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50th ANNIVERSARY, USSR

SOVIET MULTINATIONAL UNION, 1922-1972

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50 YEARS OF THE USSR

JESSICA SMITH

Editorial Introduction

THIS SPECIAL issue marks the Fiftieth Anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, December 30, 1972. There is no better way to celebrate this historic event, than by providing information on how the USSR has handled the complex problem of creating a unified multinational state in a land of over a hundred nationalities of widely diverse conditions and traditions. This subject has special relevance for the people of our country in the struggle against racist oppression of Black and other minority peoples.

In addition to firsthand impressions of US and other observers, we are presenting articles by Soviet experts on the theoretical aspects of the Leninist national policy and its practical application, with its problems and difficulties as well as brilliant achievements. Interspersed are poems and lyrical pieces by some of the native writers, who express love both of their native area and their common Soviet motherland, which has made possible the fulfillment of their creative potential.

The transcendent fact emerges that the unity and strength of the USSR today is due not to suppression of unique ethnic characteristics, not to the merging and melting of peoples, but to encouragement and development of their national identities and cultures, parallel with their common membership in the Soviet family of nations.

We could not here encompass the complete story of the Soviet peoples. The huge RSFSR, "first among equals," covers the greatest land mass, and is itself a federated multinational republic with numerous autonomous republics and regions and national areas. To know the USSR one must know also the fourteen other Republics and peoples: the highly developed Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic Republics; Transcaucasia, containing the variegated Georgian, Azerbaidzhanian and Armenian Republics; the reborn Central Asian Republics, the great stretches of Kazakhstan, all the formerly most backward and exploited areas where the darker skinned Asian peoples live, and the others.

Not only their geography and unique national characteristics must be known, but the many facets of socialist society integral to the life

of the Soviet peoples. The framework holding the multinational sections of Soviet society together is of course the Government of the USSR and the Union Republics' Governments, from the Supreme Soviet to the local Soviets, and the Communist Party which plays the leading role in Soviet society. Party and government, with the help of all the Soviet working people, the collective farmers and the intelligentsia, brought into being the thriving, mature socialist society of today, embracing the 240 million Soviet people.

Abolition of the exploitation of one nation by another, as in the tsarist "prison-house of nations," goes hand in hand with abolition of exploitation of man by man. The people of all nationalities in each union republic share on equal terms both in the construction and the fruits of the great projects that have brought new life to every section of the Soviet Union. Under social ownership of means of production and natural resources, they work not for bosses but for themselves. The results of their labor go into the improvement of their own living standards, their own republic, the well-being of the state as a whole, not for the enrichment of any individual or group.

Party and government work together in drawing up and fulfilling the successive five-year plans, through central economic planning which involves as well all local bodies and general public discussion in all the republics. On the basis of carefully estimated resources and labor, national goals are set for industrial and agricultural production. Improved methods of management under the economic reform have brought greater returns, which mean greater revenues to the state and its enterprises and special bonuses to those who produce the most. Revenues from state enterprises finance such programs as the universal free education system and training the vast number of specialists in science and technology needed by the economy in this computer age, and the free health system and social welfare programs benefiting all the Soviet peoples. Planning has made possible the mass housing construction, with monthly rents only three to eight per cent of income, insured full employment for everyone for over forty years and universal opportunities for enjoyment of culture and creative activity. Industrial production has increased 321 times in the past 50 years. The emphasis on heavy industry over the years has provided the means for the current ninth five-year plan to concentrate equally on consumer needs, with the improvement of people's living standards the main goal.

Foremost of the mass organizations playing a powerful role in Soviet society is the 90-million-strong trade union movement, headed by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which includes

END THE INDOCHINA WAR!

The long agony of the Vietnamese people goes on. US bombs continue their slaughter from the skies and the ruthless devastations of homes and cities and villages and farmfields—of a whole land. We write before the elections, with the October 31 deadline for signing the peace agreement already past, and no indication that the Nixon Administration intended anything more than once again deceiving the people, arousing false hopes in order to gain votes by optimistic talk that peace was in sight.

During Henry Kissinger's prolonged secret talks with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the DRV Government, the Vietnamese side, October 8, made new proposals that led to agreement. The agreed terms, in brief, provided for an immediate cease-fire in place in South Vietnam, cessation of all US bombing and mining, total withdrawal of all US and Allied troops, prisoner exchange, and separate cease-fires to be negotiated in Laos and Cambodia. Meantime, a tripartite National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, with representatives of the PRC, the Thieu regime and a neutralist body, would organize a new political order and general elections.

Using the violent denunciations by Thieu as a pretext, the US reneged on its agreement and sought to drag out the negotiations, insisting on more talks at Paris and with Thieu. Obviously the US puppet need be no obstacle if the US would withdraw support instead of rushing more military supplies to him. The fraudulent issues raised by the US to sabotage the agreement raise the greatest dangers that after the US elections the war will again be escalated and its savagery be continued endlessly.

There must be unremitting demands by the people and by all peace organizations that the agreement restoring peace be signed and the war in Vietnam and throughout Indochina ended at once and forever.

the central unions covering all working people of the USSR—industrial, agricultural, cultural, scientific—of all nationalities. In each factory and enterprise, the unions, through collective agreements, concern themselves with increasing production as well as insuring better conditions of labor and living. The unions administer the vast social insurance system financed by the state. (The Soviet social security system, whose benefits add some 38 per cent to regular wages, is the most comprehensive in the world.) The workers themselves participate in management through regular production conferences, and can force replacement of a director who does not heed their interests.

Youth of course should have special mention. The youth of all the Soviet peoples, with the Komsomol in the leadership, have been in the forefront of the great construction projects that have built up the more developed sections of the country and brought new life to the distant, formerly neglected areas. The mammoth hydroelectric stations at Bratsk, Krasnoyarsk, Ust Ilym and elsewhere were built

mainly by youth under incredibly difficult conditions. New cities, Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, Sumgait on the Caspian Sea and others have come into being because of the energy and devotion of youth.

Several articles deal with women in Soviet Asia, whose advances are most spectacular of all, since their situation was the most desperate in the past. But all Soviet women have benefited from the complete equality with men proclaimed by the Revolution and the Constitution, and from the far-reaching child-care system and the love and care bestowed by Soviet society on children. At the same time the struggle goes on for women's more complete liberation from the sense of superiority instilled in men through the centuries, and a more complete sharing of household burdens—problems which still persist under socialism. There are constant efforts to solve them through more housekeeping aids and extension of child-care facilities, so that women can more fully enjoy their equal role in work and society and family life as well.

From history and literature the Tsarist policy of colonial oppression of smaller peoples by the Great Russians is well known. Anti-Soviet propaganda would have it that this has not changed.

There is a clear and simple answer in the fascinating book *The Siberians*, by Canadian writer Farley Mowat, who describes the marvels being accomplished by peoples of Siberia and the Far East, some of whom were dying out before the advent of Soviet power. He talked with the remarkable Yakut woman, Alexandra Yakovlevna Ovchinnikova, President of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the vast 200,000-square mile area in the eternal frost zone of the RSFSR, which encompasses the coldest spots on earth. Mowat asked provocatively whether European Russia was exploiting Yakutia in the same way Eskimos and similar peoples were exploited in Canada and Alaska. She replied:

The Soviet Union is many countries, but it is also one country. In the past some parts were rich and others very poor. It would still be that way if the people from the various parts had not learned to help one another. Yakutian diamonds and gold, for instance, help the whole people of the Union; in return, we have received the help we needed to become a strong and happy nation in this modern world. No one is exploiting us . . . It may even be the other way around . . . but don't tell that to the Moscow people please!

As the Soviet peoples share with each other, they share with other socialist nations, and former colonial countries, which owe their freedom most of all to the Russian Revolution. Over 50 nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America receive assistance without strings from the USSR, and enjoy advantageous trade relations. Most of the

aid goes toward industrialization, the working up of their own raw materials, blocked in the past by the colonialist exploiters. The USSR also helps the under-developed countries in modernizing agriculture, in education, science and health projects, both through training native peoples and sending their own specialists. The Soviet people have sacrificed greatly, lived through many lean years, suffered through World War II, and have never ceased to help others too.

The Soviet Union has struggled unceasingly, within the UN and in its relations with other nations, to end colonialism in all its forms. It gives constant support and help to national liberation movements, such as those in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. It aided the Bangladesh independence struggle and was one of the first to help that country restore its ravaged economy.

Above all, the USSR, along with other socialist countries, has given massive aid to the people of Vietnam in their fight against US aggression. It is generally estimated that 80 per cent or more of the sophisticated weaponry supplied North Vietnam, especially for anti-aircraft defense, has come from the Soviet Government, which also provides tremendous economic aid. In addition, the Soviet people carry on numerous activities to raise funds for medical and other aid. Workers have volunteered overtime work to help. June was a "Month of Friendship with the Vietnamese People," with meetings in all the Soviet Republics. Soviet leaders have continually demanded an end to US aggression and a peaceful settlement, leaving the Vietnamese to manage their own affairs.

The proclamation of peace was the first international act of the Soviet Government in 1917. In 1922, when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed, the policy of peace was built into its foundation as the first essential in building a better life. No groups or peoples within this multinational socialist society could profit from war. The policy of peace and friendship among the peoples within the USSR is reflected in the Soviet foreign policy of peace among the nations.

The Soviet peace program reached new heights at the 24th CPSU Congress in March-April 1971. General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, reporting for the Central Committee, presented the most sweeping peace program the world has ever known. It called for universal disarmament, especially in nuclear weapons, and every possible step toward ending the arms race; wiping out all hotbeds of war as in Southeast Asia and the Middle East; repudiation of the use or threat of force in international relations, dismantling of all foreign military bases and numerous other specific measures. (*continued on page 160*)

YADGAR NASRIDINOVA

Family of Soviet Nations: A Beacon for Our Epoch

Yadgar Nasriddinova is Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one of the highest posts in the land. Nothing could be more symbolic of the full equality achieved by all the Soviet peoples and especially by the women of Soviet Central Asia.

Born in Uzbekistan in 1920, Mme. Nasriddinova was orphaned in infancy by the death of her father, fieldhand of a rich landlord, and forced marriage soon after (before Soviet power was fully established) of her widowed mother, still in her teens, to a man who insisted the little girl be abandoned. Raised and educated in an orphanage, Yadgar was graduated as a civil engineer from the Tashkent Engineering Institute. She played a leading role in the construction of the Great Ferghana Canal, the new coalfields and other projects vital to the upbuilding of Uzbekistan.

As secretary of the republic's Communist youth organization, Nasriddinova made an important contribution to her country's defense against the Nazi invaders. After the war, when her high intelligence, abilities and warm human qualities had become widely known to her people, she rose to top posts in the Uzbek Government Ministries in the fields of construction and transport and in 1959 was elected President of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. Reelected twice, she held this post until July 1970, when she was elected Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two equal houses of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yadgar Nasriddinova has travelled widely in Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America on important missions, including a Parliamentary delegation to the United States. Her son is a math graduate, her daughter is studying architecture at the Tashkent Polytechnical Institute.

ECONOMIC achievements often serve as the main criterion in judging a state. From this point of view, the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward agrarian country into a leading world industrial power is unquestionably an outstanding phenomenon. But when I think of my country's record in the last half century, I see its greatest achievement not in its indisputable economic attainments but in the great moral contribution of the USSR to the complex system of human relations. For the first time in history, the age-old problem of relations among nationalities has been resolved on a scientific foundation and with maximum justice, in a state containing

FAMILY OF NATIONS

over a hundred nationalities and various races, languages and religions. The multinational USSR is now a fraternal union of peoples brought together by their common goal—the construction of communism.

This contribution of the Soviet Union is particularly important in our time, when national, racial and religious dissent and prejudice are shattering many industrially advanced states.

Laying the foundations of the world's first socialist state, Lenin worked for the creation of a voluntary union of nations based on complete confidence and fraternal unity.

It was not possible, of course, to build such a union overnight. Relations among people of different races and nationalities involve subtle psychological sentiments and ancient traditions. Great tact was needed, as the distrust and alienation accumulated through many generations were particularly tenacious in this sphere. The USSR was built with the efforts of all the Soviet peoples. Chauvinism, with its national conceit and contempt for other peoples, and national egoism, with its alienation from other nations and mistrust of them, were being overcome step by step.

The victory of the Revolution in 1917, which abolished the old order based on national discrimination and proclaimed and ensured by law the complete equality of peoples in all spheres of economic, sociopolitical and cultural life, was the decisive prerequisite for resolving the national question, setting up a new type of relations among peoples and changing the sociopolitical aspect of nations themselves.

Leninist Principles of National State Development

IMMEDIATELY after the Revolution, the young Soviet state began to implement the principles of national-state development worked out by Lenin. These Leninist principles, of tremendous international importance, have a number of important features.

First, the guarantee of the sovereignty and actual equality of all the nations. On November 16, 1917, the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia was adopted. That document proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to free self-determination right down to secession and formation of an independent state; abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia. The principle of ensuring the sovereignty and actual equality of all the peoples is embodied in the present constitutional guarantees, taking into account both the will of a people and objective conditions, and providing equal rep-

resentation (corresponding with forms of national statehood) in the highest organs of power.

Second, the Declaration proclaimed the principle of voluntary unification and free development of the peoples. Lenin pointed out repeatedly that only socialism provides the possibility of satisfying people's real spiritual and material requirements and aspirations. "We want," Lenin said, "a voluntary union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolute voluntary consent."

This guarantee of the right of free secession was implemented when on December 6, 1917, the Finnish Diet decided to secede from Russia. The Finnish delegation visited Lenin soon after that and, on the eve of the year 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation recognized the independence of Finland.* The other peoples of the former Russian empire did not express a desire to secede.

Third, the building up of their own statehood in one form or another by all the peoples. By the end of 1922, the Bokhara and Khorezm people's Soviet republics were already in existence, together with the independent socialist republics—the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the Byelorussian SSR and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (including Azerbaidzhan, Armenia and Georgia). The Bashkir, Tatar, Karelian, Udmurt, Chuvash, Dagestan and Yakut Autonomous Republics were formed within the Russian Federation, and other autonomous entities appeared after that. At present, the Soviet Union comprises 15 sovereign Union Republics which include 20 Autonomous Republics, 8 Autonomous Regions and 10 National Areas.

The multinational composition of our Union is reflected in the structure of the highest organ of state power. One of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the Soviet of Nationalities—is elected by Soviet citizens voting by Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas. All 53 national-state forma-

* The case of Poland was different. More recently absorbed than Finland by the Tsarist Empire, it suffered new partitions and over a century of occupation by the latter. Soviet Russia renounced all claims over Poland in March 1918, and the Polish Republic was proclaimed, after liberation from Austro-German occupation in World War I, in November 1918. Subsequently the Entente used Poland as a battering ram in its counter-revolutionary assault against the young Soviet Republic and in 1919 Poland seized part of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Poland was driven back and the fighting was ended by a peace treaty in March 1921, with mutual recognition of sovereignty.—Ed.

tions are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies of 62 nationalities were elected to the Eighth Supreme Soviet in 1972.

Fourth, democratic centralism, reflecting the unity and harmonious combination of international and national interests of every republic and of the entire multinational state as a whole, is a major organizational-political principle of state development. The essence of democratic centralism lies in the unity of two interconnected aspects: *centralism*, based on the socialist nature of production with its inherent principles of planning and management of the national economy, carried out under single guidance from central authorities, which precludes anarchistic decentralization of production; and *democracy*, based on extensive development of initiative, self-sufficiency and activity of the local bodies, with proper consideration for national distinguishing features and conditions. The USSR protects the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. Every Union Republic exercises state authority independently; its sovereignty is restricted only to the degree in which it has voluntarily ceded part of its rights, specially stipulated in the USSR Constitution, to the jurisdiction of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Every Union Republic has its own Constitution, its highest organs of state power and administration and its legislation; it also endorses its own plan and budget.

The formation of a single multinational state of workers and peasants—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—by the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, December 30, 1922, was prompted by the entire course of the country's historical development. By 1922, with the Civil War and foreign armed intervention of 14 nations just ended, the international position of the Soviet republics was tense and complicated. The danger of fresh military gambles of counterrevolution and the imperialist states was still great. The need to build up a reliable front of all the Soviet republics to safeguard their military security was a compelling reason for the formation of the USSR.

Another reason was the need to restore the war-ravaged economy and ensure the economic development of the Soviet republics. It was clear to all the peoples at the time that such a complex economic task could be solved only on the basis of fraternal aid from the more industrially and culturally developed republics, first of all the RSFSR.

The third reason for the formation of the USSR stemmed from the very international nature of Soviet power, in the practical implementation of the Leninist idea of the fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the republics and their unification within a close-knit socialist family.

Soviet federation radically differs from bourgeois federation which is based on the oppression of smaller, weaker and less economically developed nations by one ruling bourgeois nation. Soviet federation is a union of equal peoples led by the Communist Party. It provides the necessary state forms and offers most favorable conditions for attracting all nations and nationalities of the USSR to the common cause of socialist construction. This is the main, class, distinction, one of the most important specific features of Soviet federation.

Soviet federation has made it possible to take into account—in the course of socialist construction and the working out of national economic plans of the country and its budget—both the interests, specific needs and national features of the Union and Autonomous Regions and National Areas, and the common interests of the Union as a whole. The riches of each republic are used to promote both its own interest and those of the country as a whole.

There are other essential differences between the USSR and bourgeois types of federation. For example, the territory of a Union Republic may not be altered without its consent, the right to secede freely from the USSR is reserved to the Union Republics, and they exercise state power independently, except in fields defined in the USSR constitution.

Fruits of Soviet National Policy—Women's Emancipation

IN THE past 50 years, profound socioeconomic changes have occurred in all the Union Republics; national cadres have grown up; the culture of the peoples has progressed; the working people of all nationalities have been provided with everything necessary for active participation in the development of science, engineering and culture.

