetic and colorful woman revolutionary. They probably became acquainted in Rostov in late 1905, when Gastev was agitating among the artillerymen. She seems to have been precisely the sort of woman that Vasilij in *Prokljatyj vopros* dreamed about, a woman with whom he could "share joy and sorrow" and above all a woman who would join him in his struggle for a new world. According to a letter from Anna Ivanovna to Gastev which was intercepted by the police, they were married in early 1906. The circumstances, however, were hardly conducive to quiet marital life. Anna Ivanovna was as active as Gastev in the revolutionary movement. She propagandized among the soldiers, cutting her hair and donning a uniform in order to share the life of the conscripts. She was finally arrested in Rostov for disseminating forbidden literature. The police succeeded in finding more incriminating evidence against her and in the summer of 1906 she was banished for five years to the province of Jakutsk in eastern Siberia. She fled in October and with the help of the Moscow party committee escaped to Western Europe. In early 1907 she returned to Russia and settled in Petersburg, where she was finally reunited with her husband. Their son Vladimir was born in January 1908. As Gastev never gave any information about his personal life, we do not know whether Anna Ivanovna and their son also went to France in 1910 or whether they lived together in Paris. Anyway, she was later arrested in Russia for political activities and not released until the revolution of 1917. By that time she and Gastev appear to have separated. He remarried in 1918. In 1938 Anna Ivanovna was again imprisoned during the Stalinist terror, only a few days before her former husband. Her subsequent fate in prison is unknown, but she never returned.³⁵

Gastev lived in the Russian capital for about three years (1907–1910). He arrived there on the way back to Kostroma from Lenin and was arrested – if the information is correct – but he must

have succeeded in eluding the police after a short time. In the spring of 1907 he met his wife again and got a job on an assembly line in a factory. At this time he was very disillusioned with the revolutionary movement of 1905–1906. Judging by his later articles he blamed the failure on the system of party politics, by which a small group of full-time functionaries imposed their will on the masses. Having been for several years a professional revolutionary and faithful member of the Bolshevik faction who obediently followed orders from the Central Committee of the Party, he now reoriented himself politically by withdrawing from the Social-Democratic Party and moving close to the syndicalists.³⁶

Syndicalism came to Russia via France. The intermediaries were two of Kropotkin's followers, Maria Korn and Gogeliiia – Orgeiani, who in the first issue of *Xleb i Volja* in 1903 advocated a general strike, which the syndicalists regarded as the most effective weapon for destroying the capitalist system.³⁷ The events of 1905, in particular the general strike in October, they interpreted as "syndicalisme révolutionnaire". The meaning of the term in France was that workers gave first priority to the struggle for concrete economic improvements. Syndicalists took an independent attitude toward all political parties maintaining that they themselves were capable of realizing the social revolution and of constructing a socialist society based upon trade unions ("syndicat" in French). This appealed to a man like Gastev, who had always been interested in practical results such as improved working conditions, better wages, health insurance and the like.

For some reason the Russian censorship allowed the printing of syndicalist literature immediately after 1905. The main works published were translations of the most important French treatments of the subject by Pelloutier and Lagardelle.³⁸ Syndicalism as a movement reached the peak of its influence in France around 1906. It is probable that a reading of this literature and Gastev's personal experience (in Russia and in France) induced him to become involved in the trade-union movement in Petersburg. Trade unions were a relatively recent phenomenon in Russia, due to the fact that Russian industry was itself comparatively young and that most of the industrial workers had their roots in the countryside. During the year of revolution membership in unions increased to about 250,000.

The Petersburg Metal-Workers' Union was founded in April 1906,

calling itself "Professional'noe obščestvo rabočix po obrabotke metalla".³⁹ Its first meeting attracted some 2,000 workers from various factories who elected an organizational bureau. M.I. Kalinin, later President of the Soviet Union, was among the organizers. When Gastev joined in 1907 there were about 13,000 members. By the time he left Petersburg in the spring of 1910 this number had grown to some 80,000. Like the French "syndicats", the Russian unions were non-party organizations. This did not mean that they were apolitical. The trade union movement published a journal, *Professional'nyj sojuz*, to which the Metal-Workers' Union sent a first trial issue of its own publication *Rabočij po metallu* (*The Metal-Worker*) of 22/6 1906. Published under different names to evade the censor, it continued to be published until 12/6 1914. Gastev contributed to it under the pseudonym A. Zorin.

During this period in Petersburg Gastev was still wanted by the police and was forced to use assumed names. He was arrested at trade-union meetings several times, but was released when his passport was found to be in order. His path was crossed by the notorious police spy Roman Malinovskij, who was a metal-worker, a founder of the Metal-Workers' Union, and its secretary from 1907 to 1909. Malinovskij was one of the regime's best spies, operating as an agent and reporting on meetings and other events arranged by the workers.⁴⁰ It is probable that Gastev was arrested on the basis of information provided by Malinovskij. In the foreword to the fifth edition of *PRU* Gastev writes that he had had "misunderstandings for many years" with him. The conflict between the two men probably began already in the executive committee of the union.

The employment situation was not an easy one, and Gastev was forced to change jobs a number of times. He worked as a lathe-operator and even as a tram driver. At times he was unemployed. S. Dreyden notes in his book *Muzyka-revoljucii* the interesting fact that during the years 1908–1909 Gastev took part in the songs and music that were included in the educational activities of a workers' club. His experiences from this club may have influenced the organization of "Rabočij klub" in Paris in 1911.⁴¹

During the years 1907–1909 in Petersburg Gastev does not seem to have been very active as a writer. We have only found five contributions in 1909 to the newspaper *Edinstvo* ("Unity"), one of the successors to *Rabočij po metallu* ("The Metal-Worker"). All but one

dealt with trade-union questions. 1910, when Gastev became a correspondent for the journal *Žizn' dlja vsej (ZDV) (Life for Everyone)*, marks a new period in his life, in which he consciously tries to evaluate his experiences among his fellow-workers and in the factories.

Several of the articles to *ZDV* complete Gastev's biography from the Petersburg period. Two of them are about his work on the tramway, which evidently was something new and interesting for him. (The last contribution to *Edinstvo* was a sketch about it.) "Iz dnevnika tramvajščika" ("From a Tram-Driver's Diary") written in Paris in 1910,⁴² provides an impressionistic portrait of Petersburg viewed from the driver's seat of a streetcar. Gastev drove on line 2, which ran between Novaja Derevnja on the Viborg side to Nevskij Prospekt. He describes the technical details with obvious relish:

[...] with the motors whirring mightily you cut through the crisp air saturated with the fragrance of fresh greenery. Slowly, quietly, as if on velvet, you drift onto the Stroganov Bridge and rein in the car on the slope. A stop. And after it, ignoring the protests of the overdressed passengers and disregarding safety precautions, I switch on both motors at once; with a terrible lurch and bursts of sparks, I take off as if I had been stung by a bee down the twisting lane of Kamennostrovskij Prospekt.

One notes how fascinated he is by his command over the humming, roaring, dangerous machine. He is thrilled by speed, yet the cityscape and the suburbs with Turgenevian country estates make him almost lyrical. He drives past the Aleksandrov Garden, and before him looms a giant creation of modern technology – the Troickij Bridge. He is filled by a kind of mystical elation as he hears the engines straining to pull the "seven-hundred-pood" cars up on the bridge. As early as this we can hear the voice of the bard of the machine and technology:

I switch the motors on maximum almost from the beginning. They lift the 700-pood cars with a kind of fateful stubbornness; before we reach the top I reduce the current a few octaves. It is as if someone very large struggles in a sealed vacuum and buries his mighty, heavy, methodical groaning deeper and deeper within him.

The joy of this work vanished rather quickly, however, and after a month he felt exhausted, worn out by lack of sleep, weary of the eternal trips down the same streets past the same poles. It got so bad that he even began counting these tramway poles in his sleep. "Damned idiocy", he calls it. Gastev cites one of his fellow workers who is also suffering from this tedium:

Is this life really going to drag on for years and decades? After an excruciating day of work you sleep like a log. The next day you get up again to break your back for Mr. Capital. And again, and again, and again. [...] There is only the hum of the motor, which also seems to be saying out loud: "And again, and again, and again . . .".

It is interesting to connect these impressions with Gastev's utterances some ten years later, when he had become an advocate of the Taylor system. The worker, he said then, must be like a living machine, well-prepared, well-organized, swift and effective; no thoughts of monotony must trouble his life and work:

In the machine and instrument
everything has been calculated and adjusted.
We shall do the same with
the living machine – man.

. . .

Mankind has learned
To manufacture things.
It is time we learned
The thorough manufacture of men.⁴³

This change of attitude toward work and the worker began, as we shall see, already during Gastev's three-year stay in Paris.

The story "V tramvajnom parke" ("At the Tram Depot") was written in 1913 and published in installments in *Pravda* (See Appendix A.).⁴⁴ It is based on a real event, an accident which happened when Gastev was working in the tramway repair shop on Vasilij Island in Petersburg. It consists to a large extent of dialogues in which each character is distinguished by his typical words and turns of phrase. The bright forces of spring contrast with the life behind the fence of the depot, the management is set in opposition to the workers. New methods had been introduced to rationalize and increase efficiency, and the work force had diminished as a conse-

quence. "Almost like the Taylor system", comments one apprentice workman. There is mention of the necessity of industrial safety measures, accident insurance and an interment fund. Accidents, catastrophes and death are a recurrent gloomy theme in his literary work. They belong to the inevitable lot of the worker in capitalist society.

It is obvious from a couple of articles in *ZDV* that Gastev tried to analyze his own political position and the development of the Russian working class from the time before the 1905 Revolution until 1910. The most detailed analysis is in the article from August 1911, under the heading "Rabočij mir" ("The World of the Worker"). The first part, "Faith", deals with the period before and during 1905, the second, "Despair", treats of the mood in Petersburg after the failure of the revolt, and the third, "Experience", turns to the contemporary situation among the workers in Russia and the West and the experiences they have gained from the events of 1905. Thus the work is structured on a dialectical scheme consisting of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.

Belief in a revolution that would radically alter life and society was prevalent before and during 1905. According to Gastev this belief bore a certain resemblance to religious faith:

They awaited the mighty hurricane of the people; they did not know what to call it, but they deeply believed in it. This faith was the soul of the movement. The workers greedily snapped up words which they understood poorly, but they knew that something was moving, something was crumbling; they sensed their strength and straightened their backs. It seemed as though there was nothing ahead of them that could not be taken, nothing that could not be conquered.

This faith and elation prevented any clear formulation of the goal. The masses demanded vague intimations, "a cloud of unclear, not fully articulated hopes", symbols. This very lack of concreteness is the distinguishing characteristic of religion, Gastev notes. The masses also needed a leading figure, an idol: ". . . someone of remarkable intellect, an authority, who possesses irrefutable truths; they needed someone with power – the power to promise them new future worlds". There is nothing surprising in the fact that Gastev's evaluation of the period is bound to religion, as such connections were typical of the time.

At about the turn of the century a new religious consciousness is observable among Russian intellectuals, who took their inspiration from V. Solov'ev, L. Tolstoj and F. Dostoevskij. The current went by the name of *bogoiskatel'stvo* (God-seeking). Alongside this tendency, which found its most prominent representatives among writers, there was a group of socialists who aspired to satisfy the spiritual needs of the revolutionary youth. It was above all Gor'kij and Lunačarskij who laid the theoretical foundations of a current known as *bogostroitel'stvo* (God-building).⁴⁵ They sought a mass-psychological counterpart to religion that could be adapted to the industrial collective. Socialist religion would make the man of the future a god, a "superman". Bogdanov remained cool toward "God-building", but as Grille observes' "Das Bemühen um ein Führungsinstrument für die Manipulation grosser Menschenmassen oder "Kollektive", über die Steuerung und überhaupt die "Organisation" menschlicher Emotion liegt ebenfalls bei Bogdanov vor".⁴⁶ In this respect Gastev was a pupil of Bogdanov: as we have seen already in the story *Prokljatyj vopros* of 1904, control of the emotions was essential to him; this would include the organization of all aspects of human life. "To organize" was a key-word for both of them.

The boundless pessimism which followed upon the joy of struggle in 1905 and the so-called time of reaction are the subjects of the second part of the article, "Despair". Gastev expresses himself here in an untypically personal manner. He had also been a believer and seen everything destroyed; he had lost his faith, especially in parties and politics:

An icy shudder of disenchantment with parties, politics and organizations pierced the hearts of all like a knife. Bitter quarrels arose. Finally no one gave a damn about anything [...] There was no faith in anything or anyone.

He paints a grotesque picture of Petersburg as it appeared to him in the spring of 1906, after his return from Stockholm. Desperate, exhausted people stagger down magnificent Nevskij Prospekt. Miserable, listless, they commit suicide in the Neva and in the Fontanka and Mojka Canals, they throw themselves from tall buildings onto the pavement, shoot themselves, take poison, even hang themselves on the crosses in the cemeteries. Suicides became so common that the newspapers finally took notice of only the most

"interesting" cases. Those who did not seek death sought oblivion in alcohol or sexual orgies. The same motifs – pessimism, a yearning for death side by side with an ecstatic thirst for life – abound in the Russian literature of the time, figuring in the works of L. Andreev, Arcybašev, Blok, Brjusov, Sologub and others.

Gastev repeats and varies his impressions of people who pass from rapture to the verge of despair. The style and rhythm of his prose fluctuate between long periods, on the one hand, and short exclamations, questions, and apostrophes to the reader. His language has a tendency to become highflown, and much of his imagery is borrowed from the symbolists:

Those hopes, those hands reaching up to the heavens, to the unexplored height of life, that faith in the worlds and temples of happiness of the future. And suddenly . . . the crash, the ruthless collapse of all hopes and temples. Like gigantic landslides crashing down from the towering mountains into the abyss, hundreds and thousands of people were seized by blind despair and rushed into the yawning depths of death. They charged over the rostrums of the orators, over the altars, through the smoke of the incense, smashing everything to smithereens!

"Opyt" is the little of the third section. The Russian word *opyt* has two meanings, signifying both "experience" and "experiment". Gastev regarded practical work in organizations, unions and co-operatives as a laboratory where one also gained experience. Only through *opyt*, says Gastev, can a new world for the workers be born. He has obviously felt the influence of Bogdanov's theories of organization.⁴⁷

Gastev distinguishes several different types of workers. There is the resigned idealist who grits his teeth and is silent; there is the experienced party man who has lost faith in everything and now represents a kind of moral indifference in which all is permitted; there is the inquisitive worker who attends lectures and participates in study circles. All of these types belong to the vanguard of the working class, but the disillusioned ones are a danger to the movement. The man of the future was not to be found among representatives of the avant-garde. The forerunners of this new human type must be sought among ordinary workers, not among the skilled, "conscious" ones. It is interesting to note that later on, for instance in his writings in 1918 and 1919, this became characteristic of Gastev's prototype of the new

Russian man. He probably had the impression that this ordinary worker was more receptive to molding, training, "organizing". Furthermore, the majority of the working class were of this type.

According to Gastev, most workers had a sober, realistic view of the world. The questions that aroused lively debates in the literary salons were of no concern to them. They found such issues false and deceptive. Gastev observes that the contemporary worker had no religious problem. There was no room in this life for God-seeking or God-building.

Finally he draws attention to a typical trait of the ordinary worker's everyday labor, namely its automation, its rhythmical regularity, its repetitiveness. It is the same kind of observation he made as a tram driver in Petersburg (see p. 27):

At 7 AM the piercing whistles begin to sound in the big factories, most of which are located on the outskirts of the city. These giant iron anthills have begun to move and roar. And toward them from different directions there stretched enormous processions of workers, most of them grave and silent, rarely exchanging more than a word or two with their comrades. They walk quickly, almost at a run. They are used to leaving for work together at the same time every day.

He underscores the joylessness, the dreariness of the workday and reacts negatively to the monotony. (Gastev's short story "Vesna v rabočem gorodke" ("Springtime in the Workers' Town") from 1911 and its probable prototype Maksim Gor'kij's *Mat'* (The Mother) begin in a similar way.) How could Gastev later change his attitude to factory labor so drastically?

Gastev started contributing to *ZDV* in early 1910. There is reason to ask why he chose just that journal. He had at that time developed to the point where he no longer could tolerate the limitations imposed by affiliation with a particular party. *ZDV* must have appealed to him because of its independence, and perhaps he also felt a kind of respect for its initiator, the publicist Vladimir A. Posse (1864–19??), a many-sided intellectual and physician who reckoned anarchism, syndicalism and the cooperative movement among his many interests.⁴⁸ The first issue of *ZDV* appeared in December 1909, after which the journal continued to publish 12 substantial issues every year until September 1918. It included a variety of literary, artistic, popular scientific and social subject matter. Popular scientific books in various fields and Russian and foreign literary classics were

published as supplements from 1911 to 1916.

Responsibility for *ZDV* was entirely in Vladimir Posse's hands. He writes in his autobiography that he hoped the journal would become instrumental in creating a "readers' cooperative":

In founding *Žizn' dlja vsech*, I set myself the goal of creating a cooperative or society of consumers of intellectual values [...] The readers and subscribers would be fostered to become conscious members of the cooperative. The management, the contributors and employees and the subscribers would be united by the journal or newspaper into a single friendly family.⁴⁹

Posse has also described his first meeting with Aleksej Gastev (it must have taken place in late 1909 or at the very beginning of 1910).

The life of the workers was treated by A. Zorin. I remember how a short, curly-haired blond man arrived at the editorial office. His swollen cheek was bound in a white handkerchief, but his face was nevertheless pleasant and intelligent. Handing me a packet of sheets filled with the handwriting of an intellectual, he said:

"Couldn't you think of printing this? I work in a factory. If you like what I've written here, I'll regularly send you descriptions of the life of the workers".

Zorin looked like a typical *intelligent*. I read his manuscript, entitled "The World of the Worker" and subtitled "Moods of the Day". It was lively and vivid, yet the style was that of an intellectual. At the same time, however, it was obvious that the author really did work in a factory.

Posse goes on to say that he did not learn Zorin's real name until two years later. He says that Gastev depicted the French workers as ably as he had the Russian. Commenting on his writing he notes:

He wrote with enthusiasm, freely; he never forced the fact to fit a theory. His conclusions were vitally pertinent and instructive. Although he wrote a great deal, he was not verbose but concise. I included everything he wrote without any cuts.⁵⁰

Posse had made a considerable contribution to a cooperative organization in Petersburg called "Trudovoj sojuz" ("The Union of Laborers"), where he expressed views that must have appealed to Gastev.⁵¹

Beginning with the February issue of 1910, Gastev wrote more or

less regularly for the journal until October 1913.⁵² It is evident from a questionnaire in the journal addressed to the readers that his reports enjoyed considerable popularity. In issue 12 of 1911 there was an editorial marking the third anniversary of *ZDV*. The original policy of the publication was once again declared to be an impartial reflection of the thoughts and feelings of the working people. With this aim in mind, men close to the soil as I. Vlasov, P. Motorin and Sellonik were selected to voice the views of the peasants. A similar aspiration is evident with regard to the workers, "whose thoughts and feelings are so vividly expressed by A. Zorin, who has himself experienced both faith and despair, but has in turn gained experience". Certain readers had wondered whether Zorin really was a worker rather than an *intelligent*, to which the editors replied that he was both a factory worker and an intellectual. An intellectual, however, who had not abandoned the people but remained in their ranks: "This intelligentsia of the people ("narodnaja intelligencija") is just beginning to come into being, but it holds the guarantee of Russia's renewal and regeneration."

By the time of his last contribution to *ZDV* in 1913, Gastev had returned to Petersburg from Paris and was writing for several other publications, among them *Pravda*.

3.1. The Proletarian Colony in Paris (1910–1913)

Describing his work as a tram driver in 1909, Gastev remarks how he would long for Europe as he approached the crest of the Troickij Bridge and gazed out over the Neva:

I immediately switch off the motors, set the brakes on maximum, and admire the blue Neva rushing fearlessly to the sea. Young and full of life, the river rushes into the distant, mysterious, fog-shrouded expanses. I feel I want to "look into Europe" across the gulf; I always remember the West, its life, its struggle [...]"¹

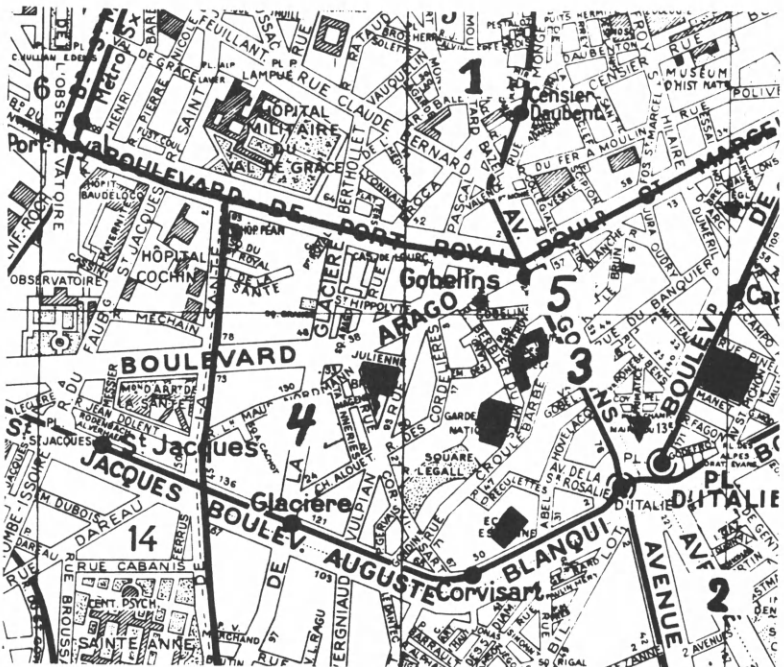
In May 1910 he was able to fulfill his wish and once again set off for Paris, the city that had been his goal already in 1904 and 1906. This time his stay there would be for three years.

He used the name Ivanov as previously. It is uncertain where he lived in Paris – probably near Place d'Italie, since most of the Russian workers' colony resided in that district. He worked as a metal craftsman in various French factories,² and for a short while he was also a taxi driver. He continued to contribute to journals in Petersburg, and for a time he was employed on a regular basis by *Parižskij Vestnik*. Various accounts in the Russian émigré press testify to the fact that Ivanov-Gastev made a significant contribution to the Russian workers' colony. He was active in the Russian section of the Metal-Workers' Union and became the first secretary of the politically independent Workers' Club. During this period his literary interests revived and he began writing short stories and poems in prose. Several of the works later published in *PRU* were written in Paris. In connection with that activity he became a member of the association for proletarian culture organized by A. Lunačarskij and F. Kalinin.

Very little has been written about the émigré Russian workers in Paris before World War I. As the colony was the milieu in which Gastev lived and worked during these years, it seems appropriate to digress briefly on the proletarian emigration and its cultural activities. When the political reaction began in Russia in 1906–1907, the resulting emigration was made up mostly of workers who had been blacklisted by the Oxrana for participating in strikes and demonstrations. This wave lasted until about 1913–1914, when conditions for socialists in Russia were eased somewhat. It spread throughout

Europe, to America and even to Australia.³ A great many workers settled in Paris, the main reasons for the choice being perhaps historical: it was the site of the revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871. Other important considerations were the fact that work was available and wages were higher than in Russia.⁴ Also, Russians seemed generally to get on better in France than anywhere else in Europe.

At the beginning of the 1910s Paris had some 3 million inhabitants. It was considered to be the cultural capital of the world and for that reason attracted artists and writers from all over the globe. The number of Russians in Paris was relatively large – in the Seine department alone they comprised 50,000 persons of a population of 600,000 in 1911. From 1 January 1912 to 1 May 1913, less than one and a half years, 7,724 Russian citizens were registered as immigrants. Of the 3,595 foreign students at the University of Paris in 1911, about half were Russians.⁵ There are no statistics on the proportion of workers in the Russian colony in Paris. At the turn of the century most of these were Jewish artisans, who tended to settle in



Map of Paris around Place d'Italie

an area around Rue des Rosiers. They were followed by skilled industrial workers – typographers, mechanics, metal-workers – who founded their own trade unions closely tied to their French counterparts. It was here that the workers were afforded an opportunity of observing syndicalism in practice.

The Russian proletarians gathered near the Latin Quarter in a district with its center at Place d'Italie. Their meeting-places were all situated within an area on the Left Bank in the 5th, 13th and 14th *arrondissements*.

A glance at the map shows how concentrated the activities were geographically. Point 1) Salle Prolétarienne, 76 Rue Mouffetar (lectures and workers' club meetings were held there); 2) Salle Alcazar, 190 Avenue de Choisy (south of Place d'Italie, a lecture hall); 3) The Russian library, 63 Avenue des Gobelins; 4) the Russian lunchroom, 53 Rue la Glasière (it served 200 immigrants daily); 5) the Russian Workers' Club, 12 bis Rue de la Reine Blanche. Further, the Salle Utilité Sociales, which was often used as a lecture hall, was located not far from Place d'Italie at 94 Boulevard Auguste Blanqui.

The Russian colony had additional facilities for its educational activities. There was the excellent Turgenev Library, the Free Workers' Library and the Société Russe. Institutions of higher education had also been founded, such as École des hautes études sociales (Vysšaja škola social'nyx nauk), where Gastev probably studied in 1904, the Collège libre des sciences sociales (Svobodnyj universitet) and the Main People's University (Glavnyj narodnyj universitet).

The Russian-language newspapers published in Paris were a very important factor in the lives of the Russian émigrés. Often rather short-lived, they represented various political factions. Among the most significant for the proletarian colony were *Social'demokrat*, *Golos social'demokrata*, *Znamja truda*, *Obščee delo*, *Proletarskoe znamja*, *Rabočaja gazeta*, *Rabočaja žizn'*, *Buduščee* and *Parižskij vestnik* (abbreviated *PV* below). The last is of particular significance because Gastev wrote in it and because it contains a wealth of information on the workers' colony.

The first issue of *PV* appeared on 19 November 1910. The editorial of the New Year's issue 1911 emphasized the political independence

of the newspaper and its ties with Russia. It promised "to hold high the banner of struggle against falsehood and evil. To the utmost of our abilities, we shall respond to all the demands, all the groans of our long-suffering native land". Thus keeping abreast of developments in Russia was one of the newspaper's chief tasks, as was the expression of opposition to the regime: "The Days of Freedom and then the Days of Hope flashed by like a mirage, and once again Russia is ruled by lawlessness, the crudest egotism, contempt for the masses, ignorance of their suffering, neglect of culture, of knowledge and of human dignity." One of the constantly recurring headlines in the paper was "Searches, arrests, trials, reprisals", under which detailed reports were given of the Oxrana's persecution and sentencing of political opponents in Russia. Editorials dealt most often with events "in the Motherland". For natural reasons, however, a good deal of space was devoted to events within Russian émigré circles in Paris and the rest of France. An effort was made to be as well-rounded and neutral as possible, and attention was given to both intellectuals and workers. A recurring "Chronicle" dealt with news in the Russian workers' colony. Subsections had titles like "Among the Metal-Workers", "The Workers' Club", "The Bureau of Labor", "The Literary Circle". Gastev, under the pseudonym A. Zorin, contributed regularly to it in May and June of 1911, writing four long articles on trade-union questions. While on the staff of *PV*, the syndicalist G. Xrustalev was editor-in-chief. Xrustalev was a Jewish lawyer and former Menshevik who had served under his real name Nosar as chairman of the Petersburg Soviet in the fall of 1905. Gastev may have been influenced to become a regular contributor by the fact that his syndicalist views coincided with those of the editor-in-chief.

Among the events which drew the Russian colony of workers and intellectuals together, the most significant were the lectures or talks ("referaty") and discussions. Talks were delivered by political leaders of all shades – Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, Anarchists, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Syndicalists – and by persons belonging to no particular party. The political struggle for Russia's future may be said to have had its center in Paris in the early 1910s. The most prominent figures in the various revolutionary parties and organizations had gathered there. The innermost Bolshevik circle, for example, consisted of Lenin and about 35 others. There was a group of some 50 active anarchists gathered around Maria Korn and Orgeiani. The

conditions for meaningful discussions and exchanges of opinions existed, though all too often the tendency to become isolated in special political cliques and coteries could not be overcome.

For the most part, the Russian workers' cultural activities took the form of circles and evenings arranged by the Workers' Club and the Bureau of Labor. Lunačarskij was a central figure. He held lectures on art and literature, several of his plays were staged, and on certain occasions he himself read excerpts from them. In the fall of 1910 two of Gor'kij's plays, *Na dne* (The Lower Depths) and *Čudaki* (Eccentrics) were performed in Russian. Other productions included *Ovčarki* (Sheepdogs) by Skitalec and *Čest* (Honor) by L. Andreev, which were given in February 1911. Otherwise, there was apparently very little contact between the worker's colony and the circles of Russian artists, musicians and writers who stood on the political sidelines or were of a non-socialist political persuasion. The only persons who could move with ease between the groups seem to have been A. Lunačarskij and I. Ėrenburg.

Nothing of the glittering life of Paris can be glimpsed in the "sketches" Gastev sent to *ZDN*. He was totally immersed in the reality of "Rabočij mir" ("The World of the Worker"), which may have seemed drab to others but obviously fascinated him. His daily routine consisted of waking at 5:00 AM, a trip on the Metro and a brisk twenty-minute walk to the factory, and a long working day. He returned home for supper around 8:00 PM and then went to activities in the Metal-Workers' Section, the Bureau of Labor and especially the Workers' Club, or to lectures, which usually began at 9:00 PM. His existence was considerably harder than Ėrenburg's bohemian life, which was passed in walks along the Seine, visits to second-hand bookstores, cafés, museums and theaters, and conversations with Russian émigré writers.

When Gastev arrived in the summer of 1910, there were between 300 and 400 metal-workers employed in different parts of Paris. The majority worked for French firms, where their wages were regulated according to a scale established by the French union. There were also 15 or 20 Russian workshops, however, which did not observe the French agreements and employed only Russian workers. Partly because of the low wages paid at these smaller firms, the workers organized themselves in the Metal-Workers' Section affiliated to the central French union. Founded in July 1910, the original membership

of the section was only 40. Plans were made to publish a newspaper together with the typographers, but the project foundered on disagreement as to who would be permitted to contribute to the publication. It was decided that only trade-union members would be permitted on the editorial board. This meant that prominent party functionaries were excluded. The question of interference by the politicians in the affairs of the workers was one which Gastev took seriously. He devoted a polemical article in *PV* to the subject, describing how party representatives had attempted to transform the Metal-Workers' Section and the Bureau of Labor into propaganda organs.⁶ Gastev's contempt for political manoeuvring was in keeping with his syndicalist leaning.

Evidently inspired by the French *Bourse du Travail*, Russian workers organized their own Bureau of Labor in the fall of 1910 to render assistance to newly arrived immigrants and to the unemployed. It may reasonably be presumed that Gastev was involved in the Bureau already at an early stage as a representative of the metal-workers. The primary task of the Bureau was to function as a labor exchange. In a report covering the period 1 January to 1 May 1911 it was noted that 105 persons had sought assistance through the Bureau. The annual report for 1911 published the results of a questionnaire given to the applicants (546 responded): 90 % of those registered with the Bureau were persons who had lived in Paris 3 years or less, 80 % were Russians or Russian Jews, 75 % were between 20 and 30 years of age, 20 % were heads of households, 45 % were skilled workers (of which 1/3 were reckoned as white-collar workers or "intelligentsia") and about 2/3 of the applicants spoke little or no French.

The Bureau of Labor was also involved to some extent in social and cultural activities, organizing various soirées or "evenings". On 4 November 1911, for example, there was a "Major Artistic Soirée", and on 11 May 1912 an evening arranged jointly with the Metal-Workers' Section was devoted to French poetry. Lunačarskij gave the introductory speech, and there were performances by the folk-singers Montegus and Doublier and the poet Jehan Rictus.⁷ On 30 November 1912 a ball was held in the Salle du Grand Orient de France at 16 Rue Cadet.

Gastev's main concern during this period was the Independent Workers' Club, founded in 1911 in the Salle Proletarienne at 76 Rue

Mouffetard. A narrow, winding street on the heights overlooking the fifth arrondissement which had a fine revolutionary tradition as a stronghold of Communard resistance, it now became another central area for the Russian workers of Paris.⁸

There was a long-felt need to provide some sort of organization for those who were not politically active, for many had begun to tire of the traditional party coteries. All Russian manual laborers would be granted membership in the Club regardless of their political views. The first general meeting took place on Sunday, 11 September. It was attended by about 200 persons, and a lively debate arose on the question of membership for people such as intellectuals whose work could not be classified as manual. It was resolved that members should be manual laborers, a proviso that was henceforth to become an important point in the statutes of all such workers' organizations (for example, Proletkul't). It was decided that the main objective was to be cultural and enlightenment work aimed at uniting the workers' emigration. Certain of those present, however, considered it more important to teach the Russian émigrés about life in France and acclimatize them to French society. Club activities were to include lectures, discussions, and excursions to museums and other points of interest. The establishment of an aid fund was also suggested. At a later meeting on 1 October the statutes were adopted and a secretary and a treasurer were elected. Gastev (under the name Ivanov) was chosen secretary. Meetings were to be held at least once a month. It was suggested that only trade-union members be admitted, but this proposal was rejected after a long discussion. In January 1913 the Club moved to permanent quarters at 12 bis Rue de la Reine Blanche.

In early 1912 various special groups initiated activities in such areas as the study of the labor movement, art, social currents, Social-Democracy, and literature. According to an introductory brochure, the literary group set itself the goal of "developing the creative writing talents of the workers belonging to the Club". The art group gathered each Wednesday in the premises of the cooperative at 94 Boulevard Auguste Blanqui. An alternating lecture series was presented by Lunačarskij (on the origin of art) and Ėrenburg (on art history). Museum excursions were arranged on Sundays: Ėrenburg led one tour to St. Chapelle and Notre-Dame; other visits were made to the Louvre and to the Museum of Arts and Crafts. Oddly enough,

Ėrenburg does not mention this in his memoirs. He recalled performing similar services for Russian tourists visiting Paris but had nothing to say about the workers' educational enterprises. It is natural to suppose that as secretary Gastev was at the center of these activities. "The Chronicle" in *PV* mentions only one lecture by Gastev (Ivanov) himself on 6 January 1913 on the topic "The First Congress of the United French Cooperative Movement".⁹

The fact that two literary circles were founded in 1912 testifies to the interest of the Russian émigrés in literature. One, "Literaturnyj kružok" ("The Literary Circle"), had a broad membership, accepting Russian émigrés regardless of their class-origins or political views. Lunačarskij, Ėrenburg and the proletarian poet M. Gerasimov were frequent speakers there. Lunačarskij was a binding link to the other circle, which was devoted exclusively to proletarian literature. It may be regarded as an outgrowth of the literary section of the Workers' Club.¹⁰ On 2 November 1912 Lunačarskij announces in *PV* the founding of the circle calling itself "Proletarian Culture", whose stated goal was to further the cultural creativity of the workers:

[. . .] Working-class intellectuals are writing short stories, poetry, essays of literary criticism and philosophical sketches. All of this remains in their closets, occasionally being read by 3 or 4 comrades. At the same time, however, the literature of the workers cannot help but contain profoundly original features, it cannot help but be of interest first of all to the proletariat itself and secondly to all educated and thinking people.

The "Proletarian Culture" circle intends to publish collections of the creative works of proletarian writers. The circle urges working-class writers not to be inhibited by the fact that their manuscripts may be unpolished but to submit them. The circle welcomes the works of writers of all currents [. . .] All manuscripts will be carefully filed, as the circle hopes eventually to establish something along the lines of a museum of proletarian culture [. . .]

The collection of proletarian writing which Lunačarskij spoke of was apparently never published. (Two years later the collection *Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej* edited by Maksim Gor'kij appeared in Petersburg, and thus the idea survived in this form.)

