

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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BOURGEOIS NATIONS
and
SOCIALIST NATIONS

Publisher's Note

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It is well known that hostile relations exist between the various nations in the capitalist world. In the world of capitalism, one nation oppresses another, while within each nation, landlords and capitalists cruelly exploit the working people.

A completely different picture is found in socialist society. Inviolable friendship has been established among the peoples of the USSR and is daily growing stronger, and all these peoples, by assisting one another, have achieved tremendous successes in their economic and cultural development. The peoples of the Soviet Union entertain feelings of friendship and respect for the working people of all other nations; any attitude of disparagement or hostility towards other nations is foreign to them. The fraternal ties of the Soviet people with the working people of the world are of tremendous importance in the liberation struggle against imperialism.

It is therefore the task of the Communist Party and the Soviet people as a whole to strengthen to the utmost the friendship existing among the peoples of the USSR and to

extend their fraternal ties with the working people of other countries. In order to fulfil this task with success, it is essential to know why it is that the relations between the nations of the countries of capital are different from those existing in the USSR, what are the basic features of the nations of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, and what are the basic features of the nations of the capitalist countries.

This pamphlet will deal with the following questions: What is a nation? When did nations arise? Into which two large groups are nations divided today? and Will nations always exist? Marxism-Leninism gives the only correct and scientific answers to all these questions.

1. WHAT IS A NATION?

History shows that nations did not always exist. Mankind travelled a long and complicated road of development before nations appeared.

In the period of primitive communism, people procured their means of existence with the aid of primitive tools. Originally they made use of the simplest stone implements and only considerably later was the bow and arrow invented. Clearly, such a low level of technical development scarcely made it possible for people to satisfy their living requirements. People were half-starved. In such conditions there could, as yet, be no exploitation of man by man, and no man could live at the expense of another, because neither could procure more than was sufficient to keep him alive. At the same time, with their primitive stone tools, it was impossible for people to singlehanded combat the forces of nature and beasts of prey. Consequently they, lived and worked communally. They had no private property. The tools and products of their labour were communally owned. Everything that was procured was divided equally among the members of the community.

In this period people lived in comparatively small communities — *gentes* and *tribes*, which consisted of people who were related by kinship.

As time went on, the implements of labour gradually improved. Metal tools replaced the stone tools. Livestock breeding, land cultiva-

tion and handicrafts came into being. Men began to procure or make more products than were necessary to satisfy their immediate requirements. It was then that exploitation of man by man became possible. Gradually there arose in society a comparatively small handful of people who forcibly seized communal lands and livestock, who appropriated part of the products of the labour of the other members of the community, forced prisoners of war to work for them, converting them into their own property, into slaves. As technique developed, the working people began to produce more and still more. But this did not lead to an improvement in their well-being, but rather to the further enrichment of the exploiters. The gulf separating rich from poor, propertied from propertyless, exploiters from exploited, increased.

But how was it that the majority of the people allowed themselves to be exploited? The explanation is that those who owned the means of production, those who appropriated the products of the labour of the people who had fallen into bondage and slaved for them, also had armed force at their disposal, and they proved to be stronger. In this way the division of people into classes came about.

With the rise of private property and classes, primitive communism broke up and its place was taken by the slave-owning system, in which small groups of slave-owners had complete ownership of large numbers of slaves: people taken prisoner in wars or who had become slaves through indebtedness.

Under the slave-owning system, tribes became intermingled and merged; as a result of which larger associations of people — *nationalities* — were formed.

These nationalities, like the gentes and tribes, had their own language which was understood by, and was common to, all their members. But the nationalities were not formed on the basis of blood kinship; they were associations in which the tribes ceased to be isolated, and the whole population of the united tribes had one common government. Nationalities were more stable associations of people, but they were not yet nations.

Nationalities existed also under the feudal system. At that time states consisted of the possessions of landlords, in which the peasant serfs were cruelly exploited. The possessions of the landlords were not linked economically, because there was no need for it. Each of the landed estates produced all that the lord and the peasants required, from food to clothing and household articles. Consequently, feudal society was a disunited society. In this period nations could not yet arise. Only with the emergence of capitalism, with the abolition of feudal division, did the nationalities develop into nations. The process of the elimination of feudalism and the development of capitalism is, at the same time, the process of the formation of nations.

But why is it that nations arise only with the appearance of capitalism and why did they not exist earlier?

In order to answer this question it is ne-

cessary to make clear what a nation really is, what its characteristic features are and in what way it differs from other associations of people.

A nation is primarily a definite association of people, a definite *community of people*. Moreover, this community of people appears to be much more stable than the tribe and nationality, which already existed before capitalism.

A nation must not be confused with a racial or tribal community of people.

When one compares representatives of different nations, say the Russian and the Chinese, one is struck by the difference in the outward features of these peoples. And, on the other hand, the representatives of one and the same nation usually have some similarity in certain outward characteristic features. But one must not conclude from this that nations are composed of people belonging to one race or one tribe. That would be wrong.

Races are groups of people who are distinguished by some purely outward features such as the colour of the skin and hair, the facial features, etc. Races existed long before nations arose. Moreover, many present-day nations were formed from people of various races and tribes. For example, the Italian nation was formed from Romans, Germans, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, etc. Similarly the English, French, German and other nations were formed from people of different races and tribes.

Hence, it is not their outward features which unite people into nations. People be-

came formed into nations in the course of the historical development of society. Therefore a nation is an *historically* formed community of people.

However, one cannot call every historically formed community of people a nation. History provides numerous examples where historically formed associations of people did not constitute nations. The great conquerors of the slave-owning period, Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar and others united a large number of tribes and nationalities under their rule. But these tribes and nationalities were not connected with each other economically, they lived their own life and had their own languages. Therefore the empire of Alexander of Macedon and the Roman Empire were not nations, but only temporary and unstable associations created by means of military power. They had no economic basis of their own and therefore became united or fell apart according to the successes or the defeats of one or other conqueror.

As distinct from temporary associations of this sort, the nation is a historically formed *stable* community of people.

At the same time, not every stable community of people makes a nation. Czechoslovakia, for example, is a stable community of people, but its population consists not of one nation, but of two (Czechs and Slovaks). The nation differs from the state in that the nation must have a common language, while a common language is not indispensable to the state. There are not a few states consisting of several

nations, each of which has its own language.

One of the most important features of a nation is a common language. Each nation has its own national language, understood by, and native to, all its members. This, however, does not mean that different nations necessarily speak different languages. And people speaking one and the same language do not always constitute one nation. For example, the British and Americans speak one language, but they constitute two different nations.

Why does this happen? Because the British and Americans do not live together but inhabit different territories. The point is that a nation is formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse among people, as a result of people living together generation after generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory. Therefore, *every nation, besides having a language common to all its members, must also have a common territory.*

However, even this is not enough: the existence of a common language and a common territory still does not create a nation. People can be split up among themselves even when they live on one territory and have one language. It was so under feudalism, when each separate estate under a feudal landlord developed independently and had almost no need of the articles and products of other feudal estates. *Nations are formed only when people living on one territory and speaking one language are also united by economic ties.*

These ties arise when the separate parts

of the territory inhabited by people speaking a common language are united into a single whole as the result of the development of trade, communications, etc. All this takes place with the development of capitalism.

In the course of the development of capitalism, separate economies, separate regions of the country, began to specialize in the production of a definite kind of output. For example, in a region where there were deposits of iron ore, metal articles were produced, in another where there were fine pasture-lands, the population engaged primarily in livestock farming. This specialization brought about the need for exchange, for trade. People needed commodities which they themselves did not produce. They began to obtain these commodities in exchange for those which they themselves produced.

With the development of capitalism, technique took a huge stride forward. The hand distaff gave way to the spinning jenny, the hand weaving-loom to the machine loom, the blacksmith's hammer to the steam hammer, the windmill to the steam mill. In industry there was the transition from handicraft workshops to huge factories and mills. The development of industry, the growth of the towns and the urban population demanded a considerable increase in agricultural production, the promotion of trade and communications between the regions. The towns became economic, trading and cultural centres which attracted the rural population of the country.