In the economic sphere, the tackling of the national question was started with the elimination of the actual inequality inherited from capitalism. The evening up of economic, social and cultural standards is a general characteristic of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism in all multinational socialist states. This stems from the very nature of the socialist relations of production based on the mutual assistance and cooperation of peoples free of exploitation, and from the economic law of planned and balanced development. Fraternal assistance to previously backward peoples by advanced nations is also determined by a complete identity of the vital interests and aims of the nations which have taken the road to socialism. The tremendous complexity of this problem in the conditions of Russia sprang from the great unevenness in socioeconomic and cultural standards. It required the most strenuous work by the party

and the entire people in overcoming economic, technical and cultural backwardness.

In the liquidation of the inequality of the formerly backward peoples a special role was played by the Russian people whose revolutionary energy, selflessness, industriousness and profound internationalism have earned them the sincere respect of all the nations of our socialist country.

The following figures indicate the high rate of industrial development in the formerly backward national areas. In the period between 1913 and 1940, the increase in the gross output of large-scale industry was 12-fold on the average for the USSR as a whole; 22.6-fold for the Armenian SSR; 19.6-fold for the Kazakh SSR; 153-fold for the Kirghiz SSR; and 277-fold for the Tadzhik SSR.

The socialist transformation of agriculture was highly important for the elimination of the actual inequality of the peoples. Many nomadic peoples took up a settled way of life and organized collective farms. Previously waste tracts of land are now being used rationally; new highly productive lines of agriculture, new crops, and extensive mechanization have been introduced.

The assistance of the developed nations to the previously backward peoples in all fields of economic and cultural life must not be regarded as "overlordship" or "guardianship." One-sided assistance very soon turned into the mutual assistance of all the Soviet peoples, because under socialism, selfless assistance is necessarily combined with the extensive creative activity of the formerly oppressed peoples themselves in the socialist transformation of life.

Developing various branches of industry and agriculture in accordance with their natural resources and other conditions, every one of the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas makes its important contribution to the common cause of communist construction. Every republic works for the whole country, while the whole country works for every one of the republics.

Almost three-fourths of the Soviet population were illiterate before the Revolution, and illiteracy among many nationalities was close to 100 per cent. More than 40 peoples of the Soviet land acquired a written language and literature of their own after the Revolution.

About 80,000,000 Soviet people now go in for one or another form of studies. Specialists in all fields of economy and culture are trained at 800-odd colleges and more than 4,200 specialized secondary establishments in all Union Republics. Every fourth scientist in the world is a Soviet scientist. And there are representatives of all nationalities among Soviet scientists.

Illiteracy and even semi-literacy receded into the past long ago in the Central Asian republics, as indeed in all the other republics. There are, for example, 189 students per every 10,000 of population in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic; 154 in Byelorussia; 161 in Kirghizia; 152 in Kazakhstan; and 131 in Turkmenia. And yet there was not a single college in these republics before the revolution.

The emancipation of women, particularly in the Central Asian republics, is a major gain of the Soviet people. One has to think of the past with its ruthless oppression, humiliation, ignorance and poverty. In Central Asia, for example, women were separated from the other part of humanity by the black veil they were forced to wear; they were looked upon as inferior beings whom one could kill without fear of punishment or sell like an inanimate thing. Protest often meant death.

After the Revolution, monstrous laws on the inequality of women were annulled in the Soviet Union. The decrees on the protection of the mother and child, on equal pay to women for equal work with men, on the equality of men and women in family relations and many other legislative acts, promulgated in the very first year of Soviet power, were evidence of the tremendous concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for working women, for drawing them to creative activity, to socio-political life.

There are 463 women among Soviet MPs today. Women account for almost 46 per cent of the deputies to the local Soviets. We, Soviet women, have attained these summits due to the leadership of the Communist Party, to the socialist social system, to the friendship and fraternity of all the peoples of our country. Women, who lacked every right in the past, are taking an active part on a par with men in all the diversified, busy activity of the land.

The 24th CPSU Congress, held in the spring of 1971, outlined new impressive prospects for the construction of communism. It pointed out that in guiding the further development of national relations the CPSU will continue to encourage the objective tendencies—the all-round flowering and gradual drawing together of the nations, permitting neither hostility nor isolation. This is possible only on the basis of the permanent close relationship among the free socialist nations in the process of the construction of a communist society. The drawing closer together of nations is not a simple mechanical merger. It is expressed in the strengthening of the mutual influence and mutual enrichment of the peoples. This is why both tendencies are inseparable aspects of a single process of the development of national relations under socialism.

This new historic community—the Soviet people—is not a supra-national but a multinational community. Its emergence and development are a result of the victory of socialism, the solution of the national question, the drawing together and the close alliance of all the classes, social groups, nations and nationalities and the political and moral unity of the Soviet society.

The 24th CPSU Congress paid special attention to the necessity of strengthening the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet land and intensifying the education of the working people in the spirit of internationalism. "The Party," Leonid I. Brezhnev said at the Congress, "shall continue to educate all the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, intolerance of nationalism, chauvinism, national narrowness and conceit in any form, in a spirit of profound respect for all nations and nationalities."

Years will go by, followed by decades. Mankind will be inevitably getting nearer the attainment of its ideal—the world brotherhood of peoples. Generations of people to come will always remember the diversified social experience of the Soviet Union, the pioneer who had paved the right way to the friendship and unity of nations. The emergence of the USSR is the triumph of the socio-political ideals of the multimillion masses of working people, an event of major importance in the history of social progress.

BERDYNAZAR KHUDAINAZAROV

The Burning Steppe

Excerpts from a poem about the builders of the
Karakum Canal

*Dry desert summer,
Sleepless night of toil:
Then, like a miracle, created by us,
Water fills the Karakum!*

*It flows now in a sparkling stream,
Splashing about everywhere.
The singing rush of water came
Like the fulfillment of a hope.*

BERDYNAZAR KHUDAINAZAROV is a well-known Turkmenian poet.

*Farewell, trees of Lebab,
Nightingales of midnight gardens!
Farther and farther westward
My heroes are marching.*

*Above them, the cloudless dome
Spreads, clear and high,
Beneath their feet, hot as burning coals,
Stretches the crunching, rolling sand.*

*We dig into the hills of sand,
A desert of dust swirls up.
Drinking water brings no ease,
The sweat cannot be wiped away.*

*The motors drone, throbbing angrily,
And our leader, watching closely,
Sees a high gush of water
Spouting steadily from the main pump.*

*They pass, one after another,
The blizzards, the heat, the cold;
And then, the miracle, created by us:
Water fills the Karakum.*

*We gaze on it in wonder,
Touch it with our hands,
Thus it was envisioned in our dreams,
Thus it was given life by our toil.*

*Winter does not linger long,
Driven away by the residual heat.
And I am sorry for one who hasn't seen
My Karakum in the spring!*

*He has not seen those magic colors,
Their marvelous diversity,
Nor plucked the golden tulips—
Those flowers of yellow flame.*

*There are dewdrops on the poppies,
The swan spreads its wings in flight,*

*The most callous hearts
I swear, must melt, like ice.*

*The burning sands haven't cooled,
The sun blazes on, as always,
Yet, breaking the law of the desert,
The water flows into Karakum!*

*And in the front lines,
As in the still recent days of war,
That glorious generation toiled—
My country's Communist youth.*

*Accept our unswerving challenge,
Burning steppe, until the very end!
Communist youth will not yield.
Their hearts will always be steadfast.*

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

HENRY WINSTON

National Chairman, Communist Party, USA

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the world's first socialist multinational state in December 1922 was a historic event, graphically demonstrating the power of the idea of proletarian internationalism and the vitality of the Leninist national policy.

In the joint struggle of the peoples who overthrew the former Russian empire and gained their social emancipation, the national prejudices and mutual distrust of the past were removed and new relations based on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance began to take shape. The abolition of the exploiter classes, the establishment of public ownership of the means of production, constituted the socioeconomic basis of the formation of an international community unprecedented in history. This resulted in a community of Soviet people voluntarily united in a single state based on the principles of full equality, with common aims and interests which united more than 100 nationalities, big and small. The consistent application of the Leninist national policy has made it possible for the peoples of the USSR, including those who lived in the past under the conditions of a feudal and even primitive communal system, to rise to the level of highly developed nations that are marching today in the van of world progress.

poets, and the rich opportunities for creative writing the latter enjoy.

With the aid of thousands of teachers, experts in philology and linguistics, the USSR has opened up a completely new life for millions of people, enabling them to experience for the first time the joy of learning and speaking and writing in their own language. New poets, writers and composers are discovered each year among the many nationalities. Their works, published both in their own language and in other languages of the USSR, are a major unifying force in the drawing together of nations and the enrichment of Soviet culture.

In discussions with members of the Union of Soviet Writers and the editorial staff of the magazine *Friendship of the Peoples*, we learned that Soviet writers deeply appreciate the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes and others of the older generation, and want to know more about the younger Black poets, playwrights and authors on the US literary scene today.

In every republic the national language is the official language with Russian, the second language, almost as universally known. New talents are constantly being sought among all the Soviet people. We learned that the Nivkhi people living on Sakhalin Island, where the population is only 3,800, already have a poet of their own whose fame has spread over the Soviet Union.

IN TASHKENT, capital of the Uzbek Republic, we learned that the Uzbeks, a dark, swarthy-skinned people, constitute 67 per cent of its 13 million population, the Russians 13 per cent. Numerous other peoples make up the remaining 20 per cent, including 107,000 Jews, living mainly in Tashkent. While there are some native Jews in Bokhara, most of those in Tashkent, and their families, are among those the Soviet Government helped to escape from Hitler's invading armies in 1941. They were given refuge in Uzbekistan and other republics. There have been many intermarriages between Jewish and other peoples, in fact among all the various nationalities.

Touring the beautiful city we saw the vast rebuilding effort which had followed the severe 1966 earthquake, when all the Soviet peoples came to their aid. It included hundreds of handsome new apartment buildings, the largest department store in Central Asia, hospitals, schools, libraries, cultural centers, parks, broad tree-lined boulevards, many named after famous Uzbek poets, philosophers and scientists whose names reach far back in history. We also saw a mosque, about to be refurbished. While the majority of the citizens of this Moslem country have given up the practice of the Islam religion, those who

GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.

National Liberation in the USSR, Viewed by a Black American

ONE OF MY DEEPEST concerns in visiting the Soviet Union with a mainly Black delegation in the summer of 1971, was to see the actual working out in practice of the Soviet national policy. The full flowering of this policy was brought home to us especially in our visits to the two Soviet Socialist Republics of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. It was a great delight for all of us to be among these dark-skinned peoples, who in the past have known only the slave-like conditions of a feudal society and have now leaped over the era of capitalism directly into a socialist society, where exploitation of man by man has been abolished. We saw in this the clear meaning of Soviet power, which had accomplished this tremendous advance through the application in life of scientific socialism, the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. We noted particularly how the women of these two socialist republics, who had been slaves to the men of their families as well as to the emirs and landlords, were walking now in freedom and dignity, their beautiful faces open and unveiled.

In these two Central Asian republics, as well as throughout our tour of the Soviet Union, what we saw of the liberation and full equality of both men and women of the darker skinned peoples made us feel that there is hope for us in our own freedom struggle.

In addition to the great economic advances which have transformed these formerly backward areas into modern states, utilizing the latest achievements in science and technology in both factories and farms, we were impressed with the respect and love shown by people of all races and nationalities and colors for their writers and

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have retained their religious faith are still summoned to prayer from the mosque's minaret, since the practice of their religion, as of other religions, is protected by both the USSR and the Uzbek Constitutions.

Wherever we went in Uzbekistan, in Tashkent, fabled Samarkand, visiting collective farms and the great irrigation project transforming the Hungry Steppe, we found ourselves, as Black people, surrounded with special love and affection by people who reached out to touch and embrace us. And everywhere Angela Davis buttons brought smiles of recognition and anxious questions about the prospects for her freedom—since won with the help of these same people and many others of socialist and other lands.

IN DUSHAMBE, capital of the neighboring Tadjik Soviet Socialist Republic, we saw again, as we had in Uzbekistan, the rich colors of Soviet Central Asia blending harmoniously with more modern Western architecture. Tadjikistan is one of the most fascinating of the smaller Soviet Republics. It has a population of about three million, 76 per cent of whom are Tadjiks and Uzbeks, the rest of many other nationalities.

In Tadjikistan nature has formed a permanent monument to our own Paul Robeson. The Soviet peoples have named one of the highest peaks of the Pamirs, among the lofty ranges running through Tadjikistan, "Mt. Paul Robeson," in honor of his great contributions to world peace and friendship among peoples. The Tadjik people, like peoples all over the Soviet Union, remember Paul's rich baritone voice speaking and singing in many languages, linking the freedom struggles of our people to the liberation struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Mme. N. Zaripova, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tadjikistan, welcoming us to their capitol building, said: "The doors of the Tadjik people are always open to friends. You are seeing with your own eyes our new society, and why all Soviet peoples want peace." The struggle for peace was emphasized in everything we heard and saw.

We saw in Tadjikistan many people and institutions that showed us vividly the accomplishments of the Soviet national policy in this area, once among the most backward sections of the Soviet Union, and learned some significant overall facts. To date more than 400 industries have been established. The Republic stands first not only in the number of mothers with 5 to 12 children, but first in the production of fine-thread cotton and refrigerators, second in production of aluminum and electric power, fourth in the building of huge

hydroelectric power stations to irrigate the land. Development in marble, lead, gold, and other minerals is racing with the development of new oil and gas discoveries.

Visiting the impressive Firdousi Public Library, named after the famous Tadjik poet, philosopher and mathematician, we learned that among its nearly two million volumes are 2,000 rare and priceless manuscripts, including a copy of the Koran from the tenth century. Hundreds of people come daily to the library—the large reading room was crowded. We were witnessing a phenomenon common to every republic of the USSR, millions of people eagerly learning and devouring their rich and ancient classics. The working people of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and other republics are discovering their ancient history and culture through magnificent museums rich with constantly growing archeological displays.

Since ancient times silkworms have been bred in Tadjikistan. We visited a silk factory with 2,500 workers, mostly women, and all the modern amenities for workers' well-being and child care. The factory manager told us that during the five-year plan period the factory would be modernized still more, with the introduction of highly automated machinery. We were surprised to learn that this plant is unprofitable and has to be subsidized by the government, and asked: "Why not produce nylon then?" He smiled as he answered: "Our scientists have found that nylon does not permit the body to breathe properly. Silk does, so we produce silk because in our country the health and well-being of the working people comes first." In a few words he had given us the difference in aims between socialism and capitalism. We got the message loud and clear.

ONE OF the most soul-stirring experiences of our trip was meeting the diplomatic representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (South) in Moscow. In spite of the indescribable suffering and death that has distorted the orderly development of their lives for more than a quarter of a century, these wonderful people wear their four thousand years of Vietnamese culture with dignity and grace. Only poets can reveal the secret of this people's fortitude in the face of death-dealing, winged engines of destruction from the skies. Only poets can give us an understanding of the seeds of strength bound up in the brown beauty of the Vietnamese people.

During our talks the Vietnamese told us of their profound understanding of the struggles of American Black people, learned from their revered Ho Chi Minh who spent some years in the United States.

On our part there were tears expressing our deep affection for the brave men, women and children of Vietnam, tears that made clear the oneness of their struggles and of their victory, which will be a victory of all the world's peoples fighting for peace, against imperialist aggression. All of us expressed our anger, horror and shame at the murderous deeds of our government against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We pledged to continue our efforts to stop the carnage, and to find a way, when the war is over, to help repair the terrible damage.

A sudden decision to go to Moscow with the delegation of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship to the International Meeting of Friendship Societies prevents me from further expansion of this article, but will enable me to carry direct greetings to the Soviet people on this anniversary, and gratitude for their determined struggle for the freedom of peoples and against racism, repression and genocidal war.

RUBEN YANYES

The Goal: Create the New Man

IT IS no easy task to describe in just a few words the great variety of impressions received during my recent short, but extremely eventful visit to the USSR. I would not like this difficulty to reduce my story to a simple enumeration of the amazing successes which one sees at every step and which testify to the tremendous achievements of the Soviet people. I wish to share my impressions not of time spent in Moscow, Leningrad and Yerevan, but to express my ideas regarding one of the most colossal achievements which explains all the other successes scored by the USSR; I have in mind—Soviet man.

The creation of the new Soviet man was the great goal of the October Revolution and this now constitutes the real sum total of the fifty-year experience currently observed by all mankind.

Having seen with my own eyes the life of Soviet people, I have come to the conclusion that the slogans of peace and proletarian internationalism are not purely theoretical, but have turned into a way of life for a whole nation, into a real perspective for all humanity. The new Soviet man is to be found throughout the vast territory of the Soviet Union, because there is no corner where the liberating

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force of Lenin's ideas has not penetrated. This force has given birth not to uniformity, but has brought to life creative and life-giving activity in all its national diversity. In this sense the USSR constitutes the highest stage in the embodiment of humanism, a humanism expressed in the high estimation of labor, the purpose of which lies not only in the satisfaction of the needs of Soviet people, but in helping all the other peoples of the world striving for liberation. This humanism not only brought to life the highest culture in the world, but has made it serve all the people.

I met and became acquainted with many Soviet people. Among them were Armenian collective farmers and Moscow workers, actors of the Gorky Drama Theater in Leningrad and the directors of the Moscow Art Theater, painters of Yerevan and Armenian experts in ancient manuscripts, schoolteachers and university rectors, as well as my colleagues—teachers and professors in philosophy faculties. Their human simplicity and unaffectedness, calm pride in their people and confidence in the achievement of the targets they have set seemed to be today's incarnation of the image of the man who was called Lenin.