Fedor Kalinin (a metal-worker and friend of Gastev's), who was one of the founders of the circle and succeeded Lunačarskij as its

secretary, made another proposal in a letter to *PV* on 22 March 1913:

[. . .] Only workers are allowed membership in "Proletarian Culture". The circle sets itself the task of organizing the literary movement developing spontaneously among the workers. For this purpose, "Proletarian Culture" intends to publish a journal which will include the most vivid writing of the workers [. . .]

Such a journal was evidently never published either. In his letter Kalinin placed much more emphasis than Lunačarskij on the class struggle. He also underscored the great difficulties a worker encounters when trying to express his experience or attitude in writing, particularly in a capitalistic society, where the outer form – the "package" – meant more than the contents. Finally, Kalinin lamented the fact that the initiative for such a circle was taken outside Russia and expressed the hope that the idea would take root at home. This is undoubtedly the embryo of the literary section of the future Proletkul't.

We know for certain that Gastev participated in this proletarian circle, and he may even have been one of the founders. In the foreword to the fifth edition of *PRU* he mentions that he first read his short story "Vesna v rabočem gorodke" ("Springtime in a Workers' Town") before what he calls "The League of Proletarian Culture". Other participants of the group were Pavel Bessal'ko, Mixail Gerasimov, P.I. Lebedev-Poljanskij and Robert A. Pel'se.¹¹ Unfortunately, very little material is available on this literary circle, and its history remains to be written.

3.2 Gastev's journalism

As Gastev has left no letters and very few personal accounts of his life, the only way to follow and evaluate his development during this period is through his articles and small literary output in Paris. He wrote over 20 articles, mostly for *ZDV*. The prose of these articles is generally extremely matter-of-fact, even somewhat dry. His style is powerfully concise, he has a large and varied vocabulary and a certain preference for learned expressions. The influence of socialist political literature is noticeable. He rarely allows himself the expression of any personal feelings – the ascetic trait that we have noticed before – but when he does his style can suddenly become romantic and highstrung, betraying a strong influence from symbolism.

Gastev consciously limits his horizon: depictions of nature, for example, are almost totally absent from his writings. The art, literature and sights of foreign countries interest him only from the perspective of the labor movement. He has a predilection for summarizing his observations of individuals as generalizations of a type, a category, or a people. His outlook is thoroughly collectivistic. The striving after order and method that would become pronounced after 1920 at the Institute of Labor in Moscow is noticeable already here. Bogdanov seems to have had the same disposition. Grille notes: " 'Statistik' und 'Zuordnung' könnte man die Brillengläser nennen, durch die Bogdanov jederzeit auf das 'ihn umgebende Milieu' geblickt hat".¹² A similar observation might be made of Gastev, though with a certain reservation for his poetical effusions. The time in Paris seems to have enhanced not only his appreciation of the collective and the collective worker but also his interest in machines and the "machinization" of work procedures. His ideas about what the future Russian worker should be like, conceptions that he elaborated later in Russia, are first formulated here.

With respect to content, Gastev's publicistic writings between 1910 and 1913 may be classified as follows: 1) Travel sketches, 2) France, 3) Paris, 4) Factories, 5) Machinism and the New Man, 6) the Working-class Woman, and 7) Russia (the last having already been discussed on pp. 26–31).

The first travel sketch was written after Gastev arrived in Paris in the spring of 1910 and deals with his observations during the trip from Petersburg. He does not explain why he went abroad, noting simply

that "circumstances willed it". It is quite clear, however, why he chose France and "its heart" Paris: "Our entire proletarian romanticism is full of beautiful dreams of France". He considers it to be the most interesting "laboratory" in the world, where new life styles and organizations were being tested. His desire was "[...] to penetrate as deeply as possible into the very core of this life, both within and beyond the boundaries of my profession. I want to try not only to observe, not only to learn, but actively to work there". Gastev's peculiarly limited sphere of interests becomes obvious in this sketch. The labor question occupies his attention so thoroughly that he does not bother to share any other impressions gathered during the trip. In Finland he visited Viborg, Helsinki and Turku, but his only observations concern the People's Houses – their organization, building costs, dues paid by the workers. The hewed stone in the People's House in Helsinki is for him a gigantic monument to labor and the Finnish national spirit.¹³ He ventures a portrait of the Finnish worker:

[. . .] he is taciturn, tactful, stubborn [...] The Finn speaks almost without any gestures. As he listens to his opponent he nods his head slightly, [ukaet], answers almost dispassionately. In a conversation with him you will not catch any of the ambivalence that is typical of, for example, the French. This amazing self-control, which is very prominent in proletarian types, seems to be saying: "Here, at any rate, you need not fear any treachery!"

His impression was that Finnish culture was more highly developed than the Russian and that it had a healthy influence on the Russians working and living in Finland.

Gastev had visited Stockholm as early as 1906 as a delegate to the Social-Democratic Congress, and on this trip he returned to the building – the People's House – where it was held. He observed that the political atmosphere in Sweden was rather strained after the recent General Strike. During the train trip south to the Continent he met a group of Swedish metal-workers who were returning from a congress on 1 April. They had language problems, but with the help of a bottle of whisky they discussed the ideological struggle between syndicalism and social-democracy.

It is obvious from the sketch that Gastev reluctantly admired German efficiency but felt no sympathy for the regimented "land of

iron and blood” and its pretensions to world domination. In a comparison between Paris and Berlin on his return trip to Russia three years later,¹⁴ he observes considerable differences. Paris is a city full of life, with busy streets, while Berlin is cold and rigid, always silent and serious. The French are characterized by liveliness, quick decisions, enthusiasm alternating with black despair, deep emotional involvement in the issues of the day, while the Germans are circumspect and impassive. German industry is organized like a military barracks. Germany’s noble philosophical brow is hidden behind the Prussian helmet of contemporary German society. Even the monuments in Berlin are to helmeted kings and kaisers, generals and soldiers. He sees the dirigibles hovering over the city as other manifestations of militarism. The roar of aircraft engines and the whine of their propellers are the alarming rumble of a new god of war.

He visited two workers’ institutions, the central Trade-Union Building and the Metal-Workers’ Building, and these made a quite different impression upon him. He was greeted with warmth, solidarity and camaraderie. He was pleasantly surprised by the extraordinary and conscientious hygiene he encountered everywhere. In a passage that exemplifies his growing love of the machine, he pauses to provide a description of a new rotary printing press in the Metal-Workers’ Building:

One rotary machine is of impressive size, complexity and speed. There are so many levers, transmission mechanisms and gear-wheels, they operate in so many different ways, their interaction is so complex, that one is tempted to say that this is not a machine but a whole machine world.

Gastev’s articles on French domestic politics testify to a thorough knowledge of local conditions. He gives a detailed account of the conflict between socialists and syndicalists. The factors which most clearly decided Gastev in favor of syndicalism were its antipolitical and antiparlimentary features and its emphasis on immediate improvement of the workers’ economic conditions. He deplored interference in the affairs of the Russian émigré workers on the part of the professional politicians. By 1910, the struggle of the French workers for economic reforms had not achieved any tangible results, and apathy and skepticism were consequently widespread. Syndica-

lism as well underwent a certain decline. Gastev's solution for the future lay in closer cooperation between the labor unions and consumer societies, and he suggested that they establish funds to cover strikes, accidents and loans, possibly in connection with the Bureau of Labor.

One of the high points in Gastev's commentaries on political life in France is a description of a meeting held to protest an announced execution. Seldom does Gastev's style attain such intensity as in the following account of a speech by the "tsar" of eloquence, the socialist leader Jean Jaurès:

Aging, already gray, he calmly steps onto the platform [. . .] "This is a crime!" he said, and these words were not the phrase of a judge, but a categorical, irreversible condemnation. He says that far from being executed or imprisoned, Durant should immediately be set free. "Free him!" He wants to add something, but the crowd in the arena cannot contain itself and cuts him off with a burst of applause. Indeed, no logic or proof is needed. Things are the way Jaurès says they are, and nothing more need be said [. . .] Jaurès gradually raises the pitch of his voice, higher and higher, as he speaks of the execution, the innocent Durant, mothers and fathers; he darts about the platform, rises to his full height and gazes above him, as if appealing to someone great and nameless. Soaked with sweat from the exertion, he beats his breast, tears his clothing. He ascends to dizzying heights, the man is no longer visible, there is only the roar of his immense, titanic voice rushing into the heavens. . .¹⁵

The conclusion of the quoted passage is reminiscent of lines in one of Gastev's best known poems in prose, "My rastem iz železa" ("We Grow out of Iron"), written 1914 in Petersburg. (See pp.80–83 below.)

There is actually only one milieu which Gastev describes in any detail in his depictions of Paris, namely the factory. He writes surprisingly little about such things as the life of the workers, their housing conditions and social intercourse. Descriptions of French art and contemporary literature and the beauty of Paris are totally absent from his articles. It was not until he had returned to Petersburg in 1913 that he wrote a comprehensive article on "The Russian Workers' Emigration in Paris", which dealt mostly with the organization of various unions.⁴ In its conclusion he summarizes the types of workers living in exile in Paris: 1) workers who have been

entirely assimilated into French reality, from which they have absorbed "a great deal of the light-heartedness and flippancy of the street", 2) those who are completely unable to adapt and who are "eaten by the worm of pessimism and curse their past, hate the present and do not expect anything of the future", 3) those who distrust all organizations and movements and have retreated into their families or personal lives, and 4) a little group for whom emigration has not been in vain, a group which has studied and actively participated in the French labor movement. These, he says, will bring back to Russia a rich and varied proletarian experience.

As a contrast to his reports of the industry workers, however, he once includes a scene from the life of the bourgeoisie, especially the small merchants and the *rentiers*. There is a touch of Zola in the passage, which is also reminiscent of the "physiological sketches" that appeared in Russia in the 1840s. He observes the same features as in the milieu of the workers, namely the connection between the rhythm of life and the clock, the regulated patterns of behavior, the routines. These small merchants "go to bed regularly every evening at 10:00 and after a just and deep sleep, at 5 or 6, they wake up automatically without an alarm-clock" and he continues to describe with a certain irony their daily work, which consists, for instance, in selling vegetables.¹⁶

How did Gastev treat his most important topic: the factory? His view of conditions there is extremely negative: work is like penal servitude, the workers are hard pressed by demands for a high tempo, punctuality and precision. The atmosphere is gray and joyless. The factory is cold, the walls are thin and drafty. The workers are enslaved by their machines, "their soulless, cold, but eternally moving machines". The foremen are everywhere, even checking the toilets (otherwise the only place where one can feel some "personal immunity" according to Gastev). Such constant registration and supervision together with the frightful tempo create "a terrible "mystique" (strašnuju "mistiku") that is very characteristic of Western capitalism".¹⁷ The worker trapped in this slave labor wants to cry out in desperation for "Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood". Gastev's negative attitude appears in a number of passages from this period (1910–1912). For instance:

Gold for the owner pours automatically from the trough, the machines work automatically, even the people work like automatons. This

eternal motion creates such an oppressive hypnosis and such work habits that it has given rise to a kind of tacit affirmation of order [...] It is as if someone strong were pressing and breaking the cooled stream of steel lava, as if people, cowed into submission by its thunder and bulk, stuck to it like flies and forgot about their own existence. There are no cries of pain, no reminders about justice – there is only force, cruelty, death.¹⁸

At 6:55 AM the whistles blew for the first time. At 7:00 sharp they sounded again, at which time it was strictly required that work begin. The worker had to punch in (the American system), and arriving late by as little as 30 seconds resulted in the loss of a half hour's wages. The first half of the day shift lasted until 12:00, when the whistles blew again, announcing a 90-minute lunch break. The 10-hour working-day (Saturdays as well) continued until 6:30 PM.

In the article "Stariki" ("Old Men") of 1912, he portrays some older, worn-out workers to illustrate the destructive effect of the factory on human beings. He describes a 70-year-old emery grinder, a 60-year-old crane operator and a lathe operator who had worked at the factory for 42 years. The article is full of compassion and indignation at the unhealthy conditions at the factory. This is particularly pronounced in his portrait of the grinder, whose long term of service has given him lungs filled with emery dust and a racking cough.¹⁹

Gastev's view of the factory here is of course similar to that expressed by Russian proletarian poets from 1890 onwards and by such prominent Russian writers as A. Kuprin and L. Andreev. From the Marxist point of view, however, it was not the factory and the machines as such but rather capitalistic exploitation which demeaned man and turned him into a mere "mechanical appendage". But only one or two years later, in 1913, Gastev writes with enthusiasm about work in the factories of a future collective community free from capitalistic oppression. In the poem in prose "Gudki" ("The Factory Whistles") from 1913 he greets their wail as "the song of the future", "the morning hymn of unity", summoning all to work at the same time.

The crucial question for Gastev was how to evaluate the automatization of the worker. We have observed that as a tram-driver he himself reacted very negatively to the monotonous routine of the work, but he could not be blind to the fact that human behavior

included many fixed movements and ingrained habits. In Paris he becomes more and more convinced that the rhythm of the machines influences the factory workers, transforming and automatizing them over a long period of time:

The man in the blue shirt of the worker is only an automaton who can perhaps still (partly, of course, not completely) be replaced by a mechanical automaton. But man himself at the factory – is he not a robot? Has he not adapted not only his muscles but even his psychology to the simple, regular rhythm of the machine?²⁰

Observing his comrades in the factories, he was struck by the many similarities in their movements, thoughts and psychology. And already at this time (about 1911) he reaches the conclusion that "machinism" (a word borrowed from the French which denotes the operation of machines and figuratively signifies a mechanical soullessness) levels the proletariat:

Since this rhythm is uniform, since machines are related to each other through their mechanical structure, their "spirit", is it not clear that the proletariat reared by the machine must and will also grow up as a quantity that is in the highest degree not only determined but levelled, uniform?²⁰

He has seen how each man organizes his work in the same way as everyone else, starts his machine in the same way, lubricates with his left hand, operates the controls with the right, watches the process with the same unblinking gaze, spits to one side when he lights a cigarette. . . Differences in temperament play scarcely any role at all. The workers dash home after work, go to bed at 10:00 sharp, awake at the same hour, kiss their wives goodbye at precisely 6:15. They give their children as much attention as their strictly regulated schedule permits. How many children do they have? One or two, not more. The norm is dictated by experience, by the family budget, and by comfort. In one of his visions of the future Gastev suggests that the children of the proletariat will no longer need names, but will be given numbers instead:

As in the maternity ward, they will be designated by numbers: 1, 2, and so on. There will be no possibility of confusing them: they will be born, so to speak, according to a predetermined estimate, not as in our present-day Mother Russia, where parents can say "God blessed us with children, but neglected to give us any money".²¹

He prophesies that in as little as 20 years the new generations of workers will have lost all individuality. Machine-automatization and overall levelling will be a matter of course. The reactions and feelings of all will be strikingly similar.

The question arises whether one should welcome or curse such a development. Gastev says that there are two possibilities: either the proletariat will be oppressed as a class, in which case the psychology it has developed as a consequence of machinism will make it a submissive tool of the ruling classes (its "herd instinct" ("stadnost") will in that case contribute to its subjugation) or this impersonal proletarian mass will use its collective enthusiasm and power to create a new world. The latter is Gastev's cherished goal. He is convinced that a new type of man, and with him a new proletarian culture, are in the making. He concludes his article "Sila mašinizma" ("The Power of Machinism") of 1911 with this lofty picture of the future of the new collective man:

He will know of no personality or individuality. His message will be a passionate aspiration toward distant, unheard-of worlds, his song will be an impersonal, joyous epic, his work will be self-oblivion, and his thirst for life will attain a titanic force. Where will there be any room for geniuses, where will there be any sort of elevation above others, ambition, evil, egotism? After all, in that world there will be no personal, lyrical, "intimate" cultures. The harmonious chords of mass creativity will constantly give birth to desires, they will educate and foster the man who is continuously renewing himself. It will be possible to want him passionately, we can strive toward him with inexpressible vigor, he can be attained, but it is impossible to give concrete birth to him, he cannot be made an individual, he cannot be given a personal name. In their mad, joyous search for him no one will remember or be aware of themselves. All they will know is the one, objective, great, growing, thrilling world of harmony felt by all. This beautiful, this marvellous thing can be created by the modern force of machinism!

Machinism with its mechanical automatization of routines can thus become a positive force in a collective society. Individualism will be an alien phenomenon. Formerly egotistic, ambitious and evil, man will become unselfish, altruistic, good and harmonious. Gastev is evidently dreaming of a world of harmony that will function like a superb machine, with no disturbing psychological differences.

Two years later Gastev had to some extent modified his view of the evolution of the working class. In the article "V poiskax" ("Searching")²², where he soberly addressed the problems of the labor movement, basing his observations on his own personal experience, he expressed disillusion with the results obtained thus far and was very sceptical about future prospects. Gastev doubted whether any compact organization can be created for different kinds of workers whose only common denominator was the fact that they were employed in the same industry. He did not believe that industrial workers were revolutionary at heart. His bitter experience had taught him that they lacked the spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice, and that most of them were only concerned with feathering their own nests. The intelligent worker educated himself and gradually withdrew from the ranks of his fellows. The "conscious" worker's horizons were broader, but he usually lacked the strength to counteract the law of least resistance in order to struggle for a better society. Gastev's conclusion was that the working class consisted of a mediocre, narrow-minded and egoistic mass. He no longer harbored any illusions. He scourged the leaders of the workers' organizations, who often looked upon their posts as mere stepping stones in their personal careers. He predicted that this transition from worker to functionary would be greater in the future and that the bureaucracy would expand while the masses would continue to work like oxen, exhausted by long working-days and insufficient food and sleep. He deplored the fact that a minority decided everything. It consisted often of persons who left the workshop floor long ago and have now become unaccustomed to heavy physical labour. They no longer understood the feelings, troubles or indignation of the workers.

In order to create the New Man, said Gastev, the morals of the present human race, especially the morals of the working class, must be transformed. There was otherwise no use in dreaming of a revolution. By poor morals he meant above all the bourgeois way of life, which was dominated by egotism, envy and materialism. The sphere in which this activity of transformation must be concentrated was the factory and the cooperative. A new comradely morale must be forged through difficulties and pain – "nothing great has ever been born without pain" – at the very place where man was being exploited. This was where the seeds of the New Man must be sown. The passage concluding the article is an ecstatic prophetic vision,

wishful thinking which deviates sharply from the down-to-earth realism in the rest of the work:

Then a new mysterious stranger would appear at the factory, an unnamed epic bard of the struggle for a new and profound understanding of the human soul; the verses of his song would be sung by millions of voices spontaneously, without any prearranged plan. Music would be born – nameless, moving, enormous poetry . . . Great art would throb in the depth of the class marching toward liberation; present-day man would feel cramped in the old, tattered clothes of his too prosaic world. Joyously, perhaps at times not without suffering, but with a suffering that is great and shared by all, we would give birth to a new, as yet unheard-of people who are proud, great, superior to ourselves.

That which has never yet happened would then come to pass: millions of people would begin living by the marvellous thought of giving birth, giving birth at any price. For the first time in the history of the Earth they would give birth to a man who in suffering, in death and destruction, through the mass effort of the great collective, would subdue the old, blood-spattered, grief-soaked world.

The two visions of the future (of 1911 and 1913) do not really contradict each other. Gastev dreams in both of a collective society imbued with harmony and free from disturbing individuality and egotism. In the first instance the goal can be attained, he thinks, by the help of machinism, which will ultimately level the proletariat. In the second article Gastev is disillusioned by his experiences among the working class and is now convinced that the proletariat must undergo a moral transformation before the collective stage. Traditional Christian moral values – unselfishness and diligence, for instance – undoubtedly figure in the background. These are quite in keeping with Gastev's personality: he placed heavy demands on himself and those around him. We will see that in Gastev's later work for a new society the positive effects of machinism (according to him) and the demand for a high moral standard, assume great importance.

Gastev's thoughts on the need for a new proletarian moral outlook included a concern for the working-class woman. He wanted a change in the social position of women on the whole, but he focused on the widespread prostitution among working-class women.²³ It was a question that must have been discussed in proletarian émigré circles.

Aleksandra Kollontaj gave two lectures on sex and sexual relations in Paris (1911 and 1913). Gastev evidently had some contact with her, as her visiting card was among his papers confiscated by the police in February 1914. His approach to the problem, however, differs from the conventional Marxist one. In his opinion, working-class wives and daughters were exploited by the workers themselves, and this fact had been muted by both the working-class parties and the women's organizations, who attempted to put all the blame on capitalism and the bourgeoisie. He calls the party leaders liars. It is not "pitiable reformism" to attempt to remedy these evils. He doubts that prostitution will disappear together with the capitalist social order. He considers that working-class women are in general mistreated by their husbands. The worker regards his woman first as a mistress and secondly as a servant. Gastev hoped that women would increase their influence in the trade unions and especially in the cooperatives, where they were in fact the real support of the movement, even though all the leading positions were occupied by men. To improve their lot, however, women must be educated.

4. Petersburg and Siberia (1913–1917)

In the spring of 1913 Gastev returned to Petersburg after almost three years in Paris. On the way back he visited Berlin, reporting on the situation in Germany in an article in *ZDV* (see p. 45 above). He was arrested at the Russian border. The publicist Vladimir Burcev had warned him in Paris already that the Oxrana knew of his trip.¹ Only his skillfully forged travel documents saved him from a long prison term. In the foreword to the fifth edition of *PRU* Gastev notes that in 1913 he was put in a detention cell in Petersburg. Although paper was very scarce, he used his time there to write. Energetic and ever alert, it was typical of him to take advantage of every spare moment for some creative activity. After his release he was unable to find work in Petersburg. The situation in the factories was uneasy just then, with high unemployment and frequent strikes.² He therefore went to Terijoki in Finland, where he got a job at the factory "Novyj Ajvaz". Shortly afterwards, however, he returned and managed to find employment at the large "Siemens-Halske" industrial complex. This job did not last long, either. In early 1914 he was betrayed by a provocateur and arrested, after little more than six months of freedom in Russia. This short period, however, was very active, and Gastev produced a number of both literary and journalistic works. It was during this time that he became a frequent contributor to *Pravda* and *Metallist*. He continued contributing to *ZDV* until October, and also wrote articles for *Zavety* and *Vestnik kooperacii*.

Most of the prose works, poems in prose and poetry later included in the section "Romantika" in *PRU* were first published in 1913 and 1914. Some had been written already in Paris. As he himself put it, he attempted in these works to "depict the uneasy and romantic period experienced by the proletariat during 1912 and 1913".³ It was here that he first "unsealed the lyricism of the Labor Movement"³. His shift to fiction seems to have resulted from a need to find a different and perhaps better way to enlighten and influence his comrades at the workbench.⁴ His works of this period dealt with strikes, the deficient conditions of the Petersburg proletariat and the struggle against capitalism. A contribution to the first collection of proletarian writers (*Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej*) is typical of this type of story. "Utrennjaja smena" ("The Morning Shift")⁵ is about a group of young workers at a factory who initiate a strike action one morning

despite resistance on the part of their older comrades. The new generation, the hope of the future and the coming revolution, is symbolized in a rather conventional manner by such words as "morning" and "dawn". The factory, on the other hand, is depicted in the darkest colors. There was nothing unusual or outstanding in the way Gastev treated this story. A few poems in prose dating from the same period are much more interesting, as with respect to form and symbols they differ from other proletarian literature. These are first of all "Bašnja" ("The Tower") and "My rastem is železa" ("We Grow out of Iron"). They will be considered in more detail in chapter 6 below.

Gastev was arrested in February 1914 and sent on 28 April to Narym on the Ob' River, some 250 miles northwest of the Siberian city of Tomsk.⁶ We have little reliable information on Gastev's life in Narym. He was there together with another trade unionist, A.V. Hol'zman, who in 1917 would be elected vice chairman of the Metal-Workers' Union in Petrograd. Thanks to his many practical skills, Gastev seems to have coped rather well, repairing things for the local population, baking bread and teaching.⁷ He remained in exile for over a year, during which time he had the opportunity to polish some of his literary texts.⁸ He planned to flee, but in the winter it was impossible to leave Narym. He was forced to wait until the summer, when the Ob' became navigable and he could travel south. In 1915 he managed to get to Tomsk, where he stayed for a while and worked at a cold storage plant. He then went on to Novo-Nikolaevsk (now Novosibirsk), where he was employed at various workshops and began contributing to the Social-Democratic daily *Golos Sibiri*. His first publication there appeared in the fall of 1916 over the pseudonym A.Z.. The editor was N.A. Rožkov⁹, whom Gastev knew from his early Bolshevik period and first term in prison. When Rožkov resigned in the spring of 1917, Gastev succeeded him for a short period as editor. While in Siberia, he published his remarkable poem in prose "Ėkspress. Sibirskaja fantazija." ("Express. A Siberian Fantasy."), a vision of the future extolling the enormous potential of the region (See pp. 88–93 below.). On 14 April 1917 Gastev printed a short autobiography in his newspaper. Certain insinuations had probably been made about him, for he is clearly attempting to justify his earlier political positions. He concluded with the announcement that he would be leaving for Petrograd within a

few days to devote himself to workers' organizations there, and that now for the first time in many years he would begin using his real name, Aleksej Kapitonovič Gastev.

5. Petrograd – the Ukraine – Moscow (1917–1920)

Filled with enthusiasm and hope by the promise of a new society after the February Revolution, Gastev arrived in Petrograd in late April. He was now 34 and had a rich store of experience dating from before 1905 as a revolutionary, a metal-worker, a trade-unionist, journalist and writer. For thirteen years he had been living under assumed names.¹ He had been sentenced to a total of ten years of exile: three years in 1903, three years in 1906, and four years in 1914. He had in various ways always managed to escape from his place of exile, so that he had actually spent only 2 1/2 to 3 years as a prisoner of the regime.

Upon his arrival he joined the Petrograd Union of Metal-Workers. In his absence he had already been elected a member of the executive committee. This was not surprising, as he had been on the board as early as 1907. Appointments to various posts now followed in quick succession. On 7 May he was unanimously elected to the board and became treasurer. On 17 May he was elected a delegate for the central factory committee of the Petrograd metal-workers, an important position in 1917.

The All-Russian Metal-Workers' Union was founded on 27 June at a congress attended by representatives of 33 local unions. A provisional Central Committee was elected, and both Gastev and the well known union organizer Aleksandr Šljapnikov became members. This committee elected in its turn an executive bureau with Šljapnikov as chairman, Čirkin and Hol'zman vice chairmen and Gastev general secretary. In the beginning all practical work seems to have fallen to Gastev, and he demonstrated that he possessed extraordinary organizational talents. He was of the opinion that the workers' organizations should be structured along the same lines as modern enterprises. Already here, then, he was influenced by the principles of scientific management. Gastev's fellow metal-worker from Paris, Fedor Kalinin (secretary of the "Proletarian Culture" circle and later active in Proletkul't), has described the organizational work in *Vestnik metallista*.² Gastev broadened the activities of the union, disseminated information, wrote instructions, dispatched instructors to the Urals, the Donets Basin and the Volga region, answered countless letters and telegrams, sent representatives to

distribution centers to obtain fuel and metal, etc.

Gastev was very active during this year. He continued his publicistic work, writing on trade-union and economic questions in *Vestnik metallista*, *Metallist*, *Moskovskij metallist* and even in Gor'kij's *Novaja Žizn'*. It is obvious from these articles that the industrial development of Russia was his primary interest. Gastev admired Western industrial efficiency, and was in this sense a "Westernizer", even if his socialist schooling enabled him clearly to perceive the shortcomings of economic imperialism.³ His aspiration was to get Russian industry rolling again and readjust it to peacetime production. Industrial output in 1917 was still about 3/4 of the prewar level, so the great debacle had not yet occurred. According to Gastev, the most important instrument in the restructuring of industry was the trade union. Regarding the situation in a broad perspective and interested in the economic development of the country as a whole, he was of the opinion that only the trade unions were capable of linking together and coordinating the necessary reconstruction. As an old syndicalist he set great store by the newly founded factory committees, but he thought that their work should be restricted to their enterprises and that they should be subordinated to the unions. The committees would be in charge of the administrative, technical and commercial organization at the factories themselves. At a higher level, however, industrial planning and the distribution of resources would be taken care of by the unions. In order to avoid power struggles between the committees and the unions, all the members of the committees would also be union members. He discusses these questions in the article "Organizacionnyj plan sojuza".⁴

In a communication to all local metal-workers' unions Hol'zman and Gastev called for radical measures to increase production. Theirs was a bitter medicine, containing provisions for strict labor regulation, the organization of a universal obligation to work that also included pensioners and women not occupied at home, the introduction of production norms for miners, and the rationing of food in proportion to the energy demands of particular occupations. They also demanded that the unions be empowered to distribute labor resources to different regions and enterprises as industry was demobilized.⁵

These are in the highest degree demands handed down from above. The factory committees were much closer to the workers and strove

to satisfy their personal aspirations. And it soon turned out that it was no easy task in practice to delegate authority between the committees and the unions. A series of questions presented themselves: how was workers' control to be exercised, what was the relationship of the soviets to the various organizations? The discussion of the solution to these problems continued into the fall of 1917.

The trade-union leadership consisted of a kind of intellectual elite of educated workers (to which Gastev belonged). This elite was at first well disposed toward the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, but after the October Revolution it moved in varying degrees closer to the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks for their part had supported the factory committees between March and October, regarding them as a means of seizing power. The Decree on Workers' Control of 15 November altered this picture. Now the government wanted to restrict the influence of the factory committees, combining the workers' control at individual factories with a single powerful governmental apparatus. As the Bolshevik trade-union boss Lozovskij put it: "We must emphasize clearly and firmly that the workers in various enterprises must not believe that the factories belong to them".⁶ The Bolsheviks now called upon the trade unions to serve the new-born state and discipline the factory committees. Production was to be organized and coordinated on a national scale.

The decisions were made at the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which was held for the first time on 7–14 January 1918 in Petrograd. (The Constitutional Assembly had been dissolved on 6 January.) Margaret Dewar calls it "the most important event of that period, from the point of view of the workers' organizations and their subsequent relationship to the state".⁷ Gastev, of course, participated in his capacity of general secretary of the largest trade union. The congress was dominated by two important questions, namely the division of tasks and authority between the unions and the factory committees and the relationship of the unions to the new Russian state. The Bolshevik majority succeeded in having its view adopted. This meant in the first place that the factory committees were to become trade-union organs. Secondly, the trade unions would in turn gradually be subordinated to the Party. The trend in this development ran for the most part counter to Gastev's basic position. He wanted a free trade-union movement that would be allotted the important task of coordinating the industry of the country. His

protests on this account were probably the reason why he was not re-elected secretary of the union, and from this point his position as one of the leading figures in the Metal-Workers' Union begins to weaken. Another important outcome of the congress was that political neutrality was condemned. "The idea of 'neutrality' is and will remain a bourgeois idea in the trade unions."⁸ Also, strikes in defense of the rights of the members were forbidden.

Such circumstances do not appear to have prevented Gastev from working with his usual energy during the congress as a member of the commission for the demobilization of labor resources. A paper which he delivered there was presented in *Professional'nyj sojuz*. It provides an idea of his radical plans for the reorganization of industry, and their scale astonished even the Bolsheviks:

It turned out that all the bold plans for the complete restructuring of Russia could only be realized with the help of the "powerful inrushes" (Gastev's term) of foreign capital; in other words, only by completely enslaving Russian industry to American, English and German capitalists. When in the commission Gastev mercilessly unfolded his picture of the complete reorganization of our entire industry and the transfer of labor from one region to another, the worker Bolsheviks became dismal.⁷

As to Gastev's political profile during this period, he seems to have had no formal connections with any party. He left the Social-Democratic Party in 1907 (or 1908) and did not become a communist until 1931 (See p. 115 below). Much of what happened during 1917, however, corresponded to the syndicalist ideas Gastev had embraced as early as the end of the first decade. There was a general tendency in 1917 and 1918 to seek independence of all authority. This should be viewed as a result of years of tsarist oppression, as people now finally thought they had a chance to move and think freely. The same aspiration may be observed in the early stage of development in the factory committees and trade unions and within Proletkul't, which wanted autonomy from both the government and the Party.

What was Gastev's relationship to Proletkul't? There is no evidence that he actively participated in founding the organization in Petrograd just before the October Revolution. As he was among the first to show an interest in creating a proletarian culture, however, we may assume that his attitude was sympathetic. He was probably

considered to be a supporter of the movement and a pioneer proletarian writer. Most of Proletkul't's poets were several years younger than Gastev, only Maširov-Samobytnik being of about the same age (33). Aleksandrovskij was only 20, Gerasimov 28, Kirillov 27, Obradovič 25 and Poletaev 28. The fact that *PRU* was published in 1918 as the first in Proletkul't's series of literary publications is a sign of the esteem in which Gastev was held. Many of Gastev's poems were printed in the various journals of the organization. To this may be added that his works were read and staged at a number of evenings organized by the Proletkul't theaters in Petrograd and Moscow, and that the agit-trains at the front during the Civil War had "Bašnja" ("The Tower") and "My posjagnuli" ("We Have Usurped the World") on their repertoire. Moreover, the journal published by Proletkul't's Literary Studio in Moscow took its name, *Gudki* ("The Factory Whistles"), from the title of one of Gastev's poems. The reason why Gastev was not personally active in Proletkul't was evidently that he was so busy with the trade unions and the reorganization of industry that he simply had no time for any cultural commitments.

In the spring of 1918 Gastev published a 22-page programmatic article entitled "Novaja Industrija" ("The New Industry")⁹ that we can see as a continuation of his visions of the future of 1911 and 1913, although it deals solely with the future of heavy industry.

The article is full of enthusiasm for technical progress. As he states in the beginning "Our age should be called the age of triumphant machinism". "Machinism" is an expression he used earlier and may be paraphrased as "the spirit of technical progress". The characteristics of the new factories include speed, an even production, standardization, and a new "technical spirit" (Gastev calls it "engineerism" ("inženerizm")) which strives for new inventions and innovations. He predicts that the machines at the disposal of modern industry will be so efficient that no personal or individual elements will be needed any longer. The worker will adapt his movements to the machine. The goal will be to labor collectively in a common rhythm. It is this rhythm of work that ensures order and good results:

We must fearlessly state that it is absolutely necessary for the present-day worker to machinize his manual labor; that is, he must make his gestures resemble those of the machine. [...] Only the

creation of a collective rhythm will provide the conditions for objective leadership.

He believes in far-reaching changes in the industry of the future. Machines will take over functions such as administrative work and quality checks that were earlier reserved for humans. He calls the mechanical supervisor the "silent, anonymous iron self-controller" ("Molčalivij železnyj anonimnyj samonadzor"). Factories will be merged together in enormous complexes called "machine cities".

We are now in position to imagine how the machine is gradually becoming the mighty lever of industrial production. By the machine we envisage not only individual machines and instruments, but also the machine of the workshop and, finally, the factory itself, which grows into a gigantic machine. Machinism is gradually saturating not only the purely industrial aspect of human life; it will fuse enterprises together, it will permeate all areas of everyday life, it will give rise to the mighty edifices which we boldly call machine cities.

Everything will be organized in detail and registered in diagrams: "Technical diagrams are the general manometer of production".

The new industrial structure will mean a general equalization: the differences in qualifications among workers will gradually be erased as all work is classified in a single uniform category.¹⁰ Gastev elaborated on this idea a year later in his article "O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury" (pp. 66–70 below). But how was this new industry to be administered? Gastev predicts technical councils in every enterprise (he uses the old designation "kollegija"):

At the top of the industrial enterprise there will be a special staff of engineers, designers, instructors and head draftsmen who will work with the same regularity as the rest of the giant factory.

These upper-level administrators would punch in just like ordinary workers and wear the same blouses as they. The gap formerly separating the two groups would be abolished and social equality achieved.