All this inevitably led to the elimination

of feudal division, to the development of economic ties between the separate regions, to the unification of local markets into one nationwide market.

Thus it was capitalism that united the people speaking one language and living on one territory with the bonds of economic ties, of trade relations, and so created a common, national economic life.

Besides the above, one must also bear in mind the specific features of the spiritual physiognomy of the people united in the nation, their national character or, as is sometimes said, the psychological make-up of the nation. It is not only a common language, a common territory and a common economic life that unites people into a nation. *Each nation has also its own peculiar psychological make-up, its spiritual physiognomy.*

The psychological make-up, the spiritual physiognomy of a nation manifests itself primarily in its culture: in the specific national features of its literature, music, etc. Everyone knows that the characteristic features of the songs, for example, that different peoples sing depend on the nation of the people who created them. Thus, Russian folk songs are smooth, pensive and melodious; Moldavian—passionate and tempestuous, but at the same time melodious. Songs, therefore, like all the culture of any nation, have their specific features. It is these specific features of the culture that express the psychological make-up of the given nation.

The psychological make-up is a reflection

of the conditions of life of a nation. It is developed in the process of the prolonged common life and struggle of people speaking one language and inhabiting one territory. Thus, for example, in the course of several centuries the great Russian people developed a psychological make-up, the characteristic features of which are a clear brain, steadfast character and tremendous stamina in struggling against difficulties.

We now know all the features of a nation.

Thus, the people comprising a nation always have a common language, native to them; they have a common territory; the economy, the economic life of the nation is a single whole, the separate sections of the people are linked economically; each nation has its own specific features of character, the psychological make-up.

The Marxist-Leninist conception of what a nation is was comprehensively elaborated by V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin. In their writings, for the first time in history, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin gave a strictly scientific and precise definition of a nation.

*“A nation is an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.”*¹

Every nation must necessarily have all the four features given in this definition. If any group of people lacks even one of these fea-

¹ J.V. Stalin, Works, Moscow 1953, Vol. 2, p. 307.

Such is the picture presented by classes in the new, socialist nations. Such is the position of the working people in these nations.

When speaking of socialist nations, we must point out that the victory of socialism brought about profound changes also in the sphere of culture, in the spiritual physiognomy of the nations, in their psychological make-up.

In bourgeois-landlord Russia, the peoples were unable fully to develop their natural talents. Tsarism was the enemy of popular education. Many nationalities had no written language of their own and the literacy of the population was extremely low. In Kazakhstan, for example, only 2 per cent were literate before the revolution, in Uzbekistan 1.6 per cent, and in Kirghizia a little more than one-half per cent. In the whole of Russia there were only 91 higher educational institutions, while in what are now the Byelorussian, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Turkmen, Tajik, Kazakh, Kirghiz and Uzbek Republics there was not a single higher educational institution.

During the years of socialist construction in the Soviet Union a great cultural revolution has taken place which has abolished, for all time, the former ignorance of the masses of the people.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government have consistently pursued, and continue to pursue, a national policy which aims at developing to the utmost the socialist nations, their culture, their languages. In the USSR there is complete freedom for developing all national languages, and the most ad-

vanced culture in the world has emerged.

Under the Soviet system the national republics and regions have become covered with a wide network of schools and higher educational institutions. The Soviet Union is now a country with 100 per cent literacy. More than 57 million people are being given different forms of education in the Soviet Union, including more than 3 million who are studying in higher educational institutions and technical secondary schools. The number of students attending higher educational institutions in the USSR is 50 per cent greater than that in all the European capitalist countries taken together.

Since 1949, universal compulsory seven-year education has been introduced in the countryside, as it has in the towns. But this is only the beginning of the work of raising the cultural level of the Soviet people. A decision of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provides that, in the current five-year plan period, universal compulsory ten-year education will be introduced in the capitals of the Republics, Regions and Territories and also in the large industrial centres. In the next five-year plan period (1956-60), it is planned to have universal ten-year education in the remaining towns and rural districts.

There are Academies of Sciences in 12 Union Republics, and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the remaining Union Republics and in several Autonomous Republics. There are twice as many scientific work-

ers in the four Academies of the Central Asian Republics alone as there were scientific workers in the whole of Tsarist Russia. Literature, the cinema, theatre, music and painting are developing rapidly in all the Soviet Republics, and the number of clubs, libraries, palaces of culture and village reading-rooms is growing year by year. Electricity and the radio have penetrated to all the corners of the far-flung land of soviets. In their own languages, the peoples of the USSR read books, newspapers, periodicals, classics of the great Russian literature, books by Soviet writers in all the fraternal republics of the USSR, and the great works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In the Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, for example, the works of Lenin and Stalin have been translated into the seven languages of the small peoples living there: the Lesgin, Kumyk, Avar, Lak, Darghin, Tabasaran and Tata.

All this is clear proof of the splendid results of the cultural revolution carried out by the Communist Party in the course of building socialism in the USSR.

With its tremendous work of education, the Communist Party has introduced profound changes in the minds of the Soviet people. The Party's educational work is being continued and intensified at the present time. The survivals of capitalism, the relics of religious superstitions, of nationalism, petty-bourgeois habits and the private-property outlook are being steadily overcome in the minds of the Soviet people.

Under the Soviet system the peoples of the USSR have preserved the finest features of their own national character, features which they developed before the revolution in the struggle against internal oppressors and foreign invaders. At the same time, they have acquired features characteristic of socialist nations: deep loyalty to the socialist Motherland and unbending will for victory in the struggle against enemies, profound respect for other nations, etc. A.A. Zhdanov spoke eloquently of the changes in the spiritual physiognomy of the Russian nation in conditions of socialist society: "We are not the people we were yesterday, and tomorrow we shall not be what we are today. We are not the same Russians we were before 1917 and this Russia is already not the same, and our character is not the same. We have changed and grown together with those magnificent transformations which have radically changed the physiognomy of our country."

Together with the profound changes in the economy, class composition and spiritual physiognomy of the nations, radical changes have also come about in the sphere of relations between the nations.

In the USSR the former national isolation has vanished, distrust among nations has disappeared and fraternal cooperation has been ensured. Public ownership of the means of production has united the interests and desires of the peoples of all nationalities and rallied them into one family having a common aim.

In the Soviet Union, equality of all races

and nations, big and small, is the law. Under the Constitution of the USSR, all nations and races, irrespective of their position, past or present, irrespective of their strength, enjoy equal rights in the economic, social, political and cultural life of society.

In the Soviet multinational state, conditions are assured for the free development of all nations, big and small. To ensure in practice the equality of nations and satisfaction of their national requirements, there is a special Chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities, which forms part of the Supreme Soviet, the supreme legislative organ of the USSR. To this Chamber every Union Republic, irrespective of the size of its population, sends 25 deputies, each Autonomous Republic — 11 deputies, each Autonomous Region — five deputies, each National Area — one deputy. The working people of all the nationalities of our country are represented in the Soviet of Nationalities.

Such equality of rights for all nations is not to be found in any bourgeois multinational state, just as it could not exist in bourgeois-landlord Russia.

The leading nation among the peoples of the USSR is the great Russian nation, the most outstanding of all the nations constituting the Soviet Union. But this does not mean that the Russian nation has any special rights compared with other nations. All the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union have equal rights. The Russian nation is simply the elder brother, the assistant, the friend and adviser of the peoples of the USSR. The peoples of

the land of soviets owe their liberation from class and national oppression to the Russian nation. The great Russian people was always in the vanguard of the struggle of the peoples of Russia against Tsarism, feudal bondage and capitalist slavery. The working class of Russia, under the leadership of the Communist Party, led the peoples of the country to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Russian people played a prominent role in building socialism. In the Great Patriotic War, they earned general recognition as the guiding force among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Mighty Russian culture is shared by all the peoples of the land of soviets. It has a tremendous, beneficial influence on the development of their national cultures. Russian scientists and workers in art and culture render day-to-day assistance to the scientific research institutes, educational institutions, theatres and other institutions for culture and education to be found in the Soviet Republics. The peoples of the Soviet Union voluntarily chose the Russian language as a means of intercourse among the different Soviet nations. Millions of people of all nationalities study it in the Soviet Union. It is loved by all the people, and it has become a second language of each of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

Under the Soviet system the socialist nations are advancing towards the complete, all-round development of all their forces. The dignity of each nation is held high in the USSR — there is no division of nations into

dominating and subordinated nations.