JAMES ALDRIDGE

From Romance to Reality

WHEN I was a boy living in an Australian country town there used to be an old aboriginal woman who would sometimes come in from the bush on Saturday, market day, and wander along the crowded main streets filled with farmers and townspeople and youth. She would be trying to sell a remarkable floral totem which she had made out of parrot feathers. It was something to do with her native art and almost certainly with her tribal rituals. It was very beautiful, delicate and perfectly made.

The old lady was known in the town as Queen Aggie because she was supposed to be the last "queen" of the original tribe who had once lived in that area, and had long ago been expelled or wiped out by white settlers. Aggie was usually dressed in rags, wore

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a man's hat, and when she finally sold her totem flower to some amused farmer, she would buy a few small bags of flour and sugar and simply disappear again.

She wasn't really a queen, and the legend was a sort of joke. So we never discovered what was the real significance of the feathered flower. We never learned from her what she was, or what had happened to her tribe. We knew nothing in that town, because there was little awareness that the white settler had simply annihilated another culture, another art, another people—however primitive.

I suppose that was my first lesson in what the conquest of Australia had done to its indigenous people. I think the first thing I ever had published was a bitter poem attacking the way the Australian aborigine was treated, which my father published in his paper.

Now, of course, the treatment of minority peoples in Australia, the US, South Africa, and Rhodesia are part of the popular cause of all intelligent Western youth. There wasn't any great movement against apartheid in Britain fifty years ago. Until two or three years ago there were some clubs in Britain run by the local Labor Parties that would not admit a Black man if they could help it. So the attitude on racialism and other cultures is not something that many people in the West have been aware of for long. Before the war anybody who spoke up for the Black man was automatically a "communist."

About all that we were officially offered in those days was the teaching of Christ, which was "civilizing" Africa. But even as children we discovered that missionary work and trade had exploited colonial countries together. There was no more salvation in Christianity for Africa or India or Malaya or Arabia than there was in the gunboat and the airplane and the bomb.

Inevitably when one became a socialist, one began to look for the socialist solution to the problems of mixed communities, of race and varied cultures. From the outset this was one of the clearest lessons that the young USSR was teaching the world, and from the outset the Soviet attitude to its minorities, to its incredible number of different cultures, was one of the most appealing aspects of the society, even to a non-communist.

Not everybody understood at first the incredible problem the USSR was facing in its attempts to organize one community, and at the same time to maintain the cultural and national differences of so many different nationalities. Obviously the real problem was the difference in existing social and economic conditions. So how did

socialism deal with the difference? Was the socialism that built the Dnieper dam in the Ukraine the same kind of socialism that was dealing with the Yakuts who hunted fur in the arctic tundra? Where was the link? What was the common denominator?

Sometimes I used to look down the lists of the autonomous regions and wonder what sort of people they all were. How did they live? What was their history? Who were the Bashkirs, the Daghestanis, the Kabardinians, the Komis, the Maris, the Mordovians, the Ossetians, the Adzhars, the Udmurt, Chuvash and other peoples? In fact every one of them became a romantic name to me because I felt like a man looking at the moon and knowing what it looked like, but aware that I would never walk on it. I knew that I would never see all the different republics of the USSR, and would never know anything about the culture of even a fraction of them. It was not for want of trying. It was simply humanly impossible to be able to understand all of them.

So how did socialism cope with the enormous variety and difference? I used to puzzle about this a great deal until it dawned on me one day that in fact it is inherent in socialism that different people will emerge differently in their own way.

I have always been interested in hunting people like the Nenets. I think the Nenets were down to 2000 people in 1913, and it is quite clear that the socialist revolution saved them from utter extinction. But what happened when these people, who were starving and dying out as nomads, became fish canners and collective fish farmers? Or what happened to their society when their hunters were organized into socialist collectives, and their reindeer herds became part of a collective farm system?

In some societies a written language itself was an innovation, the Kazakhs, for example. In others, electricity. In others regular communication was a miracle. Most people in the Soviet Union are taught that it is the duty of the advanced societies to give everything possible to the less advanced.

In Australia today there is still a remnant of the aboriginal people left, but even as I write they are about to have some of their last hunting grounds taken away from them and handed over to American mineral interests. That example is typical of hundreds of others in our world. Look at West Africa, for instance. Or the rich farmlands of Rhodesia. The tragedy of impoverishment and exploitation is being written every day in these countries, which is why the success achieved in the multinational republics of the USSR is so important. The old aboriginal woman in my Australian country

town had never heard of the USSR, but today the young Africa has heard of it as well as millions of suppressed people the world over. That is the kind of life they aim at and which some day they will achieve.

KURBANYCHBEK MALIKOV

Invitation to Kirghizstan

*The time has come to tell people in many countries
Where we're being maligned and defamed:
Come to Kirghizstan—
Have a look at us with your own eyes!*

*Walk through this land of valleys and mountains,
Listen to what the streams are singing,
Listen to the gardens and the cornfields
Communicating with the blue-eyed and boundless sky.*

*Gladly, we'll show you how we live, in true colors,
Be bold, start on your journey, cast aside your doubts!
In any Kirghiz mountain village you will be welcomed,
As our land has welcomed guests from time immemorial,
With heartfelt hospitality, we will spread the tablecloth,
Pour koumiss and cold sour milk into your bowls,
Cook Kirghiz lamb and noodle stew for your dinner . . .
Drop into the home of a miner, a shepherd,
A construction worker, poet or sugar-beet grower . . .
Why, the whole world knows that
Without getting to know a people,
You're not going to know their country.*

*Look into everything . . .
We have no secrets.
We carry no hidden motive in our hearts.
If you like—we'll go to a Kirghiz summer pasture;
If you like—we'll go to the ballet.*

*Look all around.
Really you can't escape the truth:*

KURBANYCHBEK MALIKOV is People's Poet of Kirghizia.

*Here is our Academy of Sciences . . .
Here the clinic where an expert surgeon
Reanimates a lifeless heart.*

*The world has heard much about us,
They know of us in near and far-off lands,
In England and in India.
The words of Shakespeare
Have often sounded from our Kirghiz stage.*

*Small wonder that everything you saw today
Is mixed up with what they've drummed into you.
They said my people were in chains,
Languishing in hopeless darkness.
While here they are on top of a sunny summit.*

*From one end of our land to the other,
No matter where you cast your eye,
Everywhere there is an unheard-of sweep of work . . .
Free labor,
A joyous life,
The sun of our just rule,
The happiness won after struggles,
And the radiant road to Communism.*

*No matter how you may curb the racing wind,
We will not be destroyed by lies or guns,
We are forever united in our Union,
In our tried and tested Leninist friendship.*

*So, look,
Look all around!
We do not need to borrow the wealth of others,
Our wealth is the sacred work of our hands,
The fruit of equality and fraternity.*

*Look at a people who recognize no limits
To their labor, their daring deeds, their discoveries—
Everything of which we, the Kirghiz people, are proud
Is in full view . . .
Look, do!
Look!*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of NAN BRAYMER.
Slightly abridged for reasons of space.

AUGUSTA STRONG

Angela Davis In the Soviet Union

“THERE IS a saying in the Orient . . . what is more powerful than fire . . . what is stronger than stone? And the answer is the friendship of peoples. . . .”

These were among the words of greeting extended by Mikhail Georgadze, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the heroic young Black Communist Angela Davis, as she began a spectacular journey through the Soviet Union to thank the millions of Soviet citizens who had supported the worldwide movement for her freedom. While he spoke of the fraternal ties that bind the many nationalities which comprise the Soviet Union, he referred as well to the proletarian internationalism which has aided so many victims of imperialism.

This friendship poured forth in a joyous flood of welcome to Angela from men, women and children in the streets, from officials, from youth and students, from industrial and rural workers the length and breadth of the Soviet Union, wherever she went, from the “Hero City” Leningrad to the ancient, legendary Samarkand.

The Soviet people had followed the course of her ordeal with warm admiration and love, seeing in her an example of the fight of oppressed people of all races for complete economic and political freedom. They expressed their feelings in many gifts and honors. She was awarded the Lenin Jubilee Medal by the USSR Supreme Soviet; the Medal of Honor of the Lenin Komsomol (the first time the Communist Youth organization had so honored a foreigner). While Komsomol leaders saluted her as “the best representative of the young generation,” Angela spoke feelingly of “the tremendous organization of young people in my defense” as “the highest example of proletarian internationalism.” She was awarded an honorary pro-

AUGUSTA STRONG has long been active in the Black liberation movement. A writer and former teacher, she is a contributing editor of *Freedomways* magazine. She is preparing for her doctorate in linguistics. She is at present in Moscow, where her husband, Joseph North, is correspondent of the *Daily World*, and she will be sending further articles to NWR.

ANGELA DAVIS

fessorship at Moscow University, and an honorary doctorate at Tashkent University in the Uzbek Republic. The City of Samarkand made her an honorary citizen. The 80,000 workers of the vast Kirov machine-building and metallurgical plant in Leningrad elected her an honorary worker. Amid hundreds of children at the Moscow Young Pioneer Palace, she was made a honorary member of their organization—telling them in response that in her days of solitary confinement in prison, “I never felt alone because of all the thousands and thousands of letters with messages of sympathy and love which came from the children of the Soviet Union.”

Invited as the guest of the Central Committee of the CPSU (she is a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA) and by the Soviet Women’s Committee, Angela’s visit from August 27 to September 10, was the first stage of a trip that included the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Cuba and Chile, all of which had launched national movements on her behalf. Accompanying her were Franklin Alexander, National Coordinator of the Angela Defense Committee, and Kendra Alexander, an active organizer of the defense movement. Again and again in Moscow, in Ulyanovsk (the city of Lenin’s birth), in Leningrad, and in the Uzbek Republic, Angela returned to the central theme of her visit:

“The Soviet Union is the first stop in our journey to socialist countries, not only because the first socialist revolution was waged here, but in the sense that it is the bastion of socialism throughout the world. Not only did the Soviet Union play a central role in organizing support for my freedom . . . but it gives material and moral support to the freedom of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are fighting the aggression of US imperialism. . . . It is the defender of all victims of capitalist greed and injustice. . . .”

“During the long months of my imprisonment and during my trial, your many thousands of messages were a constant source of strength and courage. Your countless protest actions—from the statements by distinguished Soviet scientists to the cards sent by the youngest children—had a profound impact on the government of my country. Together with other peoples of the world socialist community, you decisively influenced the outcome of my trial. If not for your practice of proletarian internationalism, I might still be behind prison walls today.”

The year was a particularly timely one for such a visit, for throughout the Soviet Union the people are celebrating a grand national fete in observance of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, joining in a single union—

where all are equal—European with Asian and Middle Eastern peoples, who had known only exploitation and degradation under the Tsarist regimes.

The full significance of that day, some fifty years ago, came vividly to life many times during the visit of the Americans, beginning with the moment when Mme. Yadgar Nasriddinova, Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, welcomed Angela at the reception in which she received the Lenin Jubilee Medal. Mme. Nasriddinova, exemplifying in her own person the stirring truths of the equality of women and of national minorities, told how before the Revolution women were sequestered from the world, symbolically and actually, by the veils which concealed their faces, but are today engaged in all aspects of the economic, political, social and cultural life of their communities.

She described how friendship, equality and common interest among its more than 100 nationalities made possible social, economic, and cultural advances for each of the components of the Soviet Union. Since the Revolution, the national income of the Russian Federation, a region once favored above the other, has increased 92 times; but it has multiplied a miraculous 2000 times in many of the national areas. More than 40 nationalities, she said, whose speech and traditions had been handed down for centuries by word of mouth, now have developed their own alphabets and a written language; and their poems and their sagas have become part of the cultural life of the world, as well as of the Soviet Union which publishes books in 89 of the national languages of its peoples.

Only a few days later, visiting Uzbekistan, Angela saw with her own eyes the mammoth changes which had taken place since the Revolution. One of the most impressive sights was the beautiful new city of Tashkent, reconstructed by manpower and materials liberally and spontaneously contributed by sister republics of the Soviet Union, the national government, and the Communist Party, after an earthquake in April 1966 destroyed almost half the city. Workers from each of the 14 other national republics streamed in, working shoulder to shoulder as they had in repelling the fascists in World War II—in affirmation of life, in the socialist spirit of “all for one—one for all.”

There in Uzbekistan, Angela visited a vast textile mill, probably one of the largest in the world, staffed primarily by women, from its directors down to the newest young trainee. She met women trade union, party, and government leaders, whose mothers a generation ago gathered in a public ceremony to burn the veils that had hidden

them from the world and been the badge of their inferior rank. She met with leading scientists and educators who are continuing the scholarly tradition of the renowned 15th century humanist, mathematician, and astronomer, Ulug-bek, when Samarkand was once the capital of a vast empire and a center of learning and culture. She spoke before hundreds of cheering students at the University of Tashkent, whose student body of 15,000 includes many young Black men and women from African nations, with which the Uzbek Republic maintains cordial relations. The same enthusiasm greeted Angela and her friends in Samarkand, where the Uzbek socialist regime has restored the storied beauty of its ancient monuments and built, as well, a gleaming modern city for today's inhabitants, with every requisite for work, health, and leisure.

Accepting the honorary degree of doctor, she told the teachers and students of the University of Tashkent:

“I stand with you forever for a science, an education, for life and not for death.

“I stand with you in this great 50th year of the formation of the USSR for the full liberation and equality of all states and peoples.

“I accept this award with the pledge that I shall do all in my power to help create a world of peaceful coexistence so that our two people can live together without wars or threats of wars. And with the further pledge that I shall do all in my power to end the racism in my country, as I have seen it ended in yours, so that our children, like yours, of all colors and nationalities, can sit and study together, equals in any schools they attend, friends and comrades.”

She saw socialism in action, transforming a half million acres of once unproductive desert land into a great man-made oasis, covered with vast fields of bursting cotton bolls, being harvested and piled into snowy mountains by mechanized cotton pickers, driven by the skilled hands of young Uzbek men and women. In the area known as the “Hungry Steppe,” Uzbekistan plans to reclaim even more of the two million acres of wasteland, creating more and more the material means for the care and comfort of its people.

“The slogan, ‘national in form and socialist in content,’ has acquired a new meaning for me,” Angela told her audiences many times. “We were deeply concerned to see the answer to the national question in action. . . . We saw that it is wholly possible to maintain national identity, and at the same time build a supreme unity, and to move toward a Communist society.”

Wherever she traveled, Angela sought information on how women were faring under socialism. Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, the

only woman astronaut who has explored outer space, as Chairman of the Women's Committee of the Soviet Union, was her frequent companion. Angela had met leading women in government, trade unions and mass organizations, in the Communist Party, in universities and schools. She learned that in addition to the 463 women deputies to the Supreme Soviet, hundreds of thousands of women filled lesser positions in local government throughout the Soviet Union.

She also heard that one of the major concerns of the Communist Party at its 24th Congress last year had been the creation of the optimum conditions for the full freedom of women, and that further advances were part of the recently adopted Ninth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975) which would make it possible for housewives as well as working women to combine their responsibilities as citizens, mothers, and public figures.

Among the goals set was a tremendous expansion of personal services such as public catering, laundry, cleaning, and other house-keeping aids as a major branch of Soviet industry; provision for another two million preschool children in nurseries and kindergartens, in addition to the 9.5 million who now attend; the building of new apartments for 11 million people annually for the next five years; the building of additional Pioneer camps and other facilities for school-age children, as well as new rest homes for mothers with children.

The children, Angela was told, "are the only privileged class in our society." She found the children beautiful and unforgettable. Speaking of the children of the poor and from the ghettos in her native land, Angela noted that "the real significance of your achievements can be read on the faces of your children . . . children of all colors, of all nationalities and facial features. This is really symbolic of what Jose Marti said, that children are the hope of humanity."

She met Soviet children by the hundreds at their Pioneer palaces, vast, well-equipped community centers provided for children in their neighborhoods. Angela saw them engaged in dozens of leisure-time activities, from simple play for the very youngest to the serious pursuit of such hobbies as music, ballet and dance, model ship and airplane building, botany and physics, and an introduction to space travel training among the teenagers. Thousands upon thousands of letters had been written by the Soviet children in behalf of Angela's freedom; and each child knew her name, her face, and her heroism. "I never felt alone," Angela told the children, ". . . in my small, bare cell, I was never alone because of all the messages of sympathy and love I received from children, especially the many thousands of letters from the Soviet Union."

Everywhere crowds of working men and women came to meet her, bearing armfuls of flowers in token of the welcome that beamed in their smiles and flashed on the colorful banners they carried with welcoming slogans. In Moscow she spoke before the workers of the Likhachev Auto Plant, where 70,000 of them had participated in the campaign for her freedom, and in Leningrad at the century-old Kirov machine-building and metallurgical plant, another giant enterprise, where some 80,000 workers, proud of their great revolutionary tradition, had joined the "Free Angela" defense movement.

Crowds sprang up whenever she appeared in the streets, with parents holding little children above their heads so they could see Angela and wave to her. She was told that many women were naming their newborn daughters after her. Poems about her by leading poets were read at some of the meetings she attended. Her reception was especially memorable among the Komsomol youth, who in Moscow alone had held meetings attended by half a million youths during her incarceration, and at Moscow University, where students jammed the corridors and stairs, the lobbies and the auditorium to applaud her in the name of proletarian internationalism.

Perhaps the most personally moving climax of her days in Moscow for Angela and her companions was the afternoon spent at Lumumba University, the remarkable Soviet institution named for the African martyr assassinated in the Congo by colonialist reactionaries. Its student body is composed primarily of young men and women from 87 countries of Africa, Asia, the Arabic nations of the Middle East, and Latin America.