The prominence which Gastev grants engineers and designers was a general tendency in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Golden Age of the inventor. It was believed that all problems could be solved by science and technology. The engineer is a hero in the fiction of such European writers as Jules Verne, H.G. Wells and B. Kellerman.

In Russia, he has a similar role in the works of A. Kuprin (*The Molox*) A. Bogdanov (*Red Star* and *Engineer Menni*), and E. Zamjatin (*The Islanders*).¹¹

Gastev suggests in conclusion that in the future there will be no conflict between minorities and the majority. The entire stormy debate on democracy will disappear as a "too human passion" ("sliškom človečeskaja strast' ") of the past and be replaced by competitions between different production factors. He believes that the spread of machinism will result in an indissoluble union of "the will of machinism and the power of human consciousness". This would in effect mean that ordinary democratic voting would become archaic and that new ways would be found to express what is best for society.

Viewed against the background of stagnant industry, the lack of raw materials, disintegrating labor discipline, disrupted communications and the absence of qualified specialists and administrators, Gastev's article seems extremely optimistic. It was wishful thinking that had little to do with immediate reality. In his prose poems from the same time he is even more expressive.

In March the capital of the country, and with it the executive board of the Metal-Workers' Union, was transferred to Moscow. Gastev seems to have remained in Petrograd, as he participated in the celebration of the first anniversary of the founding of the union on 23 April. Shortly thereafter he and a colleague, V. Oborin, were commissioned by the board to develop work norms at the large factories in Sormovo near Nižnij Novgorod (present-day Gor'kij). Gastev spent two months there, probably May and June. Wage rates and norms were among his favorite topics, and he wrote several articles on the subject in 1917–1918. In connection with the crisis in industrial production (which in 1918 decreased to one third of the prewar level), the Bolsheviks' attitude toward the Taylor system and piecework wage rates underwent a change. In mid-March Lenin wrote of the need to improve labor discipline and increase the productivity of labor, suggesting the introduction of piecework and the application of the scientific and progressive aspects of the Taylor system. His statement had been preceded by a heated discussion of the issue among the trade unions. The Metal-Workers' Union and Gastev advocated a new order à la Taylor. Already on 3 April the

Central Soviet of Unions came out in support of Lenin's line, which implied a new labor policy: production norms would be fixed for each worker and piecework rates would be introduced to raise productivity, although it was added that this was an emergency measure that must not lead to exhaustion of the workers.

The first experiment with the new labor policy was conducted by Gastev and Oborin at the Sormovo factories. The results are illustrative of the difficulties that had to be dealt with. Wage norms turned out to be less than satisfactory as a panacea. In spite of the fact that the Sormovo factories were regarded as among the best in the country, a steady decline in production was observable. The workers came to their jobs an average of only 13 days in the month of May. It is clear from the report ¹² that they resisted changes and decisions to close down parts of the factories and transfer part of the labor force to other sections. It must have been disappointing for Gastev to witness how difficult it was to reorganize Russian industry in practice.

There is no information on Gastev's whereabouts during the summer of 1918. He was presumably involved in experiments similar to those in Sormovo. But times were chaotic as the Civil War began in earnest. In the fall Gastev participated in a conference of metal-workers on wage rates. His speech there is quoted by F. Kaplan,¹³ who refers to him as "the Bolshevik Gastev". As we have seen above, this designation is inaccurate.

Later that fall Gastev went to the Ukraine. It is unclear, however, whether he did so on his own initiative or on an assignment from the union. While in Petrograd he had become acquainted with Sofija Abramovna Grinbald, a young secretary in Lenin's office. She became his second wife, and they travelled south together. They lived for a time in Kiev, then in Nikolaev and a longer period in Xar'kov in 1919, finally settling in Moscow the following year.

Gastev's sojourn in Xar'kov was stimulating and productive in many respects. He was employed at a large factory, "Vseobščaja kompanija Ėlektričestva", where he continued with his study and classification of various work-processes.¹⁴ He wanted to pass on his findings to the new generation of workers, and to this end he proposed founding a "social-engineering school". The plan was adopted by Narkompros but was never realized due to the Civil War. This project may be regarded as an anticipation of the institute he began organizing a year later in Moscow.

It should be observed in particular that in Xar'kov Gastev had an opportunity to devote himself to journalism and literature. He wrote several new poems in prose, published an expanded edition of *PRU* and articles on proletarian culture and art. This activity should be viewed against the fact that Gastev was appointed Commissar (i.e. chairman) of the All-Ukrainian Art Soviet, which was founded in Xar'kov in 1919. The Soviet was a kind of section within Narkompros, while structurally it resembled the Proletkul't organization. It included representatives of literature, art, music, theater and film. Gastev's closest colleague in the literary committee was the poet Grigorij Petnikov.¹⁵ The literary section published its own journal, *Proletarskoe Iskusstvo*, and in the spring of 1919 prepared a collection entitled *Sbornik novogo inskustva* (published in 1920). It contained poems by E. Guro, B. Pasternak, G. Petnikov, V. Xlebnikov, N. Aseev, V. Majakovskij and A. Gastev, drawings by Bobrickij, V. Pičeta, Ermilov, Djakov and Kosarev, and articles by V. Rožicyn, F. Šmit and A. Gastev. This was the first time Gastev published together with representatives of other poetic schools; most of the contributors to the volume were connected with futurism. V. Xlebnikov, one of the great poets of the period, was in Xar'kov in 1919, and later commented favorably on Gastev's poetry (See pp. 101–102 below).

Revolutionary ecstasy was characteristic of the period; people nurtured the hope that socialism would transform the entire world. Such expectations were given expression in the Third International (Comintern), which was founded in Moscow in 1919. In Xar'kov the Art Soviet issued appeals and proclamations in an effort to arouse enthusiasm and a fighting spirit. The proclamations, many of which are reported to have been written by Gastev, were full of passionate internationalism:

Comrades, workers and peasants, working people of town and village!
Across the Earth, from corner to corner of the world revolutions howl.
The war that was begun to delight the kings, the tsars, the presidents,
has become a tornado that tears down imperial palaces, burns royal
mantles, sends crowns flying and turns kings into dust. The world in
which everything seemed to be arranged so beautifully has collapsed
[...] And we want to be the newcomers; we shall lift the curtain from
the cities, the streets, the workshops, the bazaars [...] We shall
immediately set our factory of art humming. It is still equipped with its

old bearings and the teeth of its pinions are broken, but we will install a new flywheel that will eclipse the old. Comrades! Raise high your hammers to forge a new world [...]¹⁶

Gastev typically employs metaphors taken from industry to illustrate his program. He underscores the need of a new verbal art. In his poems from this period he strives for concentration and intensity (see pp. 77–79 below).

Gastev's view of contemporary literature is developed in "O novom iskusstve" ("On the New Art"), in the above-mentioned collection. The tone of the article is moderate, and he does not present any particularly new viewpoints. Of most interest is his choice of writers to represent various currents. The classics are exemplified by Maupassant and Ibsen in the West and by Čexov in Russia. The arrival of the new art, he says, felt like a "subterranean landslide". Among its representatives he mentions London, Whitman, Wells, Gor'kij and Kellerman.¹⁷ The characteristics of the new literature included internationalism, a spirit of industrialism, a kaleidoscopic depiction of the different sounds, social nervousness and dynamism of society. One special contemporary theme was that of the engineer and organizer, who appeared in the works of Kellerman, Wells and others. (We have already noted how Gastev emphasizes the importance of this group p. 62) He comments briefly and favorably on futurism, mentioning only Marinetti by name, "Contemporary futurism is a child of the street – the street of consumers, not the street of producers". In his opinion futurism ignores purely social questions and addresses itself to verbal creation (*slovotvorčestvo*), proclaiming, quite in harmony with the world revolution in general, a Revolution of the Word. Proletarian art is on its way, however, and it will give life a new meaning, shaking the world with its exceptional dynamism and "wholeness". Gastev concludes this article with the words: "We are but the door-men. We still lack the strength to see its [the new art's] marvellous advent, but its time has now come."¹⁸

"O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury" ("On the Tendencies of Proletarian Culture"), sometimes called Gastev's manifesto, has been discussed and quoted more than any of his other articles. It appeared in Proletkul't's main journal *Proletarskaja kul'tura* in 1919.¹⁹

The central idea of the manifesto appeared already in the article of 1911 (see pp. 49–50 above), namely that the power of machinism (*sila*

mašinisma) will transform and automatize the worker. As he increasingly comes to function as a machine, individuality will disappear. Thus will the new, collective man be born, and a better world and a new proletarian art will be created by the new collective masses.

In the beginning Gastev acknowledges that his ideas are borrowed from the West, particularly America. He mentions Taylor and the new science of psychotechnique. In his opinion, in order to feel and understand correctly proletarian culture one must be a kind of engineer capable of analyzing in detail the new system of industrial production, by which he means heavy industry, especially the automobile and airplane plants in America and Europe. Gastev regards these factories as huge "laboratories" (a word which in his usage carries strongly positive connotations) in which the new culture and psychology of the proletariat will be developed.

The introduction is followed by a long passage on the classification of workers in contemporary industry. As a specialist on wage rates and work norms in the Metal-Workers' Union, he possessed detailed knowledge of the subject. His argument leads to a prediction about the sophisticated mass production industry of the future. The new machines in use there would demand such precision that it would no longer be possible to rely on human sense organs. Rather, everything would be run and regulated by delicate instruments. Consequently, there would no longer be any need for highly skilled workers. A general category of workers with intermediate vocational training (the third one in Gastev's scheme) would suffice. Work would be completely standardized and free from any subjective element. The worker would merely follow a set routine. It was on this group that Gastev based his observations on proletarian psychology. He maintained that these workers of the future would be so strongly influenced by their mechanized labor that they would become like cogs in a vast machine. Ultimately, the machines would govern the workers: "Machines, no longer managed, will become managers".²⁰ This is the same idea that Gastev developed earlier in "Novaja industrija" (see above p. 61).

"Machinism" in the new industry would mean a standardization of the working pace: "Throughout the world work will be performed at the same uniform tempo". This standardizing tendency would make itself felt outside the factory as well, including social life, questions of

food and housing, aesthetic and intellectual questions, and would even extend to intimate sexual relations. Not only the movements but even the everyday thoughts of the man of the future would become machine-like. The proletariat would acquire a "standardized psychology" that would be uniform across the world. "In its psychology, from one end of the world to the other, flow potent massive streams, creating one world brain in place of millions of brains". It is evident from the following passage that Gastev regarded this collective unanimity as something desirable:

Granted that as yet there is no international language, but there are international gestures, there are international psychological formulae which millions know to use. It is this feature which imparts to proletarian psychology a striking anonymity that permits an individual proletarian unit to be classified as A, B, C, or 325, 075, 0, and so on. In this normalization of psychology and in its dynamism lies the key to the enormous spontaneity of proletarian thinking. [...] In the future this tendency will make individual thought impossible and it will imperceptibly be transformed into the objective psychology of an entire class with its systems of switch-ons, switch-offs, short circuits.²¹

The mechanized collective lacks all individual features and has become completely anonymous. "The soul is deprived of lyricism, emotions are measured not by screams, not by laughter, but by manometers and taxometers."²² Gastev speaks of the "iron mechanics" of the collective and of the "engineerism" of the masses, which will transform the proletariat into an "unprecedented" social automaton.

One is forced to ask how Gastev, with his obvious concern for the fate of the individual worker and with his own clear-cut individuality, could think that a future world of human robots was desirable. In the discussion above of Gastev's articles written before World War I we have seen that he considered various alternatives. As early as 1911 he prophesied about a collective of undifferentiated workers, while in 1913 he shifted his emphasis to a future proletariat made up of morally superior individuals capable of thinking and acting independently. In both cases the collective is a tremendous force that would erase the contradictions of the old world and introduce harmony. Gastev's experiences during the war and revolution and the precarious situation of industry seem to have convinced him that the best solution for the future was a rational, productive world that

functioned like an efficient machine. In that world the workers' collective must be brought into harmony with technology and thus be mechanized. It goes without saying that Gastev was deeply disappointed with the efficiency of the contemporary Russian workers. He wished to transform them, infuse them with the capacity and precision of the machine. As he expressed himself in one of his poems in prose, he called for ("Zeleznyj demon veka s čelovečeskoj dušoj, s nervami, kak stal', s muskulom, kak rel'sa" ("An iron demon of the age with a human soul, with nerves like steel, with muscles like rails".)²³ He seems to have had in mind a kind of symbiosis between human beings and the machine. Gastev's far-reaching ideas were undoubtedly one of the sources of E. Zamjatin's dystopia *We* (1920).²⁴

Gastev regarded dynamism, movement and rhythm as self-evident components in this evolution. This is also apparent in his poetry, which often depicts motion forward and upward. Catastrophes, destruction and death are other inevitable elements. Nature has its typhoons, earthquakes and floods, and the working class and industry must likewise suffer misfortunes. Gastev seems to have regarded these setbacks as something that must be tranquilly accepted; acquiescence must become a feature of proletarian psychology:

The entire life of modern industry is impregnated with motion and catastrophes that are at the same time set in a frame of disciplined organization and strict regularity. Catastrophes and dynamism fettered by a grandiose rhythm – these are the fundamental, dominant elements of proletarian psychology.²⁵

In 1911 Gastev looked upon proletarian art as "mass creation", the product of the collective exertions of the masses. Everyone together would create "an impersonal, joyful epic" that would play an important role in the upbringing of the New Man. By 1919 he had elaborated on the form a proletarian art would take. He maintained that the new proletariat needed a new artistic style, a revolution in the area of aesthetic devices. This he called "*texnizacija slova*" ("the technicalization of the word"), by which he meant something superior to the futurist's "*slovotvorčestvo*" ("word-creation"). Words and ideas would come to have precise, technical meanings devoid of nuance and emotional connotations, so that they could be plugged in and unplugged as needed. In this art, he said,

[...] sound will not only be amplified but will gradually become divorced from its living vehicle – man. Here we really begin to approach a truly new compound art in which purely human manifestations, the pitiful theatricals and chamber music of the present day, will recede into the background. We are moving toward an unprecedentedly objective manifestation of things, mechanized crowds and a stirring, explicit grandeur totally free from anything intimate or lyrical.²⁶

Gastev's last literary work, the cycle of poems *Pačka orderov* (A Packet of Orders), may be regarded as an attempt to create such a new art (see pp. 93–98 below).

One may ask where Gastev got the inspiration and ideas for his vision of the future world of the factory workers. For it should be observed that he addresses only the proletariat. His own explanation is that he was inspired by his observations of the development of Western industry and influenced by the American engineer Frederick W. Taylor (who had first been a factory worker like Gastev) and by his study of the new science of psychotechnique.

Psychology had progressed rapidly since the beginning of the century. In Russia studies had concentrated on the relationship between psychological and physiological factors. There were several prominent representatives of this kind of research: the pioneer was I.M. Sečenov (1829–1905), who laid the foundation for later investigations into the physiology of work in Russia, the world-famous Nobel Prize winner I.P. Pavlov (1849–1936), who advanced the notion of "conditioned reflexes", and V.M. Bexterev (1857–1927), who studied cerebral behavior mechanisms. Applied psychology, which adapted experimental findings to practical purposes, penetrated several areas, among them industry and labor processes. This special field was named psychotechnique or industrial psychology. One current studied human relations during work and the individual's aptitude and suitability for a given job, while another investigated the organization of the work situation, including the position of the body, the arrangement of materials and tools, lighting, ventilation, etc., and strove for improvements that would lead to a more rational utilization of working time. It was in this latter area that Taylor was a pioneer. Psychotechnique experienced its big boom during and immediately after World War I. A number of psychotechnical institutes were founded in Europe. Behaviorism, a current

of experimental psychology that dated from about 1913 in America, was closely associated with psychotechnique. It maintained that human behavior, like animal behavior, should be studied under rigorous laboratory conditions. Such factors as reaction times, achievement and motor skills were studied and intelligence tests were devised. The findings coincided with Gastev's own observations, which explains why he placed such emphasis on the significance of psychological factors in the evolution of the proletariat. Gastev became one of the forerunners of psychotechnique in Russia. Like later semioticians, he regarded man as "a mechanism that performs operations on signs and sign sequences".²⁷

Gastev's "Tendencies" evoked a sharp reply from A. Bogdanov, the ideological leader of Proletkul't, who answered him in the same issue of the journal. Bogdanov criticized Gastev's vision of the future for attaching too much importance to war conditions and the sort of standardized production that was developed under them. His view of the proletariat abounded in typical military psychology, for the collective envisaged by Gastev was a kind of barracks on the Arakčeev model.²⁸ Bogdanov failed to comprehend how the middle type of future worker projected by Gastev could ever find a place in a sophisticated industry. He maintained instead that proletarian culture was moving toward greater individuality, and that the typical feature of the proletariat was its spirit of "comradely cooperation". The implication of Gastev's ideas was that above this mass of identical people lacking any particular psychological characteristics there would have to be a governing authority. Who was otherwise to develop industry and society? Bogdanov comes to the conclusion that there would have to exist an educated class of engineers to guide the mechanized collective. Indeed, Gastev himself had said as much in "The New Industry".²⁸

His stay in Xar'kov was interrupted in the fall of 1919. The Civil War was raging in the Ukraine, and Gastev and his wife were forced to flee to escape Denikin's advancing army. In early 1920 they came to Moscow, where he worked as a technical supervisor at the "Élektrosila" factory. There he "plunged into an analysis of the work of the automaton as the most perfect machine", and the idea matured of establishing an institute for the study of work processes that would "apply the tendency toward machinism to the construction of a system for training workers in the most simple operations".³⁰

The Central Soviet of Trade Unions supported a pilot project, and in August the first work was organized on a very modest scale, an experimental laboratory being set up in two small rooms in the Hotel Elite in Central Moscow (The trade unions also had their quarters there; it is now the site of the "Budapest" Restaurant). The research staff consisted of five or six persons, most of them Gastev's friends from his time in Petrograd. The institute was dubbed the Institute of Labor. A year later, a decree from the Soviet of Labor and Defense bearing Lenin's signature granted it the right to be called Central'nyj Institut Truda (the Central Institute of Labor) or CIT.

This brings us to the period in Gastev's life when his theories were tested in practice. During the following 18 years he abandoned literature to devote himself entirely to 1) planning the industrial development of the country (scientific management – in Russian "naučnaja organizacija truda", abbreviated NOT), 2) research and experiments concerning various aspects of factory work, 3) educating a new generation of workers and instructors.

6. Poèzija rabočego udara ("The Poetry of the Factory Floor")

Poèzija rabočego udara (PRU) was published in early 1918 as the first volume in the Petrograd Proletkul't's literary series. The fact that Gastev's work was chosen to head the series indicates that his pioneering contributions to proletarian culture were highly regarded in these circles. The editors' foreword abounded in the gushing rhetoric so typical of the period:

Amid a sea of tears and blood watering the earth, amid the senseless destruction of the material achievements of a dying culture, in the torments and ecstasies of struggle, the working class, champion of the world-wide reign of freedom, is erecting the edifice of a new culture, a proletarian culture that must become universal.

In conclusion a passage was quoted from Gastev's "My rastem iz železa" ("We Grow out of Iron") in which a hyperbolic symbol of the entire working class demands that his voice be heard:

"Give me the floor, comrades, give me the floor!" In order that these words, born of iron, shall ignite the hearts of all and be translated into action, Proletkul't has taken upon itself the task of collecting and uniting the proletariat's creative works and spreading them throughout the plants and factories.

The first edition comprised 151 pages. The foreword was followed by the programmatic poem "My rastem iz železa", and the remaining texts were divided into two untitled sections. The first included Gastev's earlier poems and poems in prose, most of which were written around 1913. With the exception of "Gudki" ("The Factory Whistles") and "Bašnja" ("The Tower"), which belonged chronologically to the first period, the poems in prose in the second section were written between 1913 and the October Revolution.¹

What were the characteristic features of *PRU*, what makes the collection outstanding among the Proletarian poetry of the time? To answer these questions we will briefly survey its contents, analyze certain representative poems and finally give an account of the first critical reception of *PRU*.

Our survey is based on the sixth and most complete edition of the work from 1926. All of the literary texts there were written before 1920, with the possible exception of "Pačka orderov" ("A Packet of

Orders”), which appeared in Riga in 1921. The collection comprised 216 pages with two forewords. The literary texts were divided into four sections I. ”Romantika” (”Romanticism”) deals with the development and struggle of the Labor Movement, II. ”Mašina” (”The Machine”) depicts the victory of industrialism and the working class by means of various expressive metaphors (”Bašnja”, ”Kran”, ”Rel’sy”, ”Molot” – ”The Tower”, ”The Crane”, ”Rails”, ”The Sledgehammer”), III. ”Vorota zemli” (”The Gates of Earth”) shows the world transformed by revolution, and IV. ”Slovo pod pressom” (”The Word Compressed”) presents the wholly technicalized world of the future and its mechanized proletarian collective.

9 of the 21 texts in the first section are prose, 5 may be called poems in prose and 7 are more traditional verse. Most of them were written before World War I. In the foreword to the fifth edition Gastev notes that ”’Romantika’ cried out the lyricism of the labor movement”. He also provides a brief account for the genesis of certain of the texts. Most of them are set in old Russia and deal with the difficult situation of the workers, their low wages, miserable social benefits and the many strikes which marked the period before the war. The earliest work is ”Vesna v rabočem gorodke” (”Springtime in the Workers Town”), written in 1911 in Paris.

In many of the prose works Gastev demonstrates that he has a sensitive ear for the speech of the workers, ably rendering the laconism and racy humor of their conversations. Especially ”Vesna v rabočem gorodke” indicates that he could have become a good prose writer. The early works of a writer often contain themes, stylistic features and tendencies that are developed and elaborated upon in his later production. This is most certainly true in the case of this story, in which Gastev uses a variety of stylistic devices: most notable is his rhythmic prose, which is sometimes reminiscent of Gor’kij’s. As we have seen from Gastev’s articles in *ZDV*, his attitude toward machines and factories was negative as long as society was capitalistic. In this story the machines and ovens are described as living beings, hellish monsters that threaten to devour the workers:

The fiery eyes of the monster of a boiler, which roared and seethed and devoured air, shone from the stoking-hole through holes in the furnace.

The mighty cylinders in the engine room were already choked, and,

as if coughing, released clouds of steam. The illuminated regulators lollicked and danced infernally above them. The two connecting-rods were locked in combat with each other; like the two pounding paws of some titanic beast that shook and almost actually pulled down the girders of the factory [...]

Nothing, nothing at all could be heard: all human sounds were drowned in the thick lava of the iron roar, and it seemed that the whole factory thundered imperturbably on over man, who perished in his labor.²

Gastev's belief in the working class is apparent in several of these early works. He emphasized that the human collective was a potentially mighty progressive force, for example in "Zvony" ("Chimes") and "My idem!" ("We are Coming!").

The Futurist poet Nikolaj Aseev called Gastev "The Ovid of the miners and metal-workers".³ This epithet seems to refer mainly to the second section of *PRU*, "Mašina" ("The Machine"), which contains the most interesting poems about the coming industrial age. The division is 54 pages long and consists of 14 works. Three of these – "Gudki", "Bašnja" and "Rel'sy" ("The Factory Whistles", "The Tower" and "Rails") – were written already in 1913, "Ėkspress" was published in early 1916, and "My posjagnuli" ("We have Usurped the World") in 1917.⁴ The others appeared for the first time in *PRU* in 1918. Except for "Železnye pul'sy" ("Iron Pulse-beats") which is mainly prose, all the works may be called poems in prose. Over half of the titles consist of a simple noun designating some concrete object associated with industry: "Gudki", "Vorota", "Bašnja", "Rel'sy", "Kran", "Balki", "Molot" ("The Factory Whistles", "The Factory Gates", "The Tower", "Rails", "The Crane", "Girders", "The Sledge-hammer"). Four titles refer directly to the collective: "My posjagnuli", "My vmeste", "My vsjudu", "Naš prazdnik" ("We have Usurped the World", "We are Together", "We are Everywhere", "Our Holiday"). This also applies to "Moja žizn'" ("My Life"), since here the expression signifies the entire working class: "Umerlo moe včera, nesetsja moe šegodnja, i uže b'jutsja ogni moego zavtra" ("My Yesterday has died, My Today is on the move, and the fires of My Tomorrow are already burning").

"Gudki", a eulogy to the collective and its work, introduces the section and sets its tone. The factory whistles no longer call the workers to slavery: "Ėto pesnja buduščego. [...] –Ėto utrennij gimn

edinstva!" ("It is the song of the future. [...]—It is the morning hymn of unity!") Seldom has any Russian writer, Gor'kij included, so forcefully emphasized the positive necessity of labor. One of the most common images in proletarian poetry is that of the smith with his sledgehammer, symbolizing both heavy labor and the strength of the worker. In Gastev's poetry it stands for the labor of the collective: a million hammers fall at the same time, setting the entire world vibrating.⁵ There was power and beauty in their uniform movements.

Another theme is the radical change which man undergoes in the workers' collective: the laborer becomes a part of the factory, almost literally fusing with the machines:

Tolpa idet novym maršem, nogi ulovili želenyj temp.

Ruki gorjat, im nel'zja bez dela, im ne terpitsja bez molotka, bez raboty. [...]

K mašinam!

My – ix ryčag, my – ix dyxanie, zamysel.

(The crowd steps in a new march, their feet have caught the iron tempo.

Hands are burning, they cannot stand idleness, they cannot be without a hammer, without work. [...]

To the machines!

We are their lever, we are their breathing, their impulse.)⁶

Or the process goes in the reverse order: the machine becomes like a human being, only more powerful. Its example influences millions of workers:

Ves' kran slilsja, spajalsja, našel v sebe novuju kalenuju metaličeskuju krov', stal edinyim čudoviščem . . . s glazami, s serdcem, s dušoj i pomyslami.

(The whole crane flowed and fused together, found in itself new red-hot metallic blood, became one single monster... with eyes, with a heart, with a soul and thoughts.)⁷

"Železnye pul'sy ("Iron Pulse-beats") is a prose work which seems to lie outside the thematic boundaries of the section, as it is partly set in the Petersburg financial world of 1913. Gastev was very interested in the manipulations of high finance.⁸ Most of the story, however, deals with a strike. There we find once again Gastev's singular view of the roaring factory and its relationship to the workers:

And the factory cut loose completely. It furiously beats out its iron dances. Its metallic roar and whisper have infected the entire block. And there is an alluring passion in this maelstrom of fire and machinery. [...]

There is a soul in these cold machines, a soul in the running transmissions, in the groaning windows, in the gurgle and hiss of furnaces, in the clang of the blows, and the soul is whole and harmonious and it has drawn everything, everything — living people and inert iron — into the unbroken noisy cavalcade of work.⁹

These texts about machines, factories and the collective are full of emotion and expressiveness. "The sentences are short and highly rhythmical, and frequent use is made of hyperbole", as one critic points out.¹⁰ Such themes are obviously very dear to Gastev and he is evidently anxious to persuade the reader of their urgency. One gets the impression that in these works Gastev opened up the floodgates of his otherwise so reserved personality. The poem "Ėkspress" — the longest in the section "Mašina" — is different. It is a Utopian panorama of future Siberia, but industry and technology play an important part even there (See pp. 88–93 below).

The third section, "Vorota zemli" ("The Gates of Earth"), has to do with the Revolution. Gastev says that there the ideology of the machine blends with the ideology of social romanticism.¹¹ This section was added to *PRU* in the third edition (1919) and consists of 11 texts, all in the form of poems in prose. Some of these were published in journals in 1918: "Oratoru", "Čudesna raboty", "Manifestacija", "Most" ("To the Orator", "The Wonders of Work", "The Demonstration", "The Bridge"). The title "Vorota zemli" contrasts with the religious notions of the "Heavenly Gates" and "Gates of Hell" of the old regime, and seems to suggest that Paradise on earth would now be created for all. Faith in the World Revolution is expressed in a number of poems, such as "Arka v Evropu" and "Goroda i ljudi" ("The Arch in Europe" and "Cities and People").

Gastev's style in this section is marked by an increasing verbal economy. V. Percov attributes this to the influence of the futurists. Moreover, the syntactic structure differs from that of his earlier poems in prose. Many of the works consist of extremely short lines. In "Most", for example, which contains a total of 430 lines, 1/3 have only one or two words. A little over half the lines in "Goroda i ljudi"

contain no more than three words, which results in a profusion of stops. In the latter poem there are 125 periods in 109 lines. Single words followed by a full stop are piled one upon the other. Animate and inanimate are mixed arbitrarily in these catalogues:

Kartočki. Instrukcii. Kolesa. Ustanovščiki. Tokarja. Požarnye. (Cards. Instructions. Wheels. Regulators. Turners. Firemen.)¹² Repetitions of a single word are another typical stylistic trait. In "Most" there are 17 double and 16 triple such repetitions: "Udary, udary, udary. / Požary, požary, požary."¹³ This may seem to contradict Gastev's striving for concentration, but the device is evidently used to increase intensity. Words are divided into syllables and consonants are prolonged à la Majakovskij to achieve the same effect: "Kanaty. Ka-na-ty. Ka-na-ty!", "Dy-š-š-ššu", "Tiš. . . š-š-ina."¹⁴

Hyperbolism is a more prominent feature of the poems in this section than in "Mašina"; it is combined with revolutionary enthusiasm in a manner that was typical of both the futurists and other proletarian poets. Gastev plays with geographical names (as do Whitman, Verhaeren, Majakovskij and Xlebnikov). The Earth is too small to express the magnificence of the Revolution; other planets, the entire cosmos are drawn into the new process of creation:

Okeany zaljzgjajut, bryzgnut k zvezdam.
Missisipi obnimaetsja s Volgoj.
Gimalai rinutsja na Kordil'ery.
– Rasxoxočis'!
Čtoby vse derev'ja na zemle vstali dybom i iz xolmov vyrosli gory.
I ne davaj opomit'sja.
Beri ee, bezvol'nuju.
Mesi ee, kak testo.
(The oceans begin to rattle, splash to the stars.
The Mississippi embraces the Volga.
The Himalayas hurl themselves on the Cordilleras.
– Guffaw!
So that all trees on earth would rear and mountains grow out of hills.
Don't let it come to its senses.
Take it, the listless Earth.
Knead it, like a piece of dough.)¹⁵

In Gastev's vision, the whole world and all its people will participate

in the great transformation. The suffering that must result from these violent changes does not give him pause. Catastrophes and the death of millions are an inevitable part of the process.

Trupy, teple, rodnye . . .
Bud'te nam špalami.
Sdelajte ruki, ešče rel'sy . . .
Ura, dve tysjači v poezd.
Tri prekrasnix na kryši.
Čto budet, čto budet.
K pod'emu.
My mčimsja po vas, blagoslovennye špaly.
(Corpses, warm, dear . . .
Be our crossties.
Make rails of your arms . . .
Hurrah, two thousand into the train.
Three thousand beautiful ones on the roofs.
What will be, will be.
Up the hill. We hurry along on you, blessed crossties.)¹⁶

Trinadcat' armij, na ryt'e mogil!
Milliony trupov na kranax, v mogily!
Četyre batal'ona sumasšedšix.
S xoxotom k morju.
(Thirteen armies, to the digging of graves!
Take the millions of corpses on the cranes, toss them in the
graves!
Four battalions of madmen.
Laughing to the sea.)¹⁷

Perhaps the explanation of Gastev's appalling indifference to death – at least in his poems – lies in the ideas of collectivism. As Robert C. Williams points out in an illuminating article: "It [collectivism] was, first, a philosophical and quasi-religious notion of collective immortality whereby individuals die, but the collective group, class, or party is said to endure eternally".¹⁸

Gastev's last cycle of poems, *Pačka orderov*, was included in *PRU* under the title "Slovo pod pressom" ("The Word Compressed") beginning with the fifth edition, and will be analyzed below.

We have observed that the language and style of the various sections of *PRU* tend to become successively more concentrated. As to the content of the poems, we can note that man as an individual

becomes less and less distinct. The people in "Romantika" are named, and their appearance, speech and actions described. As early as "My rastem iz železa" (1914), however, the worker becomes an anonymous collective symbol of gigantic proportions. In "Mašina" and "Vorota zemli" we encounter a new type of worker who has entered into a kind of symbiosis with the machine. Finally, in "Pačka orderov" the individual vanishes completely in a huge anonymous army of workers.

As to the influence of other writers on Gastev, traditional proletarian poetry, A. Bogdanov's notions of labor and the collective and of organized experience, and M. Gor'kij's revolutionary pathos doubtless played a decisive role in his early development. Reviews of *PRU* often mention Walt Whitman and Émile Verhaeren. Our view is that Gastev's free verse shows the influence of Whitman and Gor'kij in features such as rhythm, alternating long and short sentences, rhetorical intonation, repetitions of syntactic units or certain key words, the use of alliteration and triads, and catalogues. His global perspective and faith in progress are also typical of Whitman and Verhaeren. Verhaeren's influence was evidently the greater of the two, however, in the sense that he and Gastev had a similar view of the role of factories, machines, and the liberation of the working class and also shared a fondness for generalizing myths and metaphors. Gastev does not seem to have borrowed any formal features from Verhaeren, however, for the Belgian's poetry was rhymed and stuck to the old rules of versification. In Gastev's later poetry the influence of the Russian futurists was, of course, considerable. It is interesting to note that a modern poet like Boris Sluckij has a very high opinion of Gastev's blank verse, considering him to be the only representative of a form that has never really taken root in Russian poetry. "It was Gastev and only Gastev who began to write "vers libre", and his services to Russian poetry will not be forgotten."¹⁹

Let us now analyze some of the poems in prose in *PRU*. The selection is, of course, subjective. We have chosen poems which describe the future development of the proletariat, as the Utopian element is very strong in Gastev's work. For the texts see Appendix B.

"My rastem iz železa" ("We Grow out of Iron") introduces the collection and is perhaps Gastev's best known poem. It was written in

1914, when he was working in the big Siemens-Halske factory in Petrograd. He notes about it that "the constructive power of the factory was especially overwhelming".²⁰

The structural and dynamic center of the poem is the lyrical narrator, the "I", who at the beginning is but one among many workers in the factory, and his subsequent transformation. He derives strength from the iron around him, straightens himself up and grows into a giant who bursts through the roof of the building and reaches up to the smokestacks. As a representative of the proletariat he demands to be heard, shouting out his confidence in victory: "Pobedim my!" ("We will triumph!"). Just like the worker in "My rastem", the working class would rise and become master of the means of production. Significantly, the poem begins and ends with "We", for it is the collective which is the new force in history. As in "Bašnja" Gastev avails himself of images symbolizing upward movement.

Iron as a symbol of the working class seems a natural choice, since in the 19th century the metal became the most important material in the process of industrialization. Without iron a proletariat would never have arisen. Gastev broadens its meaning. If gold and silver gave their owners beauty and riches and thus became a symbol of capital, iron fulfilled a similar emblematic function for the working class. The "poetry of iron" was a protest against the "poetry of gold" (see p. 100 below).

The poetic form employed by Gastev lacked regular rhythm, rhyme, and embellishments. Thus like the contemporary works of the futurists, his poetry may be viewed as a challenge. "a slap in the face of public taste". The vocabulary of the poem also violates usual poetic language. Majakovskij spoke of introducing "the language of the street" into literature. The prominence Gastev gives to technical terms introduces "the language of the factory". The poem abounds in "machines", "hammers", "joints", "furnaces", "girders", "angle bars", "trusses". The word "iron" itself occurs no less than seven times, acquiring the character of a magical incantation: "My rastem iz železa, železnyj kovannyj prostor, vsju železnuju postrojku, novaja železnaja krov', s železom postrojki, železnoe éxo, moe železnoe".