The socialist nations of the USSR proved their indomitable stability and supreme vitality during the years of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against the German fascist invaders and the Japanese imperialists.

We know that before the Great Patriotic War many leading personalities abroad erroneously considered that the Soviet Union was an artificial and fragile structure. When the Hitlerites began their war on the Soviet Union, they reckoned that they would be able to cause enmity within the fraternal family of peoples of the USSR, to sow national strife and mutual distrust, to the point that the Soviet multinational state, at the first serious test, would break up.

Like the German fascists, many leading personalities abroad judged the Soviet state by their experience of bourgeois countries where contradictions and strife among nations is a typical feature. They did not take into consideration the fact that with the victory of the October Revolution new, socialist nations arose and developed in the Soviet Union, nations incomparably more closely-knit and stable than any bourgeois nation.

The Soviet state system withstood the heavy trials of war with honour.

During the war years, when the country was in danger, all the peoples of the USSR, irrespective of national distinctions, unani- mously went into battle against the hated enemy. They became still closer rallied in one single, friendly family round the Communist

tures, it cannot be called a nation.

We have already said that nations did not always exist but arose at a definite stage of historical development. In the pre-capitalist period nations could not be formed, because at that time there were no national markets as yet, no national centres of economy and culture, that is to say, there did not exist all that which abolishes the economic disunity of the people and draws together its separate parts into one national whole.

Thus, for example, before the rise of capitalism, the French had a common language and common territory, and certain spiritual features common to all the representatives of that people. But they still did not constitute a nation at that time, because they were not united by economic ties, because the separate parts of France were economically isolated from each other.

Before the rise of capitalism various peoples gradually acquired only particular features of those which are characteristic of a nation. A language common to the whole people developed, a definite territory was settled on or won in battle against enemies, the features of the character of the given people were shaped. The final formation of the nation, however, is bound up with the rise and development of capitalism.

The development of capitalism did not take place simultaneously in the different countries. In some countries capitalism began to develop earlier, in others later. In many colonial countries, oppressed by imperialism,

capitalism is still very insufficiently developed even today. Consequently, nations also arise at different times in different countries.

In the countries of Western Europe, where capitalism began to develop earlier than elsewhere, many nations made their appearance in the 17th and 18th centuries and also in the first half of the 19th century. In Russia, where capitalism began to develop subsequently, many nations took shape somewhat later. The Russian nation was the first to arise in Russia. It began to take shape approximately in the 17th century when an all-Russian market began to be formed and the scattered existence of the separate principalities began to be a thing of the past. The Georgian nation arose in the second half of the 19th century. Of course, Georgians lived on a common territory and spoke a common language even before that, but in the period of feudalism they were scattered over a number of principalities which were isolated from one another and could not share a common economic life. Only with the fall of serfdom, the development of means of communication and the rise of capitalism was economic community established, and the economic isolation of the principalities shattered, and they became bound together into a single whole. Beginning with the second half of the 19th century, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Tatar, Bashkir, Uzbek, Kazakh, Azerbaijan, Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian and other nations arose in a similar way.

Today many different nations exist in the

world and each of them has its own specific features. But all these nations can be divided into two large groups: bourgeois and socialist nations.

The French, British, Italian, American and other nations living under capitalist conditions are examples of bourgeois nations. The Russian, Ukrainian, Tatar, Armenian, Georgian and other nations in Tsarist Russia were also bourgeois nations.

The fate of the bourgeois nations is linked with the fate of capitalism. Capitalism will inevitably perish and be replaced by socialism. Nations, therefore, must also undergo radical changes, as a result of which socialist nations will be formed.

The bourgeois nation and the socialist nation are two types of nation which correspond to two different epochs in the development of society — capitalism and socialism. Bourgeois nations are as different from socialist nations as socialism is different from capitalism.

Let us see what these two types of nation are and what the difference between them is.

2. WHAT ARE BOURGEOIS NATIONS?

We already know that in bourgeois nations community of economic life — economic ties between the sections of a particular people — is created by capitalism, is reached on the basis of the capitalist system of economy.

Therefore, it is characteristic of bourgeois nations that their chief, guiding force is the bourgeoisie.

That is understandable. In capitalist society, the means of production — factories, mills, railways, land and its riches — are the private property of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie also controls the vast state apparatus — the army, police, courts, prisons — which it uses to protect its own class interests and to suppress the mass of the working people. Finally, the schools, newspapers, periodicals, theatres, cinemas and broadcasting systems are also in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and through them the bourgeoisie disseminates its ideas and tries to persuade the working people that the capitalist system is eternal and that private property is sacred and inviolable.

In capitalist countries all wealth is produced by the hands of the industrial workers and working people generally, but is appropriated by the exploiters. In the United States, for example, 92 per cent of the wealth of the country belongs to a handful of idlers who comprise 13 per cent of the population, while the remaining 87 per cent of the population have only 8 per cent of the wealth. In Britain,

one-tenth of the population owns nine-tenths of the wealth of the country. In Italy, each peasant has about an acre of land while each landlord owns more than 500 acres. A similar situation exists in every one of the other bourgeois nations.

The bourgeoisie, which stands at the head of the bourgeois nations, has oppressed and continues to oppress the working masses of their country and their nation economically, politically and spiritually.

The insatiable imperialists pursue one basic aim: to acquire maximum profit. For the sake of this aim they drain the blood of the mass of the working people and doom them to great suffering, poverty and starvation. Here, for example, is what the Japanese women working in the textile mills write about their life: "The cruellest thing for us, more than 500,000 workers in the textile industry, is that we have to shoulder a burden which is beyond our strength, we are forced to work in horrible conditions, our food is worse than prison food, we are kept under lock and key and we are treated like animals. At work we are constantly intimidated and told that if we do not pull our weight we shall be dismissed; our labour is being intensified in ever more monstrous forms... The girls, who are tricked by the labour-recruiting officers into becoming spinners or general textile workers, are compelled to work late into the night on forced labour, yet when there is a slump, they are driven out into the streets and, because they have no other way out, they become pros-

titutes. That is what happens to girls who find themselves in the textile industry.” This letter from Japanese textile workers throws a vivid light on the position of the working people of the bourgeois nations.

The impoverishment of the mass of the working people of the bourgeois nations is steadily increasing. The imperialists are now preparing for a new war and all the colossal expenditure connected with this is heaped on to the shoulders of the working people. That is why taxes are rapidly increasing in the countries of capital, prices of consumer goods are rising, the wages of workers and salaried employees are falling, and the already miserable incomes of the peasants are diminishing.

The mass of the working people of the bourgeois nations are oppressed not only economically, but also politically. Although the constitutions of a number of bourgeois states give electoral rights, freedom of speech, press and assembly to all citizens, it is only so in words. In practice the bourgeoisie does everything to restrict the political rights of the working people. More than this, now that preparations for war are afoot in many capitalist countries, the ruling circles of these countries are trying to deprive the working people of all political rights. It is only the class-conscious, organized struggle of the mass of the working people that is preventing this.

The bourgeoisie considers that only those who own capital are really human beings; all the rest are only fit to be exploited. The capitalists show no concern for the protection

of the health of the working people and for their education. It is to the advantage of the bourgeoisie to keep the masses of the people in ignorance, in order to exploit them more easily. That is why in the United States, for example, three million of the adult population have never been to school, 10 million have had such a poor education that they are almost illiterate, and the schools must work in very difficult material conditions. Despite this situation in national education, less than one per cent of the state budget in the United States is allotted to education, while 73 per cent is spent on armaments.