At their assembly, in an atmosphere of emotional silence, students sat totally absorbed, their faces at times expressing wonder, sorrow, or joy, as they listened to their own spokesmen—and later Angela herself—talk about her experiences. They rose as one to second the words of a young African woman, a student of history and philosophy: "We welcome you on behalf of African women and all African students. We are grateful for your visit. You have become an example of the fight of all oppressed people for complete economic and political freedom. In the world, reactionaries persecute revolutionaries—but there is unity of revolutionaries. We are with you in your fight against reactionary imperialism and racism." This theme was repeated by a medical student from Bangladesh, a mathematics and physics student from Chile, a Lebanese student in agriculture, and a woman philology major, representing Soviet students at the University, who concluded: "Your fight was not only a fight for your own liberation. It gave impetus to the fight for the freedom of all political prisoners and

impetus to the struggle for socialism and peace in the United States.”

In her final appearance before the Soviet public, on a national television program, heard, it is estimated, by some 100 million viewers, Angela told how deeply she had been moved by the overwhelmingly warm reception she and her colleagues had met everywhere, and expressed gratitude both on her own behalf and that of the Communist Party of the United States, and on behalf of the many Americans who had worked for her release. She pledged to bring back to the United States the story of Soviet achievement and the meaning socialism holds for the youth, the poor, the oppressed minorities, and the working men and women of America.

Earlier, in a personal reference to some of the influences that had shaped her life, she had told her listeners: “Once one experiences life in the United States, especially the racism and exploitation which is so blatant, especially in Southern states—particularly if four of one’s young friends, four young girls are slaughtered by racists. . . . If against this background you are learning something about Marxism-Leninism, it is impossible not to understand that socialism is the only answer to all this madness.”

In an exclusive interview with the US National Black News Service, following her tour of Tashkent, Angela said: “Brown-skinned Asians were all around and white Europeans were by their side and nobody shunned one another.

“It never occurred to them to speak about the color of the skin. Only the merits and personal qualities make the value of a person. All this arouses a feeling of profound satisfaction with us Black US citizens, since the problem of the relations of whites and Blacks is the most acute and vital of all the present-day problems of our state.”

* Angela’s reference here was to the tragic circumstance when four children, attending the First Baptist Church in Birmingham, were victims of a bomb planted by white racists. Angela, a child herself at the time, had been a playmate of the murdered little girls.

ROCKWELL KENT

*Famous American artist; former Chairman (1957-71),
National Council of American Soviet Friendship*

WE AMERICANS should be grateful to the Soviet people for giving an example of how a great and strong nation can live and prosper, peacefully coexisting with the rest of humanity and fighting for the preservation and strengthening of world peace. The Soviet people have already contributed very much, and will contribute much, to . . . bringing happiness to the whole of mankind.

E. H. S. BURHOP

The Soviet Peace Policy: For Detente and Disarmament

EVER SINCE the earliest days after the October Revolution, the Soviet Government has put the struggle for peace in the forefront of its policy. Practically the first act of the young revolutionary government was the proclamation of the decree on peace, and consistently throughout the years a policy of peace coupled with disarmament has been followed by the USSR.

After 40 years I can still recall the sensation aroused when the Soviet delegation outlined its policy at the World Conference on Disarmament in 1932. They proposed a complete abolition of armaments. The shock that reverberated around the chancelleries of the world could not have been greater if their representatives had uttered a string of four-letter words. If they could not achieve total and complete disarmament, then they proposed partial methods such as the abolition of the bombing airplane, a proposal which was also haughtily rejected. Speaking in parliament a little later, the United Kingdom Minister for Air, Lord Londonderry, preened himself on his sagacity in resisting this outrageous proposal which would, he said, have deprived the Royal Air Force of its most prized weapon which was absolutely essential to keep the peace by bombing the villages of the tribesmen on the Northwest frontier of India. Forty years later the people of Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, London, Dresden, Hamburg, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Vietnam, must have a different estimate of his morality, if not his sagacity.

But already the Weimar Republic was tottering, Hitler and his storm troopers were on the move. A new danger threatened the Western democracies and the Soviet Union alike. The Soviet Gov-

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ernment responded by joining the League of Nations and its talented and inspiring foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, led the campaign for collective security. "Peace is Indivisible" was the slogan that swept round the world.

But the response of the West was prevarication and appeasement. One by one the bastions of Central Europe that could have been defended were surrendered without a fight. The rape of Czechoslovakia was followed by the Munich pact. Even after Hitler had torn it to shreds the Western attitude toward the call for collective security was irresolute and equivocal. Finally at the last possible moment, when it was clear that the Western powers had no serious intention of reaching an agreement for joint action with the Soviet Union, the latter decided that every country had to look after its own defense. To gain time they concluded the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement. It was a time of deepest gloom and despair for anti-Fascist fighters but in retrospect it is difficult to see any alternative which would not have ended in a Nazi attack on the Soviet Union with at least the support and most probably the actual participation in some form of the Western powers.

The inevitable Nazi attack on the Soviet Union cost her over 20 million lives, including some of her most talented and devoted young people. Even with Britain and America as allies it was one of the hardest and bitterest struggles in history.

One could have hoped that when victory came it would have been possible for the Soviet state to relax its preoccupation with defense and turn to the almost superhuman task of rebuilding its shattered economy. But there was no respite. During the war its Western allies had been developing, under conditions of the greatest secrecy, in the US and Canada, a tremendously destructive new weapon, the atomic bomb, many thousands of times as explosive weight for weight as any previous weapon. It made use of the discovery of the process of nuclear fission by two German scientists in 1938 which enabled nuclear energy, the source from which the sun draws its heat, to be harnessed on earth and used in a bomb.

The development of the atomic bomb and its repercussions have prevented until this day the establishment of real peace. Agreements were made between the Allies which were to be the blueprints for the postwar world and which formed the background to the meetings in San Francisco in 1945 where the United Nations came into existence. These agreements envisaged continued cooperation between the wartime allies, but they had been worked out before the first successful test of an atomic bomb. The successful demonstration

of the test explosion at Alamogordo, N.M. in July 1945, quickly followed by the nuclear holocausts at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, made the US and British military leaders and their less scrupulous and farsighted politicians feel dizzy with success.

The British however were soon pushed aside. This was to be the American century. There was no need to guide the postwar world in a way that respected the views and vital interests of allies. The British and some others would sometimes be tolerated so long as they knew their place and did not stand in the way of US aims. But the great new power of nuclear energy would enable the US to maintain the system of imperialism over most of the world, would prevent the spread of socialist ideas and the emergence of genuine nationalist movements in the colonial world. The US would be in a position to strike a mortal pre-emptive blow with the new weapons against the Soviet Union if she should interfere. In fact there was a strong body of US opinion which advocated doing this anyhow, just in case. The cold war against the Soviet Union and the new popular democracies on its borders had begun and threatened to erupt at any time into a new nuclear war.

This was the situation faced by the Soviet Union when it emerged from its victorious but crippling struggle against Nazi Germany. The wave of horror that went round the world at news of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki led to a demand from many sides for the banning of these new weapons. In this situation, in 1946, the US came forward with proposals, not for banning but for international control of nuclear weapons, the so-called Baruch plan. At the same time plans for producing fissile material would be distributed throughout the world and managed by an international consortium. On the face of it the US Government seemed to be offering to share its own nuclear capacity with the rest of the world on condition no other nation should independently try to develop such a capacity. The Soviet Government saw it differently however. To them it seemed clear that the Baruch plan would only serve to maintain the US monopoly because the US and its friends would have a permanent majority on any control or management authority. When to this was added the demand for almost unlimited inspection powers and the abrogation of the unanimity rule of the five major powers, which was the unalterable basis on which the Soviet Union had agreed to join in establishing the United Nations, the Baruch plan appeared to the Soviet Government as a blueprint not only for the American century but for the American millenium.

Soviet foreign policy had to face its most severe test. Undoubtedly

the world could not be secure until nuclear weapons were brought under control and outlawed. The Baruch plan was ostensibly directed towards controlling them and so had a specious appeal to many liberals.

The Soviet Union responded by demanding that all nuclear weapons must be destroyed, their use outlawed. No more must be built. Nuclear energy must be developed exclusively for peaceful purposes. At the same time, realizing that their own weak position vis-a-vis the bomb made it unlikely that their call for the destruction of existing stockpiles and the cessation of the production of further bombs would be accepted, they decided immediately to proceed with great speed to develop their own nuclear weapons.

This decision was a sad one for the Soviet Government to have to make. Tremendous tasks of reconstruction faced them. Yet they had to divert very large technical resources of material and manpower to the unpalatable task of nuclear weapon development. It was also a decision involving great danger. In the US and even in Britain, some people, bemused by the apparently absolute power conferred by the bomb, were calling for a pre-emptive strike to destroy Soviet power before it could develop the bomb. It was a criminally mad program, unrealistic and based on a gross overestimation of US power even at that time. Nevertheless not a few intellectuals who should have known better went along with this demand. Even Bertrand Russell lent the weight of his great prestige to this campaign at that time although later he came to understand the wickedness and folly of it and played a most important role in the campaign for nuclear disarmament.

Fortunately there was wide popular opposition to any such policy. Perhaps the most critical time was in the early part of the Korean war in 1950 after the Korean people, assisted by the Chinese volunteers, had driven the US forces almost out of Korea and it appeared that President Truman was contemplating unleashing the bomb. The pressure in Britain against this policy was now so great that Premier Attlee flew to Washington to try to dissuade him from such a disastrous course. The crisis passed without use of the bomb.

With the development of the Soviet bomb, and in 1954 with the almost simultaneous development of the US and Soviet hydrogen bombs, the possibility of a US pre-emptive strike without fear of retaliation in kind had passed. The danger from nuclear war, if it should break out, however, was greatly increased. The development of the hydrogen bomb represented another thousand-fold increase in the destructiveness of the weapon.

Following the submission of the Baruch proposals and counter proposals submitted by Mr. Gromyko for the Soviet Government, negotiations were continued in the Atomic Energy Commission and various other committees set up by the UN Security Council. Progress was very slow on the problem of the elimination of nuclear weapons. Roughly the positions of the two sides could be summarized by saying the US wanted much inspection and little nuclear disarmament, while the USSR wanted minimum inspection and maximum nuclear disarmament. By 1955, however, when questions of nuclear disarmament were linked with disarmament in conventional weapons, agreement seemed close. Both the US and UK delegates confirmed that the policy of their governments was for "the total prohibition of manufacture, possession and use of nuclear weapons." The Western delegates put forward proposals for reduction of conventional weapons and military forces to specific levels, the proportionate reduction of nuclear stockpiles as a step toward their total abolition, and the setting up of an international organ for inspection and control. In an historic paper of May 10, 1955, the Soviet delegate, Mr. Yakov Malik, put forward a Draft Resolution on Disarmament and International Control which, in the words of Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, "were a far-reaching acceptance of the major policies which the Western delegate had urged."*

The Western delegates gave a favorable reception to the Soviet draft and interpreted it as accepting the Western proposals. Against the Soviet wishes, however, the meeting of the sub-committee discussing these problems adjourned for 3½ months. When it reassembled the US delegate stated ". . . the United States does now place a reservation upon all of its pre-Geneva substantive positions taken in this Sub-Committee or in the Disarmament Commission, or in the United Nations on these questions in relationship to levels of armaments, pending the outcome of our study, jointly or separately, of inspection methods and control arrangements." In other words, when, after years of discussion the Soviet Union had come round to accepting the Western proposals, including inspection and control, and agreement seemed within grasp, the Western powers reneged on their own proposals. No wonder many people, and not only in the Soviet Union, concluded that the Western proposals had been a great hoax, put forward to deceive public opinion, never expecting the Soviet Union to accept them. When the Soviet Union did accept them, the bluff was called and the proposals withdrawn. Memories

* *The Arms Race*, by Philip Noel-Baker. Alexander Books, London, 1958, p. 213.

of people are all too short. Otherwise they would have not so quickly forgotten this cynical trifling with one of the most serious problems that has ever faced mankind. Never since that time have we been so close to apparent agreement on real measures of disarmament. Never since have the Western delegates rendered even lip service to the complete abolition of nuclear weapons. On the contrary, "strategic" nuclear weapons are considered the keystone of their policy of deterrence to keep the peace generally, "tactical" nuclear weapons the keystone of their policy of graduated response to keep the peace in Europe. The Soviet Government has never ceased to struggle for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons, and all possible steps in this direction.

Negotiations have been continued and some progress has been made. The Limited Test Ban Treaty, concluded in 1963, prohibits nuclear explosives in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, but still permits an unlimited number of underground test explosions. Unfortunately two of the nuclear powers, France and China, have not signed this treaty.

The Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, signed in 1968, prevents the transfer of nuclear weapon production capacity from nuclear to non-nuclear powers and provides safeguards to prevent diversion of fissile materials from peacetime to weapons use.

Other agreements prohibit nuclear weapons being put on the moon or other celestial bodies, in orbit round the earth, in Antarctica, in Latin America, or on the sea-bed.

None of these agreements calls for any reduction of armaments. They may serve to reduce the rate of expansion of nuclear armaments and so prevent a bad situation becoming worse.

The one field in which actual agreement on disarmament has been reached and is being implemented is that of biological weapons. The "Convention on the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological (biological) and toxic weapons and on their destruction," represents a total ban on biological weapons under all conditions. (The Soviet Union has long pressed for a ban on the use of chemical weapons of war, such as those used to kill and poison in Vietnam, but the US has thus far refused.)

It would be wrong to underestimate the value of these limited agreements. They have helped to create an atmosphere of greater confidence in which progress toward real steps of nuclear disarmament is possible. President Kennedy, in announcing the conclusion of the Limited Test Ban Treaty, quoted the Chinese proverb "A journey of one thousand miles starts with a single step."

Nevertheless it would be wrong to overestimate their importance. All the time these discussions have been taking place the arms race has continued. At a time when many more resources are needed to deal with the problems of poverty at home and under-development abroad, astronomical sums are being devoted to sustaining the arms race. Nevertheless in the 1960's, particularly after the Cuba crisis in 1962, a certain stability in the arms race was reached. This was based on the development by both the USSR and the US of the so-called "second-strike capacity." This means that either side could absorb a pre-emptive first strike attack from the other side and still maintain sufficient retaliatory power in the form of hard underground-based missiles or submarine-based missiles, to mount a retaliatory strike of crippling and unacceptable capacity on its antagonist. This is the doctrine of the maintenance of peace through mutual terror. If either side should miscalculate, the results of their folly would appear in the form of hundreds of millions of dead in the countries directly concerned and probably many more millions of casualties among nations not directly involved, as a result of secondary effects from radioactive fallout. To maintain this quasi-stability based on the second strike capacity, neither side must develop so-called "first strike" capacity. This means that neither side should develop such offensive power that it could destroy the "hardened" land-based missile sites or the missile-carrying submarines of the other. At the same time the defenses of the cities and industrial areas should not be made so impregnable that they could withstand the weight of the retaliatory attack of the victim of a first strike. In the crazy logic of the balance of terror any system that increases the defensive capacity of the populated or industrial centers is bad, while a system that increases the defensive capacities of the missile launchers is good and stabilizing.

In recent years technical developments appear capable of destroying this quasi-stability. On the one hand these include the development of so-called MIRV (multiple, independently-targeted re-entry vehicle) systems. In these, at a certain stage the missile breaks up into a number of independent (some say up to 10) smaller missiles, each carrying a nuclear warhead and each independently and accurately guided on to a different target. Thus a single missile could pick out accurately ten missile sites and destroy them. The capacity of the side first developing MIRV could then be so augmented that it would not only be able to wipe out all the retaliatory capacity of the other side, but would have sufficient warheads left over to threaten the complete destruction of the cities and the industrial

areas of the other. The possibility of a pre-emptive first strike would again become credible.

On the other hand recent years have seen the possibility of the development of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. These involve sophisticated developments in radar, rocketry and nuclear weapon technology. Large and very sensitive radar arrays detect on-coming missiles when they are still many thousands of miles away from their target and plot their course. The information is fed to launchers of large missiles armed with powerful nuclear warheads. These interceptor missiles are fired so that they will pass within less than about one mile of the on-coming offensive missile. At the point of closest approach this nuclear warhead is detonated and the intense radiations generated destroy the sensitive detonation mechanism of the on-coming missile, effectually defusing its nuclear warhead. This long-range interception will occur many hundreds of miles above the earth and generally over the territory of some other country. The very fine radioactive particles from the nuclear explosion will contaminate the high atmosphere and gradually fall out over a number of years and on countries all around the world.

If the long-range interception fails there still remain a number of local interception systems to fall back on. These consist of a large number of much less powerful local radars linked with missiles armed with smaller nuclear warheads which can intercept and destroy the oncoming nuclear weapon much closer to its target. These will intercept at a much lower altitude and will produce local radioactive fallout.

Estimates of the likely effectiveness of ABM systems vary from a few per cent success to about ninety per cent success. None can guarantee complete security so that the reaction to the development of an ABM system by one side would certainly be the development of more numerous, more powerful and more sophisticated offensive missiles by the other side, in order to penetrate it. The rising spiral of the arms race would take another upward turn. Mr. Robert MacNamara, the former US Defense Secretary, who was certainly no dove, once commented that by going ahead with the deployment of ABM and associated MIRV systems they were likely to increase the arms bill by a factor of about ten and at the end would have bought less security.

It was against this background of the crazy escalation of the nuclear arms race that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) have been taking place between US and Soviet representatives over the past several years. The first fruits of these talks was the agree-

ment concluded between the two governments on the occasion of President Nixon's visit to Moscow in May of this year. According to this agreement each side agrees to limit their ABM deployment to the protection of two areas each of approximately 100 miles radius. One of these areas on each side will include Washington and Moscow respectively. The other will include an assemblage of land-based launchers for inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBM).