Other proletarian poets followed Gastev's example, "iron" and "steel" becoming prominent words in their poetry after 1917. Mixail

Gerasimov, for instance, wrote "Pesn' o železe" ("A Song of Iron"):

V železe est' kovkost',
Provornost' i lovkost'
Est' v tancax mozolistyx ruk,
Est' tok v našix žilax,
V zvenjaščix zubilax,
Vagrankami spajannyj krug.

(In iron there is malleability, / There is quickness and agility / In the dance of calloused hands, / There is electricity in our veins, / In the clattering chisels, / A circle welded together by the cupola furnaces.)²¹

Like Gastev, Gerasimov uses technical terms and syntactic parallelism, but his verse is quite traditional in form. His use of abstract nouns in -ost', which are very common in symbolist poetry, is alien to the concreteness of Gastev's works. – In "Železnyj Messija" ("The Iron Messiah") Vladimir Kirillov borrows the symbolic giant workman from "My rastem", but he also uses a traditional verse form:

Vot on – spasitel', zemli vlastelin,
Vladyka sil titaničeskix,
V šume privodov, v bleske mašin,
V sijanii solnc električeskix.

(Here he is - - the savior, the lord of the earth, / The master of titanic forces, / In the hum of the wires, in the glitter of the machines, / In the shining of electric suns.)²²

Most proletarian poets had recourse to a religious vocabulary, but Gastev is an exception also in that respect.

Unlike most of Gastev's poems in prose, "My rastem iz železa" is very short. Its brevity and its simple, easy to understand symbolism have doubtless contributed to its popularity. It was eminently suitable as agitational declamatory verse at political rallies during the Revolution and Civil War. It may be compared in shortness and rhetorical force with Gor'kij's "Pesnja o burevestnike" ("The Song of the Stormy Petrel"), which was likewise a popular declamatory text between the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. In the strictly poetic sense, however, there are important differences between the two poems. Gor'kij's consists of a series of short paragraphs, each of

which contains a long sentence or a couple of short ones. Its rhythm is markedly trochaic and thus reminiscent of the meter of Russian folk poetry and songs. Sound symbolism is very important: "r" and combinations of "r" and other consonants dominate the poem and are meant to symbolize the power of the storm that is about to break: "Burja! Skoro grjanet burja!" ("The storm! Soon the storm will break!").

Gastev's poem consists of short sentences which are rhythmical without clearly fitting any metrical scheme, and there is no conscious use of sound symbolism. Whereas Gor'kij's long sentences generally lack emotional dynamism (e. g. "Vot oxvatyvaet veter stai voln ob'jat'em krepkim i brosaet ix s razmaxu v dikoj zlobe na utesu, razbivaja v pyl' i bryzgi izmurudnye gromady.")²³ Gastev makes effective use of syntactic parallelism in his short sentences. These brief sentences in rapid succession can produce a very expressive effect:

Oni stremitel'ny, oni razmašisty, oni sil'ny. [...]
 Vypiraju plečami stropila, verxnie balki, kryšu. [...]
 I ne rasskaz, ne reč', a tol'ko odno moe železnoe. [...]
 (They are impetuous, they are bold, they are strong. [...]
 With my shoulders I push out the rafters, the upper beams, the roof.
 [...]
 And not a story, not speech, but only my iron [word]. [...])

The first line here contains three sentences, all of which have a predicative adjective. The interesting point is that Gastev does not attempt the usual type of dynamic intensification, which begins with the shorter adjectives and ends with the longer and more sonorous one. Instead, he begins with "stremitel'ny" and "razmašisty" and concludes with the simple "sil'ny". By following this reverse order he seems to be wanting to say that the greatest power is inherent in the simplest words, much as the strength of iron is greater than that of gold or silver.

"Bašnja" ("The Tower") was first published in the trade-union journal *Metallist* in 1917,²⁴ but the poem was conceived four or five years earlier, while Gastev was still in Paris. As he notes:

. . . the first flicker of it was in Paris, as I was confronted by the view of the Eiffel Tower and the enormous, stirring constructions connected with the Paris subway.²⁵

This statement may be set in a broader literary and artistic context. Interest in the Eiffel Tower was great around 1910. Artists painted pictures of it and poets wrote poems about it. Delaunay has three compositions in the cubist style entitled "La Tour Eiffel". Chagall shows it in "Paris par la fenêtre", and it is also prominent in La Fresnaye's canvases. It was celebrated in Apollinaire's "Zone" and in Blaise Cendrars' "Tour", which was written about the same time as Gastev's poem (1913).

Words for different construction materials such as concrete, iron and steel constitute one important semantic field in the poem. Reinforced concrete and steel were much used around the turn of the century for the construction of bridges, industrial complexes, towers and skyscrapers. The then popular Jugend style called attention to the building materials themselves, and this feature was further underscored in the architectural expositions of the time. In Russia this emphasis on materials – "the culture of material" ("kul'tura materiala"), as it was called – is evident in the architecture of e. g. Vladimir Tatlin.²⁶

The poem emphasizes the labyrinth-like structure of girders in the tower in a way that is reminiscent of cubist painting:

Rel'sy i balki vzdymajutsja kverxu, žmutsja drug k drugu, b'jut
i lovjat drug druga, na mgnoven'e kak budto zastyli krest-nakrest
v bor'be [...]

(The rails and the beams rise upwards, press close to each other,
beat and grasp each other, for a moment they seem frozen, crossed in
battle [...])

In this sense it may be said that "Bašnja" is linked with the avant-garde art and architecture of the period. It is at the same time obvious that for Gastev the tower has a different function and reference than for the avant-garde artists. The Biblical tale of the Tower of Babel figures in the background, and Russian theater-goers were familiar with tower symbolism from such plays as Ibsen's *The Master Builder* and L. Andreev's *K zvezdam (To the Stars)*.

At about the same time as Gastev conceived the idea for "Bašnja" he wrote an article in *ZDV*²⁷ which seems to explain the organization of the poem. There he describes the development of the Russian Labor Movement before and after 1905, dividing it into three different stages: "Faith", "Despair" and "Experience". The same

strata may be distinguished in the poem. The first deals with the past and uses mostly perfective verbs in the past tense and a narrator who stands apart from the events being described. The introduction sounds like the beginning of some frightening fairy-tale: "Over the terrifying precipices of the Earth, over the abyss of the frightful seas". The foundation of the tower is laid in a deserted landscape. The work involves a battle between man and nature in which nature (zemlja -- "the Earth") is as animate as her adversary: "The Earth gobbled them mercilessly". The workers finally win out and the foundation is laid, but they have paid a terrible price in accidents, suffering and death. The earth sighs and the graves moan under the weight of the first section of the tower. This passage bears a resemblance to Gor'kij's story about the construction of the Simplon Tunnel in *Skazki ob Italii* (*Tales of Italy*) and Nekrasov's poem "Železnaja doroga" ("The Railroad"). The image of the earth pressed down by a tremendous weight is reminiscent of a motif in the bylina of bogatyr Svetogor, who was so big and heavy that "the earth could not bear him".

After a short period of despondency – a breathing space – work continues: "Vysoko, vysoko razbežalis', do žuti vysoko ugol'niki, balki i rel'sy." ("High, high, terrifyingly high soared the girders and rails"). This passage is a eulogy to collective labor and the harmony of unity, in contrast to the more unorganized work in the beginning. The whole tower bustles with movement and activity, and comes alive with shouting and singing. The mighty rhythm of collective labor is conveyed through a rising triad, and the key word "železo" ("iron") is repeated like an incantation:

Ix tam tysjači. Ix million. Milliardy . . . rabočix udarov gremjat v étiخ
otzvukax bašni železnoj.
Železo – železo! . . Gudjat labirinty.
(Thousands of them are there. Millions of them. Billions . . . blows of
the workers thunder in these echoes of the iron tower.
Iron – iron! . . Roar the labyrinths).

The structure is crowned by a spire of steel that pierces the sky to which men earlier humbly prayed. This is the first stage of construction. Now there is a sudden change of mood:

Dymkoj i mgloju byvaet podernut naš špil': éto černeye dni neudači,

katastrofy dvižen'ja, èto užas rabočej nevoli, o'tčajan'e, strax i bezver'e . . .

(Our spire is sometimes enveloped in mist and darkness: these are the black days of failure, the disasters of the movement, the horror of the workers' enslavement, despair, fear and unbelief . . .)

Here Gastev is describing a period of reflection and suspicion which calls into question the whole meaning of the project. The workers have exerted themselves to the utmost and are now exhausted: "ustalyx . . . obmanutyx . . . stroitelej bašni." ("exhausted . . . betrayed . . . builders of the tower.") The word "betrayed" is noteworthy. The promises made them have not been kept. What Gastev is probably referring to is the mood of the Russian workers after the abortive Revolution of 1905. Even the leaders begin to hesitate and doubt whether the entire project might not be only a fantastic dream ("sny", "miraž", "greza"). As at the beginning of the poem, there is only one reality left: the abyss. At this point occurs the first personal pronoun in the poem ("pod nami" – "under us"), and with it the poet abandons his position of passive observer and joins the collective. The despair of many is so profound, however, that they throw themselves down from the tower:

I, lišennye very, lišennye voli,
 padajut vniž.
 Prjamo na skaly . . . Na kamni.
 No kamni, žestokie kamni . . .
 Učat!
 (And, deprived of faith, deprived of will,
 they fall down.
 Straight to the cliffs . . . On the rocks.
 But the rocks, the cruel rocks . . .
 Will teach them!)

The mood here quite distinctly recalls Gastev's description of Petersburg in the spring of 1906 (see pp. 29–30 above). The cliffs and stones symbolize hard reality or the established social order. There are points of contact between this passage and Gor'kij's poem in prose "Pesnja o Sokole" ("The Song of the Falcon") (1895), which contrasts two attitudes toward life. One can cast oneself into the unknown and soar up into the sky like the falcon, in which case happiness is in the flight and struggle itself. On the other hand one can

crawl on one's belly like the grass snake, searching and yearning for something better. Here as well "stone" is a key word which symbolizes an unyielding, unchangeable reality against which human lives and hopes are dashed.

The workers in Gastev's poem are now confronted by a choice: they can either die or continue to work and strive upward:

Ili smert', ili tol'ko tuda, tol'ko kverxu – krepit' i kovat', klepat',
podymat'sja i snova vse stroit' i stroit' železnuju bašnju.
(Either death or else only there, only upward — to strengthen and
forge, rivet, arise and once again build and build the iron tower.)

At this point engines and machines are mentioned for the first time: "the low song of the engine. The mumbling of the iron machine . . .". What the workers must do now is to streamline their labor with the help of modern technology. An intense period in the construction of the tower is initiated. Hope has returned as workers from all corners of the globe are welded together by a new faith in their cause. Experience has taught them that progress cannot be attained without misfortunes. Gastev, however, feels no compassion for the victims. The death of an individual is of little significance in the wider context. "So what!" he says with an appallingly indifferent shrug of his shoulders (Cf. p. 79 above):

Pust' budut ešče katastrofy . . .
Vperedi ešče mnogo mogil, ešče mnogo padenij . . .
Pust že!
(So what if there are disasters ahead . . .
Many more graves, many more falls . . .
So what!)

The conclusion of the poem points entirely toward the new world of the future. Here Gastev for the first time avails himself of rhyme to increase the expressive force of the passage. The dominance of sharp "i" vowels is evidently intended to underline the image of the spire powerfully thrusting its point into the heavens:

O, idi,
I gori,
Probivaj svojim špilem vysoty,
Ty, naš derzostnyj bašennyj mir!
(Oh, go on,

And burn on,
Pierce the heights with your spire,
You, our audacious tower-world!

"Bašnja" enjoyed considerable popularity after the Revolution and was often declaimed by soldiers at the front and at poetry readings in the cities. The Proletkul't theater was fond of dramatizing poetry in the form of choral speech or combinations of choirs and individual reciters. "The Tower" was among the works on their repertoire, and the director A.A. Mgrebov, who worked at the Petrograd Proletkul't studio, has described one of those performances in 1918:

The reciter, naked from the waist up and dressed in a leather apron, towered immobile above a pedestal surrounded with hundreds of outstretched hands. He began to declaim Gastev's "Tower". The chorus echoed and interrupted him by turns. Music played softly in the distance, the stage was flooded in a crimson glow. "The struggle of the working class" was symbolized by actors frozen in heroic poses depicting the class struggle.²⁸

"**Ėkspress**" was first published in the journal *Sibirskie zapiski* in 1916.²⁹ Gastev notes of the idea of the poem:

Siberia also made a profound impression on me, and while there I had the opportunity to write "Express", which anticipates a new, revolutionary colonization of Russia. A happy coincidence made the work possible, as I was forced to spend about three months in the Narym calaboose, where I both studied Siberian literature and listened to the Siberians' extremely entertaining stories.³⁰

Separatist tendencies had been in evidence for some time in Siberia. The Siberians' self-consciousness and their pride in the history, vastness and wealth of the region had been growing since the end of the 19th century. The great Russian dissident writer A. Herzen was among the first to stress Siberia's great future potential. In his book *Tjur'ma i ssylka* (Prison and Exile) (1854) he described Siberia as a land on the shore of the "sea of the future" the Pacific Ocean, a land that bordered on the home of modern technology, America.³¹ 1888 witnessed the founding of the first Siberian university in Tomsk. Such nationalist and regionalist scholars as G. Potanin, N.M. Jadrincev and M.P. Dragomanov in various ways championed the cause of the region.³² After the February Revolution all of this nationalist ferment

resulted in an attempt to establish a "Siberian Union of Free States" with its own government and laws loosely bound to a Russian Federal Republic.³³ It is evident from the poem that Gastev was sensitive to these moods. Russia and Russians, for example, are not mentioned anywhere. The poem is about the free Siberian people who deserve sole credit for the successful development of the region.

"Èkspress" is Gastev's longest poem, comprising approximately 11 book pages. It is divided into twelve sections of varying length, the shortest being only four lines and the longest running to one and a half pages. The first part is a lyrical introduction which provides a brief survey of modern Siberia – which etymologically means "the sleeping country" – from the Urals to the Bering Straits. Siberia is sleeping beneath "a brocade of snow". A new era, however, called "Novyj god" ("The New Year") in the poem, is coming. The Northern Lights are a curtain behind which a brilliant future impatiently waits to make its entrance upon the stage. The air resounds with the blows of giant sledge-hammers – "Strojat, strojat!" ("They are building, building!").

The main body of the poem is about the future. The poet describes a trip on the express train "Panorama" across Siberia, from the Urals to Irkutsk and then on a new line up to the Bering Straits. The train is both reality and symbol: it rushes along over the vast expanses, past cities and landscape, its movement symbolizing rapid technological progress. Significantly, it runs from the Urals to the United States, for the entire vision of Siberia's future throbs with the pulse of America.

Communications, always of vital importance to Siberia, are an important theme in the work. The train motif is connected with real events. The Trans-Siberian Railway had attracted worldwide attention upon its completion in 1903–1904. Since the turn of the century, railroads and especially the major express lines had been important symbols in "le mythe du moderne". Blaise Cendrars, for example, described a train trip across Siberia in his lyrical poem "La prose du transsibérien" (1913), an eulogy to technology and internationalism, though not a vision of the future as in Gastev's poem.³⁴

As we ride through Siberia, we come first to Kurgan, "Kitchen of the World", city of butter, bread and meat. The pride of the city is the People's House, always a main point of interest to Gastev. The building is four city blocks in area, with ten stories above ground and

ten stories below. The outer facade is entirely of glass. Above one corner of the edifice is a high signal tower ("majak") with the illuminated inscription "Edinenie" ("Unity"). The description of Kurgan emphasizes the cooperatives, which are the mainstay of the city's prosperity. The cooperatives did in fact play a significant role in the Siberian economy around World War I. The architecture of the place seems to be influenced by Fourier's phalansteries and Vera Pavlovna's fourth dream in Černyševskij's *What Is to Be Done?*³⁵ Buildings of glass as models for the future, of course, had already been realized in e.g. the Crystal Palace in London and had become a kind of negative symbol of socialist society in the works of Dostoevskij. The city is also of glass in Valerij Brjusov's story "The Republic of the Southern Cross", and Evgenij Zamjatin would soon use the same material in the houses of his dystopian novel *We*.³⁶

On the way to the next city the train passes through steppe and tundra that have been transformed into the breadbasket of the world. The fields are plowed and worked by enormous monsters of machines, and the farm workers live in a new type of settlement: a double row of houses laid out in a straight line for hundreds of miles.³⁷ The next stop is the "City of Steel" Novo-Nikolaevsk, a huge industrial center bristling with thousands of smokestacks. It is known as the "engine" of Siberia. Lines of transportation radiate from it in all directions. The most important of these is the Ob' River, which has been made navigable for large ships. The houses are arranged geometrically in squares. A huge green garden is cultivated atop their joined flat roofs.

Krasnojarsk, the city of research and learning (anticipating Novosibirsk-Akademgorodok) possesses a university, museums, an observatory and a sismograph that can accurately predict earthquakes. A splendid white tower distinguishes the International Scholarly Congress Center, which is adorned with the flags of all nations. At this particular moment a conference is in progress on "the betterment of the human race through demonstrative sexual selection". Along the nearby Enisej River may be seen miles of silhouettes of ships under construction, for Krasnojarsk is also the "shipyard of the world".

Next comes Irkutsk, the city of commerce, finance and communications, headquarters of the central trade unions and home of the International Stock Exchange. Above the city is a level of platforms

suspended in mid-air. On them are located the telegraph and radio stations and the central trade-union offices. Each of these bears the name of a metal, a chemical or the like: "Gold", "Radium", "Oxygen", etc. A pictorial newspaper ("fotogazeta") containing all sorts of news, even literary items, is published round the clock and sent out across the world. The city is hypermodern, with all the latest automation. The soundproofed railroad station is located underground and is operated entirely automatically. Moving sidewalks and automatic elevators transport the passengers to the different levels of the city. Three bodies are holding congresses in Irkutsk: the Siberian trusts, the Siberian cooperatives, and the workers' international (whose conference language is a combination of Russian and American English).

The train swings north on a single-track line. We pass through Bodajbo, a gold-mining town and exile colony on the Vitim River. On one side chained convicts and deported Chinese, Africans, Indians and Jakuts slave in the hellish dust and filth of the gold-mines, while on the other side stand the shining residences of the rich. It is the only passage in the poem where Gastev touches upon social injustice, and it is remarkable that this compulsory hard labor is reserved for non-whites.

Then follows Jakutsk, center of the paper industry, and the new city Ėnergija (Energy), which distributes electric current from Kamčatka, where all the volcanoes have been capped with steel and asbestos to collect heat from deep within the earth and transform it into energy. The city of Bering is the end of the line. Here a palace has been built of amber from the sea. By means of mobile underwater caissons it is possible to travel to the North Pole, and there are plans to melt the snow of the Polar Cap by altering the course of the warm ocean current, thus changing the entire climate of the north and rendering the region fit for farming and gardening. From Bering the train continues through a tunnel under the Bering Straits to Alaska. In front of the tunnel stands a giant lighthouse, the tallest building on earth, made of concrete, metal, paper and non-melting ice. The construction brings to mind Gastev's earlier "Tower":

Kažetsja, čto majak vse idet, vse nastupaet k poljusu rastuščim
pamjatnikom čeloveku, ego dviženiju, ego vole.

(It seems as if the lighthouse is constantly moving, constantly

advancing to the Pole like a growing monument to man, his movement, his will.)

The building of the tunnel has cost two thousand lives and is thus reminiscent of Nekrasov's poem "The Railroad" and Kellermann's novel *The Tunnel*. Thanks to the tunnel there is no longer any boundary line between the Old and the New World. "The tunnel has become a symbol of workers' unity". In half an hour the train arrives in American Alaska and there the journey and the poem ends.³⁸

The poem fluctuates suddenly between detailed, matter-of-fact visions of the cities of the future and purely lyrical passages sometimes filled with rather unclear symbolism:

The Express is entirely of the Earth, entirely of man. It drills away, it summons forth an unheard-of clatter of steel, the roll of subterranean seas, the breath of lava.

Oh, it wants to cut through the entire Earth, exhale its hot breath over it, surrender to it all its fiery passion; it wants to inspire it with the demon of cold and the demon of heat and make them battle eternally; it wants to drown man in metal, melt all the little souls into one big one, it wants to infect the stones with a human voice and make the frozen ground sing hymns to the fire.

The relentless forward-moving drive that characterizes the spirit of another passage again recalls "The Tower":

Onward! Through the dangerous swamps, to the end, to the farthest, farthest end!

Misfortunes occur during the trip, but the train rushes on, sometimes assuming human traits:

It is covered with wounds, it is full of sorrow, but stern as iron, it has hidden, buried all the pain of its fantastic road in its fiery heart [. . .] rebellious, it sings, not at all of the past, not at all of the heavy, heart-rendering hours, but of the joyful rises of the future and of the slopes fraught with daring and risks.

The train becomes an almost human revolutionary. The fervor of the description recalls Gor'kij. Another passage is reminiscent of Gogol's troika in *Dead Souls*, the archetypal image in Russian literature of fateful movement forward:

The Express rushes through the mountains, sweeps from peak to peak.

Whither, whither are you flying? What are these? Semaphores or stars?

Surprisingly, there are no references to Russia, nor does Gastev seem to be envisaging a socialist world of the future. The Siberia of his vision has no central government, which of course accords with his syndicalist ideas. The economic struggle being waged there is between the cooperatives and unions on the one hand, and the capitalist trusts, on the other. There is no mention, however, of wars or weapons. The world has become internationalized and has entered a new period of development. Man looks upon the exploitation of natural resources as his self-evident right, and with the help of technology he has become the master of nature. Enormous machines, giant factories, and automation are important ingredients of the poem, but surprisingly little is said about the working class, considering that nearly everything Gastev had written so far had dealt with the proletariat. Future Siberia has in several respects become the most important industrial and agricultural area of the world, being the major producer of grain, meat and dairy products, steel, gold, paper, ships and electricity. The world of finance has moved its headquarters from Wall Street to Irkutsk. Gastev's main object in writing the poem seems to have been to voice his enthusiasm and optimistic hopes for both the future of Siberia and the internationalization of the world. It is a Utopia in the making. Gastev unfolds its enormous potential.³⁹

The world which confronts us a few years later in "Pačka orderov", another of Gastev's contributions to utopian literature, is of a different nature.

"Pačka orderov" ("A Packet of Orders") is Gastev's last published literary work, appearing in Riga in 1921. According to his second wife Sofija Abramovna, he began working on it in Xar'kov as early as 1919. It is not clear why it was published in Riga rather than in Moscow, where Gastev was living at the time. One explanation may be the fact that there was an interest in Gastev in Riga, as may be gathered from articles in the Russian newspaper *Novyj put'* published there.⁴⁰ Another may be the difficult publishing conditions in Russia at the time.

In the foreword to the fifth edition of *PRU* Gastev commented briefly on the intention of the poem. "Here I try to solve a verbal,

aesthetic problem: to find a new kind of short artistic report, which is dictated by all modern life and stands under the sign of the economy of the word."⁴¹ Most of this statement of purpose derives from earlier futurist jargon. When Gastev says that he wants "to solve a verbal, aesthetic problem", he brings to mind statements such as Majakovskij's early interpretation of Čexov's works as "a solution of purely verbal problems" ("rešenje tol'ko slovesnyx zadač").⁴² His remark on the "economy of the word" is also reminiscent of Majakovskij's comment on Čexov's language, through which "bursts the hurrying cry of the future: Economy!" ("probivaetsja spešaščij krik buduščego: Ekonomija!").⁴³ Majakovskij's statement, however, is in turn an echo of Marinetti and the Italian futurists, who laid special emphasis in their program on the "economy of the word". And the creation of a genre of documentary "reports" or "sketches" ("očerki") whose content and form would serve to express the new age. This was a dream the futurists in LEF would seek to realize throughout the 1920s.

Even though many aspects of the poem have been influenced by both Italian and Russian futurist theory and practice, PO is still an original and remarkable work that has received surprisingly little scholarly comment. It represents Gastev's attempt to realize the "technicalization of the word" of which he spoke in *Proletarskaja kul'tura* in 1919, where he declared: "We are moving toward an unprecedentedly objective manifestation of things, mechanized crowds and a stirring, explicit grandeur totally free from anything intimate or lyrical". (See p. 69–70 above.)

As the title indicates, PO is in the form of a packet of orders. These are orders in the industrial sense of a command to supply goods, but often they are also expressed in the form of military orders. The first order, for instance, begins and ends with well-known words of command: "v šerengu", "smirno", "zamri" ("Fall in!", "Attention!"). The cycle is divided into ten such orders, each one numbered in military or bureaucratic fashion: 01, 02, 03, etc. They are of varying length, from two to twenty-three lines, comprising a total of 151 lines.

The first remarkable feature of these orders is that they are more like technical instructions or schemes of labor operations than ordinary stanzas or short poems. Order 02, for instance, gives a series of such operations in a factory:

K stankam.
Vstat'.
Pauza.
Zarjad vnimanija.
Podača.
Vključit'.
Samoxod.
Stop.
(To the machines.
Stand up.
Pause.
Supply of attention.
Feed.
Contact.
Shunt.
Stop.)

All orders have a similar structure, i.e. each line is a syntactical unit ending in a full stop. Generally each line consists of an order. In more than half of all cases the order is expressed by means of a noun phrase (a noun in the nominative or an oblique case or together with a preposition, for example: "Samoxod.", "Rukami, grud'ju. "k vostoku.")). There are a few imperatives and in the remaining cases the order is expressed by an infinitive, which is typical of usage in the armed forces and in industry; for example: "Vstat'", "Vključit'".

There is in fact not a single finite verb-form in the entire poem. The verbal economy of the orders corresponds to the precision, speed and efficiency of the labor processes in the world of the future as Gastev saw it. At the same time it should be noted that this verbal economy conforms to Marinetti's technical manifesto of futurist literature of 1912, which in order to create "a style with speed" prescribed the use of the infinitive instead of finite verb-forms.⁴⁴ This idea was later borrowed by the Russian imaginalists.⁴⁵

The influence of futurism also makes itself felt in derivation. Already in "Vorota zemli" Gastev uses neologisms, mostly compound nouns, of a type demanded by Marinetti in his technical manifesto. Similar nouns were of course also invented by other Russian poets, especially Esenin.⁴⁶ The following may be cited as examples from "Vorota zemli": "silači-čudesa-mašiny-bašni", "plugi-ixtozavry", "kolty-muzykanty", "mašina-stanok-karusel'", "pro-

žektory-požary". The neologisms in PO are for the most part "compressed" technical terms in the form of compound nouns: "čuguno-polosa-vzgljady", "snarjadpolet", "agitkanonada", "trudo-ataki-ėkstra", "kvartalo-tank", "mozgomašiny", "kinoglaza", "elektronervy", "arteronasosy", "cikloviolončel". The three verbal forms "inženerit", "ološadit", "ogortanit", however, should also be mentioned, as they resemble Majakovskij's neologisms.

In other words, the poem is a remarkable blend of technical description and futurist poetry, of technical objectivity, military precision and utopian dreams of the future.⁴⁷ There is a fascinating correspondence between form and content which has no counterpart in either Russian or Italian futurism.

PO is supplied with a special foreword and technical instructions (see Appendix B p. 152). Gastev says there that mankind is in a state of uneasiness and expectation, waiting for a signal. The chaotic situation of the present allows us only a faint glimpse of the future. The technical instructions describe how the poem is to be read: "in regular segments, as if they were being fed into a machine". The reading is to be without any "pseudo-classical bombast" ("ložno-klassičeskaja pripodnjatost") or "pathetic flourishes" ("udarnye patetičeskie mesta"). Words and phrases are to follow one upon the other at the same speed. The poem is to resemble a libretto of actual events. Order 05 may be read parallel with orders 01–04 and 06–09, after which order 10 is recited by only the first reader.

Let us first examine the central order 05 more closely. The first two lines seem to say that the past has been discarded once and for all. From now on humanity will concentrate on working for the future: "Millions, into the hatches of the future./Billions, get a firmer grip on your tools." But man must first be transformed – both his thoughts and emotions must be systematized and organized. "Katorga" ("forced labor") and "kandaly" ("fetters") are words that are firmly rooted in the history of the working-class movement and occur in many prerevolutionary proletarian poems. "Inženerizm" is one of Gastev's favorite words; here he has derived a verb from it and aimed it at the petty bourgeoisie. In his usage it means the exactitude, rational behavior and functional solutions characteristic of the engineers, who were truly the men of their age. Mathematical precision will become necessary in physical movements and even in language, which will be normalized and uniform throughout the

world. Literature and the emotions will be smothered. Propaganda, however, will remain and even be amplified by means of tunnels that have been converted into megaphones. The sky has been made red in order to intensify work efforts. Technology is working at maximum capacity; the machines have become humanized, as is evident from such neologisms as "mozgomašiny" ("brain-machines"), "kinogla-za" ("cinema-eyes"), "èlektronervy" ("electric nerves"), "arterona-sosy" ("artery pumps").

The remaining eight orders that are given parallel with 05 mostly concern special areas in this rational world of the future, where people have more or less become robots. Here follows a short summary. Order 01 is very interesting. 40,000 men are lined up in a row. To check that the row is absolutely even a shot is fired down the line 10 mm from the first man's forehead. Thirty men who are too far forward are struck and discarded ("ljudi v brak"). One group of the remainder is dispatched on a mission to the east, while others set off in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus before work can begin military order and discipline must be established. 02 describes how certain operations are learned and drilled in a factory.⁴⁸ In 03 doctors are summoned to the ranks in order to raise the people's "temperature" or enthusiasm even more. At first only small groups and sections are involved, then larger and larger units, entire cities and states. The whole thing ends in an all-out agitational broadside ("Agitkanonada. Trudo-ataki-èkstra."). In 04 cities and residential areas are put into perfect order. A "package of 20 blocks" is set on caterpillar-treads and wheels and compressed into a kind of "block-tank" ("kvartalo-tank"). The workers are rewarded with a thousand extra calories. In 06 the world becomes an orchestra playing in harmony: "Asia tuned to re. America is a chord higher." In 07 the perspective expands to cosmic dimensions as different parts of the world communicate with each other, the sun is switched on and off, people are repaired and rejuvenated, and flying stations are set up in space 80 miles from the Earth. 08 clearly mentions a kind of time machine or time carousel whirling at "one million centuries a second". In 09 there is a war game which uses weapons such as brainwashing, hypnotic rays, nitrogen gas and spatial disorientation. The exercise ends in a command adressed to the women demanding that they immediately give birth to new children to replace the people that have been lost. The final command 10 is a military order of the

day given after a completed maneuver or battle: 600 cities came up to the mark, 20 did not and must therefore be discarded ("v brak").

Significantly, it was not until the breakthrough of cybernetics in the 1960s and a rise in the popularity of science fiction that PO began to be regarded as a poetic vision of the future that in principle, at least, had been confirmed on many points. The poet S. Kirsanov observed:

The work reminds me of a fantastic proton-synchrotron accelerator chamber, or perhaps better, a space control center from which we follow and maintain contact with ships departing into the cosmos, a room full of thousands of computers and thousands of watchful eyes; levers are set in motion half a million kilometers from the control panel.⁴⁹

The Critical Reception of PRU

The reviews of the book in 1918 were generally favorable. In *Vestnik žizni* M. Torov noted that Gastev was the most original and talented of the Russian proletarian writers, and he found the title of the collection to be very typical.

Gastev's factory or plant embraces the whole world; he is in love with his "dear factory", which is "flooded with sunlight". As he enters its yard he dreams of the future transformation of the entire planet into a single giant factory filled with the "storm of labor".⁵⁰

He emphasized that Gastev was primarily a prose writer and that his poems were conventional stylistically and less clear than his prose. He considered "Ja poljubil" ("I Fell in Love") to be the best poem, thanks to the power of its imagery and its marked, solemn rhythm, which seemed to echo the blows of a "roaring sea of wheels and rollers". In the next issue of *Vestnik žizni* Torov gave *PRU* a new and longer review. He described the little book as the first cornerstone in the edifice of proletarian literature. Each page bore witness to the unwavering power and precision inherent in proletarian consciousness. It would be difficult, he says, to find a better symbol for this intrepid revolutionary force than the tower, whose spire pierces the sky worshipped by the men of the past. The roots nourishing Gastev's artistic creation are anchored deep in the proletarian milieu in which he was shaped as a metal-worker. At the center of his poetry, serving as the source of his inspiration, is the factory, which will transform life and lead the proletariat to victory. Torov observes that Gastev's element is motion: long characterizations, introductions and static descriptions are conspicuous by their absence. Everything is compressed, dynamic and bursting with action. Even the rhythm of Gastev's prose is "gusty", full of movement and tension.⁵¹

The same issue of *Vestnik žizni* contained an article by the well known socialist critic V. Friče entitled "Poèzija železnoj rasy" ("The Poetry of the Iron Race"). Friče reviewed three collections of proletarian poetry: V. Kirillov's *Stixotvorenija* (Poems), S. Malaškin's *Muskuly* (Muscles), and Gastev's *PRU*. Of the three, the critic considered that only Gastev had correctly interpreted the soul of the proletariat. Kirillov echoed bourgeois poetry, Malaškin borrowed from Whitman and Verhaeren, while Gastev had created an original

style "forged of iron and steel".⁵² Later in the Moscow Proletkul't journal *Tvorčestvo* Friče claimed that if Gastev continued in the same vein he would become a truly great proletarian bard. The reason for his success lay in his remarkable ability to unite two contemporary tendencies, the one typical of the capitalism, industrialism, technology and science of Western Europe and America, the other characteristic of the dynamic growth of the Russian proletariat. No other poet had matched Gastev's talent for combining these two currents. In Gastev's eyes, says Friče, Russia is transformed into a second America of industrial and technological miracles, cities of skyscrapers, blooming oases recaptured from barren deserts, steel rails girding the universe.

Comrade Gastev's poems are not only a hymn to industrial and technological progress, but also a hymn to the machine and to machinism; indeed, as he himself put it once, they are "the triumphant song of forged metal". A true futurist, he sings not of the moon, or of the nightingale, or the field or the forest, but of rails, and cranes, and sirens and hammers, electricity and iron.⁵³

The critic was interested almost exclusively in the content of the collection, and he was the first to note Gastev's obvious familiarity with the rapid technological evolution of the Western world.

E. Bogat'eva reviewed *PRU* in an article entitled "Poëzija zolota i poëzija železa" ("Poetry of Gold and Poetry of Iron") in the Petrograd Proletkul't newspaper *Grjaduščee*. She compares Andrej Belyj and Gastev as representatives of two different aesthetic currents: the former exaggeratedly underlined the dead past in an affected, artificial form while the latter opened up new roads. She notes that the poetry of iron was a protest against the past, against the poetry of consumers, the poetry of gold and ornaments. In conclusion she declares that the poetry of gold is dead and that Belyj is its talented gravedigger. But she gives a warm welcome to Gastev as a forerunner of the poetry of iron – the poetry of the future.⁵⁴

Fedor Kalinin, one of the most prominent champions of proletarian culture, wrote a review of *PRU* in *Proletarskaja kul'tura*.⁵⁵ He was even more critical than earlier commentators of Gastev's style, which he felt had been borrowed from the symbolism and impressionism of bourgeois writers. The best poem, "My rastem iz železa" ("We Grow out of Iron"), was original with respect to content, but its

form had been taken from Whitman. Kalinin made special demands on form:

Form, whose content is conveyed by means of the inner life of production, must be as well proportioned and inexorably precise as the logic of the machine, which dominates and reworks the actions of the proletariat, infusing them with its own clearness of purpose. Proletarian form must completely conform to the rigorous, precise, scientific principle upon which the struggle of the proletariat is based.