All this indicates that bourgeois nations consist of antagonistic classes: on the one hand there is the handful of the rich, the parasites, the idlers; on the other, the huge majority of the people, dragging out a miserable existence. *The increasingly acute struggle between the exploiters and the exploited is a characteristic feature of the capitalist system and of bourgeois nations.*

Bourgeois nations cannot possess internal solidarity. Inside every bourgeois nation there are, as it were, two nations. There is the America of the Morgan and Rockefeller multi-millionaires, but there is also the America of the mass of the working people. There is the France of the Two Hundred Families of big capitalists, and there is the France of the workers and peasants who form the vast majority of the nation.

The struggle between these two Americas, these two Frances, that is to say between the

mass of the working people and the exploiters, grows more and more acute.

The masses of the people cannot tolerate their degrading situation forever and submissively shoulder the burden of hardship and privation. They are struggling for their rights and for improvements in their standard of living.

This is shown by the fact that, for example, in 1953 there were 5,100 strikes in the United States, with two million people taking part in them.

The French working people are waging a successful fight for peace, democratic rights and an improvement in their standard of living. The strike movement in France reached particularly great dimensions in August 1953 when more than four million workers and salaried employees joined in a general strike. The strike movement is extending in Great Britain, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries.

Inside the bourgeois nations the proletariat is becoming increasingly imbued with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; its Marxist parties, trade-union and other organizations are growing stronger; it is rallying the peasantry to its side and contacting the working people of other nations and other countries, and it conducts a more and more active struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The struggle for peace that is taking place today also clearly reveals the fact that the bourgeois nations are split into two irreconcilable camps. Inside each bourgeois nation

there is a camp of those who support peace and a camp of those who support war. The struggle between them is becoming ever more acute.

Because of the sharpening struggle between the exploiters and exploited, the bourgeoisie and its lackeys are making full use of everything they have at their disposal in order to save capitalism. They are trying to persuade the mass of the working people that it is possible to establish class peace inside the nation, that brotherhood and cooperation between exploiters and exploited is possible. But it is becoming more and more difficult to use this lie to deceive the masses. And so, not satisfied with lying propaganda alone, the imperialists are using methods of violence. They are banning and terrorizing progressive organizations, jailing the finest people who speak out for peace and liberty.

The imperialists use police measures to try to force the mass of the working people to give up the struggle against their hated enemies and abandon the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The bourgeoisie also uses other means of prolonging the existence of the capitalist system.

In order to distract the attention of the working people from the struggle against capitalism, the imperialists do everything in their power to try to disunite the working masses of different nations and set them against one another.

In the bourgeois multinational states, one dominant nation keeps the other na-

tions in subjection. The exploiting classes of the dominant nations persecute the national minorities, retard their development and suppress their culture and languages. In states of this kind, enmity and strife among nations is inevitable. The capitalists deliberately foster this enmity.

Take as an example a multinational state such as Tsarist Russia was. We know that the numerous non-Russian peoples in Tsarist Russia had absolutely no rights, were subjected to insults, persecution and national humiliation. The languages of the oppressed peoples were suppressed in every way: their use was prohibited in the schools as well as in the courts and other state institutions. The Tsarist government trained the Russian population to regard the Indigenous peoples of the national regions as inferior races, called them "natives," inculcated contempt and hatred towards them and organized pogroms and massacres.

A still more horrible picture can be seen today in any of the multinational bourgeois countries. In the United States, for example, there still exists the outrageous state of affairs where a Negro, purely because his skin is dark, is not allowed to travel in the same railway carriage or eat in the same dining-room as a "white" American. For breaking this "regulation," a Negro may be mercilessly beaten up, thrown into prison or even lynched.

Imperialists do not suppress the national minorities inside their own states only. *It is also a characteristic feature of bourgeois na-*

tions that the imperialists have always pursued, and pursue to this day, a policy of extending the territory of their own nation by seizing foreign national territories. The imperialists make every effort to justify their policy of enslaving and suppressing foreign nations.

They assert, for example, that there exist “superior” and “inferior” nations, that the “superior” nations should rule, while the “inferior” should bear national oppression and national humiliation. Moreover, the imperialists try to persuade the working people of their own nation that their nation is superior to all the others and therefore has exclusive rights. They train the mass of the working people of their own nation in a spirit of suspicion and hatred towards other nations, fanning the flames of hatred and suspicion among peoples.

That was precisely how the German fascists behaved when they wanted to enslave all peoples and secure world domination. We know that when they were preparing for war, they propagated the lying theory that German-speaking people were the chosen, the sole superior nation, destined to be the rulers of all other nations. The German fascists succeeded in poisoning the minds of the German soldiers and a considerable part of the German people with these crazy ideas. They temporarily succeeded in enslaving many European countries. And only the Soviet Union — the state of socialist nations — proved to be able to destroy the fascist plague and rid humanity of the fascist pogromists.

Like the Hitlerites, the warmongers of today also divide nations into “superior” and “inferior.” By dividing nations into “superior” and “inferior” they try to justify the enslavement of other nations by American imperialism.

All these facts show that a struggle is always in progress among the bourgeois nations for the domination of one nation over others.

The cause of this struggle is the endeavour of the bourgeoisie to enrich themselves by exploiting the peoples of other states, particularly the backward states. It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists have enslaved and inhumanly oppressed hundreds of millions of people in the vast colonies and dependent countries.

The history of the British Empire in particular is a definite confirmation of this. Britain was one of the first countries to take the path of expanding her possessions. Britain seized a huge area of colonial territory. On the eve of the Second World War, the British Empire covered approximately a quarter of the surface of the globe.

The desire to seize foreign territories is characteristic not only of the British, but also of the American, French, German and similar imperialists. Greedy and bloodthirsty, they built up their prosperity not only on the exploitation of the working people of their own country, but on the robbery of other nations, on the blood and sweat of the colonial peoples. They plunder and cruelly exploit the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

The imperialists do everything to hamper the economic development of the colonial and dependent countries. They retard the development of industry there in order to be able to export their own goods to those countries and sell them at three times their price. In the enslaved countries the imperialist colonizers have seized vast areas of the finest lands. For example, 75 per cent of the land under rubber plantations in Malaya belongs to the British imperialists. In South-West Africa 40 per cent of the land, and the best land at that, has been taken away from the local population. There is a similar situation in other colonial and dependent countries.

The peoples of the colonial countries are burdened by the yoke of both home and foreign exploiters; they suffer from starvation and disease; they are hopelessly destitute and the imperialists doom them to extinction. The populations of these countries are almost entirely without medical services. In the British colony of Nigeria, for instance, there is one doctor to 133,000 of the population and one hospital bed to 3,700. In Algiers, which is a French colony, there are only 10 hospitals for the population of ten million. In Morocco there are less than 600 doctors for the nine million population, although there are 14,000 police.

Sui Kuang-shun, a Chinese peasant, writes as follows of the hard conditions of life in China when that country was still enslaved by the imperialists: "I used to be a farm labourer. I had no home and no land. I worked

for the landlord for 34 years, from the age of 17. I could only earn one *tan* of maize during the whole season (a *tan* is about 132 pounds). My wife and children had to go to the fields each day to gather roots, which was our food when there was no grain. My children never wore new clothing. The old jackets and trousers I had already worn for three or four winters were made over for clothing for them. We lived in a dark, damp and dilapidated hovel. When the rains came there was as much water in it as in a leaky boat. We had no possibility of lighting a Lamp in the house.”

For Sui Kuang-shun, as for all other Chinese people, this miserable existence is now a thing of the irrevocable past. The Chinese people have ended their state of slavery and are living a new life. But millions of people of the oppressed nations are still living in the terrible conditions of colonial slavery.

The oppressed people have never reconciled themselves to their position of slavery. Today they are intensifying their resistance to the imperialists. Their national-liberation struggle, particularly since the Second World War, has developed on a scale never witnessed before.