This treaty limits defensive systems against nuclear attack. It has been found much more difficult to agree on limiting development of offensive nuclear weapons. The two sides however concluded an interim agreement not to start building new fixed land-based ICBM launchers after July 1, 1972, and not to convert existing ICBM's into launchers capable of putting up heavier (presumably MIRV) missiles. Nothing was said about land-based MIRVs, either existing or under construction. With regard to submarine-launchers the total number is to be limited to the number at present operational or under construction but no agreement was reached prohibiting the conversion of existing types to make them capable of launching MIRVs. However the two countries agreed to continue negotiations aimed at limiting strategic offensive arms.

Previous attempts, even at more limited agreements than the present, have foundered on the rock of inspection. Only "national technical means of verification" are called for in the treaty. Such means no doubt include the use of so-called "spy satellites" and it is remarkable how far this kind of technology has advanced to make the familiar argument of yesteryear so out of date.

One has only to spell out the provisions of the new treaty to realize its limitations. Mankind desperately needs a decisive turn toward disarmament so that the tremendous amount of natural resources wasted in the arms race can be devoted to the abolition of poverty and the increase of human wealth and well-being; so that the knowledge and ingenuity of scientists and technologists can be turned toward the solution of all the pressing problems of modern life: the environment, the population explosion, the development of new substitute materials. The present treaty is not a disarmament treaty. Its aim is to make the "deterrent" method of preventing nuclear war more likely to succeed in the period immediately ahead and to prevent a catastrophic increase in the arms bill.

Nevertheless it is quite wrong to write this treaty off, as some commentators try, as valueless and of no significance. It is surely a matter of some importance that the two most powerful nations have jointly affirmed their intention not only to avoid situations

likely to carry the risk of nuclear confrontation, but also to work for general and complete disarmament.

The true magnitude of the advance will only be assessed after the next stage of talks when it is seen whether agreement is possible also on offensive weapons. The present interim agreement on such weapons leaves some alarming loopholes. There is no limitation on qualitative improvement of the weapons that will be deployed from existing launchers. During recent years there has been a great improvement in the accuracy with which missiles can be guided on to their target. This increased accuracy together with the development of MIRV leaves open the possibility that even within the framework of the interim agreement on offensive weapons concluded in Moscow, it may be possible for one or the other side to develop pre-emptive first-strike capacity. The implications of this can be judged by the fact that military strategists in the US are already discussing the idea of "launch on warning." This idea discounts the possibility of defending missile sites by ABM and proposes that the only sure way of surviving a pre-emptive attack is by launching some of the ICBM's before all of them are destroyed on the ground.

The meaning of this kind of thinking is frightening. We are back to the days of the campaign for pre-emptive first strike, of accidental war through misinterpretation of indications on a radar screen. But it is a situation where the consequences of mistake are far greater and more threatening than ten years ago. There is clearly urgent need for the major nuclear powers to hasten their discussion so that the second stage of the SALT discussions may soon be concluded and the loopholes left after the Nixon-Brezhnev agreements of May 1972 plugged, so that the further qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons which might again make pre-emptive attack credible, is prevented.

However, although agreement between the major nuclear powers is very important it is not sufficient. Disarmament is not a problem of the USA and USSR alone. Nuclear weapons are not only to be evaluated in terms of their role as a deterrent. Nuclear weapons have also been developed by less powerful nations—United Kingdom, France, China—presumably for political reasons and to support their foreign policy, which is certainly of concern to many non-nuclear nations. We have seen in Vietnam how non-nuclear weapons of a most sophisticated and terrible character such as defoliants, napalm, anti-personnel weapons, cratering explosives, electronic battlefield, can be used. Wars of a "conventional" type can continue even under a nuclear interdiction.

The philosophy of the SALT talks is the balance of terror. From the point of view of the USA and the USSR this is a realistic approach at the present time and the talks serve a very important and essential aim. However even when the second stage of SALT talks has been successfully concluded, no nuclear disarmament will have occurred, only a stabilization of arms at the present frightening level. This cannot be the basis of a lasting peace. We must turn from the stabilized deterrent to real nuclear disarmament. The aim must be general and complete disarmament at the earliest possible moment. This cannot be achieved through discussions of the two strongest nuclear powers, nor of the five nuclear powers alone. All countries, small or large, must participate. It is entirely in line with the consistent policy of the Soviet Union for peace and disarmament that the proposal for a World Disarmament Conference before the United Nations Assembly should have come from the Soviet Union. While a resolution supporting the Soviet call for a World Disarmament Conference was passed by the 1971 General Assembly, the opposition, especially by the United States and the Chinese People's Republic, blocked Soviet proposals for concrete steps for its implementation. The resolution did, however, provide that the agenda, date and other details of the conference should be discussed at the Fall, 1972 General Assembly.*

Mankind cries out for such a conference, and it must be a successful conference leading to a breakthrough toward actual disarmament. The preparation of a World Disarmament Conference must be considered the most important task of all those working for peace in all countries.

The signing of the agreement on the first stage of the SALT negotiations was accompanied by a number of other agreements between the USA and the USSR on cooperation in various fields. Of great interest to us in Europe is the statement which pledges the two governments to contribute toward "a genuine detente and the development of relations of peaceful cooperation among states in Europe on the basis of territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, sovereign equality, independence and renunciation of the use or threat of force."

These are unfamiliar words for an American President, but should be welcomed by all the peoples of Europe, especially as the state-

* Since the above was written, the Soviet Government, through Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, has submitted to the 27th session of the UN (Fall, 1972) a proposed UN resolution for the renunciation of force or threat of force in international relations and prohibition for all time of use of nuclear weapons.

ment goes on to support the summoning of a well-prepared Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Such a conference is overdue. The situation in Europe where the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries confront each other has been potentially one of great danger for many years. The defense strategy of the Western powers is based on the theory of the so-called "tactical" nuclear weapons in response to any attack using conventional weapons by the Warsaw Pact countries lasting more than a few days. The situation is less alarming than it was until a few years ago when the so-called "trip wire" strategy was being used, which would have involved almost immediately nuclear response to a conventional attack.

The strategy is not credible. Nobody is agreed on what distinguishes "tactical" from other nuclear weapons. Certainly there is no agreement with the Warsaw Pact countries on any such distinction. The use of nuclear weapons in Germany would convert the greater part of the country into radioactive ruin. The other European NATO countries would risk the destruction of their main cities and industries.

European security cannot be based on such a strategy. What is needed is a pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, mutual withdrawal of troops many hundreds of miles back from the frontier; removal of nuclear weapons from this area and of all except light defensive armaments; the working out of agreements on scientific, technical, cultural and trade relations; the support of every method that can contribute to detente between the countries of the socialist and non-socialist world. With such items on its agenda, a Conference on European Security could remove one of the most dangerous potential areas of conflict and help prepare the way for success in the World Disarmament Conference.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that also for the Conference on European Security and Cooperation it is the Soviet Government that has carried the ball. It was their proposal which they have supported diplomatically and politically with great determination. One can surely say, after fifty years of the existence of the USSR, that its basic line in foreign policy remains the consolidation of peace.

USSR FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO said at the 1972 General Assembly: "Preparations for an all-European Security Conference are soon to pass to the practical phase. The importance of this meeting is in making Europe truly peaceful and transforming the relations among European states on the basis of mutual understanding and trust. This is the course of action we stand for in European affairs."

WILLIAM J. POMEROY

Socialism and National Freedom in Central Asia

MY WIFE and I flew into Frunze late in the evening. It was quite dark before we reached lodgings on the outskirts of the city. This made it the more dramatic to waken on a bright morning and to see, unexpectedly, the breathtaking snow-capped Alatau mountain range soaring nearby into blue sky above the green, irrigated countryside of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic. When, later, we made the comparatively brief flight to Alma-Ata, capital of the adjoining Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, we were impressed by the same towering, ever-snowy range amazingly visible from all points in the city. As an experience of sudden revelation of beauty, it was typical of our whole visit to these Central Asian regions of the Soviet Union and Kazakhstan,* still relatively little known to foreign visitors.

The real beauty lies not in that natural spectacle but in the advancement made under socialism. In the cities and towns of the Western parts of the Soviet Union the structures and traces of pre-revolutionary society, and earlier, are everywhere to be seen, and one has a sense of historical transformation from a well-developed capitalism and feudalism. That is not the case in Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, or in the other Central Asian republics. There almost everything is new; virtually everything has been constructed under socialism. There one finds the original and fully-achieved "great leap" in which

* Kazakhstan, situated partly in the European part of the USSR and partly in the Asian area, is just north of the border of Central Asia, and closely associated with it.

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capitalism was bypassed in the swift change from nomadism to a socialist society.

Our trip in June 1972 was motivated by a desire not only to see evidences of the success of non-capitalist development but equally to observe advances in the interwoven theme of solution of the national question. Historically, prerevolutionary Kazakhstan and Central Asia had been a crossroads of migration and conquest, producing a tangle of oppressed ethnic groups, all with certain common features of economic life but each tenaciously clinging to its own culture. Under the feudal Uzbek khanates of the 16th to 19th centuries, Turkmenians, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Kara-kalpaks and others were ruthlessly exploited. When Tsarist Russian conquest took place in the 19th century it subjected all in turn to an essentially colonial status.

British and American bourgeois historians and anti-communist writers have tried hard to distort the nature of Soviet development in these areas, attempting to paint a picture of continued "Russification" and of "Soviet colonialism." These efforts, part of the imperialist strategy of trying to foster "nationalism" to disrupt unity among the peoples of socialist countries, have been increased in recent years, particularly during the 1972 celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union, the underlying theme of which is the national question and how it has been dealt with in a socialist society. At the time of our visit the 50th anniversary was the dominant topic in the press, on television and in posters and slogans in city streets, factories and farms. "Long Live the Friendship, Equality and Unity of Our Peoples" was a typical slogan.

Both Kirghizia and Kazakhstan are multinational republics: Kirghizia has more than 80 different nationalities, Kazakhstan over 100. Kirghiz and Kazakh minorities live in other Central Asian republics, such as Uzbekistan. Such an intermingling caused considerable difficulty when it came to national delimitation in these areas. It was nearly two decades after the October Revolution before the Kirghiz and Kazakh republics were established in 1936 as sovereign states. Previously they had existed as autonomous regions and then as autonomous republics within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. As was stressed to us repeatedly by the Kirghiz and the Kazakh representatives we met, the final delimitation of territory for the republics was not decreed from above but was arrived at through the expressed wish of the peoples concerned, after experimentation and long discussion in each district where some territorial doubt could arise.

Neither the Kirghiz nor the Kazakh people were absolute majorities in their republics: the Kirghiz in 1970 were 43.6 per cent of the population in Kirghizia, the Kazakhs 32.4 per cent in Kazakhstan. In the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, however, 222 out of the total of 482 deputies are Kazakhs, a similar ratio prevailing for the Kirghiz in their Supreme Soviet. Others are Tatar, Chuvash, Dungan, Russian, Ukrainian, Uigur, Uzbek, German, Azerbaidzhanian, Korean, and many more.

At the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences in Frunze we had a long talk with the Academy's Kirghiz vice-president, V. Zangrichanov, whose field is history. He pointed out that the solution of the national question and the creation of the Kirghiz socialist republic was not a simple, direct political step but required a long preparatory period of economic and cultural development.

"Before the Revolution," he said, "the region unfortunately was one of the most backward in Tsarist Russia. Less than one per cent of the population were literate—six out of every 1,000—and there was no Kirghiz alphabet or written language. Industry was virtually non-existent, except for a few small coal and salt mines. Agriculture, to the extent that there was any, was primitive cultivation.

"If we had been left to self-help and our own devices, and had been diverted along the line of national exclusiveness, we would have scarcely progressed to the present day. However, we had the unselfish assistance of all the other peoples in the Soviet Union, especially the Russian working class. Under directives written by Comrade Lenin, by party decisions, teachers and skilled workers were sent from Moscow, Leningrad and other places to train our people. Lenin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union gave much attention to the development of the Kirghiz people. One of their important decrees in 1921 provided 50 million gold rubles for irrigation in Central Asia, including our Chu Valley. This enabled us to cultivate sugar beets for the first time, beginning in 1925. The first sugar mill was constructed with the help of Leningrad workers. Now Kirghizia is the main sugar-producing republic in Central Asia.

"Much attention was paid to the cultural level and the education of the Kirghiz people. The building of national self-confidence based on Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism had first to overcome major obstacles. Moral and political unity among the many nationalities in our republic had to be developed along with the spirit of friendship and mutual exchanges with all the other union republics. Feudal and religious elements had been very strong in the

past, and they tried constantly to stir up national differences both among peoples and among the Kirghiz tribes themselves. Tsarist oppression left a residue of hatred for Russians, and it took years for national self-consciousness to be rooted in class consciousness and the understanding that the interests of Kirghiz and Russian workers and peasants are and always have been the same. It was a very complicated problem that took until around 1932 to overcome; the period of collectivization, too, saw much undermining activity by feudal elements.

"There was not a single research worker of Kirghiz nationality prior to the Revolution. It was not until 1949 that sufficient research cadres had been trained and the conditions created to open a higher research institute of our own. In 1943 a Kirghizian branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was established, under the chairmanship of a well-known Soviet scientist, Scriabin, but it was not until 1955 that this was converted into a full-fledged Kirghiz Academy of Sciences. Today we have 13 research institutes under the Academy, with over 1,000 research workers, 60 per cent of them under 35 years of age."

An international conference on agriculture took place, significantly, in Frunze in 1971, where Kirghiz scientific workers presented papers on non-capitalist development, particularly for the benefit of delegations from Africa and Asia. Mentioning this with pride, Zangrichanov went on:

"Up to the Revolution, and for many years afterward, all Kirghiz tribes were nomadic cattle-breeders, with virtually no knowledge of agriculture. Only some Russian and Ukrainian settlers did farming in this region. The Kirghiz people did not have settled communities but lived in *yurtas* [dome-like felt tents], transporting them from place to place. It was a great task to convince them of the advantages of agriculture and then teach them crop-raising. The actual process of establishing residence in a specific place did not get well under way until collectivization occurred during the First Five-Year Plan, not much more than 30 years ago. Now there are 245 collective farms and 103 state farms in Kirghizia, each with an average of 50 tractors and 20 combines."

We spent a day on the Sintash Kolkhoz, about 50 miles southeast of Frunze, a location of grandeur with those beautiful mountains seen across rolling green fields. Its nucleus, a small-scale farm, was organized in 1932; now it encompasses 28,000 hectares (62,000 acres).

Members of the original farm had been nomadic cattle-breeders. Today Sintash still breeds cattle, 3,000 of them, along with 700 horses,

38,000 sheep in 40 flocks, 1,800 pigs, 13,000 chickens, and is a big producer of wool, eggs, butter, cheese. However, it also raises large crops of wheat, sugar beets, rye, vegetables, fruits and fodder grass.

In a way, Sintash is a wise merger of the old and new ways of life: while crops grow on the plain at the base of the Alatau range, the bulk of cattle, horses and sheep graze high up on the slopes. In the mountains we came across two or three herdsmen or *chaban* on their wiry horses, dressed in traditional padded jackets and conical felt hats like figures out of Kirghiz folk-tales, or the stories of Chinghiz Aitmatov, the world-famous Kirghiz writer who is a product of the new socialist culture. In family groups, the herdsmen may be in these remote upland pastures for weeks, knowing an ancient affinity with the loneliness of wind and sky, but never isolated from the collective of which they are now a part. Helicopters or motorized transport deliver them newspapers and periodicals. They have radio contact with the farm leaders and transistor radios to give them music in the saddle. Clinics and supply stations dot the mountains, where television can be enjoyed. Below, on Sintash farm, is an *internat*, or boarding school, where sons and daughters of herdsmen families live in hostels and study in the absence of their parents. (We visited the school and hostels and observed that they compared favorably with those we have seen in large Soviet cities.)

There are 964 families at Sintash, a population of over 5,000. Among them are 17 nationalities, living and working in harmony. The secretary of the Sintash Party Committee, a 40-year old Kirghiz, Jangagit Kenzhaviev, who was born there and began work as an ordinary collective farmer, had no careful program mapped out for us; he let us choose the places to see and people to talk to, to judge what life is like today on the collective. We entered a number of ordinary farm houses of our choice, unannounced, to meet families totally unprepared for our visit. In each we found a television set, a refrigerator, a gas stove, good furnishings, shelves of books, art objects. These children and grandchildren of nomads obviously live very well.

"Our farm members distribute among themselves 40 per cent of the farm profit," said Kenzhaviev. "Last year this amounted to 899,000 rubles, and each working member received 4.80 rubles for every working day, plus, free of charge, their needs of wheat, sugar, vegetables and fruits produced on the farm. Everything considered, it amounts to a monthly income or equivalent of 180 to 200 rubles. The guaranteed wage on collective farms, set by the 24th Congress of the CPSU, is 105 to 130 rubles. In addition, each family is permitted by the Sintash farm constitution to have their own private

plots [one-fourth to one-third hectare] and animals: ten sheep, one cow, poultry; those staying far from the village on herding or other duties may have 25 sheep, one cow, one horse."

Factories visited in Frunze had an even greater mingling of nationalities than we encountered at Sintash. The Kamvol Woolen Combinat, a textile mill organized in 1963 that began full-scale production in 1967, has 40 nationalities among its 5,200 workers, of whom 75 per cent are women. Its director, M. Bolvekov, came from a Kirghiz peasant family, and graduated to the factory from Leningrad Textile Institute, starting out as a shop master (foreman) and moving up to an engineer, then shop chief, then director; his father was killed defending Stalingrad. (Could there be a better example, in a nutshell, of the recent history of Kirghizia?)