V. Pletnev was the first to compare Gastev and Verhaeren.⁵⁶ He emphasized at several points that the two poets were not comparable aesthetically. Verhaeren was a genius of global dimensions who depicted capitalist industry, whereas Gastev was "a trail-blazer of proletarian poetry, a pathfinder". His comparison with Verhaeren does not treat questions of form, but concentrates on similarities in their choice of industrial and technical themes. He notes the difference in their positions: Verhaeren lacked Gastev's deep penetration into the psychology of the proletariat. He viewed everything on the surface, as if it were a mere theatrical spectacle, speaking of the masses as "the people" and "the crowd". For Gastev, however, they represented a collective "we".

The futurists are known to have valued *PRU* highly. Several of Gastev's colleagues in the All-Ukrainian Art Soviet were futurists, as were most contributors to *Sbornik novogo iskusstva* (See p. 65 above). The first positive comments from that quarter came in two short articles by Velemir Xlebnikov published in 1920. Xlebnikov obviously accords Gastev an exceptional position among the proletarian poets:

This is a fragment of the workers' conflagration in its purest essence; it is not you and not he, but the firm "I" of the conflagration of the workers' freedom, it is a factory siren stretching forth a hand from the flames in order to remove the wreath from Puškin's weary brow – leaves of pig-iron melted in a fiery hand.⁵⁷

Here Xlebnikov both lists the typical features of Gastev's poetry (fire, hardness, the factory, iron, freedom for the workers, movement forward) and indicates the sources from which the new poetry must take its inspiration if it was to draw abreast of Puškin.

Xlebnikov takes up an important question in "O stixax" ("About Poems"), namely can work-songs only be written by factory workers?

This, of course, was one of the most hotly debated issues in Proletkul't. Xlebnikov notes that the very fact that Gastev left his workbench gave him a perspective on labor that enabled him to create his visions of a future world; one could portray a part of reality without actively participating in it, an opinion which ran counter to the prevalent view.⁵⁷

The first really unfavorable review appeared in 1924 in connection with the publication of the fifth edition. The critic, I. Ežov, was of the opinion that when the volume was first published in 1918 it was received as new and fresh. Gastev's muse, however, was no longer inspiring, but had flashed by like a meteor and disappeared from proletarian poetry. The new edition was merely an expanded repetition. Ežov thought it represented a decline in the purely aesthetic sense. Already in the early texts, however, the fundamental shortcomings in Gastev's poetry were obvious; his turgid, bombastic style damaged even the best works like "Bašnja" ("The Tower"). The poems in the third section, "Vorota zemli" ("The Gates of Earth"), Ežov regarded as a rather pale imitation of futurism, and he found nothing of aesthetic value in "Pačka orderov" ("A Packet of Orders"), which he characterized as an unsuccessful attempt at verbal economy. He concluded with the comment that the book would be improved if most of the stories in prose were deleted, as Gastev was even less talented as a prose writer than as a poet.⁵⁸

Such critical appraisal of Gastev's works must be viewed against the background of the general shift in attitudes toward proletarian poetry that occurred among the critics around the middle of the 1920s. Now, it was felt, the age demanded more realism. An article by G. Lelevič in 1925 is illustrative. The most important themes in proletarian poetry, he noted, were urbanism, industrialism, collectivism and revolution, but the vast majority of proletarian poets treated these motifs abstractly. As two typical examples he cited Gastev's "My rastem iz železa" ("We Grow out of Iron") and V. Kirillov's "My" ("We"):

Gastev's excellent poem is indissolubly fused with urban machine culture and conveys the might of his class, but to do so it employs an extravagantly abstract figure of a worker who grows higher than the factory walls, sets his shoulders against the ceiling and, thrusting his head through the roof, cries: "We shall triumph!" This is all extremely flattering to the might of the proletariat, it is vivid and powerful, but of

course it does not at all give a realistic picture of the actions and experiences of today's worker.⁵⁹

To conclude this survey we can quote the criticism expressed by V. Percov in an article in *Novyj Lef* in 1927 after the appearance of the sixth edition of *PRU*. His impressions were mixed; he noted that Gastev's works combined an "unprecedented industrial pathos" with "naivety and bad taste". On the one hand Gastev was unquestionably an innovator, and this new poetry of his, "the poetry of concrete sentences", was a mighty hymn to industrialization. At the same time, however, it represented a dead end, an extreme example which instead of generating new and living poetry was a step on the way to the disintegration of art.⁶⁰

Thus the opinions about *PRU* between 1918 and 1927 progressed from enthusiastic to mostly negative and then finally settled somewhere between the two extremes.

7. Moscow (1920–1938)

Gastev was about 38 when he began to organize his Institute of Labor in Moscow. His stern countenance, pince-nez, little mustache and crew-cut (in certain photographs he bears a striking resemblance to the American engineer Frederick W. Taylor) easily create the impression of an inhumanly demanding and extremely reserved man. Contemporary accounts describe him as strong-willed and energetic, "a tightly wound steel spring"¹ who was admittedly exacting in his relations to others, but also friendly and considerate. He had a reputation as an excellent speaker and a harsh debater, a man who was never at a loss for words.² He especially admired the skill of sportsmen and circus artists and greatly enjoyed watching performances of jugglers, acrobats and magicians. He regarded their dexterity as a result of practice, proof that the muscles and reflexes could be trained to perform phenomenal feats of precision and agility. He was himself very nimble with his hands.

Already in 1912, Gastev had come into contact with Scientific Management (*Naučnaja organizacija truda*, abbreviated NOT), a notion that was discussed a great deal in both the capitalist and socialist press of Europe and Russia on the eve of World War I. Even before the War, there were 8 factories in Russia which in various ways had begun to apply such methods. NOT aimed at raising productivity through a scientifically planned organization of industrial labor. The ideas came originally from America and especially Frederick W. Taylor (1856–1915), who had himself begun his career as a metal-worker. As early as 1881 he had made his first time-study of a work process at the Midvale Plant Steel Company. The same year he won the American National Doubles Championship in tennis. In 1911 he published a summary of his findings entitled *The Principles of Scientific Management*. In its practical applications it came to be known as Taylorism or the Taylor system, by which was also meant time-studies and the setting of piecework wage rates. The American methods came into general use during World War I as a means of raising productivity in the munitions industry. The workers and the trade unions in Russia opposed the Taylor system, but in April 1918 (see p. 63 above) it was decided to introduce piece-work and set production norms for each worker.³ Gastev was among the most enthusiastic advocates of this change. From his observation around

1911 that man becomes automatized in industry he went on eventually to develop a plan for deriving benefit from the phenomenon. Like Taylor, he was convinced that the worker could learn and be trained to execute work operations more effectively and economically. Thus Gastev combined the aspiration to train high-quality cadres of workers with that of achieving a thoroughly planned industrial economy. His entire earlier activity may be seen as moving toward and preparing him for this final contribution. His program during the subsequent years was given concrete form in his creation of the Institute of Labor, which he himself described as his last work of art, "[...] at one and the same time a scientific construction and a lofty artistic legend for which everything I had done previously had to be sacrificed."⁴

At first, while the project was quartered in the Hotel Elite in Moscow, the available resources were extremely meager. Just how modest they really were may be gathered from a letter of 21 October 1920 in which Gastev asked the Institute's parent organization, the Central Trade-Union Soviet, for aid:

However, very valuable members of the Bureau have been forced to abandon their work due to the fact that I am unable to guarantee them housing or even provide them with a bare minimum of footwear. I have one colleague, a man who has made extremely valuable contributions, whose shoes literally lack soles, and none of my fellow workers has a room.⁵

The first studies were of the use of simple tools such as the hammer, the sledgehammer and the chisel. The motions involved in hitting and applying pressure were the areas of greatest interest, and various work operations were photographed and diagrammed. It is thus quite logical that the Institute should take as its emblem a hand holding a hammer in different positions against a background of a coordinate grid. Studies were expanded when the project moved to more spacious quarters on Ulica Petrovka 24. The growth of CITs assignments can be followed through Gastev's writings. Starting with motion studies and training in the most effective and least tiring way to perform a given work operation, the Institute soon went on to tackle the problem of educating a whole generation of workers.

A conference on Scientific Management was organized in Russia in early 1921. Its initiator was Leo Trockij, who was in charge of



developing the guiding principles for the industrial economy. Four lines of thought emerged at the conference: there were the "production workers" (*proizvodstvenniki*) represented by railroad workers and engineers in the war industry, the "biological" line supported by physiologists and psychologists (for example, Academics V. Bexterev and O. Ermanskiy), the "sociological" position of S.G. Strumilin, A. Bogdanov and M. Fal'kner-Šmit, and the "professional" current, which counted the Institute of Labor among its representatives. Gastev delivered a speech on production entitled "How to Work". In a later summary he noted that the most interesting observations came from the production workers, while he found the proposals of the biological and sociological groups to be vague and "of a purely humanitarian character".⁶

The situation in the country in the early 1920s was chaotic, and hunger, unemployment and illiteracy presented enormous problems. As late as 1924 there were 1,400,000 unemployed, and of these only 24 % had any vocational training. (Out of a population of 117 million, 78 million were still illiterate) The main thrust of CITs activity at this point was to provide vocational education. Approximately 500,000 workers were given intensive courses to become masons, fitters lathe-operators, and so on. 20,000 instructors were trained at the same time. It was of the latter that Gastev's most bitter opponent, P. Keržencev wrote in 1924:

CIT proposes to turn out the aristocrats of the working class, the priests of Scientific Management [...]

Oh, Taylor, it is you! The CIT people have learned well your approach to the worker – from on high, with money in your fist, with obscure formulas and a distrust of his consciousness.⁷

In 1923 and early 1924 the newspapers and journals carried a lively debate on the goals and *raison d'être* of CIT and the principles of vocational training. The critics of the Institute, who called themselves a group of Communist activists interested in NOT, were for the most part members of the Council of Scientific Management (Sovnot) which was subordinate to the Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (Rabkrin). They were primarily opposed to the primitive training and vocational instruction being offered at CIT, maintaining that Russia must instead concentrate on developing a modern industry. Not enough importance, they said, was attached to human, psychological factors; the worker was exploited for a single goal – to raise production – and this transformed him into a simple, unreflective and stupid instrument. One of the central points in Gastev's views, the mechanized collective, was thus the target of criticism. Gastev was not slow to answer in CIT's journal *Organizacija truda* (which began publication in late 1921), in a brochure entitled "Vosstanie kul'tury" ("The Cultural Uprising"), in *Krasnaja nov', Pravda*, and other newspapers and journals. His chief opponents in the debate were Ja. Šatunovskij, I. V. Burdianskij and P. Keržencev. In his article "Novyj russkij čelovek" ("The New Russian Man") (1923) A. V. Lunačarskij also gave certain support to the views of these critics.⁸

In the final conference, which took place on 10–16 March 1924, it turned out that the Party (represented primarily by V. V. Kujbyšev, the Chairman of the powerful Central Control Commission) supported CIT's program and Gastev's ideas. Relieved, Gastev later presented his viewpoint at the conference in *Organizacija truda*.⁹ He comments dryly on certain of the theses of the final resolution having to do with how the task should be tackled:

[...] the theses place particular emphasis on the need for raising the intensification of labor. Here, of course, there are going to be a lot of arguments about whether this intensification of labor simply means driving the workers hard or whether it is the result of a peculiar type of

training which allows people to make more movements with relatively less energy. Even resting is something that must be learned; you have to learn how not to exhaust yourself [...]

Here the theses do not spare those who try to wriggle out of this problem; this in our age, when a mere 10 versts from Moscow the population wears bast sandals and where in the villages a nail is valued like a miracle-working icon.

The result, therefore, was that the continued development of Scientific Management in the Soviet Union was mostly based on CITs findings and training. Gastev could feel confident of his position when he headed a Soviet delegation of seven at the International Congress of Scientific Management that was held in Prague a few months later. America was represented by a delegation of 40, among them one of the pioneers of Scientific Management, Lillian M. Gilbreth.¹⁰

CIT and its branches throughout the country estimated that by 1938 they would have trained about one million workers. The German writer Ernst Toller, who visited CIT in 1926, has given a vivid description of how training there actually was organized:

Im Zentralinstitut der Technik, ZIT genannt, versucht man bei kleinstem Kraftaufwand die grösste Qualitätsleistung zu erzeugen. Um dieses Resultat zu erreichen, hält man die Mechanisierung jeder einzelnen menschlichen Bewegung für erforderlich. An etwa hundert grauen uniform gebauten Tischen arbeiten hundert uniform gekleidete Frauen und Männer. Das graue Gewand soll Frauen und Männer als Geschlechtangehörige neutralisieren. Man sieht keine Aufseher. An Stelle des Aufsehers steht auf dem Tisch eine Maschine, die bestimmte Summ- und Knarr-Laute gibt, Wortbefehle ersetzend. In vier geschlossenen Reihen marschieren die Arbeiter in militärischer Ordnung auf, jeder bleibt vor seinem Tisch stehen. Das erste Knarrzeichen der Maschine ertönt. Jeder Arbeiter tritt an seinen Tisch. Ein zweites Knarrzeichen. Jeder Arbeiter ergreift sein Instrument. Das dritte Knarrzeichen. Jeder Arbeiter beginnt zu arbeiten. Im Anfang der folgende Rhythmus: eine Minute Arbeit, zwei Minuten Pause. Später: Zwei Minuten Arbeit, zwei Minuten Pause. Auf der letzten Stufe: fünfzehn Minuten Arbeit, drei Minuten Pause. Die Haltung des Arbeiters vor seinem Tisch ist genau festgelegt, die Fusstellung auf einem kleinen Arbeitspodium eingezeichnet [...] In begeisterten Worten schildert mir Gastev, der Leiter des Instituts, die bisher erzielten Resultate. Man hat durch diese Mechanisierung, die in einer Zeitspanne mögliche Zahl der Arbeitsbewegungen verdreis-

sigfacht. Mir wird beklommen zumute. Das soll das Ziel sein: Mechanisierung des Menschen, Ertötung all dessen, was als Schöpferisches in ihm lebt? Ich spreche über meine Befürchtungen. Gastev lächelt. "Wir hoffen durch unsere Forschungen zu erreichen, dass ein Arbeiter, der früher für einen bestimmten Zweck acht Stunden brauchte, in Zukunft nur noch zwei bis drei Stunden brauchen wird."¹¹

Besides offering an extensive training program, the Institute continued its research and experiments, which were conducted in seven laboratories on CITs premises; these were devoted to observation and measurements (fiksacija), instruments, biomechanics, bioenergetics, psychotechnics, training pedagogy and social engineering. The equipment, however, was rather primitive. Gastev was extremely interested in the progress being made in these areas in other countries, especially America. He even sent a letter of inquiry to the pioneer of mass production of automobiles, Henry Ford. He was curious about Ford's attitude toward the relationship between speed and precision.¹²

The didactic element is very prominent in Gastev's writings. As a young man, it will be remembered, he had intended to be a teacher, but he had instead become a political agitator whose task was to show the workers the way to a better future. He wanted to change not only the structure of society but also man himself. He was far from satisfied with the Russian proletariat's work morale and performance. The demand for movement and change is also evident in Gastev's poetry, which is generally exhortative and agitational in nature: "Let us walk, and run, and rush along in an avalanche of labor", "Oh, go, /And burn/ Pierce the heights with your spire/ You, our audacious tower world!"¹³ As he abandoned poetry in the 1920s in order to dedicate himself wholeheartedly to the Institute of Labor, the didactic emphasis in his writings became even more pronounced. He harnessed his literary talents to the practical task of composing articles and brochures intended to rouse the Russian people from their lethargy and idle philosophizing and goad them into work to put the country back on its feet again.¹⁴ In his opinion, the Russians had certain definitive qualities: scepticism, unbelief, a proclivity for passive reflection and waiting:

Every time even the most official question is asked we first of all reply: "Huh? What was that?" And our first thought is not of action, but of

how to get out of exertion and action. "Well, maybe we don't need that", "What will they say over there . . .". That is, instead of simple words: "will do", "yes", "no", we find a whole philosophy; it is not for nothing that there are so many philosophers and psychologists in Russia.¹⁵

He alludes to the Oblomov mentality when he describes people who passively wait for modern technology to solve their problems and liberate man from the necessity of working:

. . . people wait like Oblomovs for a machine to come like saviors – a machine that will eliminate the need for work skills or so called muscular labor. [...] An enormous number of literary popularizers of Scientific Management look upon the machine as Čexov's characters gazed upon the "diamond sky" in *Three Sisters*¹⁶.

What was first of all needed "to put wheels on this wagon that is Soviet Russia" were strict rules and organization. In 1921 Gastev published a little brochure entitled "How to Work" ("Kak nado rabotat'"), containing CIT's basic program in the form of 16 rules for the organization of a work task. They are simple, clear directives that are applicable to practically any operation. Order, tidiness, cleanliness, planning and precision were important ingredients. The first rule was as follows:

Before getting down to work, you must think it through, get a firm mental grasp on a model of the finished piece of work and the entire series of work operations leading to it. If you cannot think it all through to the end, then think about the main points, and get the first parts of the work down pat.

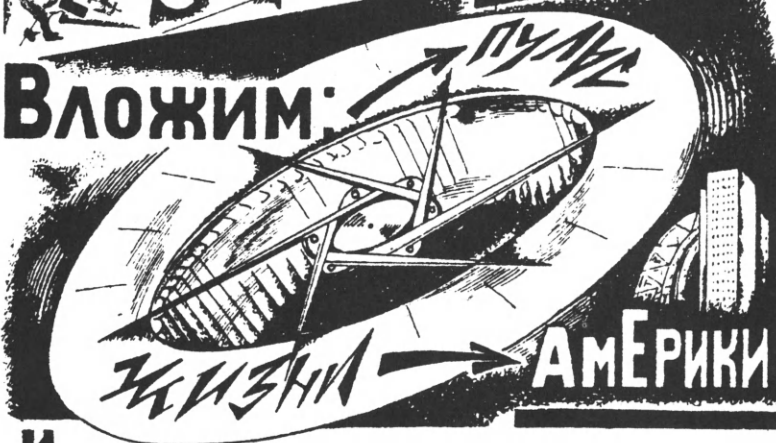
The instruction took up only a single page (See Appendix C). According to Gastev a copy of it hung in the antechamber to Lenin's office in the Kremlin.¹⁷

He reacts against the slackness of contemporary pedagogy, demanding strict discipline instead: "In the name of human freedom and the human personality we are turning out loafers and savages."¹⁸ Military organization and discipline are his models. He wants the younger generation of workers to become an army, "the real vanguard platoon of our country".¹⁹ Gastev was not the only man in the early 1920s to take his examples from the military. Contemporary art, particularly the theater, emphasized the significance of disciplin-

ВОЗЬМЕМ.

**БУРАН
РЕВОЛЮЦИИ - С ССР**

ВЛОЖИМ:



**И
СДЕЛАЕМ:
ВЫВЕРЕН-
НУЮ**

**РАБОТУ
КАК ХРОНО
МЕТР**



ed organization. V. Mejerxol'd, for example, thought that the military formation was the most rational form for organizing the human collective. The staging of S. Tret'jakov's *Zemlja dybom* (1923) made abundant use of disciplined group movements and military formations. He noted: "The production as a whole is an apotheosis of the Red Army".²⁰

Gastev still looks upon man as a machine that can constantly be improved to function more efficiently; just as one can do for a machine, one can calculate the amount of energy he needs, the best fuel, the best patterns of movement. Man had to be "energized", much as industry was to be electrified. "We must infect the people with the demon of work and turn the USSR into the Devil of Energy. Then we will triumph. More, then we will conquer the entire world".¹ It was also important that people be channeled into suitable occupations. Gastev was interested in the studies applied psychology had made of vocational aptitude, and considered that a psychological "sorting out" was necessary. This would mean that each individual would go through six months of testing, after which he would be given a psychological "passport" describing his aptitude for various occupations.²²

Gastev's exhortations and proclamations abound in such keywords as "training", "organizational agility" (*organizacionnaja snorovka*), "keenness of observation" and "inventiveness". "Training" (*trenirovka, trenazh*) is perhaps the most central. By that he meant not only learning to use tools to save time and energy but also physical movements in general. The body must be trained to become supple and to react quickly, and this systematic training must begin at an early age. He takes examples from the dance, acrobatics, and sports:

The new age demands a generation with tempered nerves, strong physiques and unreflective agility. To do this we must develop a system of precise exercises. The rabbits of Durov's clowns are more developed in this sense than contemporary man. [...] We must begin to work with systematized training not at the age of 14 or 16, as is presently permitted by the law, but perhaps at the age of 2, at least by organizing special systems of games based on this principle.²³

He called this control of bodily movements "motorial culture" (*dvigatel'naja kul'tura*), while he used the notion "biomechanics" to



designate the study of such movements. On 11 June 1922 Gastev published an article on this subject:

Our first task consists in working with that magnificent machine that is so close to us – the human organism. This machine possesses a sophisticated mechanics, including automatism and a swift transmission. Should we not study it? The human organism has a motor, "gears", shock absorbers, sophisticated brakes, delicate regulators, even manometers . . . There should be a special science, biomechanics, which can be developed in refined laboratory conditions.²⁴

The following day Vsevolod Mejerxol'd held a lecture entitled "Actor of the Future and Biomechanics". There may not be any direct connection between the article and the talk, but it is nevertheless clear that the experiments begun at Gastev's institute had a counterpart in the training given the actors in Mejerxol'd's theater. Mejerxol'd was of the opinion that the actor of the future would have to coordinate his acting with production. Art should be useful; it was not mere entertainment, but should help the workers perform their jobs. The forms of theatrical art must therefore be

changed. The work of the actors was to be regarded as production, and art would be based on scientific principles (exactly like Gastev's experiments). The actor's material was his own body, which he must train in order to master its means of expression. He must have "precise movements that can aid him in the swift realization of his task". Mejerxol'd pointed out that work bordered on art. If one observed an experienced worker one could note the following: 1. an absence of unnecessary, unproductive movements, 2. rhythm, 3. a feeling for the body's center of gravity, 4. stability. In his view, "Taylorization" was as relevant to the work of the actor as to any other labor whose productivity one wanted to improve. Economizing on time was a case in point. It was useless to waste hours on make-up and costuming. The actors of the future would not use make-up and would all wear "prozodežda" (a kind of overall of blue cloth). He provided one extreme example: Taylorism in the theater would make it possible to present as much in one hour as could presently be done in four. Mejerxol'd also mentioned the name of the new cultural current: constructivism. "Constructivism demanded of the artist that he become an engineer".²⁵

It was Gastev's wish that the whole Russian people, young and old alike, be educated in the new technical spirit of the time (*inženernyj ton*). Consequently, the word "culture" as used by Gastev is given a new meaning. It does not stand for spiritual values, but designates instead man's ability to cope with practical everyday life, man's technical skills. He thought that this should be valued as highly as the intellectual training of the brain. "Not the teacher, not the missionary, not the orator, but the fitter ("monter") – here is the proper bearer and agent of culture in our country of workers and peasants".²⁶ He mentions Robinson Crusoe as a model for the new culture, and urges the younger generation to perform "Robinsonian" feats, that is, to go out as discoverers and inventors, colonizers in their own country.²⁷ He imagines a future in which any schoolboy "will on any machine be able to see what an abscissa is and what an ordinate is, and, after having studied how to repair a radio, he will intuitively be able to understand Einstein's theory".²⁸

Undeniably, Gastev's ideas were very much in the dominant spirit of the 1920s, with its emphasis on practical things and everyday needs and its insistence that even art should be useful. What is remarkable, however, is that it was not Gastev who was shaped by the times, for as

we have already seen, the views he was now advocating had been developed by him much earlier. In certain sectors it was instead Gastev who put his mark on the times. His significance in industry, technical training and the psychotechnical branches of science, including biomechanics, should not be underestimated. We may further simply note that in all his extensive activities he managed to hold himself aloof from politics, and that his writings from this period are almost totally free from political slogans. It was not until 1931 that he joined the Communist Party, and by that time membership had become more or less obligatory for a man of his standing.

His significance for Soviet society in the 1920s and 1930s exceeds the scope of the present study. Suffice it to say that Gastev was the leader of CIT during the entire 17 years it existed.²⁹ In the late 1920s at the beginning of the great industrialization drive, Gastev was naturally a central figure. He became a member of the board of the Ministry of Heavy Industry in 1929. Three years later he was appointed chairman of the Soviet Bureau of Standardization, and in that capacity he participated in an international congress in Stockholm on 8–22 September 1934 (his last trip abroad). When the Stakhanovite movement began in 1935, Commissar of Heavy Industry Ordžonikidze put Gastev in charge of training the new workers' cadres.³⁰ He was at this post in the fall of 1938, when he was arrested and became one of the many victims of Stalin's purges.

Epilogue

On the night of 7 September 1938 Gastev was taken away by the NKVD. His apartment at Petrovka 24, which was located in the same building as CIT, was thoroughly searched and his papers were confiscated. The following spring he was sentenced to ten years at hard labor without contact privileges.¹ CIT was closed in connection with Gastev's arrest. A part of its archives, however, were rescued and transferred to the Aircraft Industry Institute.

Gastev's first wife Anna Ivanovna had been arrested in Leningrad a few days before Aleksej Kapitonovič. On 29 April 1939 his second wife Sofija Abramovna was also arrested and sentenced to 5 years at hard labor as "a member of the family of a repressed element". An officer of the NKVD moved into their apartment.

Gastev's eldest son Vladimir (b. 1908) and his three sons from his second marriage Petr (1921), Aleksej (1923) and Jurij (1928), all suffered due to the fact that they were related to an "enemy of the people". Vladimir, who was working as an engineer at a telephone factory in Leningrad, was arrested on 23 May 1943 and sentenced to a long term at hard labor. Peter was studying mathematics at Moscow University. He had been exempted from military service during the Winter War with Finland due to near-sightedness, but was drafted in late 1942. As the son of an enemy of the people he was now considered fit for combat duty. He was killed near Kursk in the summer of 1943. Aleksej was arrested on 2 November 1941 and sentenced to 5 years at hard labor. He had intended to begin studying at the Leningrad Academy of Arts. After his release, and despite an illness contracted in the camps, he took a degree in art history. Among his publications may be mentioned books on Delacroix and Leonardo da Vinci. The youngest son Jurij was evacuated but returned to Moscow in May 1943 to study mathematics at Moscow University as Petr had done earlier. He was also arrested in early 1946 and sentenced to 4 years at hard labor. After his release he went on to take a Candidate of Sciences degree in mathematics.² It is above all Jurij who has worked to have his father's books and other writings published. Vladimir died in 1970, and Sofija Abramovna, who struggled untiringly to preserve the memory of her husband and have him rehabilitated, passed away in 1979. Aleksej is still living in Moscow, and Jurij is presently in political exile in Paris.

The long procedure to have Gastev rehabilitated began in 1955. Relatives, friends and earlier colleagues from CIT sent to the Supreme Military Procurator a detailed petition³ which was approved the following year. It was now also officially confirmed that Gastev had died on 1 October 1941 at the age of 59.

Notes

1.2 Introduction

1. The first time Gastev was published after his rehabilitation was in *PP* 1959, pp. 148–187. Two editions of *PRU* have been printed in 1964 and 1971, *PRU* 1971 being the most complete. These books also contain some of Gastev's non-fictional writings from the 1920s. The collections of his articles based on his work at CIT are as follows: *KNR*, Kiev 1965; *KNR*, Moskva 1965. Moskva 1972; *TU*, Moskva 1973. The 80th anniversary of Gastev's birth was celebrated at Central'nyj Dom Literatorov in Moscow on 22 October 1962. Chairman at the meeting was the proletarian poet G. Sannikov. Speeches were made by Z.S. Papernyj, S.I. Kirsanov, N.M. Baxrax, P.A. Arskij, V.O. Percov, A.M. Berg, F.N. Petrov, V.P. Dolgušev, A. Dunin-Troickij (*Stenogramma II*). The 90th anniversary of Gastev's birth was celebrated at the same place on 10 January 1973 with the following participants: A.A. Surkov (chairman), V.O. Percov, M.P. Žuravlev, I.M. Gronskij, K. Johansson, B. Sluckij, S.A. Lučiškin, Ju.A. Gastev, L.M. Suxarebskij, P. Železnov (*Stenogramma III*). No centenary celebration was held.
2. *TU* 1973, pp. 159–163
3. Cf. the development of V. Tatlin's group in the early 20s (Gray, p. 244).
4. The French engineer and architect Jaques Lafitte (1884–1966) completed the manuscript of his *Reflexions sur la science des machines* in 1911, but this work did not appear until 1932. See Susiluoto, pp. 23–24.
5. Cf. E. Zamjatin's dystopia *WE*, written in 1920.
6. *PRU* 1971, p. 14.

2. 1882–1910

1. The biographical materials pertaining to Gastev's childhood and adolescence are very meager. He was himself extremely reticent about his personal life. In the newspaper *Golos Sibiri* (April 1917), in *ESG* and in the foreword to the fifth and sixth editions of *PRU* he has, however, given some brief particulars. The information about his parents and brothers was obtained in personal interviews with his second wife, Sofija Abramovna (who died in 1979). Other data are from a petition which his immediate family submitted to the Supreme Military Procurator in 1955 in an effort to have Gastev rehabilitated. Gastev indicated in *ESG* (column 101) that he was born on 26 September, while in other sources such as the BBS, the date is given as the 28th.
2. A local Suzdal' poet, Ivan Nazarov, has described his childhood and friendship with Gastev in the autobiographical book *Vstreči i pis'ma* (pp. 17–18). They grew up in an idyllic neighborhood with large cherry orchards a short distance from the center of the town. Its inhabitants were mostly artisans – cobblers, tailors, hatters, painters, etc.
3. In *ESG* he notes merely that upon leaving primary school and completing certain technical courses he moved to Moscow and entered the Moscow Teachers' College. – He indicates 1901 for joining the RSDRP, while 1900 is the date given in the petition of 1955.

4. N. Dekteva and V. Talkerin 1962, the articles also contain an account of the exile of another future proletarian poet, V. Kirillov, who was banished to Ust' – Sysol'sk in 1906. For a short summary of the articles see "Sredi žurnalov i gazet", *Voprosy literatury* 1, 1963, pp. 236–238.
5. With lyrics by the populist publicist and poet L.L. Lavrov (1823–1900). It was at the time called simply "Novaja pesnja" ("The New Song").
6. *Severnyj kraj* was published more or less regularly as a daily newspaper in 1901–1905 (*RP*, p. 29).
7. Gastev used the following pseudonyms: Dal'nij; I. Dal'nij; I. Dalekij; Dozorov; A. Dozorov; I. Dozorov; Ivanov; A. Nabegov; Odinokij; A. Odinokij; Andrej Odinokij; Vasil'ev; V-v; Zarembo; A. Zorin; A.Z.; and the following names for party work: Ivanov; Lavrentij; Nazarov; Popovic; Skoropotešnov; Spiridon; Stepanov; Veršinin. In Siberia he used the names: Dobrovol'skij; Kurpis; Straumal. Cf. *BBS*, Vol. 5, column 1160, whose list, however, is incomplete.
8. Frolov, pp. 36–37.
9. It was probably the "Vysšaja škola social'nyx nauk" (École des hautes études sociales, 16 Rue de la Sorbonne), founded in 1900.
10. *Perepiska* . . . , pp. 35–36, 83, 87–88, 129–130, 134–135.
11. Grille, p. 47: "Literarisch scheint das Vorbild in der Gestalt des Rachmetovs in Černyševskij's Roman "Was tun?" seinen Ausdruck gefunden zu haben: ein "Rigorist", der bereits mit siebzehn Jahren begonnen hatte, sein Leben nach den Prinzipien strengster Arbeitsökonomie einzurichten, der durch die Konzentration seiner Energie auf das Notwendige - [...] und durch Meiden zweitrangiger Personen in wenigen Jahren gründlichste Gelehrsamkeit erworben hatte, die er restlos in den Dienst der Allgemeinheit stellte. Gewisse Züge Bogdanovs erinnern an diese Gestalt."
12. In Papernyj's speech commemorating the 80th anniversary of Gastev's birth in 1962 (*Stenogramma II* 1962, pp. 5–6). Also in the introduction to *PRU* 1964, pp. 7–8.
13. Stites, p. 188. This theme was also treated by the Russian proletarian poets, e.g. M.P. Gerasimov, before and during the 1917 Revolution. Gastev wrote on the situation of working-class women in relation to prostitution in an article in *ZDV* 3, 1912 (see pp. 52–53 above).
14. Terent'ev, p. 112.
15. A useful Western work on the 1905 Revolution is Oskar Anweiler, *Die Rätebewegung in Russland 1905–1921*, Leiden 1958. See also David Lane, *The Roots of Russian Communism*, Assen 1969, particularly Chapter 5, "The Structure and Activity of Social-Democracy in Ivanovo-Voznesensk" For a summary of the prelude, see Robert Eugene Johnson, "Strikes in Moscow 1880–1890", *Russian History* 5, Pt. I 1978.
16. Fedorčenko, p. 137.
17. M.V. Frunze (later a famous military commander and appointed Vice-Commissar of War in 1924) arrived from Moscow on 6 May. He led the preparations for the strike, which began on the 12th immediately after the workers received their wages. "When the strike was already under way the professional revolutionary Aleksej K. Gastev arrived in Ivanovo-Voznesensk" (Frolov, p. 35). Over two million workers participated in strike actions in 1905. Of these, 640,000 were railroad workers, 470,000 were employed in the textile industry, and 300,000 were metal-workers (Anweiler, p. 41).