The rise of the national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples is leading to a weakening of old colonial states like Britain, France and Holland. In the past, the might of these countries was based on the exploitation of the peoples of many colonies.

Today the British, French, Dutch and other imperialists are not able by their own

efforts to cope with the growing national-liberation movement of the peoples. And so they are appealing for support to the United States imperialists and with their aid are trying to mercilessly suppress the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. They are also seeking American aid in the struggle against the working people of their own countries.

Today, American imperialism is the chief enemy of all nations, of all the peoples of the world. The United States imperialists imagine themselves to be the “superior race” and are endeavouring to establish their world domination. They are planning to plunge humanity into another world slaughter and they want to bring about the forcible enslavement and plunder of the peoples of the world.

Never before has any capitalist country oppressed such a vast number of nations as the United States is doing today.

For more than half a century now the imperialists of the United States have ruthlessly exploited the peoples of their colonies — Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Long ago they subordinated to themselves many South American countries as well. The American multi-millionaires are establishing their domination over the Canadian economy and are penetrating more and more into Australia and New Zealand. They are making Greece and Turkey into their colonies.

The American imperialists are, moreover, seeking to obtain a dominant position in the economy and political life of big bourgeois states which have existed for a long time: Brit-

ain, France, Italy, Japan and others.

The rulers of the countries which have become dependent on the United States do not value the national interests of their states and sacrifice them easily enough. They are counting on the American imperialists to help them against their own peoples whom they fear more than they fear foreign imperialist enslavement. For that very reason, the rulers of France, Italy, Britain, Japan, West Germany and other capitalist countries have begun to barter away the rights and independence of their own nations in exchange for American dollars. *The imperialists of various nations are joining in alliances which are aimed against the liberation struggle of the mass of the working people and of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.*

The policy of the American imperialists, and of the ruling circles in a number of countries that blindly follow their lead, aims at abolishing the national rights of the peoples and can only end in complete failure.

The mass of the working people values the interests of their own nations, their own culture and their own language. Therefore they are firmly defending the national interests of their own countries.

A spirit of burning hatred against the American imperialists is growing among the peoples. Everywhere the masses of the people are rising against the imperialist yoke, for the right of nations big and small to an independent existence.

And so, what exactly are bourgeois na-

tions? The following features are characteristic of them:

Firstly, the fact that their economic basis is capitalist private ownership and the capitalist system of economy; therefore bourgeois nations are headed by capitalists, who doom the working masses to great sufferings.

Secondly, bourgeois nations, being based on private ownership and exploitation, cannot be internally united nations; they consist of mutually hostile classes, their distinguishing feature is the irreconcilable and ever-intensifying struggle between exploiters and exploited.

Thirdly, in order to distract the mass of the working people of their own nations from the struggle against their hated enemies, the exploiters, the imperialists train the working people not to trust, but to hate, all other nations, and they kindle strife among peoples. In bourgeois multinational states, the exploiting classes of the dominating nations persecute the national minorities and suppress their culture and their languages.

Fourthly, in order to obtain maximum profits, the imperialists pursue the policy of extending the territory of their own nation by seizing the territories of other nations.

Fifthly, in order to maintain their domination, the exploiting classes of the different nations enter into agreements among themselves and form a united front against the mass of the working people.

Such are the bourgeois nations.

What fate does the future hold for them?

Bourgeois nations are not united internally. Inside these nations a fierce struggle is

in progress between exploiters and exploited. This irreconcilable and ever-increasing struggle will inevitably lead to the abolition of capitalism and the triumph of socialism.

Bourgeois nations arose when capitalism appeared and together with it they will disappear. This does not mean, of course, that there will be *no nations at all*. This only means that *there will be no bourgeois nations*. With the rise of socialism, socialist nations will arise which differ radically from bourgeois nations. The experience of the Soviet Union is confirmation of this.

The abolition of capitalism does not take place simultaneously in all countries. But sooner or later it will come about everywhere. Therefore, the number of bourgeois nations will continue to diminish, and the number of socialist nations to increase. The time will come when only socialist nations exist on the earth. The future of all nations is socialism and communism.

The abolition of capitalism and the rise of socialist nations will not come about of itself, peacefully, without struggle. The exploiting classes want to preserve the capitalist system and it is they who have the apparatus of force at their disposal and who will strive hard to prevent their downfall. The first and decisive condition for the victory of socialism and the rise of socialist nations, therefore, is proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the power of the exploiters.

Proletarian revolution cannot be organized at any time, just when it is desired. The ne-

cessary conditions must be present for it. The working people must prepare for revolution, must themselves be carefully prepared for it and should train their loyal ally, the peasantry. The working class cannot be victorious in the revolution without the peasantry. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the decisive force capable of overthrowing the exploiting classes and of abolishing capitalism and, with it, the bourgeois nations.

Further, in the multinational bourgeois states, for the victory of the revolution it is not enough for the proletariat of the ruling nation to establish an alliance with the peasantry of their own nation alone. The proletariat must also establish a close alliance with the workers and peasants of the oppressed nationalities. This alliance can be achieved if the working class has a correct national policy and fights against national oppression. The proletariat cannot and must not support the policy of national oppression, for the workers and peasants of the dominant nation have the same vital interests as the workers and peasants of the oppressed nations. Their common struggle against the exploiters rallies and unites the working people of all nations. It is on this basis that an alliance and mutual support develop between the working people of the oppressing and of the oppressed nations. This alliance is of tremendous importance for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

It should be borne in mind that the victory of the proletarian revolution is not possible without the existence of a revolutionary party

of the proletariat. For the victory of the revolution a party is needed which is armed with knowledge of the laws of the development of society, knowledge of the ways in which the working people can be freed from the yoke of the exploiters. It is Marxist-Leninist science that gives the party this knowledge.

Bourgeois nations cannot of themselves, spontaneously, be transformed in the spirit of socialism. This cannot take place without energetic and determined action by the working class, the mass of the working people. In order to put an end to capitalism and make way for the free development of all nations, their culture and their languages, private ownership of the instruments and means of production must first of all be abolished and public, socialist ownership of the means of production must be established. This task can only be carried out by winning political power, by wresting it from the capitalist minority, and by the majority of the people, with the working class at the head, taking it into their hands.

3. WHAT ARE SOCIALIST NATIONS?

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new epoch in world history. It smashed capitalism in Russia, took from the bourgeoisie and landlords all the means of production — factories, mills, railways, banks, land — and made them the property of the whole people. As the result of the victory of the October Revolution, Soviet power — the power of the working people, government by the people — was established.

The Great October Socialist Revolution delivered the oppressed peoples of Russia from bondage and slavery, freed them and abolished class and national oppression. It brought genuine regeneration to the peoples and gave rise to totally new nations, never before known in history — socialist nations.

Socialist nations are, of course, marked by the same four features (common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up) that are also characteristic of bourgeois nations. However, all the nations which lived in Russia underwent very great changes under Soviet power. The Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Bashkirian and other nations in the USSR are now not at all what they were before the October Revolution. They are not bourgeois, but new, Soviet socialist nations, which took shape and developed after the overthrow of capitalism, after the establishment of Soviet power, and which differ radically from the old, bourgeois nations.

Of course, the socialist nations in the USSR did not become what they are today immediately after the October Revolution.

The radical change in the social, economic and spiritual physiognomy of the old nations, their transformation into socialist nations, took place gradually, as socialist construction progressed in the USSR.

The formation of new nations took place in conditions of acute struggle against capitalist elements in town and country and against their agents in the shape of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite traitors and bourgeois nationalists. While overcoming the furious resistance of class enemies, the Communist Party was also, step by step, carrying out complicated tasks connected with the transformation of nations in the spirit of socialism, and it achieved complete success in this work.

Let us see what exactly these new, socialist nations that have arisen in the USSR are.

The October Revolution and the profound changes it brought about in the life of the peoples of Russia immediately deprived the exploiting classes of the position in the nations which they had occupied under capitalism. *For the first time in history, the leading role in the nations of Russia passed to the working class and its Communist Party.*

This is one of the chief features which distinguishes socialist nations from bourgeois nations, which are headed by the bourgeoisie and its reactionary parties.