The same amalgamation of nationalities we found in the Frunze Agricultural Machine Factory, which employs over 6,000 workers and sends 22 deputies to the city Soviet, two deputies to the Kirghiz Supreme Soviet. (In pre-revolutionary times there were only 1,500 workers in "industry"—soap making, flour milling, leather tanning cottage-style enterprises employing under 20 workers—in all Kirghizia.) We were much impressed by the number of young Kirghiz workers in their early 20's, operating automated heavy machines in the plant's large shops. The factory now exports machines to 16 countries and has been awarded the Red Banner of Labor for its achievements during the 8th Five-Year Plan, completed in 1969. Average monthly wages for its workers had increased from 94 rubles in 1965 to 146 rubles in 1972, and an extra month's wages were paid in 1971 out of a profit of three million rubles.

Plant Director Alexander Zakorovich Kumis, a deputy to the republic's Supreme Soviet, kept urging that we see the plant's sports facilities, while I wanted to get into the shops and couldn't understand this diversion—as I misjudged it to be. When we reached the sports complex, however, I understood his eagerness completely. I have never seen such facilities for a plant of its size: a full-scale swimming pool plus a smaller pool for children of workers, tennis and volleyball courts, gymnasium, and spaces and equipment for 17 other sports. A People's Theater was under construction. "We have many artists among our workers," explained the director, who was being called away by the district trade union head to attend the opening of a new Pioneer Camp that the factory's trade union had built.

It would be impressive to find a plant of this kind in Kharkov, Gorky, Sverdlovsk or other leading industrial centers in the Soviet Union; this was in a Central Asian republic that Western propaganda

calls "colonial," with alleged "oppressed nationalities." It helped us appreciate the great expansion of economic and cultural opportunities for all such groups underlying the Soviet Union's profound solution of the nationalities question.

FRUNZE, buried in its trees and foliage, with few tall buildings rising above its greenery, has managed to preserve a provincial charm that is very attractive. Alma-Ata, twice its size with a population of over 800,000, capital of Kazakhstan, is stunningly modern and sophisticated, in fact one of the most beautifully modern cities in the Soviet Union. Its brilliant new imaginative architecture, with Kazakh national design motifs incorporated, can be seen everywhere, in public buildings and apartment blocks alike.

Alma-Ata's very prosperous appearance and the energetic boom are no mere facade. It is now the capital of one of the richest and most rapidly advancing of all Soviet republics. Second in size to the Russian Federation, its tremendous expanse, reaching from the Caspian Sea to the Chinese border, is a treasure-house of mineral wealth, to a large part uncovered by young Kazakh scientific workers. Like Kirghizia, Kazakhstan became a full republic in the Soviet Union in 1936, by which time the requirements of a socialist base had been attained. Since 1940, its people have increased their production by 20 times, or 2,000 per cent. During the 8th Five-Year Plan production rose by 60 per cent.

A "colony"? Prior to the Revolution, there were but 307 tiny enterprises in the whole region. Today there are 22,000 factories, plants, mines, and other industrial enterprises, while a highly mechanized agriculture makes Kazakhstan one of the granaries of the Soviet Union. It is the leading producer in the union of lead and zinc, second in production of copper and oil, not far behind in iron ore, bauxite, chromite, magnesium, and a score of other non-ferrous metals, around which huge processing industries have sprung up. Big new cities have mushroomed all across the republic. Around Karaganda is one of the three leading coal and steel complexes in the Soviet Union. The 350 big machine building plants in the republic alone give the lie to Western propaganda about the Kazakhs being "colonized."

With coincidental good fortune, we arrived in Alma-Ata on the celebration day for the 125th anniversary of the birth of the great Kazakh bard, Dzhabul Dzhabayev. Honored throughout the Soviet Union, Dzhabul, at the age of 95 in 1942, stirred the hearts of all Soviet people with a poem he composed, "Leningraders, My Children,"

addressed to the heroic citizens of that besieged city. The old poet refused to exchange his *yurta* for a modern house to the end of his life, but he was an ardent proponent of socialism and of friendship among peoples.

The celebration concert, which we attended, was held in the huge, striking Lenin Palace of Culture, completed in 1970 for the Lenin Centenary, the main auditorium of which seats 6,000 people, an opulent jewel of a building that rivals the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. In the broad, fountained plaza before it stands the dominant statue of another great Kazakh poet, Abai Kunanbayev, founder of the Kazakh written language and literature, only a century ago.

Most of the leading state and party figures of Kazakhstan were present in the concert hall, together with representatives from all over the Soviet Union, to honor Dzhambul. It was a first-class international concert, in which Kazakh and Russian music, poetry, folk dance and ballet alternated, interspersed with Mozart, Bizet, Spanish and Italian music. The Kazakh Kurmangazy State Orchestra of Folk Instruments featured the *dombra*, Dzhambul's two-stringed instrument. This homage paid to Dzhambul was linked by the Alma-Ata newspapers on that day with the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union and its theme of friendship of people and mutual assistance in development.

To see an illustration of that development, we made a trip to the huge Alma-Ata Kolkhoz, an hour's drive from the city, one of Kazakhstan's 425 collective farms, which supplies most of Alma-Ata's meat, vegetables, fruits and dairy products. On this 52,000 hectare farm (114,000 acres) there are 27 nationalities among 5,200 people. Its chairman, Leonid Stepanovich Manusko, a Hero of Socialist Labor, is of Ukrainian descent but was born in Kazakhstan in 1915. He is one of the outstanding veterans of the collective farm movement in Kazakhstan, the major factor in settling Kazakh nomads, and the respect and affection shown him was visible in the attitudes of everyone we met in our tour, and is shown in their election of him to membership in the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan.

The Alma-Ata Kolkhoz was in the midst of a series of meetings for its members on the question of friendship of different nationalities, part of the 50th anniversary celebration. "We have many international marriages," said the chairman, "and in recent years we have had no cases of immorality." (He used the word "immorality" in regard to relations between peoples, not between sexes.)

This multinational farm was even more prosperous than the

Sintash Kolkhoz we had seen in Kirghizia. It had an income of eight million rubles in 1971, and 2.8 million of this was profit used by the farm for distribution, improvements, culture, social insurance.

"The average wage on this farm is 140 rubles a month," said Chairman Manusko. "Advanced workers get more. We now have 500 workers participating in competition for the title of Advanced Worker in Socialist Labor. All members of our farm have savings accounts. One-half of them are waiting to buy cars, and there are already 150 private cars here, and over 300 motorbikes. In our own farm stores people buy their needs at cost price."

In the Kazakh State University in Alma-Ata we had an impressive discussion about the foundation of this prosperity, with the Rector, U. Dzholdzbekov, and heads of the university's present ten faculties. Rector Dzholdzbekov, a keenly-intelligent and dynamic representative of Kazakhstan's intelligentsia, is a specialist in machine-building and metallurgy.

"Among the Kazakh people at the time of the Revolution," he told us, "only two per cent could read and write. Only 22 Kazakhs had had a higher education, coming from rich feudal families. The condition of illiteracy was wiped out by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, when a general primary and secondary education had been achieved. However, this was not enough to equip our people for rapid development. The Kazakh Territorial Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of the Kazakh Autonomous Republic informed the All-Union Government on April 24, 1933 that our institutions then could provide only 0.33 per cent of Kazakhstan's requirements for highly trained specialists. On October 20, 1933, therefore, the USSR Council of People's Commissars responded to our appeal with a resolution, "On the Training of Specialists for Kazakhstan," which included a provision for establishing this State University.

"It was inaugurated on January 15, 1934, with 54 students beginning studies at two faculties, the two most immediately needed, that of Physics and Mathematics and that of Biology. Today we have nearly 10,000 students, about 5,000 of them full-time, and we have outgrown our present buildings. A new university complex is now being built; it will accommodate 20,000 students, 10,000 of them full-time. As we say, our republic is advancing at cosmic speed, and our need to train specialists is constantly growing. At present our Academy of Sciences has 26,000 scientific workers.

"We are quite aware of imperialist propaganda about our republic and our people. Let me ask if the tremendous advancement that is

clearly visible to all who would come and see is in any way possible without the utmost national and individual freedom. It is well known that freedom of expression and of development are stifled in colonial and neo-colonial societies, but the leadership of our party and government demand that all the lessons in our faculties here encourage the ability to think. Our scientific workers and skilled workers—Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, Tatar, Korean, Dungan and the many others—could not make the great contribution they have made to our development without free thinking and equality. We think as Kazakhs and we think as Soviet citizens: that is no contradiction, it is the socialist internationalism that makes us all equal and unified.”

Professor A. B. Tursunbayev, head of the university's Chair of the History of the CPSU, added this:

“In 1954 U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas visited the Soviet Union. He wrote a book about his travels, in which he had a chapter entitled ‘The Soviet Colonial Empire,’ referring to our Central Asian republics, including Kazakhstan. This man with a liberal reputation, who certainly would not render a legal decision without carefully examining a case, made no actual investigation before rendering such a political judgment. Other Western books are worse in their malice.

“All the progress we have made is due to Soviet power. Before Soviet power there was not one scientist in our whole territory; now we have in Kazakhstan 8,000 doctors of science. We now have more than three million workers in our economy. Our progress is the result of the unity and full equality of many nationalities, over 100 in our republic, and of the unstinting fraternal assistance of our brother republics, especially the Russian people, who sent engineers, worker brigades, technicians, from Moscow, Leningrad, Donbas, Kharkov, Baku, Sverdlovsk and many other cities to train our workers and help set up the big industrial projects you now find here.

“We have achieved the astonishing transition from backward nomadism to an industrialized socialist society in a short space of time. Any honest person knows that this cannot be done without working-class leadership. The working class in our territory was in its mere infancy when the Revolution occurred, so it was the more advanced Russian working class that filled the gap, that helped us lay the basis of socialism.

“As you know, the great opening up of virgin lands for wheat and other crops has occurred in Kazakhstan, beginning in 1953. Over 25 million new hectares [55 million acres] of our lands were made productive in this way, greatly increasing our national wealth. It was

done through hundreds of thousands of volunteers coming from all other republics, especially Russian volunteers. Western propagandists maliciously use this fine example of brotherly aid to cite figures showing an increase of Russians in our population, calling it ‘Russification.’ It is a typical, absurd distortion. Our achievements are the achievements of the whole Soviet people who have made our people able to realize their potential, just as Kazakhstan contributes with what it produces to the development of our brother republics. This is the true meaning of national development and national equality under socialism.”

CELIA MARIANO POMEROY

The Women of Soviet Kirghizia and Kazakhstan: Yesterday and Today

ON SINTASH Collective Farm, near Frunze in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic, my husband and I entered one farmhouse unannounced to find a Kirghiz peasant just in from the fields, stripped to the waist and washing up. Taken by surprise, he hastily tried to show us the features in his home of which he was proud. The first thing he did was to press forward his teenage daughter, throwing his arm about her and saying with the utmost pride: “This is my daughter, who is an honor student in the secondary school!”

Immediately, I thought of Altynai, the girl of Chinghiz Aitmatov's memorable Kirghiz film, *The First Teacher*, whose rude schooling in the early days of Soviet power was ridiculed and resisted by the men of a backward nomadic, feudal society. How far the women, and the men, of socialist Kirghizia have come!

During our visit in June 1972 to the Central Asian Soviet re-

CELIA MARIANO POMEROY, a Filipina, fought in the Huk guerrilla movement against Japanese occupation during World War II and in the postwar Philippine armed struggle for national liberation, heading the women's division and then supervising its training schools. Imprisoned, like her husband, for ten years for her activities, she now lives with her husband in London, teaching and writing.

publics of Kirghizia and Kazakhstan,* my husband and I had many such impressions of the fantastic leap these formerly backward Asian regions had made from the murk of a feudal age to the shining, modern, mechanized and industrialized era of socialism. Being an Asian woman myself, I found most fascinating the remarkable change that has come about in the status of women in these places that most people in the West think of as remote.

The problem of emancipating the women in Asian areas was far more difficult and sensitive than in other parts of the Soviet Union. Reactionary landowners or flockowners and priests resisted Soviet rule as a whole, kept old traditions and prejudices alive and hampered the eradication of illiteracy among women and the campaign to give them equal rights. Women organizers, combating the hostile attitude of men whose minds still held outworn ideas, showed great courage and determination. Many were subjected to threats, insults, and ill-treatment, some even were murdered by the feudal opponents of liberation.

In Frunze I met with five distinguished women who were members of the Friendship Society of Kirghizia and of the Women's Committee of their republic, as well as prominent in their own respective fields of work. Tilyen Turgumbayeva is chairman of the Friendship Society. She came from a family of very poor peasants. Her parents died when she was only one year old, and relatives took care of her. She was illiterate until the age of 14. The introduction of education for all by the Soviet Government enabled her to go to school and receive higher education. In time she became a full-time functionary in the Communist Party of Kirghizia and has been a leader of the Friendship Society for 11 years.

Anvar Usmanova, a doctor of medicine and a professor, is assistant director of a university Department of Physiotherapy.

Mukalegi Botohanova, from a poor peasant family, worked on a collective farm, and later in a meat plant. Since 1940 she has been a journalist. Today she is a staff member of the magazine *Kirghizian Woman* and also writes for the newspaper *Soviet Kirghizia*. In addition she is a deputy of the City Soviet of Frunze.

Ainek Aikolova, a Hero of Socialist Labor, has been serving as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Kirghizia since 1945. She is now director of a factory called "Forty Years of October," where she began to work in 1937.

The youngest of the group, Anar Maikyesova, 31 years old, is the secretary of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Young Commu-

nist League, a teacher of English in the Pedagogical Institute, and a deputy of the City Soviet of Frunze.

From these women, who represent a cross-section of women's role in Kirghizia, I learned how the lives of their Kirghiz sisters had been transformed.

"Before the October Revolution," said Anvar Usmanova, "the women of all Central Asia were kept as the most backward section of a backward society, bound by customs and laws we consider inhuman today. They were made to believe they were inferior and had always to subordinate themselves to men. In the Muslim regions, women were secluded behind high feudal walls and had to hide their faces from public view behind thick horse-hair veils called *yashmaks*. The cruel code of religious laws (*shariat*) and the unwritten law of the mountains (*adat*) legalized polygamy, the marriage of children, and purchase and sale of brides; other patriarchal and feudal customs held women in further bondage. Daughters were chattels. It was considered a calamity if a girl was born into a family.

"In the home a woman was burdened with exhausting housework and heavy farm chores. She was the property of her husband and could be sold, bequeathed or given to a guest. She could not eat or drink water in the presence of her husband. She was not allowed to talk with her father-in-law. If the husband died, the *adat* customs required that the widow become the wife of the brother or cousin of the deceased. Thus the women of Central Asia had no rights whatsoever in the family or in society."

When Soviet power was victorious in Central Asia, the Kirghiz, Kazakh, and many other nationalities benefited enormously from the revolutionary changes. The Soviet Government abrogated all the ancient and obsolete laws that lowered the status of women. Lenin and the Communist Party of Russia gave great importance to the emancipation of the women of Central Asia.

Within a few weeks after its establishment, the Soviet State enacted a series of laws granting women equal rights with men in all spheres. On December 22 (9), 1917 the government introduced equal pay for equal work and gave women access to all economic and cultural fields. Special laws were adopted on labor protection for women and on mother and child protection, including maternity leave with full pay, and free medical care for mother and child. Special efforts were made to lift women from illiteracy and unskilled labor conditions.

"Of course," Tilyen Turgumbayeva took up the story, "the mere

* See footnote, page 45.

adoption of laws could not eradicate feudal concepts and traditions concerning the inferiority of women. The people, and especially the women, had to be brought actively into the struggles to achieve genuine emancipation.

"A serious campaign of education and propaganda was launched in Central Asia in the 1920s to arouse women and to fight for their emancipation. In 1920 women's departments were set up by the Soviet state in what is now Kirghizia and Kazakhstan. These took local conditions and customs into account in their work. Usually they began with individual talks with women in their homes or in the public baths. Five or six women at a time, after patient effort, would be drawn into meetings on women's rights. One problem was that men could not be invited to speak. At first there were literally no women of Kirghizia or other national groups with the training to lecture or to organize other women. Russian women organizers were sent by the state and the party to our regions to initiate the campaign, and they had to contend with the language barrier and the scarcity of interpreters. This was part of the great fraternal assistance we obtained from the Russian people in winning our equality and socialist advancement."

Tilyen Turgumbayeva, Anvar Usmanova and the others in the group added many details on the prolonged campaigns that overcame the backward conditions of women in a land of nomadism. The women's congresses were a potent factor. Women delegates, old and young, some with babies, came in groups or singly from towns, villages, and nomad camps. Some brought their husbands along, provided with "guest tickets." The men sat in the back rows and listened. The women were given much attention and respect. Republic and party leaders reported fully about women's activities in the different Soviet republics. Speeches were fiery, urging women to take advantage of the rights and freedoms accorded them by the new Soviet decrees. Local problems were discussed, and suggestions made about overcoming the slavish practices women had to endure. Such congresses made a profound impact on the women's movement throughout Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Various types of women's clubs were set up. In the towns these could be a hive of activity, where women could visit freely. Among the nomad population in vast pasture lands, traveling clubs would gather women in the pastures, inform them of the new Soviet laws and decrees, read newspapers and books to them, teach them to read and write, with libraries eventually established. A lawyer would accompany the traveling clubs, to give legal aid to women, help

them write applications, examine complaints, or act as defense counsel in court cases. A doctor would go along to provide medical care and to teach the rudiments of hygiene, the use of soap and proper laundering, and preparation of nutritious food.

The traveling women's clubs introduced nomad women to simple machines like a milk separator, demonstrating how easier and cleaner was this method of processing milk. Sewing machines were introduced in the same way. Women's club sections were soon set up to run workshops and cooperatives where women could learn trades and skills such as spinning, weaving, garment-making; later, when more educated, they were trained as obstetricians, accountants, telegraphers or typists in the same way.