18. Anweiler, p. 51; Frolov, p. 39.
19. Terent'ev, pp. 109–117. Gastev wrote a number of letters to Lenin that now are located in the Party Archives at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow; most of them have not yet been published. Terent'ev writes (p. 112): "A study of these letters and biographical materials made it possible more exactly to determine the particulars of A. K. Gastev's life, his contribution to the revolutionary movement of the Upper Volga, and especially his role in the creation and activities of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in 1905". A letter from Krupskaja to the party organization in Kostroma provides the key to the pseudonym "Popovič": "I write at the same time to Propovič . . ." The following words "to Ivanov of Paris" were crossed out and replaced with "to Lavrentij" (Terent'ev, p. 111).
20. Andreev, Ja. N., pp. 49, 53.
21. Anweiler, p. 52.
22. A.V. Dunin-Troickij, an old Bolshevik from Suzdal', gave an account of Gastev's revolutionary activities in their native city at the gathering held to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the poet's birth (Stenogramma II 1962, p. 51).
23. Especially in ZDV 8, 1911, columns 1069–1084.
24. Regina A. Šaceva, who has prepared the detailed notes to the 1964 and 1971 editions of *PRU*, reports in a personal interview that Gastev at that time also participated in discussions of literary questions, Gor'kij being one topic. As Stepanov he delivered a paper entitled "Dva heroizma" ("Two Kinds of Heroism").
25. The police records are in the library of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) in Stockholm.
26. "When the so-called "unity congress" met at Stockholm in April 1906, it had a Menshevik majority: 62 delegates, as against 46 Bolsheviks. This reflected fairly accurately the strength of the two factions at this time [...] Lenin refused to reconcile himself to a position of inferiority: maintaining that his opponents' majority at the congress was "artificial" (Keep, p. 286). Cf. also Wolfe, p. 390. Central Russia, especially the Upper Volga (which included Gastev's district of Kostroma) and the Urals, was a Bolshevik stronghold.
27. Deutscher 1968, p. 94.
28. Ibid., p. 94. See also *Protokoly četvertogo . . .*, pp. 49–50, 72.
29. ZDV 8, 1911, column 1075.
30. Rožkov, p. 59.
31. Several top Party leaders, e.g. Bogdanov and Stalin, were involved with the combat detachments. These "fighting squads" or terrorist groups became famous for their part in revolutionary struggle. It was from them that Jack London got the idea for the combat groups in his novel of the future *The Iron Heel* (1908), which in turn greatly influenced the Russian revolutionaries. See Cohen, pp. 31, 396–397. Gastev was also interested in London (see p. 66 above). On the organization of the military-technical bureau see Frolov, p. 70.
32. Conquest, p. 195.
33. Andreev, Ja. A., p. 67.
34. Information given by V.P. Dolgušev in his speech in Dom Literatorov, Moscow (Stenogramma II 1962, pp. 49–50).
35. On Anna Ivanovna, see Frolov, pp. 59–69. During the Civil War she

- continued her revolutionary activities, which included propaganda among Denikin's troops. She was captured by the Whites, court-martialled and sentenced to be shot. Only the advance of the Red Army saved her from execution. After the Civil War she worked with the Petrograd district party committee and later at the Leningrad consumers' union and the factory "Ėlektropribor".
36. It is noted in *BBS*, p. 1161: "From 1908 through 1910 Gastev was active as a syndicalist, and did not participate in party organizations".
 37. See Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, Princeton 1967, Chapter 3 "The Syndicalists", and George Woodcock, *Anarchism; A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, New York 1962, especially the chapter "Anarchism in Russia". *Xleb i Volja* was published in Geneva in 1903–1905, and was the first Russian-language anarchist newspaper after *Obščina* of 1878.
 38. Fernand Pelloutier, *Istoria birža truda*, S. -Petersburg 1906; idem, *Žizn' rabočix vo Francii*, S. -Petersburg 1906; and Hubert Lagardelle, *Revolucionnyj sindikalizm*, S. -Petersburg 1906. Others were N. Lebedev, *Istoria sindikal'nogo dviženija vo Francii 1789–1907*, Moskva 1908; and several books by V.A. Posse in the series "Biblioteka Rabočego". For a detailed bibliography on the subject see Williams 1980, p. 402.
 39. See I. Deutscher, *Soviet Trade Unions*, London 1950, and A.M. Pankratova (ed.), *Istoria profsojuznogo dviženija v SSSR*, Moskva 1954. Before 1917 Lenin and the Bolsheviks were less interested than the Mensheviks in trade unions.
 40. See further Ralph Carter Elwood, *Roman Malinovsky: A Life Without a Cause*, 1977. Elwood notes that as an agent of the Oxrana, Malinovskij provided the police with lists of pseudonyms, numbers of foreign passports, locations of party meetings and storage-places for illegal literature. Malinovskij gained Lenin's confidence in Paris 1911. In 1913 he became editor of *Pravda* in Petersburg (Gastev also worked on the paper at this time). Cf. Wolfe, Chapter 31 "The Case of Roman Malinovsky"; Cohen, p. 13. In 1914 Malinovskij fled abroad and was imprisoned for a time in a German POW camp. Papers documenting his activity on behalf of the Oxrana were available for investigation after February 1917. In spite of this he returned to Russia in 1918. He was captured and executed in November 1918.
 41. Drejden, p. 316.
 42. *ZDV* 10, 1910, columns 63–72.
 43. *PRU* 1971, pp. 245, 253.
 44. It was placed at the head of the section entitled "Romantika" in the 1923 and 1926 editions of *PRU*. In *PRU* 1971, pp. 21–34.
 45. Grille, p. 37, quotes A. Lunačarskij's *Ko vsem tovariščam*, Geneva 1910, in which the author writes: "Ich halte dafür, woberüber ich mich schon mehrere Male auf das entschiedenste ausgesprochen habe. Der Sozialismus ist eine besondere Art der Religion – ohne Gott, ohne jenseitige Welt, ohne auch nur ein Gramm Mystik und Metaphysik zu enthalten . . .".
 46. Grille, p. 36.
 47. See e.g. Susiluoto, p. 42.
 48. Vladimir Aleksandrovič Posse studied medicine at the University of Petersburg. Expelled for political activities, he went abroad in 1889 and completed his doctorate in Europe. He returned to Russia in 1892

to offer his service as a doctor during the cholera epidemic. He was on the editorial board of the Marxist journal *Novoe slovo* in 1897 and helped edit the journals *Žizn'* (1899–1901) and *Novyj žurnal dlja vsej*. He was one of the founders of the cooperative organization "Trudovoj sojuz" (1906–1908) which was closed down by Stolypin. He was the initiator of the journal *ZDV* and lectured widely throughout Russia. His brother Konstantin was professor of mathematics at the University of Petersburg.

49. Posse 1929, p. 449.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 453–454.
51. "Orthodox Social-Democrats consider us "harmful", as we conduct propaganda for "the great cooperative movement in the name of conquering production" [...] but we conduct this propaganda – and not so much in words as by deeds – in the name of the fraternal unity of men, in the name of obliterating the noxious greed for profit, in the name of regenerating all mankind [...]" (Posse 1909, p. 327).
52. He wrote a total of 20 articles, all signed A. Zorin and most of them under the title "Rabočij mir" ("The World of the Worker"). See Appendix A.

3. The Proletarian Colony in Paris (1910–1913)

Gastev's Journalism

1. *ZDV* 10, 1910, column 69.
2. A. Gastev, "K tovariščam-čitateljam", *Golos Sibiri* 78, 1917.
3. The emigration to non-European countries was especially large. It has been estimated that close to half a million persons left Russia between 1906 and 1910. According to Robert C. Williams, the figure for the period 1890–1915 was 3,348,000. "Most of the New émigrés, nearly half of them Jews, settled not in Western Europe but in the United States [...]. The German census figures indicate that [...] by 1910 there were 137,697 Russians traveling or living in Germany – over half the total number of Russians in Western Europe." (Williams 1972, p. 20).
4. A. Zorin, "Parižskaja rabočaja emigracija", *Zavety* 6, 1913, p. 193.
5. According to news items in *PV* 12 (25 March) and 21 (27 May) 1911.
6. A. Zorin, "V novej obstanovke", *PV* 21, 1911.
7. Jehan Rictus (1867–1933), popular poet in the tradition of Francois Villon. His works include *Soliloques du pauvre* (1897).
8. Erenburg, p. 87, describes the street as infested with enormous rats. It is known today for its many Greek restaurants. Nr. 76 is still used by working-class organizations for gatherings, theater and exhibitions.
9. Gastev had attended the French Congress of Cooperatives in Tours. He describes his impressions in A. Zorin, "Ob"edinitel'nyj kongress francuzskoj potrebitel'noj kooperacii", *Vestnik kooperacii* IV, 1913, pp. 46–53.
10. Gastev asserts that in his article in *Zavety* 6, 1913.
11. According to A.V. Lunačarskij "Vospominanija iz revoljucionnogo prošlogo" (1919) in Lunačarskij 1968, p. 49. and Percov 1927, p. 76. The information about R.A. Peľše was given by Regina A. Šaceva (see note 2:24).
12. Grille, p. 50.
13. This was a correct observation. The People's House in Helsinki was built of the stone that had been hewn out of the foundation. Granite is something of a national symbol.

14. *ZDV* 5, 1913, columns 675–691.
15. *ZDV* 2, 1911, column 239. Jaurès made a similar impression on L. Trockij. See Deutscher 1954, p. 187.
16. *ZDV* 2, 1911, column 228.
17. *ZDV* 7, 1910, column 146.
18. *ZDV* 1, 1912, column 81.
19. The portrait of the old grinder recurs in the prose sketch "Sil'nee slov" in the "Romantika" section of *PRU*.
20. *ZDV* 3–4, 1911, columns 391–396.
21. *Ibid.*, columns 393–394. This idea of numbers instead of names was already realized in a science fiction short story by Nikolaj Fedorov, *Večer v 2217 godu*. (An Evening in the Year 2217), S. Peterburg 1906. It recurs in Gastev's article "O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury", 1919 (see p. 68 above). It is an essential element of E. Zamjatin's satirical dystopia *We* (1920).
22. *ZDV* 1, 1913, columns 78–93.
23. *ZDV* 3, 1912, columns 449–457. Upon his return to Petersburg Gastev took up the theme of the role of women in working life. In an article entitled "Ženščina-slesar'" ("A Woman Metal-Worker") in *Metallist* 13, 1913, he analyzed the advantages and disadvantages of having women as factory workers. For them to take such employment, production would have to be simplified and machinism developed. Women should not choose heavy and dirty jobs that might threaten their femininity. The sooner women participated in working-class organizations the sooner they would be liberated from their slavery in the factory, on the streets and at home. Gastev supports equality of the sexes. Here as in other questions he has probably been influenced by Černyševskij's *What Is to Be Done?*

4. Petersburg and Siberia (1913–1917)

1. Vladimir Lvovič Burcev (1862–1940), revolutionary and publicist. In 1909 he unmasked Azef, between 1911 and 1914 he was the publisher of the Paris newspaper *Budušee*. Before Gastev's return to Russia, Burcev warned him that the Oxrana was expecting him. Bertram D. Wolfe notes: "Now warnings from Burcev were no small matter, for he was a self-constituted, one-man counter-espionage agency. As some collect coins or stamps or feminine conquests, he collected spies" (Wolfe, p. 597).
2. Gastev describes the situation in Russia in *ZDV* 7, 1913, columns 1036–1054 and in *ZDV* 10, 1913, columns 1454–1462. Further in several texts printed in the "Romantika"-section of *PRU*: "Zvony", "Eti dni", "Osennie teni", "V utrennej smene", "Ivan Vavilov", "Štrejkbrexer".
3. *PRU* 1971, pp. 12–13.
4. A. Gastev, "Pravda v rabočem kvartale", *Pravda* 99 (5 May), 1927.
5. M. Dozorov, "Utrennjaja smena", *Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej*, 1914, pp. 80–89. In *PRU* under the title "V utrennej smene".
6. *Narymskaja ssylka*, p. 233. On the night of 14 February his apartment had been searched, as it was suspected that the name he was using, Ivan Alekseev Skorospešnov, was not his own. The police found some compromising letters and several manuscripts in Gastev's hand entitled "Strikes in the Metal-Working Industry in and around Petersburg", "Petersburg of the Workers", and "The Workers' Intelligentsia". Gastev had denied belonging to any political organization.

7. According to Gastev's second wife Sofija Abramovna.
8. The information given in the foreword to the 5th edition of *PRU*. In *PRU* 1971, p. 13.
9. N.A. Rožkov (1868–1927) is mentioned in Williams 1980, p. 394, n. 16. See also Rožkov 1925.

5. Petrograd – the Ukraine – Moscow (1917–1920)

1. See note 2:7.
2. Kalinin 1917, pp. 23–24.
3. The anarcho-syndicalists apparently had the same view as Gastev of industrial efficiency. "The prospect of a new world centred around industrial production did not repel them in the least. Indeed, at times they exhibited an almost futuristic devotion to the cult of the machine. Theirs was the Westernizers' admiration of technological progress [...] (Avrich 1973, p. 10).
4. A. Gastev, "Organizacionnyj plan sojuza", *Vestnik metallista* 1, 1917, pp. 33–39.
5. "Vserossijskij sojuz rabočix-metallistov", *Vestnik metallista* 1, 1917, pp. 51–53, signed by Chairman A.V. Hol'zman and Secretary A.K. Gastev. Gastev appeared several times in a discussion between metal-workers and representatives for the factory committees in Petrograd on 15 October 1917 (*Protokoly pervoj...* 1918 a, pp. 4–14, 18–20, 61, 66–67, 70–79, 82–83, 85–86, 89–90).
6. Quoted from the Swedish translation of Maurice Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control 1917–1921*" (Brinton, p. 29).
7. It was attended by 428 delegates with voting rights, including 281 Bolsheviks, 67 Mensheviks, 32 non-party, 21 left, and 10 right Social-Revolutionaries, 6 Maximalists, and 6 Anarcho-Syndicalists. (Dewar, p. 32) The article "Na s'ezdax i konferencijax" (*Professional'nyj sojuz* 1, 1918, p. 9) gives slightly different numbers and does not mention the Mensheviks. For further information see e.g. J. Sorenson, *The Life and Death of Soviet Trade Unionism, 1917–1928*, New York 1969.
8. "Na s'ezdax i konferencijax", op.cit., p. 7. Gastev's contribution to the discussions is recorded in *Protokoly vsrossijskogo...* 1919.
9. A. Gastev, "Novaja industrija", *Vestnik metallista* 2, 1918, pp. 5–27.
10. In the fall of 1918 Fedor Kalinin commented on the article (op.cit.) and praised Gastev's ideas ("Psixologija industrial'nogo proletariata", *Protokoly pervoj...* 1918 b., pp. 83–84).
11. After the turmoil of Civil War the importance of engineers and technicians naturally increased. The Constructivists insisted, for instance, that the artist must become a technician. "Are not the artist and the engineer united by the process of work?" (Gray, p. 244). See A. Mazaev, *Koncepcija "proizvodstvennogo iskusstva" 20-x godov*, Moskva 1975. On the alliance between the technical intelligentsia and the working class see Susiluoto, p. 67.
12. *Sormovskij bjulleten'* 1918.
13. Kaplan, p. 187.
14. A. Gastev, *Ustanovka proizvodstva metodom CIT*, Moskva-Leningrad 1927 (in *TU* 1973, p. 161).
15. Grigorij Petnikov (1894–?) poet and translator. Published together with V. Xlebnikov the manifesto "Truba marsian", 1916 (in *Literaturnye manifesty*, p. 83). He was one of the editors of the journal *Puti tvorčestva*. Later he settled in the Crimea.

16. In *PRU* 1971, between pp. 128–129 (photocopy).
17. Jack London apparently had a great influence on Proletarian poets. P. Bessal'ko wrote that it would not be an exaggeration to say that Jack London was of the same importance for the second revolution as Maksim Gor'kij was for the first (*Grjaduščee* 3, 1918). Bernhard Kellerman was known for his novel *The Tunnel*, first published in Berlin in 1913.
18. A. Gastev, "O novom iskusstve", *Sbornik*, 1920, p. 16.
19. A. Gastev, "O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury", *Proletarskaja kul'tura* 9–10, 1919, pp. 35–45. (Partly in *Literaturnye manifesty*, pp. 131–136.)
20. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
23. *PRU* 1971, p. 120.
24. See Lewis K. & Weber H., pp. 254–266.
25. "O tendencijax...", *op.cit.*, p. 44. It is a recurring theme in his poems, cf. for example "Bašnja", see also note 6:12.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
27. Ivanov, p. 76.
28. A.A. Arakčeev, general (1769–1834), famous for his military colonies. They combined the hard labor of agricultural life with the harsh discipline and lack of leisure of army life.
29. Bogdanov 1919, pp. 46–52. Another critical article: Marija Fal'kner-Šmit, "Ob izučeenii trudovyx processov (Otvét A. Gastevu)", *Proletarskaja kul'tura* 11–12, pp. 38–47. All these discussions are excellently surveyed in Bailes, pp. 371–381, and in Susiluoto, pp. 106–107.
30. *TU* 1973, p. 162.

6. Poezija rabočego udara (The Poetry of the Factory Floor)

1. The second edition of *PRU* was published in Petrograd in 1919 by Biblioteka Proletkul't. It was cut to 47 pages, containing only 16 of the original 35 texts. Among the deleted works were "Rel'sy" ("Rails) and "Èkspress". These cuts were probably dictated by the paper shortage. The third edition appeared in Xar'kov. It was expanded considerably to 215 pages, and divided into three thematic sections. The last section contained new poems in prose written after the Revolution. Drawings of industrial motifs by N.N. Kalmykov enhanced the external design of the volume. In 1921 a fourth edition (erroneously indicated as the third) was published in Saratov by the local Proletkul't. The volume was identical with the second edition except for a foreword by Fedor Kalinin (a reprint of an article, Kalinin 1918 b). A fifth edition of 5.000 copies appeared in 1923/1924 in Moscow. The publisher was VCSPS. It began with a foreword by Gastev, sections I. and III. were expanded and a new section IV. was added containing the cycle *Pačka orderov*. The sixth edition of 5.000 copies published in Moscow in 1926 by VCSPS had another foreword by Gastev, but was otherwise identical with the fifth one. That was the last edition in Gastev's lifetime.
2. *PRU* 1971, pp. 35–36. Boris Pil'njak may have been influenced by these descriptions (Alberg Jensen, pp. 317–318).
3. In the poem "Gastev" from the collection "Sovet vetrov" (1923). In 1963 Georgij Marjagin called Gastev "The Ovid of the Machine Age" (Marjagin, p. 15).
4. "My posjagnuli" was published in *Sbornik...* 1917, pp. 111–113.

5. In a short film from 1969 entitled "Poëzija rabočega udara" rows of workers are shown hammering in unison to the music of D.D. Šostakovič.
6. *PRU* 1971, p. 120.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
8. It is, for instance, evident from his article "Novyj kapitalizm" ("The New Capitalism"), *Vestnik metallista* 1, 1917, pp. 5–10, (mainly a review of a book by the Austrian economist Rudolf Hilferding).
9. *PRU* 1971, pp. 147, 152.
10. Alberg Jensen, pp. 317–318, who also gives a good description of Gastev's literary output: "His own literary text might appropriately be called 'inženerija mašinnoj romantiki'".
11. *PRU* 1971, p. 13. A.V. Kulinič writes of these poems: "Today this machine-mysticism looks like a satire on communism". (Kulinič 1967, p. 173).
12. *PPU* 1971 p. 213.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 212, 213.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 205.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
18. Williams 1980, p. 389. L.M. Farber, p. 71, comments on the frequency of death and graves in Proletarian poetry: "Death (with its indispensable attribute – the grave) does not frighten the Proletarian poets: onward, to the future – through disaster; death is not a way out of life (in the way some Symbolist poets sang about it) it is for the triumph of life [...]".
19. Boris Sluckij in *Stenogramma* III 1973, p. 11.
20. *PRU* 1971, p. 12.
21. *PP*, p. 189. A parody on Gastev's preference for iron was published in the journal *Gudki* 1, 1919, p. 22. ("Železo, železo, železo").
22. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
23. Gor'kij 1970, p. 7.
24. I. Dozorov, "Bašnja", *Metallist* 4, 1917, p. 4.
25. *PRU* 1971, p. 13.
26. Lambert, p. 49. Tatlin later projected a tower as a monument to the Third International (1920): "The antecedents of Tatlin's tower are the reliefs that he began to make in 1913 on his return to Moscow from a short trip to Paris [...]" (Hultén, p. 107). The building of a tower evidently belonged to the "Mythe du Moderne" or the "Mythe du progrès". In 1913 there were plans to construct a "Tower of Progress" in Paris: "[...] le "Centre mondial", projeté à la veille de la guerre par des architectes français sous le patronage de Hendrik Christian Andersen, dans son centre devait être orné d'une "Tour du Progrès", haute de 320 mètres." (Bergman, p. 8).
27. *ZDV* 8, 1911, columns 1069–1084. See pp. 20–24 above.
28. Zolotnickij, pp. 302–303. In a speech held at the celebration of the 90th anniversary of Gastev's birth, *Izvestija's* former editor-in-chief I.M. Gronskij noted that in 1913 a shorter version of "The Tower" was spread among the workers and that that text sounded stronger. (*Stenogramma* III, p. 5.).
29. Dozorov, "Èkspress. Sibirskaja fantazija.", *Sibirskie zapiski* 1, 1916 (Krasnojarsk), pp. 3–12. The subtitle "A Siberian fantasy" was later omitted in the editions of *PRU*.
30. *PRU* 1971, p. 13.
31. Quoted from *Sibirskie zapiski* 2, 1916, p. 74.

32. The geographer and ethnographer G. Potanin (1835–1920) was a member of "Obščestvo nezavisimosti Sibiri" ("The Society for the Independence of Siberia") from 1865 to 1874. – N.M. Jadrincev (1842–1894), ethnographer.
33. *Sibirskie zapiski* 4–5, 1917, pp. 135–136.
34. Bergman, p. 12.
35. Černyševskij, p. 375.
36. Brjusov's story is to be found in *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 4, pp. 93–106.
37. Cf. the description of the harvest in Černyševskij, p. 376.
38. The shortest distance between Siberia and Alaska across the Bering Straits is in reality 53 miles.
39. Gastev's almost prophetic insight in this poem is underscored in an article by A. Voloženin 1963, pp. 24–25.
40. The Russian paper *Novyj put'*, Riga 1921, published a series of articles by Gastev under the title "Nauka o trude v Rossii", NoNo 63, 64, 65, 66, 67. In No 100 (5 June) two poems "Bašnja" and "Pervaja pesnja"; and in No 237 (15 November) a report on an anniversary of the student club where Gastev's poetry was presented.
41. *PRU* 1971, p. 14.
42. Majakovskij, p. 27.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
44. Trillo Clough, p. 49.
45. Nilsson, pp. 74, 78.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 68.
47. In a favorable comment (in 1923) the prominent LEF critic Boris Arvatov pointed out that Gastev's language was directly influenced by technology and production, by the militarized atmosphere of the Civil War period and by newspapers and advertisements, and that it totally lacked old-fashioned emotional pathos (Arvatov, pp. 243–245). Another critic, P. Kul'tskij, wrote that the syntax of the poem followed "the principle of revolutionary Taylorization" (*Gorn*, kn. 9, 1923, p. 158).
48. "Xronometr" ("The Chronometer") is the first word of order 02. It has a clear ring of Taylorism and its measurements of the speed and efficiency of various labor processes. As Gastev wrote later in a brochure: "Not one assignment without a time-limit, not one task without measuring". (*Vosstanie kul'tury*, Xar'kov 1923, in *KNR*, p. 57.) Words and expressions denoting time thus have an important function in the poem.
49. Kirsanov, p. 6.
50. Torov 1918 a, p. 48.
51. *Ibid.* 1918 b, pp. 113–115.
52. Friče 1918 a, pp. 25–26, 28–30.
53. *Ibid.* 1918 b, pp. 17–18.
54. Bogdat'eva, p. 13.
55. Kalinin 1918 b, pp. 13–18.
56. Pletnev, pp. 24–32.
57. Xlebnikov, pp. 70–72.
58. Ežov, p. 10.
59. Lelevič, pp. 188–208.
60. Percov, pp. 75–79.

7. Moscow (1920–1938)

1. Gastev as described by the Proletarian poet G. Sannikov, *Stenogramma II*, 1962, p. 3.
2. Petrov, p. 341.
3. On Taylorism and controversies on it in Russia see e.g. Rainer Traub, "Lenin und Taylor", *Kursbuch 43*, Berlin 1976; Kendall E. Bailes, "Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918–24", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1977; Leonid Heller, "Zamjatin: Prophète ou témoin? *Nous Aures* et les réalités de son époque", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, 22 (2–3), 1981; Ilmari Susiluoto, *The Origins and Development of Systems Thinking in the Soviet Union*, Helsinki 1982, pp. 105–111; Judith A. Merkle, *Management and Ideology: the Legacy of the International Scientific Management Movement*, Berkeley, Calif. 1980 (she does not mention Gastev, however).
4. *PRU* 1971, p. 17.
5. *TU* 1973, p. 8.
6. Gastev 1924 b, p. 38.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
8. See Bailes, p. 386–391; Susiluoto, p. 111. Lunačarskij's article was first published in *Izvestija* 53, 1923. Reprinted in A.V. Lunačarskij, *Sobranie sočinenij*, T. 7, Moskva 1967, pp. 303–308.
9. Gastev 1924 b, p. 51.
10. CIT was represented by Gastev, Bernštein and Labutin. N.A. Bernštein (1896–1966) became a brilliant physiologist. He headed the laboratory for biomechanics at CIT. He also developed some of the basic principles of cybernetics. Lillian M. Gilbreth and her husband Frank were pioneer researchers of Scientific Management in America, and followers of F.W. Taylor. They specialized on time and motion studies. Frank B. Gilbreth died one and a half months before the conference in Prague.
11. Toller, pp. 121–124.
12. *KNR* 1972, pp. 312–314. The letter from Gastev was dated 9 June 1928 and the answer from the Ford Company 10 July 1928.
13. *PRU* 1971, pp. 116, 123.
14. Later critics agree that Gastev's prose of this period is so vigorous and expressive that it borders on art. (S. Kirsanov, in his speech at the 80th anniversary, *Stenogramma II*, 1962, pp. 15–16; B. Sluckij, in his speech at the 90th anniversary, *Stenogramma III*, 1973, p. 11.)
15. *PRU* 1971, "B'et čas", p. 248.
16. Gastev 1924 b, p. 50.
17. Gastev 1924 a, p. 11.
18. *KNR* 1972, p. 52.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
20. See Kleberg, p. 91. On Gastev's interest in the theater cf. S.A. Lučiškin's speech at the 90th anniversary, *Stenogramma III*, 1973, pp. 13–14, and E.A. Petrov, p. 340.
21. A. Gastev, *Junost' idi*, Moskva 1923, p. 34.
22. *KNR* 1972, pp. 51–52.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
25. Mejerxol'd, pp. 486–489. See also Christian Mailand-Hansen, *Mejerxol'ds Theaterästhetik in den 1920er Jahren*, Kopenhagen 1980, pp. 86–97; Igor Il'inskij, *Sam o*

- sebe*, Moskva 1962, p. 155; Karla Hielscher, "Was Meyerhold machte". *Theater heute* 10, 1977, pp. 15–18.
26. *PRU*, p. 229. Gastev's ideas here are in tune with Lunačarskij's and Krupskaja's proposals to create a Russian "labor school". The fundamental principle in the labor school was that the child be educated through work, i.e. through living, active processes.
 27. A. Gastev, *Junost' idi*, op.cit., p. 35.
 28. *PRU* 1971, p. 18.
 29. There was no similar institution in the Soviet Union until 1955, when the Scientific Research Institute of Labor was created in Moscow. (See Bailes, p. 374). On 23 July 1956 a meeting was held at that institution to discuss how the scientific findings of CIT might be used. (Gastev's wife Sofija Abramovna and their son Aleksej were present at the meeting), *Stenogramma I*, 1956. In 1962 the Academician A.I. Berg published an article, in which he acknowledged the importance of CITs research (especially the theory of goal-directed management of complex processes) for the development of modern cybernetics (Bailes, p. 375).
 30. The Stakhanovite movement was in line with Gastev's views. As early as 1923 he had put forward the idea of a labor championship "in which a finely performed labor operation will be honored with a decoration before thousands of professional workers" (*PRU* 1971, p. 267; Bailes, p. 385). Gastev explains his view on the movement in the foreword to a collection of articles (1936), "Organizacija truda v staxanovskom dvizenii", *KNR* 1972, pp. 320–322.

8. Epilogue

1. "That ominous formula meant execution" writes Gastev's son Jurij. "Poët rabočego udara", *Russkaja mysl'*, No 3437 (4 Nov), 1962, p. 10.
2. Most of this information is from the article "Sud'ba 'niččix sibiritov'" (*Pamjat'. Istoričeskij sbornik*, Vypusk pervyj, New York 1978, pp. 232–268) and from personal interviews with Sofija Abramovna and Jurij Alekseevič.
3. Academician S.G. Strumilin and the poet N.N. Aseev, among others, added favorable descriptions of Gastev's character and professional activity to the petition.

Appendix A: Gastev's Published works 1903–1919

(For a nearly complete list of Gastev's writings from 1917 to 1938, see *KNR* 1972, pp. 463–476.)

- 1903 *Vladimirskaja gazeta*,
2, 5, 14, 16, 28, 30 March; 1, 4, 6, 12, 18, 19, 26 April; 7, 20, 23, 28, 29,
31 May; 6, 7, 11 June
All this correspondence signed "Odinokij".
- 1904 *Severnyj kraj* (Jaroslavl'),
In May
I. Dozorov, "Za stenoj"
In Geneva at the end of the year:
A. Odinokij, *Prokljatyj vopros*.
- 1905 *Kostromskoj listok* (Kostroma),
15, 19, 24 June; 4, 16, 25 November; 4 December.
Signature: Dal'nij, A. Nabegov.
- 1906 *Kostromskoj golos*,
20, 27 January; 1, 2, 4, 7, 17, 24 February.
Signature: A. Nabegov, Vasil'ev, Zorin.
Kostromskaja reč',
30 March.
Signature: Vasil'ev.
Kostromskaja gazeta,
3, 7, 11, 17, 19, 28, May; 1, 8, 16, 21 June.
Signature: V-v, Vasil'ev.
- 1909 *Edinstvo* (Petersburg),
Nr 1, "Dviženie sredi gorodskix služšaščix i rabočix".
Nr 2, "Birza Truda v Peterburge".
Nr 3, "Birza Truda v Peterburge" (sequel).
Nr 4, "Obostrenie krizisa i naši zadači".
Nr 12, "Sredi tramvajščikov. Nabrosok".
Signature: A. Zorin.
- 1910 *Naš put'*,
Nr 4, "Kooperativnye kongressy. (Za granicej)".
Nr 7, "VIII-j kongress meždunarodnogo kooperativnogo sojuza".
Signature: A.Z., A. Zorin.
Žizn' dlja vsex (Petersburg),
Nr 2, "Rabočij mir. (Sovremennye nastroyenija)".
Nr 3, "Rabočij mir."
Nr 5, "Rabočij mir. (S dorogi)".
Nr 6, "Rabočij mir. Po povodu francuzskix vyborov v palatu. (Iz
Pariža)."
Nr 7, "Rabočij mir. S parižskogo zavoda."

- Nr 8-9, "Rabočij mir. S parižskogo zavoda. II".
Nr 10, "Rabočij mir. Iz dnevnika tramvajščika".
Nr 12, "Sindikal'nyj s'ezd v Tuluze".

1911 *Žizn' dlja vsex,*

- Nr 2, "Okolo gil'otiny".
Nr 3-4, "Rabočij mir. Zavod i sindikat. I. Sila mašinizma".
Nr 6, "Rabočij mir".
Nr 8, "Rabočij mir. I. Vera. II. Otčajanie. III. Opyt".

Parižskij vestnik /Le Messenger Russe de Paris/.

Nr 20 (20 May) "K voprosu o legal'nyx cennostjax".

Nr 21 (27 May) "V novej obstanovke".

Nr 22 (3 June) "Tragedija soznatel'nosti".

Nr 23 (10 June) "Pervye šagi vzaimopomoščii".

Signature: A. Zorin

Naš put'

Nr 12, Pis'mo v redakciju.

Signature: A. Z.

1912 *Žizn' dlja vsex,*

Nr 1, "Rabočij mir. Stariki. (Otryvok iz dnevnika).".

Nr 3, "Rabočij mir. O ženščine."

Signature: A. Zorin

Vestnik kooperacii

Nr 1, "Socialističeskaja kooperacija i sindikaty. (K voprosu o nejtralizacii. – Pis'mo iz Pariža)."

Signature: A.Z

1913 *Žizn' dlja vsex,*

Nr 1 "Raboj mir. V poiskax. Pariž".

Nr 3-4, "Rabočee dviženie".

Nr 5, "Rabočee dviženie".

"Rabočij mir. Berlin".

Nr 7, "Rabočee dviženie. Rossija".

Nr 10, "Rabočij mir. Novyj Piter."

Signature: A. Zorin

Zavety

Nr 6 "Parižskaja rabočaja émigracija".

Signature: A. Zorin.

Vestnik kooperacii,

Nr IV, "Ob"edinitel'nyj kongress francuzskoj potrebitel'noj kooperacii".

Signature: A. Zorin.

Voprosy straxovanija

Nr 1, I. Dozorov, "Obezpečenie starosti".

Metallist

Nr 10, I. Dozorov, "Ėti dni".

Nr 11, I. Dozorov, "Strejxbrexer".

Nr 13, A. Zorin, "Ženščina-slesar".

Pravda

Nr 132, (11 June) I. Dozorov, "Zvony".

Rabočaja pravda,

Nr 8 (21 July) I. Dozorov, "V utrennej smene".

Nr 17 (1 August) I. Dozorov, "Vanjuša. (Iz sovremnyx skazanij)".

Severnaja pravda,

Nr 15 (20 August) I. Dozorov, "Mysl".

Nr 24 (30 August) I. Dozorov, "Strejxbrexer. (Rabočee skazanie)".

Pravda truda,

Nr 8 (19 September) I. Dozorov, "Malen'kij fel'eton. Rel'sy.
(Dumy na paravoze)".

Nr 10 (21 September) I. Dozorov, "V tramvajnom parke. Rasskaz".

Nr 18 (1 October) I. Dozorov, "V tramvajnom parke. II."

Za pravdu

Nr 21 (27 October) I. Dozorov, "Osennie teni".

Nr 33 (12 November) I. Dozorov, "Duma rabotnicy".

1914 *Metallist*

Nr 1, I. Dozorov, "My idem".

Vestnik kooperacii,

Nr 11 Zorin, "U podnož'ja melkokreditnogo perevala".

Zavety

Nr 1, A. Zorin. "Rabočee dviženie v 1913 godu".

Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej

s predisloviem Maksima Gor'kogo, SPb.

M. Dozorov, "Utrennjaja smena".

1916 *Sibirskie zapiski* (Krasnojarsk),

Nr 1, Dozorov, "Ėkspress. Sibirskaja fantazija".

Nr 2, A. Zorin, "Narymskij kraj. (Bor'ba s dorogviznoj)".

Ežemesjačnyj žurnal (Petrograd),

Nr 2, A. Nabegov, "Kromešnaja t'ma".

Golos Sibiri (Novo-Nikolaevsk)

29 September; 5, 15, 16, October; 2, 16, 18 November; 3, 15
December.

Signature: A.Z., I. Dal'nij, Dozorov, A. Zarembo

1917 *Golos Sibiri*

Nr 1, A. Zarembo, "Na novyj god".

5, 8, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25 January; 4, 7, 8, 19, 25, 26 February; 4,

17, 23, 25, 29 March; 8, 16, 18, 20 April.

Nr 78 (April) Aleksej Kapitonovič Gastev (A. Zarembo), "K tovariščam-čitateljam".

Signature: A.Z. I. Dal'nij, Dozorov, A. Zarembo.

Vestnik metallista (Petrograd),

Nr 1, A. Gastev, "Novyj kapitalizm",

"Organizacionnyj plan sojuza",

"Vserossijskij sojuz rabočix-metallistov"

(together with A.V. Hol'zman)

Moskovskij metallist,

Nr 6, A. Gastev, "Tarif metallistov".

Metallist (Petrograd),

Nr 1-2, A. Gastev, "Regulirovanie promyšlennosti".

Nr 3, A. Gastev, "Ko vserossijskomu tarifu".

Nr 4, I. Dozorov, "Ja poljubil". "Bašnja".

A. Gastev, "Vserossijskij sojuz metallistov".

Nr 5, Provedenie tarifa (tezisy po dokladu A.K. Gasteva).

Nr 6, A. Gastev, "Perexod ot voennoj promyšlennosti k mirnoj".

Novaja žizn' (Petrograd),

14 (27) May A. Gastev, "Razgruzka Petrograda".

21 May (3 June) A. Gastev, "Novye problemy professional'nogo dviženija".

18 November (1 December) A. Gastev, "Petrograd razgružajut".

Ob'edinenie (Moskva),

Nr 11-12, M. Dozorov, "Utrennjaja smena".

Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej (Petrograd)

pod. red. M. Gor'kogo, A. Serebrova i A. Čapygina.

I. Dozorov, "My posjagnuli".

1918 *Metallist (Petrograd),*

Nr 1, A. Gastev, "Professional'nye sojuzy i zavodskie komitety".

Nr 2, I. Dozorov, "Gudki".

Nr 4, A. Gastev, "K Godovščine Petrogradskogo Sojuza".

Vestnik metallista (Petrograd),

Nr 2, A. Gastev, "Novaja industrija".

Sekretar' A. Gastev, "Cirkuljarnye pis'ma".

Poëzija rabočego udara,

Aleksej Gastev (I. Dozorov), Petrograd, Izdanie Proletkul'ta.

Sormovskij bjulleten'(Sormovo)

Bjulleten' izdaetsja pri bližajšem učastii členov C.K.

Sojuza Metallistov V. Oborina i A. Gasteva.