While guiding the building of socialism and the shaping of new nations, the Com-

munist Party organized a voluntary union of the peoples and created the powerful, multinational, socialist state we now know as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The formation of the USSR brought into existence the first of a new type of multinational states. The bourgeois multinational states are founded on private ownership and exploitation and constitute a forcible association of nations; the USSR is based on public ownership and represents a voluntary union of socialist nations.

The unification of the Soviet Republics in one union state was an event of historic importance. It facilitated to an enormous degree the solution of the tasks of economic and cultural development both in the separate national republics and also throughout the whole land. It accelerated the formation of the new, socialist nations in the USSR.

The formation of the new nations implied, first and foremost, a radical transformation of the economic foundations of the nations. The task was to abolish private ownership and ensure the absolute predominance of the socialist system in all branches of the national economy of each nation.

The Communist Party's policy of socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture played the chief role in the successful solution of this huge task.

As a result of this policy, the land of soviets was transformed in a very short period of time into a mighty industrial and collective-farming state. In all the Soviet national

republics, socialist industry developed at a rapid rate year by year; strong industrial areas developed, new towns, factories, mills and power stations sprang up. In all the Soviet Republics the collective-farming system has triumphed; it has radically changed the face of the countryside and freed the peasants from heavy labour. Socialist production, furnished with the most up-to-date equipment, has triumphed in agriculture.

The nations and peoples of Russia that were oppressed in the past rapidly develop, thanks to the care and concern shown by the Communist Party and the Soviet government, and thanks to the day-to-day, generous assistance of the great Russian people. In the course of the building of socialism, these nations and peoples abolished their age-old backwardness and are now living a full and happy life within the friendly family of peoples of the USSR.

In Kirghizia before the revolution, for instance, there were only about 50 small handicraft workshops with very primitive equipment. It was an extremely backward border region of former Tsarist Russia. During the years of Soviet power, however, iron ore, oil, engineering, textile, garment-making, boot and shoe, sugar-refining, tinned meat, poly-graphic and other industries have been created there. The industrial output of the Kirghiz SSR in 1950 was 330 times as much as its output in pre-revolutionary times.

Not a single bourgeois nation can dream of economic and cultural progress such as the socialist nations in the USSR are achieving.

While the working people in the bourgeois nations are doomed to poverty and terrible hardships, a steady increase in the welfare of the peoples is taking place in the socialist nations. The whole national income in the Soviet Union is used to satisfy the requirements of the entire population. A large part of that income goes to satisfy the personal requirements of the people; the remaining part is spent on expanding socialist production and on other general requirements of the state, in the interests of the working people.

In socialist society all production is subordinated to the interests of man, to the satisfaction of his constantly growing requirements.

The standard of living of the Soviet people is rising systematically. In the post-war period the prices of consumer goods in the USSR have been reduced seven times, with the result that the population now gets manufactured goods and food at prices which are less than half the 1947 prices.

In Soviet society tens of thousands of millions of rubles are spent annually on social insurance for industrial and other workers, free medical assistance to the population, benefits to mothers of large families and to unmarried mothers.

In all the Soviet Republics the building of houses, schools, crèches, etc., is proceeding on a large scale. The Communist Party and the government are particularly attentive to the health of the people.

It is impossible to compare the life of the

working people of all nations and nationalities in the land of soviets with the impoverished position of the working people of capitalist and, particularly, colonial countries. The life of the former will be still happier and more joyful in the near future, as a result of the fulfilment of measures laid down by the Communist Party and Soviet government, which aim at a steep rise in agricultural output and an accelerated development of the light and food industries.

The transformation of the economy of the Soviet nations led to a radical change in their class composition. In the USSR for a long time now there have not existed even small capitalists in the sphere of industry, or kulaks in agriculture, or private traders. The victory of socialism has brought about the abolition of all exploiting classes in the land of soviets, the mass of the working people have been freed once and for all from exploitation, economic crises, unemployment and poverty. *With the triumph of socialism, the Soviet nations have become solidly united internally and consist of friendly classes, the workers and the peasants and the new, people's socialist intelligentsia which is closely linked with the workers and peasants.*

In the course of the building of socialism in the USSR, the working people themselves — workers, peasants, intelligentsia — underwent profound changes.

The Soviet worker is now not the former proletarian who worked for the exploiters and did not own the means of production. The working class of the USSR has become a

totally new class, free from all exploitation. In alliance with the peasantry, it destroyed capitalism, built socialism and, under the guidance of its Communist Party, is directing the development of Soviet society along the road to communism.

The Soviet collective farmer is now not the old, downtrodden peasant, crushed under the yoke of landlord and kulak. The Soviet peasantry is a collective-farming peasantry free from all exploitation. It lives and works on the basis of socialist ownership, on the basis of collective work and modern technique.

In all the Soviet Republics a numerically large intelligentsia has also grown up, which has developed from among the workers and peasants and truly and faithfully serves the people. It consists of the Soviet teachers, doctors, agronomists, engineers, technicians, scientists, writers, artists, etc.

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people has been shaped as a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR. There is not, nor can there be, such unity in bourgeois nations, for in these an irreconcilable class struggle goes on between the working masses and the exploiters.

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people is an expression of the fact that the workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union work for one and the same goal — communism. All the Soviet people are united by the one desire to strengthen the Soviet system to the utmost, to devote all their efforts to the welfare of their beloved Motherland.

Party and the Russian people. In this common struggle, the friendship of the peoples, which withstood all difficulties and trials, became still stronger.

After bringing the Great Patriotic War to its victorious conclusion, the friendly family of socialist nations in the USSR resumed its course towards the complete victory of communism.

There are many nations, national groups and nationalities in the USSR and each of them has the widest opportunities for further all-round development and increased prosperity.

We know that the territories of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Moldavian Republics and part of the Russian and Karelo-Finnish Republics were invaded by the German fascists and their economy was subjected to terrible devastation. As a result of the heroic labour of their peoples and the fraternal assistance of the peoples of all the Soviet Republics, all these republics have not only restored the pre-war level of economic and cultural development, but have even far surpassed it. The post-war five-year plan was successfully fulfilled by the country as a whole, and by each of the Union Republics, thanks to the concerted efforts of all the socialist nations.

During the years 1946-50 more than 6,000 industrial enterprises, not counting small ones, were restored or built anew and put into operation in the Soviet Union, whereas during the three pre-war five-year plan periods

approximately 9,000 enterprises were built. Large-scale industry now produces every nine days as much as was produced in an entire year by all Russia on the eve of the October Revolution.

Already in 1950, the outstanding successes achieved by the Soviet peoples in the struggle to restore and develop the national economy made it possible to begin the building of gigantic power stations on the Volga, the Don, the Dnieper and other rivers of the Soviet Union. Two years later the great Volga-Don Shipping Canal named after V.I. Lenin, which unites the waters of the great Russian rivers, the Volga and the Don, went into commission.

The magnificent construction projects in the land of socialism are truly nationwide efforts. They are a new, vivid expression of the fraternal cooperation of the Soviet socialist nations. Take the huge construction of the fifth five-year plan, the Ust-Kamenogorsk Hydroelectric Power Station at Irtys (East-Kazakhstan Region). This project was carried out, like many others, with the help of all the fraternal peoples of the country. Side by side with Kazakhs such as Tohtar Slyamov, Kaidar Abilkasimov and others worked the skilled Russian foremen Taras Mekhanikov and Mikhail Dikov, the Uzbek Gappar Alnazarov, the Ukrainian Pyotr Oliferenko, the Georgian Vladimir Chikvaidze and many others.

The socialist nations, guided by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are steadily progressing towards the victory of communism. In their progressive development each of

them has not only left far behind the nations of the dependent and colonial countries but has surpassed in many respects the peoples of the old industrial countries of Western Europe.