Soviet decrees passed in 1924 in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan abolished *kalym* (payment for brides), polygamy, and the inheritance of women as wives. The marriage age of girls was raised to 16 and of boys to 18; the *shariat*, allowing girls of nine to be married, was abolished. Women's meetings were held to celebrate the enactment of the new decrees, and people who persisted in flouting the laws were publicly denounced in show-trials. Plays, concerts, and satirical skits were performed to expose the harmful feudal practices.

While my husband and I were in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, we could see evidence wherever we went of the complete change in the lives of women since those early exciting days. In Frunze we visited a large textile factory, the Komvol Woolen Combinat, in which 75 per cent of the 5,200 work force are women. Here the assistant director is a woman, as are the head of the trade union, the Party Secretary, and the head of the Komsomol organization. Most of the 500 workers in this factory who had been awarded the Lenin Jubilee Medal for achievement in 1970 were women.

During our tour of the Komvol shops, we learned that there are 40 nationalities handling every type of operation. One Kirghiz woman with whom we stopped to talk, Batma Tokusheva, an outstanding worker, is one of the Lenin Medal winners. Now 37 years old, a worker in this factory for 16 years, she is an elected member of the People's Control Committee that checks on plant administration, and a twice-elected deputy in the Frunze City Soviet. She told us her husband, who works in the Frunze Agricultural Machinery plant, helps her in the housework.

In the spinning room we met a 27-year-old Russian woman, Nadia Lavskaya. Nadia, the only Russian we noted in a roomful of Kirghiz, Tatar and Uigur women, had come to the plant seven years before from Novosibirsk, in Siberia. She was operating 612 spindles and

overfulfilling her daily program by 170 to 180 per cent, earning 200 rubles a month, the average wage then being 113 rubles. Her multinational workmates had sent her as a delegate to the All-Union Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow in 1972.

Kirghiz women are employed not only in light industry but also in the heavier industries. When we visited the Frunze Agricultural Machinery plant we discovered that 1,500 of its 6,000 workers were women.

KAZAKHSTAN, a republic extremely well-endowed with resources, has advanced dramatically from the same backward, nomadic conditions known prior to the October Revolution by the Kirghiz people. The smartly dressed girls and women on the streets of Alma-Ata today are workers, university students, government employees, teachers, doctors, engineers, community leaders. One of the first things that caught our attention on arrival was that virtually every bus and tram had a woman driver.

We attended a concert in Alma-Ata's Lenin Palace of Culture in celebration of the 125th anniversary of Dzhambul Dzhabayev, the most loved of Kazakhstan's bards. The orchestral music was provided by the famous Kazakh Kurmangazy State Orchestra of Folk Instruments, and I was especially impressed to see that more than half of its musicians were women. The most popular and most applauded performers on the program were the Kazakh women singers.

The sophisticated city of Alma-Ata might be considered not the most representative place as far as Kazakhstan's women are concerned. We found, however, that in the countryside as well, where old feudal attitudes would be expected to linger longest, the women play leading and responsible roles. At the Alma-Ata Kolkhoz the secretary of the party committee of the district that embraces this huge collective farm is a woman—Maria Georgievna Zlobina. She was one of those who showed us around the farm and told us about life in the district. We were informed that it is not unusual for women to be directors of collective and state farms in Kazakhstan.

In the virgin lands of the republic, for example, the Dvurechny State Farm in the Akmolinsk region was built under the direction of a woman, Yevdokia Zaichukova, who has been its director since 1954, as well as secretary of the Party District Committee. On the Svobodny State Farm, also in the virgin lands, there are 60 women truck drivers who were trained by their woman leader, Liuba Yatsuk. Kazakh women drive tractors, cotton-pickers, sugar beet harvesters, and other farm machines.

LE DUAN

First Secretary, Workers Party, Democratic Republic of Vietnam

THE SPECTACULAR achievements of the Soviet Union in every field enhance its economic and defense potential, considerably strengthen the forces of socialism and the international revolutionary movement now on the offensive, and greatly inspire the peoples in their struggle against imperialism and for the basic aims of our times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

KHALED MOHI EL-DIN

Chairman, Peace Council in Egypt; Member, World Peace Council

THE EQUALITY of all the peoples forming the Soviet Union is reflected in the USSR Constitution. This document made a tremendous impression on the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. To this day, it continues to be to them an example of a genuinely democratic law, an example of the settlement of the national problem. The USSR Constitution proclaims the equality of citizens, irrespective of nationality or race, in all fields of economic, state, cultural and social activity. Every republic has its government, parliament and code of laws and uses its national language.

The strength of this family was tested at the time of the Second World War. Russians and Ukrainians, Azerbaidzhanians and Armenians, representatives of big and small peoples of the USSR fought shoulder to shoulder, defending their socialist country. The victory over the aggressor was won only due to this inviolable friendship.

Of the 482-member Kazakh Supreme Soviet, 170 are women, 56 of them Kazakh women. The republic's Minister of Education, Boldzan Bultrikova is a woman, as is the Minister of Social Security, Omarova. Chief designer of the beautiful Kazakh Academic Opera and Ballet Theater is also a woman, Gulfairus Ismailova, holder of the title Honored Worker in the Arts; she is also a theatrical set designer, a film director, and an accomplished actress. A woman academician, Naila Bazanova, a Doctor of Science in Biology, directs research at the Kazakh Academy of Sciences on farm animals. Bibigul Tulegenova, the possessor of a superb lyrical coloratura soprano, has been awarded the title People's Artist of the Soviet Union for her tremendous success as a singer not only in her native country but also in other parts of the world. The list is very long.

Our interpreter in Kazakhstan, Zhenya Sauranbaeva, is a very lovely and competent 23-year-old daughter of a Kazakh-Russian marriage. A graduate of the University of Kazakhstan, she said she wanted

to improve her command of languages, especially English, to prepare for a career in the Soviet foreign service. "We learn about the former backward status of women in our republic from our studies in school," she said, "but in my life and for my generation it has all been different."

With Zhenya we attended a performance of a musical comedy put on by a youth dramatic group at the magnificent Lenin Palace of Culture. It was built around a beauty contest for women in a university, in which an intelligent, studious and good-looking girl triumphed over the more glamorous beauty with an indifference to learning. Its cast had the latest styles for youth in dress, dance and song. We asked Zhenya rather dubiously if the youth, especially the young women, in the State University dressed like that. "More or less," she said. "It is not unreal."

I found myself contrasting that bright, sophisticated, if rather frothy musical comedy, and its underlying theme of more respect for brains than for beauty, with the agit-prop plays performed in the early 1920s in these regions to awaken women to their rights and the need to struggle for them. The *yashmak* and the secluded life of the women in the nomadic *yurta* are really a distant and faint memory now in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

DAVID BUEHRENS

Jamilya: A New Woman In Old Kirghizia

SMALL NUMBERS of Soviet films are now reaching US audiences with greater frequency. Many are classics; some are recent releases illustrating the sophisticated work being done in the studios of various Soviet nationalities. *Jamilya*, based on a novella by Kirghiz author Chinghiz Aitmatov, is one example that played this summer for an unfortunately brief ten days or so at a New York theater.

The very success abroad of Aitmatov's fiction, including *Farewell Gyulsary* and *First Teacher*,* and the films based on it illustrate the spirit of humanist internationalism which informs his work. As head of the Kirghiz Union of Cinema Writers—something almost

* These and other works by Aitmatov are now available in English in the collection *Stories of Mountains and Steppes* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969).

JAMILYA

unthinkable a few decades ago—Aitmatov has contributed to the further popularization of his writing by also doing his own film scripts. But a main factor in his wide influence is that Aitmatov's Kirghizians, formerly among the most backward and ignorant of the tsarist empire, bespeak in myriad subtle ways the great social forces now transforming their lives through their own collective, purposeful activity. Peasant and villager, young and old, see themselves in new ways as mutual horizons expand.

People in Aitmatov's Kirghizia, itself homeland for scores of nationalities, develop depth and richness in contact with others. Central to his writing is thus an exploration of the warmth and sensitivity of human relationships of all kinds. In Aitmatov's words, "literature must foster a moral outlook in man, awaken compassion without which he cannot be called human, and develop within him freedom from fear. But literature has a supreme task . . . to capture and preserve the emotional image of its time. . . . man exists as an individual and as a part of a whole, reflecting the entire world of his epoch, and the ideas, philosophy, problems of his time" ("Interview with Chinghiz Aitmatov," *Soviet Literature*, March 1972). The experience of Soviet Kirghizia in the past several decades is especially representative, for it typifies powerfully the struggle of a decisively large portion of the world's population to pass from the conditions of primitive provincialism to those of an eventually modern socialism. Herein lies its greatest importance.

Jamilya, an idyllically beautiful, 76-minute long evocation of a Central Asian boyhood in the forties, inevitably recalls also the US movie "Summer of Forty-Two," which also explored the maturation of an adolescent youth against the distant background of World War II. Both pictures center on a naive but widening perception of adult love by boys whose countries are also growing up. But there are many differences, chief of which is that what is at most an awkwardly groping sexual infatuation in the US film, is in *Jamilya* an incipient awareness of social roles and rights, with maturity not always synonymous with age.

Jamilya is a treasure of exquisite scenic photography in sepia and black and white alternating with stills of brightly colored drawings. But despite the emphasis of most reviewers it is not merely about some kind of exotic Soviet Eden with picturesque Asian faces. The heroine cannot be understood apart from her social environment. A vivacious, attractive and engagingly independent character, full of the joy and assertiveness of young womanhood, *Jamilya* outgrows a web of age-old folk customs and thoughtways straining

under a new technology and a national Soviet war effort. When men have to leave for the front, women replace them in family life and in labor. Jamilya and Kirghizia will never be the same again.

Jamilya is the bride of a rather coarse, cruel man who has treated her more as a chattel than a human being. He "won" her in the ancient tribal ritual of the suitors' horserace, and ironically, he loses her in a similar chase at the end when he returns from the war: she has found a new man who is gentle and kind as well as manly. He is Daniyar, a convalescent soldier, whose attentions to Jamilya her younger brother, Seit, rejects but is finally compelled to accept. Protective possession loses out to the love of equals, as Daniyar and Jamilya flee, successfully escaping the vengeance of the outraged husband as well as the adhesive attachment of his younger brother.

It is through Seit's eyes and memory that the story is seen in all its intense and timeless immediacy. But Seit is now looking back, as he narrates, from the vantage of an adult artist in a modern studio, which contrasts sharply with the primitive mountain home of his past. One can see the mountains through the studio windows, and the same sun shines down on the paintings on the floor. Seit knows now that it could not be otherwise: Jamilya had to be free, just as surely as mature love had to replace childish affection and the bonds of village custom. But childhood memories are both sweet and instructive; they tell Seit who he is and where he has come from, and that is why we, too, treasure them.

In Aitmatov's words again: "tradition has unquestionably brought to us much of the tragedy that has confronted man over the centuries of his history;" but "a study of the past leads to a greater mutual understanding, helps open the minds of peoples to one another." *Jamilya* is a truly remarkable film, bright with the vigor and savor of young socialist life in an old civilization.

SILVA KAPUTIKIAN

Song About Our Stones

O, stones . . .

You are history itself!

*We lived in misfortune, in poverty,
and we built mournful buildings*

SILVA KAPUTIKIAN is a well-known Armenian woman poet.

as monuments to darkness.

The builders with doomed eyes

wiped the blood and sweat from their brows

and used black stones in the walls

that were like our black fate.

Black are the melancholy monasteries,

and the ancient temples are black.

The worn features

of my Armenia are revealed by them.

O, sad, black, mournful stones,

of the floors,

the ceilings,

the walls,

murky,

smoke-stained,

dents hollowed out in floors

by kneeling supplicants!

But somewhere, colorful and varied,

hidden quietly in corners,

some stones of happiness were concealed in the earth,

like bits of coal under ashes.

O, stones that slept through all the centuries,

You who have known grim times,

O, stones, rose-colored,

lilac and violet stones!

You have come out of the depths,

which were so unfitting for you.

Come up, up,

onto the earth.

You have struggled up to the people—

and the earth has been gladdened!

The spring colors of the new walls

are like the color of our spring days,

and the full destiny of my Armenia

is like the destiny of her stones.

The new day has awakened them

with gentle hands.

O, stones, rose-colored,

lilac and violet stones!

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

enabled the many Soviet nations within a very short time to overcome their relative backwardness. Kazakhstan serves as a good example of the benefits of such a policy. While industrial output for the USSR as a whole increased 10.2 times between 1940 and 1968, in Kazakhstan it rose almost 16 times. Between 1960 and 1968, Kazakhstan's industrial output more than doubled. This progress, along with unparalleled advance in agriculture and culture in general, was possible only with the assistance of all the Soviet peoples, in other words, with the labor of more than 100 different nationalities.

Kazakhstan has also made great cultural strides since the Revolution. Prior to 1917, for example, only 22 Kazakhs had received a higher education. But today there are more than 10,000 schools attended by over three million children throughout the Republic. Kazakhstan's 43 higher and 187 specialized educational institutions now serve over 400,000 students. There are almost 700,000 persons with a higher or specialized secondary education now employed in the Republic's economy. Could the Kazakh nomads who formerly lived in the deepest poverty and ignorance ever have dreamed of such things?

Such radical changes in social life are of course also accompanied by psychological change in the minds of the people. Feelings of estrangement and mistrust are replaced by the sense of *belonging to one united family*. The example of Kazakhstan has many parallels in the fifty-year history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Socialism has thus brought the Soviet nations not only equality and freedom, but bound them together by ties of friendship and cooperation, thereby giving them unprecedented strength. The national question, in the historical context in which it arose under capitalism, that is, the question of abolishing national oppression, inequality and antagonism between nations, has been solved in the Soviet land. However, the problem of further strengthening the socialist brotherhood of the peoples remains on the agenda.

And this is understandable. Only by being obviously utopian is it possible to claim that in a country which has more than 100 nations and nationalities the problems of developing national relations at present and in the foreseeable future can all be solved. But it goes without saying that these problems have nothing in common with problems in capitalist countries. They are questions of improving Soviet national statehood, properly combining all-Union and republican and regional interests, of developing the culture of every nation and Soviet culture as a whole, of improving the education of people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and patriotism, of

EDUARD BAGRAMOV

Soviet National Policy: Its Meaning for the World

THE FIFTY-year history of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics makes particularly evident the tremendous significance of its achievements, not only for the Soviet peoples themselves but for the development of the world socialist system and, indeed, the entire international liberation movement.

The Communist Party and Soviet state inherited a tangled skein of problems, social and national, from the feudal tsarist regime. The most pressing task was to end the centuries-old national oppression and eliminate strife between nations. But it was also necessary to secure to the various nations of the old Russian Empire the right to national self-determination; they themselves had to decide whether to remain within a Russian federation or become separate states. And finally it was essential to help formerly oppressed peoples make up for lost time in a relatively brief historical period in order to overcome their economic and cultural inequality. For, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, if internationalism is to be more than a mere formality, it should consist not only in formal observance of the equality of nations but in pursuing a course aimed at aligning the actual levels of the particular nations' development, thus making it possible to compensate for historically formed inequities. "He who does not understand this," Lenin stressed, "does not understand the truly proletarian attitude toward the nationalities question" (V. I. Lenin, *Complete Collected Works*, Vol. XLV, Russian Edition, p. 359).

Such a task, which only a socialist state could undertake, was accomplished only by drawing the masses into socialist construction and by the mutual aid and assistance of the various nationalities, above all by the support rendered by the Russian working class to the other Soviet peoples' economic and cultural progress. Such aid

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combating nationalism and chauvinism. It is wrong to think that the solution of these problems and the further development of national relations can proceed spontaneously, automatically.

Socialism does not remove problems of national relations completely, but steers their solution toward relations free of antagonism and marked by ever broader cooperation and friendship of the peoples, and the elimination of reactionary sediments of the old epoch. But the process of creating the new type of national relations and the further development of national and international communities encompasses quite a long historical period in which constant purposeful effort is demanded of the party and the state.

In each country the solution of the national question is distinct and must be based on the nature of that people's historical development, the national composition of its population, and the specific level of economic and cultural development of its social system. The multinational Soviet state has been a giant laboratory in which the advantages and possibilities of the socialist system were comprehensively tested in the effort to abolish all forms of national oppression, to realize the nations' right to self-determination and the creation of national statehood; to unite the many nations on the basis of the struggle for socialism and communism; and to confirm internationalist convictions in the conscience of the working people.

Guiding Principles of Soviet National Policy

THE MAIN Leninist principles of national policy which have guided the Soviet Communist Party during these fifty years of the USSR are as follows: First, the class approach to national problems. The CPSU position proceeds from the unity of interests of the working class and all working people, regardless of national origin. It is a unity conditioned by common class objectives in their struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and for the social and national emancipation of nations.

An abstract approach to the national question is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Rejecting bourgeois concepts of the allegedly eternal and inevitable antagonism of different nationalities, supposedly conditioned by racial, psychological or irrational factors, Marxists believe that the national question in every historical period has a specific content, and that national emancipation is an indispensable link in the social liberation of working people. This approach presumes that account must be taken of specific national distinctions at the same time that they are considered in the context of common proletarian class objectives.

In this matter, both overemphasis and disregard of national distinctions are intolerable. The experience of the international communist and workers' movement has conclusively shown that such over-stressing of national demands and neglect of shared class objectives are typical features of both Right and "Left" opportunism.

Second, unconditional recognition of the right of each nation to decide its destiny, the nations' right to self-determination. This demand found its practical embodiment in the Soviet state's first acts in the field of national relations—"Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia" and the address "To All the Toiling Moslems of Russia and the East" which met with tremendous international response. This policy made possible the actual secession of Poland and Finland, which had been part of the Tsarist Empire. The essence of the decisions on the national question adopted by the party, as noted by the 12th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) in April 1923, "was (a) resolute renunciation of all and every form of coercion with regard to nationalities; (b) recognition of the equality and sovereignty of nations in deciding their destiny; (c) recognition of the fact that stable unification of nations may be achieved only on principles of cooperation and voluntary associations; (d) proclamation of the truth that such unification may be realized only as a result of overthrowing the rule of capital."