Grjaduščee (Petrograd),
Nr 2, A. Gastev, "Bašnja".
Nr 9, A. Gastev, "Manifestacija".

Proletarskaja kul'tura,
Nr 2, A. Gastev, "Čudesna raboty".

Tvorčestvo (Moskva),
Nr 7, A. Gastev, "Most".

Junyj proletarij,
Nr 1 I. Dozorov, "Vxod".

Ob'edinenie,
Nr 1-2, I. Dozorov, "Oratoru",
"My vmeste".
Nr 16, A. Gastev, "Zvony", "Bašnja".

Rabočij-ximik,
Nr 2-3 I Dozorov, "Utrennjaja smena".

Vestnik šanjavcev,
Nr 4, A. Gastev, "My posjagnuli", "Moja žizn".

Rabočij kraj (Ivanovo-Voznesensk),
16 August A. Gastev, "Vorota", "Bašnja".

Vooružennyj narod
6 September A. Gastev, "Kran".

Železnyj put' (Voronež),
Nr 1, A. Gastev, "Rel'sy".

Proletarij (Penza),
Nr 1, A. Dozorov, "Ja poljubil".

Vestnik žizni,
Nr 2, A. Dozorov, "Ja poljubil".

1919 *Grjaduščee*,
Nr 4, A. Gastev, "Naš otrjad"
Nr 7-8, A. Gastev, "Vesna v rabočem gorodke".

Poëzija rabočego udara
Aleksej Gastev, Petrograd, izd. vtoroe. Biblioteka Prolet-
kul'ta.

Poëzija rabočego udara, Xar'kov, izd. Vseukrainskogo otdelenija
iskusstv Kom. nar. prosv.

Proletarskaja kul'tura,
Nr 9-10, A. Gastev, "O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury".

Puti tvorčestva (Xar'kov),
Nr 5, Aleksej Gastev, "Vyxodi".

Avangard (Kaluga)

A. Gastev, "Starost".

Izvestija vremennogo raboče-krest'janskogo pravitel'stva Ukrainy i Xar'kovskogo Soveta rabočix deputatov,

Nr 64 (9 March) A. Gastev, "Arka v Evrope".

Izvestija vseukrainskogo central'nogo ispolnitel'nogo komiteta soвета rabočix, krest'janskix i krasnoarmejskix deputatov,

Nr 8 (21 March) A. Gastev, "Goroda i ljudi".

Izvestija Xar'kovskogo Soveta i Gubernskogo Ispolnitel'nogo Komiteta S.R.K. i K. Dep.,

1-2 April A. Gastev, "Škola social'no-inženernyx nauk".

Statistika truda,

Nr 11-12, A. Gastev, "Texničeskie osnovy tarifikacii truda".

A. Gastev, *Industrial'nyj mir*, Xar'kov, Izd-vo Vseukrainskogo Soveta iskusstv.

Sbornik novogo iskusstva (Xar'kov),

A. Gastev, "O novom iskusstve",

"Manifestacija".

МЫ РАСТЕМ ИЗ ЖЕЛЕЗА

Смотрите! — я стою среди них: станков, молотков, вагранок и горн и среди сотни товарищей.

Вверху железный кованый простор.

По сторонам идут балки и угольники.

Они поднимаются на десять сажен.

Загибаются справа и слева.

Соединяются стропилами в куполах и, как плечи великана, держат всю железную постройку.

Они стремительны, они размашисты, они сильны.

Они требуют еще большей силы.

Гляжу на них и выпрямляюсь.

В жилы льется новая, железная кровь.

Я вырос еще.

У меня самого вырастают стальные плечи и безмерно сильные руки. Я слился с железом постройки.

Поднялся.

Выпираю плечами стропила, верхние балки, крышу.

Ноги мои еще на земле, но голова выше здания.

Я еще задыхаюсь от этих нечеловеческих усилий, а уже кричу:

— Слова прошу, товарищи, слова!

Железное эхо покрыло мои слова, вся постройка дрожит нетерпением.

А я поднялся еще выше, я уже наравне с трубами.

И не рассказ, не речь, а только одно мое железное я прокричу:

«Победим мы!»

На жутких обрывах земли, над бездною страшных морей выросла башня, железная башня рабочих усилий.

Долго работники рыли, болотные пни корчевали и скалы взрывали прибрежные.

Неудач, неудач сколько было, несчастий!

Руки и ноги ломались в отчаянных муках, люди падали в ямы, земля их нещадно жрала.

Сначала считали убитых, спевали им песни надгробные. Потом помирали без песен прощальных, без слов. Там под башней погибла толпа безымянных, но славных работников башни.

И все ж победили... и внедрили в глуби земли тяжеленные плотные кубы бетонов-опор.

Бетон — это замысел нашей рабочей постройки, работу, подвигом, смертью вскормленный.

В бетоны впились, в них вросли, охватили огнем их железные лапы-устои.

Лапы взвились, крепко сцепились железным объятием, кряжем поднялись кверху и, как спина неземного титана, бьются в неслышном труде-напряженье и держат чудовище-башню.

Тяжела, нелегка эта башня земле. Лапы давят, прессуют земные пласты. И порою как будто вздыхает сжатая башней земля; стоны тянутся с низов подземелья, сырых необъятных подземных рабочих могил.

А железное эхо подземных рыданий колеблет устои и все об умерших, все о погибших за башню работников низкой железной октавой поет.

На лапы уперлись колонны, железные балки, угольники, рельсы.

Рельсы и балки вздымаются кверху, жмутся друг к другу, бьют и ловят друг друга, на мгновенье как будто застыли крест-накрест в борьбе и опять побежали все выше, вольнее, мощнее, друг друга тесня, отрицая и снова прессуя стальными креплениями.

Высоко, высоко разбежались, до жути высоко уголь-ники, балки и рельсы; их пронзил миллион раскаленных заклепок,—и все, что тут было ударом отдельным, запертым чувством, восстало в гармонии мощной порыва единого... сильных, решительных, смелых строителей башни.

Что за радость подняться на верх этой кованой башни!

Сплетеня гудят и поют, металлическим трепетом бьются, дрожат лабиринты железа. В этом трепете все — и земное, зарытое в недра, земное и песня к верхам, чуть видимым, задернутым мглою верхам.

Вздохнуть, заслепиться тогда и без глаз посмотреть и почувствовать музыку башни рабочей: ходят тяжелыми ходами гаммы железные, хоры железного ропота рвутся и душу зовут к неизведанным, большим, чем башня, постройкам.

Их там тысячи. Их миллион. Миллиарды... рабочих ударов гремят в этих отзвуках башни железной.

Железо — железо!.. Гудят лабиринты.

В светлом воздухе башня вся кажется черной, железо не знает улыбки: горя в нем больше, чем радости, мысли в нем больше, чем смеха.

Железо, покрытое ржавчиной времени, это — мысль, вся серьезная, хмурая дума эпох и столетий.

Железную башню венчает прокованный, светлый, стальной, весь стремление к дальним высотам — шлифованный шпиль.

Он синее небо, которому прежние люди молились, давно разорвал, разбросал облака, он луну по ночам провожает, как странника старых, былых повестей и сказаний, он тушит ее своим светом, спорит уж с солнцем...

Шпиль высоко летит, башня за ним, тысяча балок и сеть лабиринтов покажутся вдруг вдохновенно легки, и реет стальная вершина над миром победой, трудом, достиженьем.

Сталь — это воля труда, вознесенного снизу к чуть видимым верхам.

Дымкой и мглою бывает подернут наш шпиль: это черные дни неудач, катастрофы движенья, это ужас рабочей неволи, отчаянье, страх и безверье...

Зарыдают сильнее тогда, навзрыд зарыдают октавы тяжелых устоев, задрожит, заколеблется башня, грозит разрушеньем, вся пронзенная воплями сдавшихся жизни тяжелой, усталых... обманутых... строителей башни.

Те, что поднялись кверху, на шпиль, вдруг прожгутся ужасным сомнением: башни, быть может, и нет, это только мираж, это греза металла, гранита, бетона, это сны. Вот они оборвутся... под нами все та же бездонная пропасть — могила...

И, лишённые веры, лишённые воли,
падают вниз.

Прямо на скалы... На камни.
Но камни, жестокие камни...
Учат!

Или смерть, или только туда, только кверху — крепить и ковать, клепать, подыматься и снова все строить и строить железную башню.

Пробный удар ручника...
Низкая песня мотора.
Говор железной машины...

И опять побежали от тысячи к тысяче токи.

И опять миллионы работников тянутся к башне. Снова от края до края земного несутся стальные каскады работы, и башня, как рупор-гигант, собирает их в трепетной песне бетона, земли и металла.

Не разбить, не разрушить, никому не отнять этой кованой башни, где слиты в единую душу работники мира, где слышится бой и отбой их движенья, где слезы и кровь уж давно претворились в железо.

О, иди же, гори, поднимайся еще и несись еще выше, вольнее, смелее!

Пусть будут еще катастрофы...
Впереди еще много могил, еще много падений...
Пусть же!

Все могилы под башней еще раз тяжелым бетоном зальются, подземные склепы сплетутся железом, и на городе смерти подземном ты бесстрашно несись,

О, иди,
И гори,
Пробивай своим шпилем высоты,
Ты, наш дерзостный башенный мир!

Сибирь спит, одетая белой парчой снегов. Тихо качаются белые зыби полей, замерла скованная тундра, стонет ровным стоном тайга.

Но в ночь под Новый год тихие сны Сибири обрываются и мятежные светлые грезы бурно несутся от океана к океану, от Урала до моря Беринга.

Тревожно и жестоко колотят сибирские морозы. На необъятных равнинах, на поднебесных вершинах гор гремят и гудят гигантские молоты.

Строят, строят!

На полярном небе из ледяных гор встает огненный занавес северного сияния.

Занавес трепещет. Низко по горизонту ходят светлые тяжелые столбы. Силы подземных замыслов несут их кверху. Гаснут исполины-колонны, идут друг на друга, теснят небо, жгут и светят на всю Сибирь лавой огненной энергии.

Миг...

Колонны дрогнули, побледнели, и из-за них вырвался необъятный прожектор, весь готовый разлиться и затопить лучами и небо и землю.

Он ринулся! Ударил своими пламенными брызгами вверх, в холодных высотах зажег мираж облаков.

Минута — мираж зеленый, он смелая дума о будущем; минута — он красный, пылающий, он горящая верхняя мачта; минута — он фиолетовый, стальная закаленная воля к победе, работе, усилию.

Занавес бьется, пылает, волнуется.

За занавесом клокочет будущее.

Мгновенье...

Занавес взвился и растаял в небе.



Экспресс «Панорама» сорвался с уральских высот и реет к Кургану.

Курган, окруженный кольцом рельсов, разросся в город масла, хлеба, мяса. Его давно уже зовут «кухней мира». Курган — город крепкого и вольного сибирского народа, не знавшего крепостной неволи. Сибирский народ создал великий город своими кооперативами, которых тысячи; усилиями, которых миллион. В центре, на берегу реки — гордость Кургана: Народный дом. Он занимает четыре квартала. Здание выросло в десять этажей. Окна дома идут цельным непрерывным стеклом от крыши до самой земли, и дом кажется одновременно и тяжелым и легким, как все великое. Надземную часть занимает кооперативный университет и кооперативные центры. Внизу под землею идут тоже десять этажей, где устроен целый город масляных погребов. На дворе знаменитая курганская маслодельня, работающая бездымными газами — двигателями. Сепараторное отделение одето стеклянными футляром вышнюю в двадцать сажен. По одному фасаду Народного дома проходит линия сибирской магистрали. Из вагона видна как на ладони вся чистота масляной работы. С воздушных экспрессов и платформ непрерывно делают снимки для реклам в «Народной газете». Газета — высшее создание сибирского гения. В ней нет ни одной бумажной клетки, которая не вышла бы из бумажного кооператива, в ней нет ни одной строчки, написанной и набранной не кооперативом. На углу Народного дома высится редакционный маяк, на котором днем и ночью горит слово «Единение». Маяк виден на добрую сотню верст, и из Европы часто поднимаются на уральские хребты, чтобы любоваться курганским великаном.

От Кургана экспресс мчится по залитым солнцем пашням, где все лето бороздят и ровняют поля стальные чудовища — машины. Необитаемая прежде степь и тундра стали житницей всего света. Всюду видна рука людей настоящего поколения. Ничто не говорит о минувших столетиях, об их раздольных, но ленивых песнях, об их сладостных, но пассивных молитвах. Вольные сибирские переселенцы создали новый тип селений, идущих прямыми линиями в два ряда домов на сотни

верст, и из степей создали тысячеверстный хутор, про-
резающий быстрыми смелыми линиями Сибирь с юга
на север и с запада на восток.

Экспресс быстро тормозит, но пассажирам кажется,
что он врезался в ватные стены. Мелькает новый город
с тысячью заводских труб, выпускающих вместо дыма
только несгораемые газы.

Это — «Сталь-город», который когда-то звали Ново-
Николаевском. Поезд прыгает, ему надо миновать сотни
три стрелочных переводов. Стальные пути идут вправо
и влево, к югу и к северу — и все направляются к Оби.
Обь плещет и бьет своим полным валом, но берега ее
стиснуты гранитом, набережные скованы сетью подъезд-
ных путей. По обеим сторонам идут сотни подъемных
кранов. Они вытянули свои стальные плетеные крон-
штейны и даже тогда, когда замирают после тяжелых
речных нагрузок, кажутся руками гигантов, наступающих
друг на друга с одного берега на другой. Сверху виден
лес мачт океанских судов, которые давно уже ходят по
углубленному фарватеру Оби. Это легкие пароходы
компании «Барнаул — Канал», идущие от главных уголь-
ных центров Алтая к нефтяным районам Карских остро-
вов и Печоры, через Полярный канал и железнодорож-
ные линии от Обдорска. А вот грузные теплоходы компа-
нии «Сталь-город — Нарвик», рассекающие грозные бу-
ри Карского моря и полярные льды океана.

Экспресс влетает на железнодорожный мост через
Обь. Этот мост со своими крепкими дамбами, широкими
и длинными пролетами и тяжелыми башнями — гордость
сибирских строителей.

Не проходит минуты, чтобы по мосту не мелькнул
поезд.

«Сталь-город» — главный форт сибирской индустрии.
Вечереет, и он встречает экспресс миллионом огней, то
красных, что рвутся из окон тяжелой металлургии, то
снежно-белых, как день, ровно идущих от механиче-
ских заводов. В воздухе над городом целый гомон света
и звука — это новая человеческая симфония огня и
железа.

Заводы идут правильными рядами корпусов, коче-
гарки вытянулись прямыми линиями, — это тысяча го-

рящих бронированных сердец «Сталь-города», черные гиганты-трубы угрожают самому небу. Частные здания идут квадратными кварталами: их плоские крыши соединены в одну площадь и образуют роскошный зеленый сад.

И все эти заводы, дома, башни, цистерны, мосты, элеваторы, рыбные погреба — анонимны, у них нет названий, они принадлежат компании и синдикатам, у которых нет фамилий, — голый капитал, без лиц, без фигур.

«Сталь-город» зовут машиной Сибири. Оттуда идут водные и железные пути на восток, запад, север и юг. День и ночь идут грузы: с орудиями земледелия на север, где земельная обработка уже подходит к семидесятому градусу, на запад и восток идут двигатели для маслодельных заводов, мельниц, консервных фабрик, а на юг — к Алтаю — готовые части домен, краны, бурильные машины, трансформаторы.

От «Сталь-города» до Алтая идет непрерывная промышленная стройка; она начинается заводскими трубами, идет через жилища рабочих, переходит в заводы — дома и кончается черными подземными городами-шахтами.

Но дальше, дальше, по главной магистрали! Быстро минуем города без будущего. Они хотели быть острогами, но сами умерли как необитаемые тюрьмы...

Красноярск!

Это мозг Сибири.

Только что закончен постройкой центральный сибирский музей, ставший целым научным городом. Университет стоит рядом с музеем, кажется маленькой будочкой, но уже известен всему миру своими открытиями. Это здесь создалась новая геологическая теория, устанавливающая точный возраст образования земного шара; это здесь нашли способ рассматривать движение лавы в центре земли; это здесь создали знаменитую лабораторию опытов с радием и открыли интернациональную клинику на 20 000 человек. Но истинная научная гордость Красноярска — обсерватория и сейсмограф. Здесь записываются не только землетрясения, но все движение подземных огненно-жидких и паровых образований, публикуются их точные фотографии и диаграммы; и в

течение последних десяти лет не было ни одного землетрясения в мире, которое не было бы точно установлено во времени и пространстве и предсказано Красноярском.

А вот прямо перед экспрессом точно растет и летит прямо в небо блестяще белый шпиль. Это Дом международных научных конгрессов. Его фасад усеян флагами государств всего мира, теперь там заседает конгресс по улучшению человеческого типа путем демонстративного полового подбора. Если нужно выразить научно-смелую идею, то всегда и всюду — в Европе и в Америке — говорят: «Это что-то... красноярское».

Там, на Енисее, высится мачта, на которой гордая надпись: «Красноярск — морской порт», но за ней на башне дамбы другая надпись: «Красноярск — верфь мира!» На север от моста больше чем на десять верст суда, все суда. А по берегам, точно скелеты допотопных ихтиозавров, высятся эллинги судостроительных заводов.

Экспресс, однако, мчится.

Иркутск!

Город транспортных сооружений, оптовой торговли, финансов, синдикатов, трестов, биржи.

Отсюда идут черные магистрали: одна врезается в сердце Китая, прямо на Пекин, она давно уже вооружила трудолюбивых земледельцев резцом и зубилом; другая идет к Владивостоку, интернациональному порту, вся жизнь которого рвется через океан к Колорадо и Нью-Йорку; третья — на Амур, к его дивным виноградникам и садам; четвертая — к северу, на Якутск, к разбуженной полярной стране.

Еще издали, верст за двадцать, с экспресса виден «верхний этаж» города, как называют воздушные платформы королей капитала...

Платформы укреплены на балконах и поддерживаются непрерывной работой моторов. За десятки верст по ночам эти платформы посылают целые бассейны света к Байкалу, и на железнодорожные пути, и в тайгу. Этим же светом, идущим параллельными лучами, затоплен весь город, который уже не нуждается ни в каком освещении — ни в уличном, ни в комнатном.

На воздушных платформах устроены станции радиотелеграфа и телефона; отсюда говорят и с материками и с океанами, отсюда по незримым волнам капитал правит уже не только Сибирью, но через Владивосток целит в Америку, и кажется, над океаном временами ходят тучи, назревают небывалые грозы и прольются лавы не то стального, не то золотого дождя.

На платформах же находятся конторы и залы синдикатов с их краткими названиями: «Золото», «Радий», «Виноград», «Хлеб», «Полюс», «Огонь», «Кислород».

Сверху, с платформ, правят землей. И на что уж сильны были в Иркутске международная биржа и банки, но они сдались «платформам», и кнопки биржевой игры теперь нажимаются вверх.

Фотогазета «Платформа» выходит непрерывно круглые сутки и осведомляет обо всем весь мир. Она постепенно стянула все лучшие литературные и артистические силы и давно уже таксировала гонорары всех знаменитостей. Демократическая богема желчно острила: «Парнас переселился на «Платформу».

Мы въехали на экспрессе в безбрежный океан света и движенья, мы в урагане жизни воздушного города, и вдруг... Тишина.

Только здесь, в Иркутске, узнаешь, какая потрясающая сила в тишине.

Это мы въехали в подземный центральный вокзал. Едем под городом. Бархатные тормоза, бесшумный выход газа из локомотивов, скраденный шелест грузовых кранов, схороненные в земле моторы, папковые и бумажные крыши и стены, отсутствие служебного персонала. Все делается автоматически, просто.

Множество кнопок, бесчисленные краны, к услугам публики всюду надписи и световые указатели. Но чаще—довольно только ступить ногой, чтобы бесшумно тронулся лифт и осторожно поднялась платформа или тротуар вокзала. И невольно пассажиры, загипнотизированные этой мощью молчащей постройки и беззвучного движенья, говорят друг с другом негромко, шепотом. Нервные люди подземного города прозвали иркутский вокзал фоно-ванной.

Экспресс летит дальше. Его не остановили ни для высадки пассажиров — вагон с ними на ходу отделился, ни для почты — ее поймали и кинули, да ее так мало — все дается аэромашинами и радиотелеграфом.

Экспресс вынырнул из земли. Ему навстречу несется гул газетных рупоров и стереоскоп реклам. Но все они покрыты водопадом белого света, на котором фоногазета в воздухе черными буквами написала: «Три конгресса».

Деловые заседания этих конгрессов таят невиданную социальную схватку.

Конгресс сибирских трестов на одной из воздушных платформ решает прибрать к своим рукам интернациональный трест «Сталь»; синдикат «Руда», объединивший добычу Алтая, Саян и Яблоновых, давно уже подбирался к «Стали». Но силы мало. Теперь он хочет поставить «Сталь» хотя бы под контроль союза синдикатов. Голосования конгресса вызывают биржевую панику во всем мире; еще минута — и радиотелеграф известит о сотне крахов и тысяче самоубийств биржевых дельцов: «Платформа» проглатывает «Сталь».

Конгресс сибирских кооперативов, созванный Сибирским народным банком, над зданием заседаний выкинул тревожный аншлаг: «Платформа» душит кооперацию». Конгресс принимает героическое решение — закрыть свой рынок для синдикатских изделий и кредита. Устанавливается кооперативный лэбель.

Кооперативный запад Сибири поднялся против синдикатского востока. Кто победит: будет ли приручена кооперация и будет снизу ждать лозунгов от воздушных платформ или платформы рухнут, не устоят против западной мобилизации? На платформах не дремлют — там по телефону слушают прения конгресса, там радость: на конгрессе намечается раскол, алтайцы обвиняют курганцев в симпатиях к синдикатам. «Курган сам завтра будет синдикатом!» — крикнул один из алтайцев, но кооперативный конгресс делает гигантскую ставку: он устанавливает миллионный штраф за нарушение лэбеля, штраф гарантируется районными союзами. Платформы демонстративно переносят центральную организацию в Курган...

Третий конгресс — рабочий международный съезд; это первые заседания Интернационала, когда прения

ведутся на международном языке, который составил из комбинаций русского с американско-английским. Весь последний год во всех странах шли съезды и референдумы. И теперь Интернационал спокойно принимает решение за мировой рабочий класс: он решил биться за немедленное образование международного совета, который должен объявить себя собственником угля, хлеба, кислорода и огня.

«Интернационализация».

Слово произнесено...

Мир живет накануне новых потрясений, смелых жестов, дерзких вызовов.

Но неумолимый экспресс мчится.

Экспресс летит.

К Якутску.

Здесь от Иркутска к северу по всему матерiku идет однорельсовая дорога; местами рельс идет внизу поезда, местами вверх. Этому пути не страшны снежные заносы.

На Витиме стоит золотая столица Бодайбо.

По одну сторону ходят черные рабочие поезда и великаны-машины, бьющие почву и моющие золото; здесь пыль, грязь, сырость и стон... По другую сторону горят шпили домов золотой резиденции. На работу в Бодайбинский район согнаны китайцы, африканцы, индийцы, якуты, индусы, и сюда же доставлены партии закованных каторжан. Кто хочет знать, чем отличается рай от ада, пусть идет в Бодайбо и посмотрит сначала на один берег, потом на другой. Одно время в «раю» пронеслась тревога: заговорили о нападении на синдикат «Золото» со стороны «Руды», но государства не решились отступить от принудительного денежного курса, и «рай» опять зацвел, и опять появились золотые яблоки!..

Экспресс мчится сквозь горные хребты, катит с вершины на вершину.

Куда, куда ты летишь? Что это? Семафоры или звезды?

Экспресс в Якутске.

Не город, а сказка.

Его теперь часто зовут «карточным домиком». Кто был в Якутске в начале двадцатого века — не узнает его. Нет проток, нет болот, улетучились озера: все высушено, вымыто, прибрано. Город распланирован правильными домами, домами-кварталами, сделанными целиком из бумаги. Город рекламы. Якутск стал бумажным центром. Необъятная тайга вся скуплена «Бумагой», и теперь на бумажных фабриках в Якутске делают из бумаги газетные листы, мебель, вагоны, суда, дома и дороги. С тех пор, как Америка и Азия перешли к бумажной стройке, все металлы задрожали за свою будущность. И, может быть, этим объясняется, как легко иркутская «Платформа» справилась со «Сталью».

От Якутска дорога к морю.

Охотск.

Здесь два чуда: искусственное озеро и аквариум, где хранится и культивируется рыба Тихого океана. Летом здесь функционируют рыбные погребки с температурой до двадцати градусов ниже нуля.

Дальше же, однако, дальше.

Город буржуазной неги — Гижигинск.

Зимой в Гижигинске собирается знать с платформ и занимается полярной охотой и спортом. Теперь у спортсменов нет высшего удовольствия, как гоняться на оленях, собаках, моторных санях по северной тундре и занесенному снегом океану. Летом в Гижигинске собирается цвет буржуазного общества для лечения в горячих источниках. И как-то не по вкусу пришлось королям золота, когда союз сибирских печатников построил в Гижигинске дом для своих членов — больных туберкулезом.

Еще несколько взмахов экспресса, и мы в новом городе «Энергия», основанном на пустом месте. Здесь скрещиваются двадцать железнодорожных путей, идущих из Камчатки. Все ее сопки давно одеты стальными и асбестовыми кожухами, жар земли собирается, немедленно трансформируется и переводится в энергию. Камчатка, в которой нет ни одной квадратной версты без рельсовых путей, когда-то называлась кочегаркой мира: тогда здесь добывалось только тепло. Теперь «Энергия» переводит теплоту во все виды механической энергии.

Кто хочет видеть новые великаны строительного дела, кто хочет знать величие и мощь огня — пусть едет на Камчатку. Но туда должен поехать всякий, кто заинтересуется новой битвой «Огня» с «Углем». Это к «Огню»-то подбирался конгресс Интернационала в Иркутске. И носят слухи, что заправили «Угля» экстренно установили высокие пенсии горнорабочим и шахтерам...

Между тем называют новые битвы: по всему берегу Великого океана, по всей линии сопок, в Америке, в Китае, на Зондских островах началась постройка тепловых гигантов, и все они бросили вызов Камчатке.

А экспресс уже мчался от этой океанской драмы, взял курс на самый север и грезит новыми сказками.

Экспресс весь земной, весь человеческий. Он бурлит, он просит неслышанного стального топота, взмаха подземных кипящих морей, дыхания лавы.

Ох, он хочет прорезать всю землю, облить ее своим жарким дыханием, отдать ей всю огненную страсть свою; он хочет вселить в нее беса холода и беса жара и заставить их вечно биться, он хочет утопить человека в металле, расплавить маленькие души и сотворить одну большую; он хочет заразить камни человеческим голосом, заставить мерзлую землю петь гимны огню.

И потом все смешать, включить исполинские токи, дать волю неслышанному по безумству и отваге, и самому умчаться дальше.

Дальше! На самые рискованные зыби, на край, на дальний-дальний край!

Город Беринга.

Он знает только два лозунга: «К полюсу» и «В Америку».

На его дне воздвигаются новые города. Открытые залежи угля на дне океана теперь пока брошены и забыты: ведь «Уголь» дрожит теперь за свою участь. Но зато воздвигнуты настоящие хрустальные дворцы из морского янтаря. Система ползущих кессонов давно уже позволила подобраться к Северному полюсу снизу, водным путем. А завод, работающий для полюса в Беринге, мечтает о том, чтобы согнать снега с полюса, изменить на-

правление теплых течений в океанах и смягчить весь полярный климат. Теперь в Сибири много говорят о грядущей революции земледелия и садоводства, и на стороне Беринга стоят сельскохозяйственные кооперативы и «Энергия» Камчатки... Кооперативы говорят, что рабочий Интернационал не вовремя стал шутить с «огнем», величайшие мечты Беринга могут застыть... Завязывается новая социальная схватка.

Экспресс же хоронит, хоронит скорее полярные бури. Ему тесно. Он несется к закруглению высокой насыпи, как развернутое верхнее знамя, рокошет по рельсам, с бушующей стальной песней влетает на мост, с моста в морской туннель — от Беринга в Аляску.

Постройка туннеля стоила двух тысяч жизней: полтысячи погибло от полярных холодов и полторы пожрал океан в подводных работах. Победа индустрии заставила весь рабочий класс одеться в траур. Но теперь уже нет границ между Старым и Новым светом. Туннель стал символом рабочего единения.

Перед туннелем у Беринга маяк. Экспресс мчится прямо на него.

Гигант, превосходящий все высоты земли и сделанный из бетона, металла, бумаги и льда, предохраненного от испарения.

Маяк направил свои прожекторы на экспресс. Экспресс вольно купается в красных, синих и белых лучах полярного смельчака.

Невольная дрожь охватывает пассажиров. Что будет? Кажется, что маяк все идет, все наступает к полюсу растущим памятником человеку, его движению, его воле.

Мгновение — и экспресс в туннеле. Тихий, ровный свет, тихие тона красок... Но бурно и гулко дышат моторы, накачивающие воздух, и туннель дрожит, как стальной пульс, в спящих океанских водах.

Полчаса — и Америка.



Жизнь мелькает. Люди входят и выходят, умирают и рождаются, расцветает, отцветает весна, гибнут и снова воскресают надежды.

Светлый экспресс летит. Его дорога бесконечна, но и бесстрашие его безгранично. Порой он рушится с мо-

стов в воду на всем ходу. Стоны, крики, смерти... Но снова из глубин бешено вырывается неугомонный поезд, дышит пламенем, поет сталью, колотит и режет камни, врывается прямо в утесы, сверлит их грудью.

Он весь изранен, он полон горя, но, железно-суровый, он скрыл, схоронил в своем пламенном сердце всю боль небывалой дороги... и поет, мятежный, он поет совсем не о былом, совсем не о тяжелых надрывных часах, а о грядущих радостных подъемах и полных отваги и риска уклонах.

ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Несутся годы в напряженной фантастике битв и депрессий. Весь мир — от Нью-Йорка до тунгуза — живет в рискованном действии, в вибрации ожиданий. Войны, перевороты, технический замысел, все смешано в паническом, сурово-радостном и окрыленном людском биваке.

Человечество насторожилось. Оно ждет гудка. Мгновение, — и сквозь смутный хаос этих дней вырвется торжественно-легендарная догадка о грядущем реве событий.

ТЕХНИЧЕСКАЯ ИНСТРУКЦИЯ

«Пачка ордеров» читается ровными отрезками, как бы сдаваемыми на аппарат.

В читке не должно быть экспрессии, пафоса, ложно-классической приподнятости и ударных патетических мест.

Слова и фразы следуют друг за другом одной скоростью.

Идет грузное действие, и «пачка» дается слушателю как либретто вещевых событий.

Ордер 05 может читаться параллельным чтением; фразы подаются с большими паузами, с расчетом покрытия времени ордеров 01—09. Ордер 10 прочитывается в заключение одним первым чтением.

Автор

ПАЧКА ОРДЕРОВ

ОРДЕР 01

Сорок тысяч в шеренгу.
Смирно: глаза на манометр — впаять.
Чугуно-полоса-взгляды.
Проверка линии — залп.
Выстрел вдоль линии.
Снарядополет — десять миллиметров от лбов.
Тридцать лбов слизано, —люди в брак.
Тысяча А — к востоку.
Колонна 10 — на запад.
Двадцать девять тысяч, —замри.

ОРДЕР 02

Хронометр, на дежурство.
К станкам.
Встать.
Пауза.
Заряд внимания
Подача.
Включить.
Самоход.
Стоп.
Полминуты выдержки.
Переключить.
Операция Б.
Прием два, прием четыре.
Семь.
Серия двадцать, в работу.

ОРДЕР 03

Врачи, к шеренгам.
Поднять температуру.
Повысить на девять десятых градуса.
Первому десятку.
Малая пауза.
Повысить сотне Д.
Большая пауза.
Тысяче Е.
К станкам, лопаткам, микроскопам.
Повысить еще.
На пять десятых.
Миллиону С.
Тридцати городам.
Двадцати государствам.
Агитканонада.
Трудо-атаки-экстра.

ОРДЕР 04

Призмы домов.
Пачка в двадцать кварталов.
В пресс ее.
Сплющить в параллелограмм.
Зажать до 30 градусов.
На червяки и колеса.
Квартало-танк.
Движение диагональю.
Резать улицы не содрогаясь.
Лишняя тысяча калорий работникам.

ОРДЕР 05

Панихида на кладбище планет.
Рев в катакомбах миров.
Миллионы, в люки будущего.
Миллиарды, крепче орудия.
Каторга ума.

Кандалы сердца.
Инженерьте обывателей.
Загнуть им геометрию в шею.
Логарифмы им в жесты.
Опакостить их романтику.
Тонны негодования.
Нормализация слова от полюса к полюсу.
Фразы по десятиричной системе.
Котельное предприятие речей.
Уничтожить словесность.
Огортанить туннели.
Заставить говорить их.
Небо — в красное для возбуждения.
Шестерни — сверхскорость.
Мозгомашинны — погрузка.
Киноглаза — установка.
Электронервы — работа.
Артерионасосы, качайте.

ОРДЕР 06

Азия — вся на ноте ре.
Америка — аккордом выше.
Африка — си-бемоль.
Радиокапельмейстер.
Циклоновиолончель — соло.
По сорока башням — смычком.
Оркестр по экватору.
Симфонии по параллели 7.
Хоры по меридиану 6.
Электроструны к земному центру.
Продержать шар земли в музыке четыре времени года.
Звучать по орбите 4 месяца пианиссимо.
Сделать четыре минуты вулкано-фортиссимо.
Оборвать на неделю.
Грянуть вулкано-фортиссимо-кресчендо:
Держать на вулкано полгода.
Спускать до нуля.
Свернуть оркестраду.

ОРДЕР 07

Распределительное бюро на Монблане.
Коммутатор Вашингтон, командуй Америкой.
Радио Калькутта — материком восточным.
Заснуть смене телеграфистов на 2 часа.
Разбудить телефонных девиц на 5 часов.
Поднять авиаплатформы на 10 000 километров.
Отремонтировать 20 миллионов безногих.
Олошадить жителей Австралии.
Омолодить на 30 лет канадцев.
Принять рапорт в три минуты от полмиллиарда спортсменов.
Сделать сводку рапортов телемашинами в 10 минут.
Выключить солнце на полчаса.
Написать на ночном небе 20 километров слов.
Разложить сознание на 30 параллелей.
Заставить прочесть 20 километров в 5 минут.
Включить солнце.
Всем разгоряченным — шаг на месте.
Скомандовать прыжок в высоту.
Выбрать самых пружинных.
Человечество — трубки к ушам и гортани.
Слушайте спортсменов, в их теле поэзия.

ОРДЕР 08

Выстрелить площадь черного.
Кубы желтого швырнуть электрокранам.
На плоскости и кубы разбросать события.
Дать круговое движение.
Пересечь всё по оси.
Двадцать веков в лестницу.
Лестницу ринуть в плоскости.
Дать вращение.
Скорость — миллион веков минута.
Спрессовать.
Дать точку конденсации.
Пауза внимания.
Ввести всё это шприцами людским магистральям.

Поднять бураны на молекулах.
Ввести все это в микроатомы.
Марш магистралей с полюса на экватор.
Встречный марш: с экватора на полюс.

ОРДЕР 09

Открыть битву.
Руками, грудью.
Отставить.
Битва гипнозом.
Маневр назад.
Мобилизовать по четыре магистрали.
Битва силлогизмов.
Показания манометром.
Жечь игрек-лучами.
Усиленно кислородить тылы.
Азотировать противников.
Промыть мозги.
Пауза.
Сбить ориентировку в пространстве.
Включить чувство времени.
Уронить на толпы мрак.
Плотина людей под плотину людей.
Сумасшедшие женщины, рожайте.
Рожайте немедленно, срочно.