The economy and culture of all the Soviet Republics and the material well-being of their peoples will rise to a still higher level with the fulfilment of the fifth five-year plan. Already in 1952 large-scale industry in the Ukrainian SSR, for example, produced 17 times as much as the industry of the pre-revolutionary Ukraine. The output of coal increased more than four times, electricity more than 37 times and the metal-working industry almost 69 times. As regards a whole series of economic indices, the Soviet Ukraine far outstripped France, Italy and other large capitalist countries.

Now that tremendous successes have been achieved in the development of heavy industry, all the conditions exist for organizing a steep rise in agricultural output and in the production of articles of popular consumption, thus ensuring a rapid rise in the level of the material and cultural life of the Soviet people. The Communist Party and Soviet government are aiming at considerably improving the well-being of the people in the next two or three years, securing much greater supplies of food and manufactured goods for the population, namely, meat and meat products, fish and fish products, butter, sugar, confectionery, textiles, clothing, footwear, household utensils, furniture and other consumer goods.

The powerful land of soviets is experien-

cing a flowering of all its forces and is marching forward to new victories. The socialist nations of the USSR are developing, strengthening and prospering. They are vividly demonstrating their solidarity and vitality, their immeasurable superiority over bourgeois nations. A splendid manifestation of the great friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is the fact that the celebration of the glorious 300th anniversary of the re-union of the Ukraine with Russia developed into a most vivid demonstration of the fraternal unity and eternal, inviolable friendship of the free socialist nations.

Friendship and cooperation among the socialist nations is steadily growing stronger.

A striking expression of the genuinely friendly relations among them is the generous and noble act of the Russian people in transferring to the fraternal Ukrainian people one of their finest regions — the Crimean Region. Never before has there been such an example in the history of mankind. It is possible only in the land where all the roots of the enslavement of one people by another have been destroyed, where the ideology of friendship among peoples triumphs.

The indestructible friendship of the peoples of the USSR is the cornerstone of the multinational socialist state and the chief condition for all the successes of the fraternal Soviet Republics.

Just because friendship among peoples is one of the main sources of the strength and might of the USSR, the enemies of the Soviet

Union try their utmost to sow distrust among the peoples of the Soviet Union. To this end they try to use the survivals of nationalism, any signs of a distrustful or condescending attitude towards the representatives of other nations.

Such an attitude is foreign to the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people, yet it can still be encountered sometimes among less politically conscious people who have fallen under the influence of elements hostile to the Soviet system. The Soviet people must fight against this attitude.

The Communist Party guards and will continue to guard the unity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR as its dearest possession and it will continue to strengthen the Soviet multinational state. With friendship among the peoples, the land of soviets fears no enemies, whether internal or external.

The socialist nations of the USSR have gone far ahead in their historical development. But it is alien to them to entertain an arrogant or disdainful attitude towards foreign nations. That is one of the advantages that socialist nations have over bourgeois nations. It reveals, too, the radical difference between socialist nations and bourgeois nations.

The ruling classes of bourgeois nations, in their lust for profits, are not satisfied with exploiting the working people of their own nations but seek to plunder and enslave foreign nations. It is in the nature of the bourgeois nations, led by the bourgeoisie and its parties, to strive to fight for domination over

other nations, to foster hatred among nations. The situation is totally different in the socialist nations. The nature of the socialist nations, guided by the working class and its Communist Party, presupposes a policy of peace and friendship among all peoples.

Citizens of the USSR are educated in the spirit of Soviet national pride, in the spirit of ardent love for the socialist Motherland, in the spirit of life-giving Soviet patriotism. But Soviet people respect the rights and liberties of other peoples, defend their national interests and national independence.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always devoted exceptionally great attention to establishing and strengthening fraternal relations among the working people of all nations. The new Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted at the 19th Congress, state that one of the chief tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union now is to educate the members of Soviet society in the spirit of internationalism and the establishment of fraternal ties with the working people of all countries.

It is foreign to the Soviet state, as a genuine people's state, to seek to seize the lands of other people, to enslave peoples. *One of the most important features of socialist nations is their desire to establish a united front with all oppressed and unequal nations in the struggle against the policy of plunder and predatory wars, in the struggle against imperialism, the bitterest oppressor of nations.*

In the years of the Great Patriotic War,

the Soviet people defended with the greatest courage the honour and independence of their Motherland. At the same time, they rendered selfless assistance to other peoples in their liberation from the fascist vandals. If the Soviet Union had not defeated German fascism and Japanese militarism, there would have been no European countries of people's democracy successfully building socialism today, nor would there have been such a powerful development of the national-liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

By their unexampled prowess in the Second World War, the Soviet people won for themselves the affection and respect of all progressive mankind.

In the post-war period the Soviet Union has been in the vanguard of the people's struggle for peace. The consistent, peaceful policy of the Soviet government arises out of the possibility of the prolonged coexistence of the socialist and capitalist systems, the establishment of normal relations and business connections between all countries.

Expressing the hopes and aspirations of all peace-loving mankind, the Soviet government is exposing the plans of the American and British warmongers.

The USSR consistently advocates a united, peace-loving, independent, democratic Germany and opposes the revival of Japanese militarism. The voice of the peace-loving Soviet Union rings out ever more loudly in protest against the intervention of the imperialist states in the internal affairs of other states,

against racial and national oppression and on behalf of the freedom and independence of peoples.

The Soviet Union persistently demands the cessation of the criminal military operations of the imperialists against the peoples of Asia, exposes imperialist policy in the countries of the Near and Middle East and Africa. The mighty Soviet Union stands firmly on guard for peace, unselfishly defending the interests of peoples, big and small.

The American warmongers are trying to besmirch the truly peace-loving policy of the USSR, to deceive public opinion by alleging that it is not they, but the USSR that wants to unleash another world war. But that lie cannot deceive the peoples, who regard the Soviet Union as the indefatigable fighter for lasting peace and friendship among peoples and who look with affection and hope to the peace-loving socialist power.

From what has been said it is clear that the socialist nations, which first came into being in the Soviet Union, truly differ radically from the old, bourgeois nations.

Firstly, the economic basis of the socialist nations is socialist ownership and the socialist system of economy. In contrast to the bourgeois nations, the socialist nations are headed by the working class and its Communist Party. It is the working class and its party that is the force which consolidates the union of these nations and guides them.

Secondly, the socialist nations consist of the working class, the collective-farming peasantry and the working intelligentsia, united by common

interests. Therefore they are nations that are internally united, free from irreconcilable class contradictions.

Thirdly, the socialist nations know no national oppression. All socialist nations are ensured full equality and all-round, free development. Therefore there is not, and cannot be, any hostility or distrust among socialist nations — there exists close friendship and fraternal cooperation among them.

Fourthly, the desire to enslave other nations is foreign to socialist nations.

Fifthly, socialist nations act in a united front with the working people of other countries, with all oppressed and unequal nations, for peace, democracy and socialism.

4. WILL NATIONS ALWAYS EXIST?

The tremendous successes in the development of the socialist nations achieved in the USSR are of invaluable international importance and have an enormous revolutionizing influence on the peoples of all the other countries of the world.

Pointing to the fact of the tremendous influence of the USSR on the many millions of the Indian people, Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, said:

“For us, the people of India, the manner in which the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, solved the national problem, brought about the upliftment of the former oppressed nationalities, established relations of equality and mutual cooperation with all countries, and championed the principle of national independence and sovereignty for all peoples have been factors of exceptional importance in strengthening our own liberation movement.”

There is now no country in the world where the truth has not penetrated that capitalism means poverty for the working people, national oppression and sanguinary wars, that socialism means the progress and flourishing of all peoples, peace and friendship among peoples.

The tremendous transformations that have been and are being carried out in the land of soviets are the source of the profound affection which the working people of all countries

feel towards the Soviet Union.

Expressing the feelings of respect and gratitude of the Tunisian people, enslaved by the French imperialists, the Central Committee of the Tunisian Communist Party, in its greetings to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, wrote: "Though still in fetters, our people know that national oppression and colonial exploitation are not 'eternal' scourges. The fraternal Union of Soviet Socialist Republics kindles in our people assurance of success in their liberation struggle."