ОРДЕР 10

Отрапортовать: шестьсот городов — выдержка пробы.
Двадцать городов задохлись, — в брак.

КАК НАДО РАБОТАТЬ



ЕСЛИ ТЫ ХОЧЕШЬ НАУЧИТЬСЯ РАБОТАТЬ — ЗНАЙ:

первое твоё пробное движение — первое упражнение, — самые дорогие движения в первые дни ты себе даешь обычно установкой, созданию привычки, выработываешь привычку, закрепляешь форму, а потом уже идешь уже совсем простыми движениями. Запоминаешь, как ты берешь рукояток инструмента, определяешь твою стойку, твою посадку тела, следы за глазами и даешь им легкую установку, чтобы довести до совершенства свои движения.

УСТАНОВИВАЙ ПРОЧНО НОГИ, УСТАНОВИВАЙ ЛЕВУЮ РУКУ, УСТАНОВИВАЙ СИЛУ ТЯЖЕЛЫХ ЧЕЛЮСТЕЙ И ЭКОНОМИЧНО СИЛЫ ТЯЖЕЛЫХ ДВИЖЕНИЙ, СПОМИНИСЬ ХОРОШО УСТАНОВКА В ГОЛОВЕ ДЛЯ РАБОТЫ.

А З Б У К А

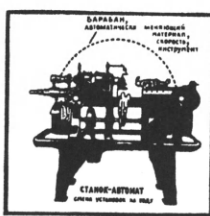
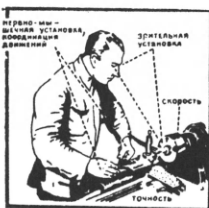
1	Сначала ПРОДУМАЙ всю работу досконально.	ПЛАН
2	ПРИГОТОВЬ весь нужный инструмент и приспособления.	ЗАГОТОВКА
3	УБЕРИ с рабочего места все лишнее, удали грязь.	ЧИСТОТА
4	Инструмент РАСПОЛАГАЙ в строгом порядке.	ПОРЯДОК
5	При работе ты УДОБНОГО ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ тела находишь за твоей установкой, но возмозможности садись: если стоишь, то ноги расставляй, чтобы была Экономная стойка.	УСТАНОВКА
6	Не берись за работу круто, а ИСПОЛЗОВАТЬ . Если надо сильно приналегать, то ПРИЛАДЬСЯ , испробуй на полсилу, а потом уже берись во-всю.	ВХОД в РАБОТУ
7	Не работай до полной усталости. Делай РАВНОМЕРНЫЕ ОТДЫХИ во время работы.	РЕЖИМ
8	НЕ КУШАЙ , не пей, не курь. Делай это в твои рабочие перерывы, не надо.	
9	ОТРЫВАЙСЯ в работе для другого дела.	
10	Работай РАВНО : работа привыкнувшая, скорее попортит и работу и твой характер. Если работа не идет, НЕ ВОЛНОВАТЬСЯ : надо сделать перерыв, успокоиться и снова за работу. Полезно В СЛУЧАЕ НЕУДАЧИ работу прервать.	ВЫДЕРЖКА
11	НЕ ВОЛНОВАТЬСЯ : надо сделать перерыв, успокоиться и снова за работу. Полезно В СЛУЧАЕ НЕУДАЧИ работу прервать.	
12	НЕ СТАРАЙСЯ ее похвастывать, ХВАЛИТСЯ , легче потерпеть в случае ошибки — неудачи, ЛЕГЧЕ СМОТРИ НА ДЕЛО , попробуй сдержаться, себя и снова хвалять работу.	
13	НЕ СТАРАЙСЯ ее похвастывать, ХВАЛИТСЯ , легче потерпеть в случае ошибки — неудачи, ЛЕГЧЕ СМОТРИ НА ДЕЛО , попробуй сдержаться, себя и снова хвалять работу.	
14	Кончай работу и ПРИБЕРИ все до последнего гвоздя, а рабочее место В ОЧИСТИ .	ЕЩЕ РАЗ ЧИСТОТА и ПОРЯДОК
15	Кончай работу и ПРИБЕРИ все до последнего гвоздя, а рабочее место В ОЧИСТИ .	
16	Кончай работу и ПРИБЕРИ все до последнего гвоздя, а рабочее место В ОЧИСТИ .	

Р А Б О Т Ы

Машина работает исправно тогда, когда правильно **УСТАНОВЛЕНА** станция и инструмент.

Машина-автомат работает исправно **БЫСТРО И ТОЧНО** — так задвигая, так и идет — а заводка зависит от установки.

С человеком то же самое: установка тела и установка нервов определяют движение, определяют трудовую стойку. Сначала движущиеся (работы) идет грубо, а потом выработывается **УСТАНОВКА**, движущие идут уверенно, точно и быстро. Установка создается постепенной **ТРЕНИРОВОЙ**. Эту тренировку можно точно рассчитывать. **СДЕЛАТЬ ЛЕГКОЙ** тренировкой же можно воспитать **БЫСТРЫЙ ПЕРЕХОД** от одной установки к другой.



Центральный Институт Труда

Bibliography

- Alberg Jensen, P.
1979 *Nature as Code. The Achievement of Boris Pilnjak 1915–1924*, Copenhagen.
- Alekseeva, O. B.
1971 *Ustnaja poëzija russkix rabočix*, Leningrad.
- Andreev, Ja. A. (ed.)
1926 *1905 god v Kostrome*. Sbornik statej, Kostroma.
- Anweiler, O.
1958 *Die Rätebewegung in Russland 1905–1921*, Leiden.
- Arvatov, B.
1923 Aleksej Gastev. "Pačka orderov", Riga 1921 g. *Lef* 1, 243–245.
- Avrich, P.
1963 *Russian Factory Committees in 1917. Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Band 11, 161–182*.
- 1967 *The Russian Anarchists*, Princeton.
- 1973 *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, London.
- Bailes, K. E.
1977 Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism, 1918–24. *Soviet Studies*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, 373–394.
- Baumgarth, C.
1966 *Geschichte des Futurismus*, Hamburg.
- BBS
1933 *Bio-bibliografičeskij slovar'*. –Dejatelj revoljucionnogo dviženija v Rossii, Moskva.
- Bergman, P.
1962 "Modernolatria" et "Simultaneità", Uppsala.
- Bogdanov, A.
1919 O tendencijax proletarskoj kul'tury. (Otvēt A. Gastevu). *Proletarskaja kul'tura* 9–10, 46–52.
- Bogdat'eva, E.
1918 Poëzija zolota i poëzija železa. *Grjaduščee* 3, 13.
- BPI
1958 *Bibliografija periodičeskix izdanij Rossii 1901–1916*, Leningrad.
- Brinton, M.
1971 *Fabrikskommittéerna i ryska revolutionen*, Stockholm.
- Brjusov, V.
1922 Včera, segodnja i zavtra russkoj poëzii. *Pečat' i Revoljucija* 7, 38–68.
- Černyševskij, N.
1974 *Čto delat'?* *Sobranie sočinenij v pjati tomax*, T. 1, Moskva.
- Cohen, S. F.
1974 *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, London.

- Conquest, R.
1973 *The Great Terror*, New York.
- Čukovskij, K.
1969 *Moj Uitmen*, Moskva.
- Daniels, R. V.
1960 *The Conscience of the Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Dekteva, N. & Talkerin, V.
1962 Ljudi s geroičeskoj biografiej. *Krasnoe Znamja* 156–159 (5, 6, 8 July), Komi.
- Deutscher, I.
1950 *Soviet Trade Unions*, London & New York.
1954 *The Prophet Armed: Trotsky, 1879–1921*, New York and London.
1968 *Stalin*, (Penquin ed.) Harmondsworth.
- Dewar, M.
1956 *Labour Policy in the USSR 1917–1928*, London & New York.
- Devinat, P.
1927 *Scientific Management in Europe*, Geneva.
- Douchin, G.
1958 *The Influence of French Symbolism on Russian Poetry*, S-Gravenhage.
- Drebusch, G.
1967 *Industriearchitektur*, München.
- Drejden, S.
1970 *Muzyka-revoljucii*, Moskva.
- Drjagin, K. V.
1933 *Patetičeskaja lirika proletarskix poëtov*, Vjatka.
- Elwood, R. C.
1977 *Roman Malinovsky: A Life Without a Cause*, New York.
- Èrenburg, I.
1966 *Ljudi, gody, žizn'.* *Sobranie sočinenij*, T. 8, Moskva.
- ESG
1924 *Enciklopedičeskij slovar' "Granat"*, T. 41–1. Priloženie.
- Ežov, I.
1924 Aleksej Gastev: *Poëzija rabočego udara.* *Knigonoša* 2, 10.
- Farber, L. M.
1966 *Sovetskaja literatura pervyx let revoljucii 1917–1920*, Moskva.
- Fedorčenko, L. S. (Čaarov, N.)
1925 *Gazeta v revoljucionnom ognе 1905 g . . Katorga i sšylka*, Vol. 19, Moskva.
- Fedorov, N.
1906 *Večer . . . v 2217 godu*, S-Peterburg.
- Fitzpatrick, S.
1970 *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts under Lunacharsky*, Cambridge.

- Friče, V.
 1918 a Poézija železnoj rasy. *Vestnik žizni* 2, 25–30.
 1918 b Toržestvujuščaja pesnja kovannogo metalla. *Tvorčestvo* 2, 17–18.
- Frolov, S.
 1974 *Tajna bezymjannogo uznika*, Jaroslavl'.
- Gastev, A. K. See Appendix A above for works published before 1920.
- 1921 *PRU*, Saratov.
 1921 *Pačka orderov*, Riga.
 1922 *Kak nado rabotat'. Kak izobretat'*, Moskva.
 1923 *PRU*, 5-e izd., Moskva. *Junost, idi!*, Moskva.
 1924 a Svidanie s Leninyim. *Organizacija truda* 1, 11–13.
 1924 b 2-ja Konferencija po NOT i CIT. *Organizacija truda* 2–3, 2–53.
 1924 c 1-j Meždunarodnyj Kongress po NOT v Prage. *Organizacija truda* 5, 54–59.
- 1926 *PRU*, 6-e izd., Moskva.
 1927 "Pravda" v rabočem kvartale. *Pravda*, 99 (5 May), 5.
- 1964 *PRU*, Moskva.
 1971 *PRU*, Moskva.
 1972 *KNR*, 2-e izd., Moskva.
 1973 *TU*, Moskva.
- Gastev, Ju.
 1978 Sud'ba 'niščix sibiraitov'. *Pamjat'. Istoričeskij sbornik*, Vypusk pervyj, New York, 232–268.
- 1982 Poët rabočego udara. *Russkaja mysl'*, No 3437 (4 Nov.), 10, 14.
- Gořkij, M
 1969 Pesnja o Sokole. *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, T. 2, Moskva, 42–47.
 1970 Pesnja o Burevestnike. *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, T. 6, Moskva, 7–8.
- Gorsen, P. & Knödler-Bunte, E. (eds.)
 1974 *Proletkult 1–2*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt.
- Gray, C.
 1962 *The Great Experiment: Russian Art 1863–1922*, London.
- Grille, D.
 1966 *Lenins Rivale. Bogdanov und seine Philosophie*, Köln.
- Heller, L.
 1981 Zamjatin: Prophète ou témoin? *Nous Autres et les réalités de son époque. Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, XXII (2–3), 137–165.
- Hielscher, K.
 1977 Was Meyerhold machte. *Theater heute*, H. 10, 15–18.
- Hultén, K. G. P.
 1968 *The Machine*, New York.
- Ilimskij, D.
 1916 Ot raspylennosti k organizacii. (Očerki sibirskoj kooperacii.) *Sibirskie zapiski* 1–2, 140–151.

- Il'inskij, I.
1962 *Sam o sebe*, Moskva.
- Ivanov, V. V.
1965 Rol' semiotiki v kibernetičeskom issledovanii čeloveka i kolektiva. *Logičeskaja struktura naučnogo znanija*, Moskva, 75–90.
- Johnson, R. E.
1978 Strikes in Moscow, 1880–1900. *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 5, Part 1, 24–45.
- Josefson, E-K.
1982 *La vision citadine et sociale dans l'oeuvre d'Emile Verhaeren*, Lund.
- Kalinin, F.
1917 Obzor organizacionnogo dviženija vserossijskogo sojuza rabočix-metallistov. *Vestnik metallista* 1, 23–27.
- 1918 a Psihologija industrial'nogo proletariata. *Protokoly pervoj* . . . 1918 b, 82–86.
- 1918 b Put' proletarskoj kritiki i PRU A. Gasteva. *Proletarskaja kul'tura* 4, 13–18.
- Kaplan, I. F.
1969 *Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labour. 1917–1920: The Formative Years*, London.
- Kaun, A.
1943 *Soviet Poets and Poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Keep, J. L. H.
1963 *The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia*, Oxford.
- Keldyš, V. A.
1964 *Problemy dooktjabr'skoj proletarskoj literatury*, Moskva.
- Kellerman, B.
1913 *Der Tunnel*, Berlin.
- Kenez, P.
1977 *Civil War in South Russia 1919–1920*, Stanford.
- Kirsanov, S.
1971 Slovo o Gasteve. *PRU*, 3–7.
- Kleberg, L.
1977 *Teatern som handling*, Stockholm.
- Kulinič, A. V.
1967 *Novotorstvo i tradicii v rusškoj sovetskoj poëzii 20-x godov*, Kiev.
- Lambert, K.
1981 Den praktiske konstruktivisme i Sovjet teori og praksis ca. 1920–1930. *Svantevit* 7:2, 49–69.
- Lane, D.
1969 *The Roots of Russian Communism, A Social and Historical Study of Russian Social-Democracy 1898–1907*, Assen.
- Lelevič, G.
1925 O proletarskoj lirike. *Oktjabr'* 3–4, 188–208.

- Lewis, K. & Weber, H.
 1975 Zamyatin's *We*, the Proletarian poets, and Bogdanov's *Red Star*. *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, No. 12, 253–278.
- Literaturnye Manifesty
 1929 *Literaturnye manifesty*. Ot simbolizma k "Oktjabrju" (ed. N. A. Brodskij), Moskva.
- Lorenz, R. (ed.)
 1969 *Proletarische Kulturrevolution in Sowjetrussland (1917–1921)*, München.
- Lunačarskij, A. V.
 1923 Novyj russkij čelovek. *Izvestija* 53. In *Sobranie sočinenij*, T. VII, 1967 Moskva, 303–308.
 1968 *Vospominanija i vpečatlenija*, Moskva.
- Maier, C. S.
 1970 Between Taylorism and Technology: European ideologies and the vision of industrial productivity in the 1920s. *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 27–61.
- Mailand-Hansen, C.
 1980 *Mejerchol'ds Theaterästhetik in den 1920er Jahren*, Kopenhagen.
- Majakovskij, V.
 1978 Dva Čexova (1914). *Sobranie sočinenij v dvenadcati tomax*, T. 11, Moskva, 22–29.
- Marjagin, G.
 1963 Ovidij mašinnogo veka. *Literaturnaja Rossija* 3, 15–16.
- Mazaev, A.
 1975 *Koncepcija "proizvodstvennogo iskusstva" 20-x godov*, Moskva.
- McNeal, R. H.
 1973 *Bride of the Revolution, Krupskaya & Lenin*, London.
- Mejexol'd, V. E.
 1968 *Stat'i, pis'ma, reči, besedy*, Čast' vtoraja 1917–1939, Moskva.
- Menšutin, A. & Sinjavskij, A.
 1964 *Poëzija pervyx let revoljucii 1917–1920*, Moskva.
- Merkle J. A.,
 1980 *Management and Ideology: the Legacy of the International Scientific Management Movement*, Berkeley.
- Narymskaja Ssylka
 1970 *Narymskaja ssylka (1906–1917 gg.)*. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov o ssyl'nyx bol'sevikov, Tomsk.
- Nazarov, I.
 1957 *Vstreči i pis'ma*, Vladimir.
- Nemcov, V.
 1967 Poët, učenyj, izobretatel'. *Nauka i žizn'* 3, 17–21.
- Nilsson, N. Å.
 1970 *The Russian Imaginists*, Stockholm.
- Pamjat'
 1978 *Pamjat'*. *Istoričeskij sbornik*, Vypusk pervyj, New York.

- Pankratov, A. M. (ed.)
 1954 *Istoria profsojuznogo divženija v SSSR*, Moskva.
- Papernyj, Z. (ed.)
 1959 *Proletarskie poëty pervyx let sovetskoj èpoxi*, Moskva.
 1964 "Volevoe slovo". *PRU*, Moskva, 3–20.
- Percov, V.
 1927 *Sovremenniki. Novyj Lef* 8–9, 75–79.
- Perepiska . . .
 1977 *Perepiska V. I. Lenina i rukovodimyx im učreždenij RSDRP s partijnymi organizacijami 1903–1905*. Sbornik dokumentov, T. 3. Moskva.
- Pethybridge, R.
 1974 *The Social Prelude to Stalinism*, London and Basingstoke.
- Petrov, E. A.
 1973 Neskol'ko liričeskix zamečanj ob Aleksee Kapitonoviče Gasteve. *TU*, 339–342.
- Pletnev, V.
 1919 Verxarn i Gastev. *Gorn*, kn. IV, 24–32.
- Posse, V. A.
 1909 *Po Evrope i Rossii*, S.-Peterburg.
 1929 *Moj žiznennyj put'*. Dorevoljucionnyj period (1864–1917 gg.), Moskva–Leningrad.
- PP* see Papernyj. 1959
- Protokoly Pervoj . . .
 1918 *a Protokoly pervoj vserossijskoj tarifnoj konferencii sojuzov metallistov* sovmestno s predstaviteljami zavodskix komitetov, Petrograd.
- Protokoly Pervoj . . .
 1918 *b Protokoly pervoj vserossijskoj konferencii proletarskix kul'turnoprosvetitel'nyx organizacij 15–20 sent. 1918 g.* (pod red. P.I. Lebedeva-Poljanskogo).
- Protokoly Četvertogo . . .
 1926 *Protokoly četvertogo ob "edinitel'nogo s'ezda RSDRP*, sostojavšegosja v Stokgol'me v 1906 g., Moskva–Leningrad.
- Protokoly vserossijskogo . . .
 1919 *Protokoly vserossijskogo učreditel'nogo s'ezda sojuzov rabočix-metallistov, 15–19 janv. 1918*, Moskva.
- Richards, D.
 1961 Four Utopias. *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 40, No. 94, 220–228.
- Rožkov, N.
 1925 1906-j god. (Vospominanija). *Katorga i ssylka*, Vol. 19, Moskva.
- RP*
 1957 *Russkaja periodičeskaja pečat' 1895–1917*, Moskva.
 Sbornik . . .
 1914 *Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej*, s predislavijem Maksima Gor'kogo, S.-Peterburg.

- Sbornik . . .
 1917 *Sbornik proletarskix pisatelej*, pod red. M. Gor'kogo, A. Serebrova i A. Čapygina, Petrograd.
- Sbornik . . .
 1920 *Sbornik novogo iskusstva*, Xar'kov.
- Sorenson, J.B.
 1969 *The Life and Death of Soviet Trade Unionism, 1917–1928*, New York.
- Sormovskij Bjuulleten'
 1918 *Sormovskij bjuulleten'*, *Organ Črezvyčajnogo Kommissariata pri Sormovskix zavodax*, Sormovo.
- Stenogramma I
 1956 Stenogramma soveščanija s učastiem gruppy b. rabotnikov Central'nogo instituta truda (CIT) po voprosu ob ispol'zovanii naučnogo nasledstva CIT. (23 July), Moskva.
- Stenogramma II
 1962 Stenogramma večera pamjati poëta A. K. Gasteva (v svjazi c 80-letiem co dnja roždenija), (22 October). Central'nyj Dom Literatorov, Moskva.
- Stenogramma III
 1973 Stenogramma večera, posvjaščennogo poëtu, organizatoru i pervomu direktoru Central'nogo Instituta Truda A.K. Gastevu (90-letie co dnja roždenija), (10 January), Moskva.
- Stites, R.
 1978 *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, Princeton.
- Susiluoto, I.
 1982 *The Origins and Development of Systems Thinking in the Soviet Union*, Helsinki.
- Terent'ev, V.
 1975 Korrespondent Lenina. *Volga* 4, 109–117.
- Toller, E.
 1926 *Quer durch. Reisebilder und Reden*, Berlin.
- Torov, M.
 1918 a Poëty iz naroda. *Vestnik žizni* 1, 48.
 1918 b PRU. *Vestnik žizni* 2, 113–115.
- Traub, R.
 1976 Lenin und Taylor. *Kursbuch* 43, Berlin, 146–158.
- Trifonov, N. A.
 1974 *A. V. Lunačarskij i sovetskaja literatura*, Moskva.
- Trillo Clough, R.
 1961 *Futurism*, New York.
- Verdès, J.
 1964 Le syndicalisme révolutionnaire et le mouvement ouvrier français avant 1914. *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, Vol. 36, 117–131.
- Verhaeren, E.
 1906 *Stixi o sovremennosti*, Moskva (Transl. V. Brjusov).

- 1909 *Izdyxajuščija ravniny goroda Čudovišča*, Moskva. (Transl. N.Č.).
Westwood, J. N.
- 1973 *Endurance and Endeavour, Russian History 1812–1971*, Oxford.
Williams, R. C.
- 1972 *Culture in Exile. Russian Emigrés in Germany, 1881–1941*,
- 1980 Collective Immortality: The Syndicalist Origins of Proletarian Culture, 1905–1910. *Slavic Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 389–402.
- Wolfe, B. D.
- 1966 *Three Who Made a Revolution*, (Penquin ed.) Harmondsworth.
- Voloženin, A.
- 1963 Legenda i pravda o proletarskoj poezii. *Russkaja literatura* 3, 16–36.
- Woodcock, G.
- 1962 *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, New York.
- Xlebnikov, V.
- 1920 O sovremennoj poezii. "O stixax". *Puti tvorčestva* 6–7, 70–72. (In *Sobranie sočinenij*, T. 5, Leningrad 1933, 222–227).
- Zamjatin, E.
- 1952 *My*, New York.
- Zolotnickij, D.
- 1976 *Zori teatral'nogo Oktjabrja*, Leningrad.

Index of names

- Alberg Jensen, P. 125, 126
Aleksandrovskij, V. 61
Andersen, H. 126
Andreev, Ja. 120
Andreev, L. 16, 30, 38, 48, 84
Anweiler, O. 119, 120
Apollinaire, G. 84
Arakčeev, A. 71, 125
Arcybašev, M. 30
Arskij, P. 118
Arvatov, B. 127
Aseev, N. 65, 75, 129
Avrich, P. 124
Azef, E. 123
- Bailes, K. 125, 128, 129
Baxrax, N. 118
Belyj, A. 100
Berg, A. 118, 129
Bergman, P. 126, 127
Bernštein, N. 128
Bessal'ko, P. 42, 125
Bexterev, V. 70, 106
Blok, A. 30
Bobrickij 65
Bogat'eva, E. 100, 127
Bogdanov, A. 10, 12, 16, 29, 30, 43,
63, 71, 80, 106, 119, 120, 125
Brinton, M. 124
Brjusov, V. 30, 90, 127
Bursev, V. 54, 123
Burdianskij, I. 107
Buxarin, N. 12
- Cendrars, B. 84, 89
Chagall, M. 84
Cohen, S. 120
Conquest, R. 120
Černyševskij, N. 9, 15, 16, 90, 119,
123, 127
- Čexov, A. 16, 66, 94, 111
Čirkin 57
- Dekteva, N. 119
Delacroix, E. 116
Delaunay, R. 84
Denikin, A. 71
Deržinskij, F. 21
Deutscher, I. 21, 120, 121, 123
Dewar, M. 59, 124
Djakov 65
Dobroljubov, N. 13
Dolgušev, V. 118, 120
Dostoevskij, F. 29, 90
Doubljer 39
Dragomanov, M. 88
Dreyden, S. 25, 121
Dunin-Troickij, A. 118, 120
Durov, V. 112
- Einstein, A. 114
Elwood, R. 121
Ėrenburg, I. 38, 40, 41, 122
Ermanskij, O. 106
Ermilov 65
Esenin, S. 95
Ežov, I. 102, 127
- Fal'kner-Šmit, M. 106, 125
Farber, L. 126
Fedorčenko, L. 119
Fedorov, N. 123
Ford, H. 109
Fourier, C. 90
Friče, V. 99, 100, 127
Frolov, S. 119, 120
Frunze, M. 21, 119

- Gastev, Aleksej A. (son) 116, 129
 Evgenij (half-brother) 12
 Jurij A. (son) 116, 118,
 129
 Kapiton V. (father) 12
 Nikolaj K. (brother) 12
 Petr A. (son) 116
 Vladimir A. (son) 23, 116
 Gasteva, Anna I. (first wife) 23, 116,
 120, 121
 Ekaterina N. (mother) 12
 Sofija A. (second wife) 64,
 93, 116, 118, 124, 129
 Gerasimov, M. 41, 42, 61, 82, 119
 Gilbreth, L. & F. 108, 128
 Gogeliiia-Orgeiani 24, 37
 Gogol', N. 92
 Gor'kij, M. 29, 31, 38, 41, 58, 66, 74,
 76, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 92, 120, 125,
 126
 Gray, C. 118, 124
 Grille, D. 29, 43, 119, 121, 122
 Gronskij, I. 118, 126
 Guro, E. 65

 Heller, L. 128
 Herzen, A. 88
 Hielscher, K. 129
 Hilferding, R. 126
 Hol'zman, A. 55, 57, 58, 124
 Hultén, K. 126

 Ibsen, H. 66, 84
 Ilinskij, I. 128
 Ivanov, V. 125

 Jadrincev, N. 88, 127
 Jaurès, J. 46, 123
 Johansson, K. 118
 Johnson, R. 119

 Kalinin, F. 34, 41, 42, 57, 100, 101,
 124, 127
 Kalinin, M. 25
 Kalmykov, N. 125
 Kaplan, F. 64, 124
 Kedrov, M. 22
 Keep, J. 120
 Kellerman, B. 63, 66, 92, 125
 Keržencev, P. 106, 107
 Kirillov, V. 61, 82, 99, 102, 119
 Kirsanov, S. 98, 118, 127, 128
 Kleberg, L. 128
 Kollontaj, A. 53
 Korn, M. 24, 37
 Kosarev 65
 Kropotin, P. 24
 Krupskaja, N. 16, 17, 21, 120, 129
 Kujbyšev, V. 107
 Kulinič, A. 126
 Kul'tskij, P. 127
 Kuprin, A. 48, 63

 Labutin 128
 Lafitte, J. 10, 118
 La Fresnaye, R. 84
 Lagardelle, H. 24, 121
 Lambert, K. 126
 Lane, D. 119
 Lavrov, P. 119
 Lebedev-Poljanskij, P. 42
 Lelevič, G. 102, 127
 Lenin, V. 12, 14, 16–23, 37, 63, 64,
 72, 111, 120, 121
 Leonardo da Vinci 116
 Lewis, K. 125
 London, J. 66, 120, 125
 Lozovskij, A. 59
 Lučiškin, S. 118, 128
 Lunačarskij, A. 21, 29, 34, 38–42,
 107, 121, 122, 128, 129

 Mailand-Hansen, C. 128
 Majakovskij, V. 16, 65, 78, 81, 94,
 127
 Malaškin, S. 99

- Malinovskij, R. 25, 121
 Marinetti, F. 66, 94, 95
 Marjagin, G. 125
 Maširov-Samobytnik, A. 61
 Maupassant, G. 66
 Mazaev, A. 124
 Mejerxol'd, V. 112–114, 128
 Merkle, J. 128
 Mgrebov, A. 88
 Montegus 39
 Motorin, P. 33
- Nasarov, I. 118
 Nekrasov, N. 85, 92
 Nilsson, N.Å. 127
- Oborin, V. 63, 64
 Obradovič, S. 61
 Ordžonikidze, S. 115
- Pankratova, A. 121
 Papernyj, Z. 16, 118, 119
 Pasternak, B. 65
 Pavlov, I. 70
 Pelloutier, F. 24, 121
 Pel'se, R. 42, 122
 Percov, V. 77, 103, 118, 122, 127
 Petnikov, G. 65, 124
 Petrov, E. 128
 Petrov, V. 118
 Pičeta, V. 65
 Pil'njak, B. 125
 Pletnev, V. 101, 127
 Poletaev, N. 61
 Posse, K. 122
 Posse, V. 31, 32, 121, 122
 Potanin, G. 88, 127
 Puškin, A. 101
- Rictus, J. 39, 122
 Rožicyn, V. 65
 Rožkov, N. 55, 120, 124
- Samobytnik (see Maširov-Samobytnik)
 Sannikov, G. 118, 128
 Sečenov, I. 70
 Sellonik 33
 Sinajskij 13, 14
 Skitalec (Petrov), S. 38
 Sluckij, B. 80, 118, 126, 128
 Sologub, F. 30
 Solov'ev, V. 29
 Sorenson, J. 124
 Stalin, I. 9, 21, 115, 120
 Stites, R. 16, 119
 Stolypin, P. 22, 122
 Strumilin, S. 106, 129
 Surkov, A. 118
 Susiluoto, I. 118, 121, 124, 125, 128
 Suxarebskij, L. 118
 Šaceva, R. 120, 122
 Šatunovskij, Ja. 107
 Šljapnikov, A. 57
 Šmit, F. 65
- Talkerin, V. 119
 Tătlin, V. 84, 118, 126
 Taylor, F. 10, 63, 67, 70, 104, 105, 128
 Terent'ev, V. 119, 120
 Toller, E. 108, 109, 128
 Tolstoj, L. 16, 29
 Torov, M. 99, 127
 Traub, R. 128
 Tret'jakov, S. 112
 Trillo Clough, R. 112
 Trockij, L. 105, 123
- Verhaeren, É. 78, 80, 99, 101
 Verne, J. 62
 Viktorov, P. 17
 Villon, F. 122
 Vlasov, I. 33

Voloženin, A. 127
Vorošilov, K. 21

Weber, H. 125
Wells, H. 62, 66
Whitman, W. 66, 78, 80, 99, 101
Williams, R. 79, 121, 122, 126
Wolfe, B. 120, 121, 123
Woodcock, G. 121

Xlebnikov, V. 65, 78, 101, 102, 124,
127
Xrustalev (Nosar), G. 37

Zamjatin, E. 63, 69, 90, 118, 123
Zola, É. 47
Zolotnickij, D. 126
Železnov, P. 118
Žuravlev, M. 118

Stockholm Slavic Studies

Published by the University of Stockholm

Editors: Nils Åke Nilsson and Anders Sjöberg

1. SVEN LINNÉR, Dostoevskij on Realism. Stockholm 1967. 212 pp.
2. NILS ÅKE NILSSON, Studies in Čechov's Narrative Technique. 'The Steppe' and 'The Bishop'. Stockholm 1968. 110 pp. Out of print.
3. SVEN GUSTAVSSON, Accent Paradigms of the Present Tense in South Slavonic. East and Central South Slavonic. Stockholm 1969. 145 pp.
4. IRENE MASING, A. Blok's 'The Snow Mask'. An Interpretation. Canberra and Stockholm 1970. 100 pp.
5. NILS ÅKE NILSSON, The Russian Imaginists. Stockholm 1970. 117 pp.
6. VELTA RŪĶE-DRAVIŅA, Place Names in Kauguri County, Latvia. A Synchronic-structural Analysis of Toponyms in an Ancient Indo-European and Finno-Ugric Contact Area. Stockholm 1971. 158 pp.
7. BARBRO NILSSON, Old Russian Derived Nominals in -nie, -tie. Syntactical Study. Stockholm 1972. 135 pp.
8. FIONA BJÖRLING, Stolbcy by Nikolaj Zabolockij. Analyses. Stockholm 1973. 112 pp.
9. DAG SVEDSTEDT, Position of Objective Personal Pronouns. A Study of Word Order in Modern Russian. Stockholm 1976. 192 pp.
10. SVEN GUSTAVSSON, Predicative Adjectives with the Copula *byt'* in Modern Russian. Stockholm 1976. 399 pp.
11. VELTA RŪĶE-DRAVIŅA, The Standardization Process in Latvian. 16th Century to the Present. Stockholm 1977. 130 pp.
12. BIRGITTA ENGLUND, Yes/no-questions in Bulgarian and Macedonian. Stockholm 1977. 143 pp.
13. BARBRO NILSSON, Personal Pronouns in Russian and Polish. A Study of Their Communicative Function and Placement in the Sentence. Stockholm 1982. 214 pp.
14. HAGAR SUNDBERG, The Novgorod Kabala Books of 1614-1616. Text and Commentary. Stockholm 1982. 210 pp.

Stockholm Studies in Russian Literature

Published by the University of Stockholm

Editor: Nils Åke Nilsson

Subscriptions to the series and orders for single volumes should be addressed to any international bookseller or directly to the publishers:

ALMQVIST & WIKSELL INTERNATIONAL

Box 62, S-101 20 Stockholm 1, Sweden

Universities, libraries, learned societies, and publishers of learned periodicals may obtain the volumes of the series and other publications of the University of Stockholm in exchange for their own publications. Inquiries should be addressed to Kungl. Biblioteket, Box 5039, S-102 41 Stockholm 5, Sweden, or to Stockholms Universitetsbibliotek, Avd. Odengatan 59, Box 6404, S-113 82 Stockholm, Sweden.

1. NILS ÅKE NILSSON, Osip Mandel'stam: Five Poems. Stockholm 1974. 87 pp.
2. BENGT JANGFELDT/NILS ÅKE NILSSON (editors), Vladimir Majakovskij. Memoirs and Essays. Stockholm 1975. 196 pp.
3. CAROLA HANSSON, Fedor Sologub as a Short-Story Writer. Stylistic Analyses. Stockholm 1975. 136 (+62) pp.
4. SVEN LINNÉR, Starets Zosima in The Brothers Karamazov. A Study in the Mimesis of Virtue. Stockholm 1975. 237 pp.
5. BENGT JANGFELDT, Majakovskij and Futurism 1917-1921. Stockholm 1976. 133 pp.
6. PER ARNE BODIN, Nine Poems from Doktor Živago. A Study of Christian Motifs in Boris Pasternak's Poetry. Stockholm 1976. 179 pp.
7. NILS ÅKE NILSSON (editor), Boris Pasternak. Essays. Stockholm 1976. 214 pp.
8. CHARLES ROUGLE, Three Russians Consider America. America in the Works of Maksim Gor'kij, Aleksandr Blok, and Vladimir Majakovskij. Stockholm 1977. 175 pp.
9. BARBARA LÖNNQVIST, Xlebnikov and Carnival. An Analysis of the Poem *Poët*, Stockholm 1979. 166 pp.
10. NILS ÅKE NILSSON (editor), Russian Romanticism. Studies in the Poetic Codes. Stockholm 1979. 226 pp.
11. NILS ÅKE NILSSON (editor), Art, Society, Revolution. Russia 1917-1921. Stockholm 1979. 271 pp.
12. LUDMILA HELLGREN, Dialogues in Turgenev's novels. Speech-Introductory Devices. Stockholm 1980. 148 pp.
13. BENGT JANGFELDT (editor), V. V. Majakovskij i L. Ju. Brik: Peregiska 1915-1930. Stockholm 1982. 299 pp. (+32 pp. ill.).
14. NILS ÅKE NILSSON (editor), Studies in Russian 20th Century Prose. Stockholm 1982. 246 pp.
15. MAGNUS LJUNGGREN, The Dream of Rebirth. A Study of Andrej Belyj's Novel *Peterburg*. Stockholm 1982. 179 pp. (+8 pp. ill.).
16. KURT JOHANSSON, Aleksej Gastej. Proletarian Bard of the Machine Age. Stockholm 1983. 170 pp.