The peoples of the countries of the camp of socialism, the peace-loving peoples of the world, are rallying ever closer round the USSR. It has become the ardent desire of the working people of all countries to visit the Soviet Union, to see with their own eyes the country where there is no exploitation, unemployment and poverty, where people of the most varied nationalities live in friendship and form one single fraternal family. In the post-war period alone, 290 foreign workers' delegations, including 140 delegations from capitalist and colonial countries, have visited the USSR.

The peoples of the world see in the Soviet Union the realization of their age-long aspirations and hopes. They know that the USSR, the great socialist power, their true friend and the faithful defender of their interests, is the bulwark of peace and of the security of nations. The Soviet Union shows them the true road to a free and happy life. The example of the Soviet Union is winning the sympathies of

fresh millions of people.

More than 800 million people, more than one-third of the total population of the world, have already been freed from the chains of imperialism. The peoples of the countries of Central and South-East Europe — Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, East Germany — have thrown off the imperialist yoke and taken their destiny into their own hands. The front of imperialism has been broken in China, Korea and Vietnam, where true people's republics have arisen in the place of colonies and semi-colonies.

Following the road of the peoples of the USSR, these countries have made use of the latter's tremendous experience and, in a short period of time, have achieved great successes. The disgraceful policy of national oppression has been put an end to. The most favourable conditions for the political, economic, land and cultural development of these nations have been created. Firm foundations have been laid for friendship among the peoples living in the countries of the camp of democracy and socialism. In the countries of people's democracy, new, socialist nations are taking shape at a rapid pace.

Not only from the example of the USSR, but also from that of the countries of people's democracy, the working people of the capitalist countries clearly see the results, in regard to national regeneration and development, which the peoples obtain when they take their destiny into their own hands.

The oppressed peoples see that where the working people, headed by the communists, come to power, genuine people's democracy is established, unemployment is abolished, the well-being and culture of the people grow rapidly, national oppression is abolished and completely new, friendly relations are established both among the nations inside the state and among the nations of different states. A living example of these relations is afforded by the USSR, the European countries of people's democracy, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Among these countries, close political, economic and cultural cooperation has been established. For the first time in the history of mankind, a new type of mutual relations among nations of different states has arisen. These relations are based not on exploitation of the weak by the strong, but on complete and true equality, on mutual respect for national interests, on confidence and friendship, on mutual, unselfish aid and the common international policy of peace.

The example of these relations among the countries inside the socialist camp throws into sharper relief the predatory essence of the imperialist policy of domination of certain nations over other nations. The enslaving nature of the unequal agreements which the imperialists impose on other countries, particularly the underdeveloped countries, and which aim at enriching a handful of idlers, is becoming increasingly obvious to the peoples

of the world. For that very reason the peoples' hatred of the imperialist policy of oppression is increasing daily, and their struggle for freedom and independence, for their own bright future, is developing more widely.

The oppressed peoples are fighting firmly against the colonial system of imperialism that has outlived its time, for the national independence of their countries, for democracy and for fundamental changes in social life.

This powerful advance of the national-liberation movement puts an insuperable obstacle in the way of the warmongers, shakes the whole system of world imperialism to its foundations and is proof of the inevitable, imminent breakdown of the imperialist policy of piracy and oppression of peoples.

Everywhere the peoples of the world are arriving at the conviction that it is necessary for the socialist system to replace the capitalist system.

The time is approaching when the exploiting classes will be overthrown in all countries and the bourgeois nations will be transformed in the spirit of socialism. Then the world will become a true realm of the people, where every human being will have the broadest opportunities for a happy life. This world will be free from the tyranny of imperialism; in it there will be no sanguinary wars and exploitation. In that world, national and colonial oppression will be swept away and the fear of the nations in the face of the threat of enslavement will become a thing of the past. On the foundations of mutual confidence there will

arise real fraternal cooperation among socialist nations throughout the world.

The model of this fraternal family of peoples of the future, under communism, can be seen clearly in the cooperation of nations in the USSR.

The experience of the Soviet Union shows that with the victory of socialism, national distinctions, national languages and the culture and customs of people do not disappear and are not abolished. Socialism does not force national features to follow a single, established model, as has been asserted by the enemies of socialism, the enemies of Marxism.

On the contrary, in the epoch of socialism all the conditions are created for the rapid, all-round development of all nations, the flourishing of their culture, the development and enrichment of their languages. But since, in this case, the interests of one nation do not conflict with the interests of the others, since the interests of all nations wholly coincide and merge into one single whole, an unbreakable, fraternal union of the socialist nations arises in the epoch of socialism. Socialism does not divide nations but brings them closer together. It gradually prepares also the conditions for the future merging of nations, their culture and their languages.

The distinctions which exist among socialist nations are not eternal. In the end they will disappear. But that is a matter of the far distant future.

In the period of the victory of socialism in one country, the conditions necessary for the

merging of nations and national languages do not yet exist. Moreover, nations, national distinctions and languages will continue to exist for a long time after communism has become victorious throughout the world.

Under communism, humanity will reach the time when national distinctions and national languages will disappear, and a merging of the nations will come about. But humanity will reach it through the all-round flourishing of all nations and national languages in the world, through the abolition of mutual national distrust and the establishment of equality among nations, through the establishment and strengthening of friendly relations among all the nations of the world.

To give a picture of the development of nations along the road to their merging, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin pointed out that the abolition of national distinctions and the dying away of national languages would not come about immediately after the defeat of world imperialism. And, of course, it will not be carried out by measures of compulsion. To try to carry out the merging of nations by compulsory means would mean ruining the work of organizing cooperation and fraternity among nations.

After the abolition of capitalism throughout the world, there will first take place an unprecedented flourishing of the previously oppressed nations and national languages. That will be the period of the establishment of equality of nations, the stage of the elimination of mutual distrust among nations, the

period of the establishment and strengthening of friendly relations among all the peoples of the world.

Only considerably later will a common language gradually begin to take shape. Obviously, no one will impose it on peoples by force. People will themselves feel the need to have, besides their own national languages, one common international language for convenience of intercourse and close cooperation with one another. This necessity will arise when all the nations of the world are united by a single communist economy, when close economic relations are established among the separate parts of the world.

At first the national languages and the common international language will exist side by side. It is fully possible that at first there will be set up not one world economic centre for all nations, with one common language, but several economic centres for separate groups of nations, with a common language for each group. The languages of these groups of nations will be a step towards mankind's transition to one common world language. They will be richer languages than each separate national language. And this is understandable, for hundreds of nations will take part in the creation of these common languages. Each nation, big and small, will make its own contribution to world culture, to the creation of a world language.

Humanity will arrive at the world language common to all when the world communist system of economy has become sufficiently strong

and communism has entered into the life of all the peoples of the world, when nations themselves are convinced in practice of the advantages of one common language over the national languages.

The merging of nations and the transition to a world language common to all will come about in a natural way. The national languages will die of themselves and give place to the international language common to all. The appearance of a world language will be called forth by the requirements of a single world communist economy.

There are people who may ask the following question: Which of the modern languages will become the future world language? The reply to this question is: none of them. The common language for the whole of humanity after the victory of communism in the whole world will not be one or other of the modern languages, but a new language which will arise as a result of the merging of the existing modern languages into one common language, as a result of prolonged intercourse among peoples on the basis of one single world communist economy.

* * *

Thus, all the nations existing in the world today differ from one another in a number of features and peculiarities. But, besides this, they are divided into two large groups — bourgeois nations and socialist nations, which differ radically from each other.

Bourgeois nations arose as capitalism developed and their fate is linked with the fate

of capitalism. But since the capitalist system is not ever-lasting, bourgeois nations, too, are not ever-lasting. In the course of time the bourgeois nations will inevitably be transformed in the spirit of socialism in all the other countries, just as they have been transformed in the land of soviets.

The time will come when all the nations on earth will be socialist nations. Then no nation will enslave other nations. Then all nations will lead a free and peaceful life, and fraternal friendship will be established among the peoples of the world.



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