Third, equality of all races and nations, guarantees of actual equality between nations. In socialist society, national origin cannot serve either as a source of privileges or as a ground for any limitation of rights.

As already stressed, the strength of the Leninist national policy is that it does not confine itself to a mere proclamation of equal rights of every nation and nationality but ensures their practical attainment. "Our five years' experience in settling the national question in a country that contains a tremendous number of nationalities such as could hardly be found in any other country," Lenin stated in 1922, "gives us the full conviction that under such circumstances the only correct attitude to the interests of nations is to meet those interests in full and provide conditions that exclude any possibility of conflicts on that score."

From the very beginning the new Soviet state came out for active and equal participation of all nations and countries in international affairs. "The novelty of our international scheme," Georgi Chicherin wrote in a letter to Vladimir Lenin, is primarily that it provides for participation by those countries "on an equal footing with European peoples" in international affairs, and the "right to prevent inter-

ference in their internal affairs." Lenin fully approved this formulation.

Fourth, the struggle for international unity of the working class and the working people against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. The formation of the USSR was the outcome of prolonged and tireless efforts of the Communist Party, its central and local organizations, directed towards unification of the country's nations and consolidation of their unity in defense of revolutionary gains, in socialist construction.

The party decisively overcame deviations in the national question—both in the direction of great power chauvinism and of local nationalism. The former consisted, in particular, of disregard for the republics' rights, for the distinctive development of each of them, of a scornful attitude towards local cadres. Aspirations for national exclusiveness, over-emphasis of local distinctions and neglect of the international tasks of Soviet power characterized the latter. The party fought against both these deviations by drawing the working people into socialist construction, strengthening the international principle in the party organizations' activities and structure and educating the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

In the field of national relations, as in other spheres of social life, haste or subjectivism are particularly intolerable. Alluding to the elaboration and realization of a correct national policy, Lenin wrote in 1921: "This is a worldwide question, and that is no exaggeration. In this you must be especially strict."

National and International: A Dialectical Relationship

AS IN other fields, the development of Soviet culture is a two-way process—the progress of its component national cultures, on the one hand, and their increasing unity through mutual spiritual enrichment and reciprocal exchanges on the other. At the same time, Soviet culture assimilates the best achievements of progressive foreign cultures. In speaking of the drawing together of the USSR's peoples and the strengthening of their social, political and economic unity, we proceed from the premise that in economic life, as in culture, language and psychology, the Soviet nations will retain their specific features for a long time to come, even as they assimilate general features. But Communists are resolute opponents of national isolation, which leads to cultural monotony, stagnation and decay.

Bourgeois and revisionist ideologists advocate the conservation of all national forms, proclaiming themselves defenders of "cultural pluralism" as against the drawing together of cultures under social-

ism, which they depict as the forcible absorption of small nations' cultures by the culture of a large nation. For example, the development of industry and agricultural mechanization, in the view of some Western sociologists, harms national cultures and obliterates national distinctions. But the fallacy in such a formulation is the false identification of the "national" with the "patriarchal," and national customs with something rudimentary, associated only with little-developed forms of production and contact among people. We consider as "national" not only what was inherited from a past epoch, but also what emerges transformed in the new conditions. In fact, the drawing together of cultures under socialism, as the experience of our country demonstrates, does not imply a mechanical combination of cultures but the deepening of their socialist content, along with an atrophy of obsolete forms and an extensive utilization of progressive forms that are the common property of all the Soviet peoples.

Soviet scholars have recently produced a good many works that explore from scientific positions the historical experience of the CPSU in resolving the nationalities question and the processes of the flourishing and drawing together of socialist nations. At the same time, national relations in our country are sometimes elucidated in this literature without consideration for the new stage in their development, reflecting a kind of inertia, in which these relations are examined through the prism of a bygone period, the one in which the socialist nations were formed and their economic and cultural backwardness overcome. But at the present stage of national relations, researchers ought to devote more profound study and analysis to the processes of drawing together of the Soviet nations and do more comprehensive research on the all-Soviet, internationalist elements that have become the property of all peoples and the only basis on which there can be correct understanding of the distinctiveness of national development in our time. Unfortunately, certain scholarly works still place excessive emphasis on specifically national elements to the detriment of internationalist factors, while others are in a hurry to throw the national element overboard, as something archaic.

National relations in the USSR are now at a new stage, marked by the further drawing together of nations. This process is expressed in great mobility of people of different nationalities, reciprocal exchange of personnel, greater multinationality of the Soviet republics, the birth and development of general Soviet traditions. The formation in the USSR of a social community of different nationalities

without precedent in history, the Soviet people, is a concrete result of this drawing together of nations.

Implications for Other Socialist Countries

THE SOVIET experience in resolving the national question is now exerting a tremendous influence on relations between the various countries of the socialist community. Fraternal cooperation among socialist states is a mighty accelerator of social progress. It promotes increasing effectiveness in social production, and the introduction of the latest scientific-technological achievements. It fosters development of material and spiritual culture, and a higher standard of living for the masses. World socialist experience shows clearly that rational use of each country's facilities and the opportunities provided by the international socialist division of labor make it possible to realize most effectively all the advantages of socialism.

In the past twenty years, for example, industrial output of the socialist community has increased 6.8-fold, while in the developed capitalist countries, the rise is only 2.8-fold. The CPSU readily shares its richest experience in creation of a new society with all fraternal parties and, in its turn, accepts all that is valuable in *their* experience.

The communist movement has accumulated most valuable experience in implementing the Leninist principles of socialist development of all nations on the basis of their growing international cooperation. In the socialist world, in which social and national oppression has been abolished, conditions have been created for the comprehensive development of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of free nations, both within the framework of each country and in the relations of the entire socialist community.

Leninist principles of national policy embodied in the USSR were further developed in concrete historical conditions of other countries of the socialist community. Relations between nations and nationalities in the fraternal socialist countries are based on political equality, economic mutual assistance, mutual influence and enrichment of national cultures. In several socialist countries which have national minorities (for example, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria), their constitutions guarantee them equal rights and freedoms.

Speaking of the development of a federative socialist state (such states, in addition to the USSR, as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), it is necessary to stress the importance of continuously strengthening the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party as the force consolidating the union of free nations. Life has shown that any weakening of the

party's leading role, any deviation from the Leninist principles of national policy, leads to the growth of centrifugal trends and violation of the fraternal unity of the nations.

The measures in the field of national policy implemented recently by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are thus of great importance. The document "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," adopted at a Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee in December 1970, speaks of a just solution of nationality relations within the framework of the federal system of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which created a stable foundation for genuinely equal cooperation between the Czechs and the Slovaks. At the national conference of the Czechoslovak National Front in January 1971, CP First Secretary Gustav Husak stated: "Czechoslovakia is the homeland of two equal nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks, and it is also the homeland of citizens of Hungarian, Ukrainian, Polish and German nationalities. By forming the federation we have realized the principles of the Leninist national policy in our conditions. We have expressed the equality of our nations by the new state legal system . . . National and racial enmity, chauvinism in any form are alien to socialism and we must root out their survivals from our life."

Distinctive conditions of national development have also evolved in Cuba. The process of formation of a single Cuban nation took place in the course of the long liberation struggle which united the working people—the Creoles, Negroes, mestizos and mulattos. This process mainly ended with the victory of the Revolution. It is characteristic that the Cuban nation, which is very complex in racial structure, does not have any racial problems to speak of. The equality of all citizens was affirmed in Cuba as an important gain of socialism.

Experience has also shown that disregard of the Leninist principles of national policy or betrayal of international obligations and transition to nationalistic positions can cause enormous damage to socialism, to the interests of national development and consolidation of the unity of nations. Such are the consequences of the policy of great-power chauvinism now being practiced by the Maoists in China where over fifty nations in addition to the Chinese are living—the Chuans, Uigurs, Tibetans, Mongols and others, totaling about 45 millions: they, together with the Chinese majority, inhabit nearly 60 per cent of the country's territory. A great power policy of discrimination, repression, compulsory assimilation is being conducted

against these nations. Ignoring the will and rights of the small nations, the Peking rulers are striving to Sinify them and this, in practice, means persecution of local cadres, suppression of national languages, disdain of the people's national feelings.

Experience has shown that unity of international and national is not automatically established, that it is the outcome only of the consistently Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist and Workers' Parties. It would be erroneous to regard certain negative trends which sometimes emerge in the socialist world as confirmation of the bourgeois thesis of the allegedly unavoidable (while nations exist) antagonism between national and international. "Socialism is not afflicted with the contradictions inherent in capitalism," the Document of the 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties states. "When divergences between socialist countries do arise, owing to differences in the level of economic development, in social structure or international position or because of national distinctions, they can and must be successfully settled on the basis of proletarian internationalism, through comradely discussion and voluntary fraternal cooperation."

Implications for National Liberation Movements

THE APPEARANCE of socialism also marks the emergence of the era of emancipation of oppressed nations. The October Revolution has indicated to the whole world, primarily to peoples of all dependent and colonial countries, which at that time comprised over half of mankind, the correct path for solving the national question.

Lenin put forward and substantiated the idea of uniting the revolutionary struggle of the working class with the struggle for liquidation of national oppression, the struggle for socialism—with the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the enslaved peoples. In the first years of its existence, the Soviet state, even in conditions of grim war against the interventionists and White Guards, rendered many peoples of the East moral, political and material support. It stretched a hand of fraternal assistance, for example, to the peoples of Mongolia, Afghanistan, Turkey, who were then defending their freedom and independence.

The victory of the Soviet Union and all freedom-loving nations over the forces of the fascist bloc in World War II, together with the formation of the world socialist system, has led to a further mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement throughout the world. Imperialism's colonial system has collapsed. The nations of

the developing states are manifesting lively interest in the experience of constructing a new life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The transition to socialism, bypassing capitalism, tested in the experience primarily of the Soviet republics of Central Asia and of the Mongolian People's Republic, is of special significance for them.

During the construction of socialism in the USSR many formerly oppressed nations acquired their own statehood, put an end to their past economic and cultural backwardness, adopted socialist forms of economy and culture. "This achievement was all the more remarkable," state the theses of the CPSU Central Committee on The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "in view of the fact that many nations which, when the Revolution was accomplished, had been at the stage of feudalism or even the patriarchal-clan system, bypassed capitalism in their progress towards socialism." In the USSR this possibility became a reality due to the all-round fraternal assistance to the formerly backward nations by the working people of the more developed republics, regions and, primarily, by the Russian working people.

It is exceptionally important for the developing states to strengthen their unity with the socialist countries. The CPSU and the Soviet people are rendering enormous assistance to the liberated countries in building up their new economies and culture. Construction of big industrial enterprises, educational and medical institutions, assistance in cadres, and so on—all this promotes the consolidation of the state-owned sector in the young republics' economies and strengthens their independence.

Firm reliance by the world national liberation movement on the world socialist system extends that movement's possibilities. The Report of the CPSU General Committee to the 24th Party Congress stresses that this struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practical terms begun to grow into a struggle against exploitative relations, both feudal and capitalist. Some countries of Asia and Africa (for example, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, the Syrian Arab Republic, Burma, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Somali Democratic Republic and others) have taken the non-capitalist way of development, the path of building up a socialist society in the long run.

The progressive forces of the Asian, African and Latin American countries realize that by remaining within the world capitalist economic system they would doom their peoples to the hunger, poverty and ruin inevitable under capitalism. It has been estimated that

under capitalist conditions it would take centuries to attain the current level of the industrially developed bourgeois states. That is why they are turning their attention to the various republics of the Soviet Union which, in the course of a few decades, not only have eliminated their former economic backwardness, but also have made a leap to the summit of socialist progress unprecedented in history. The multinational Soviet people's gains in developing their national statehood, economy and culture, as well as their complete equality, fraternity and friendship with both big and small nations, all serve as the strongest argument in favor of socialism.

YANKA BRYL

My Native Byelorussia

*In the loving heart beats
Byelorus, Byelorus—no end, no bounds*

THROUGH WOODS, warm and sunny as in southern climes, and across the plains of Polesye, transformed by the efforts of our people into farmfields and meadows, but still abounding in marshlands, the somber Pripet flows grandly and serenely in the company of her daughters Goryn, Pina, Slovechna and Ubort. Pensive and solemn is the rustling of the ruddy pines, and with almost the power of ocean waves the lake waters in the north of our republic break upon the shores. Naroch, Snudy and Asveya—these mysterious names breathe a hoary antiquity.

"Byelorus, Byelorus—no end, no bounds": for a long time now this line has been coming back to me while traveling in a passing train, a car or plane, or aboard a river boat.

By day and by night we trod your trails and footpaths in the late war. The heart shudders at how drenched your soil is with the warm blood of your defenders, victims of the most heinous atrocities ever perpetrated in the history of mankind. One out of every four of our people suffered death at the hands of the Nazis. Above the Bug River rise the battle-ravaged fortress walls of Brest where a tiny

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garrison of Soviet fighting men held back for thirty days the mad onslaught of the fascist hordes.

All the cities were leveled, whole areas were turned into a vast desolation, into scorched earth zones—hundreds, many hundreds of our own Byelorussian Lidices and Oradours lay in ashes.

Today our cities have been reclaimed from the ashes and people will tell you that our Minsk, our Vitebsk, our Grodno and many other Byelorussian towns have grown more beautiful than they were before the war. Our villages have been rebuilt and most of them, too, are more comely than those consumed by flames in the days of war and occupation, often—oh painful memory! together with their inhabitants. But there are traces of the war which have not been erased, which cannot be erased or ever forgotten.

You will find a glade in the mushroom-filled Logoisk Woods not far from Minsk. The green grass there grows unmown and untrampled, grass that conceals the dead. The glade is indeed a grave, a great sacred common grave in the place where once stood Khatyn, a village the Nazis burned with all its inhabitants—all but one, a man who survived by a miracle, today a gray-haired old man with a scorching pain in his heart that neither freedom, sunshine nor time itself can assuage. He remembers the way a little boy, riddled with bullets but not yet dead, had crawled out from under a heap of corpses. The boy was the man's own grandson. A big monument stands there today—the Khatyn complex—known to millions of people around the world. Over the big green grave mound rise twenty-six chimney-like structures representing the number of burned cottages, concrete cranes of long-dead wells, an impressive memorial to the victims of fascism, with little bells playing their jagged, poignantly painful tune to remind the world of the fate of the little boy and of those others buried alive in the murderous flames.

I cannot think of another part of the world where fascism is so hated as on our war-ravaged soil where our gallant partisans fought. Nor can I think of another part of the world where peace and labor for peace is as passionately and ardently loved as on our soil.

It seems to me that I know rather well my land and my people. I have traveled through the length and breadth of my Byelorussia, sailed on her rivers and lakes, flown above her golden and green steppes. With a miner's lamp I descended into the Soligorsk pits with tunnels reminiscent of metro stations. I saw the first tractor proudly released from the Minsk tractor plant conveyor when the Byelorussian capital had not yet cleared away its war ruins. I witnessed the first plowing of this tractor on a newly organized West-Byelorussian col-

lective farm. In the shops and laboratories of the automobile works, the oil distilleries, the machine-building plants, the nitric mineral fertilizer and wool mills; on the fields, state and collective farms, on the city and rural building sites, I have feasted my eyes and ears on a great symphony of labor.

What the Byelorussian people have accomplished on their soil is sometimes called the Byelorussian miracle. It is indeed a miracle—a Soviet miracle. And this miracle has been wrought with the participation of all the peoples of our great common mother—our homeland, the Soviet Union, which this year is celebrating her golden jubilee.

FIDEL CASTRO

Premier of the Republic of Cuba

MANY THINGS have produced an impression on us in the Soviet Union, mainly its tremendous scientific and technical achievements, its big successes in the social sphere, the redevelopment of cities, and the considerable progress it has achieved in education and culture. But most of all we have been impressed by the fact that the Soviet people faithfully keep the best revolutionary traditions, the spirit of the October Revolution. We admire the Soviet man, a new man who is building a new society, a magnanimous man who has fraternal feelings for others and is free of selfishness inherent in the people living in capitalist society. Our direct contacts with Soviet people have allowed us to appreciate the wonderful qualities of a new man.

The existence of the Soviet Union, the selfless labor of its people, its heroic victory over fascism and its military and economic might which made possible the emergence, consolidation and defense of the socialist community, the changes in the alignment of forces in the world arena and a huge upsurge of the liberation movement in the whole world—these were the necessary prerequisites for the Cuban revolution.

In the invincible force of international solidarity, based on close fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist camp; in the firm and unswerving implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism; in the liquidation of all forms of exploitation of man by man; in the firm and resolute anti-imperialist position—in all this Cuba found moral and material strength for victory in the political and ideological fields, in its struggle against economic blockade, against the subversive and aggressive actions of American imperialism.

From speech in Moscow, July 1972.

YOUSSEF-EL-SEBAI

Secretary General, Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES' Solidarity Organization is planning to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the USSR as a significant date in the history of mankind. The inviolable friendship of the Soviet peoples is a great gain of socialism.

BORIS TOPORNIN

**Lenin: Founder
Of the Soviet
Multinational State**

THE CONTRIBUTION OF V. I. Lenin to the theory and practice of the socialist state is best viewed against the backdrop of current achievements in the relations among the Soviet nationalities. It was Lenin who formulated the basic principles of the national question; indicated the road toward the solution of national problems under conditions of workers' and peasants' power; and explained the dialectics of the relationship between the general interests of the working people and their specific national interests.

Creatively developing the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in a new historical situation, Lenin created a harmonious, unified doctrine on the national question. Its basis is the view that the national question is a component part of the question of proletarian revolution, subordinated to the class struggle. Full solution of the problem of national antagonisms is possible only with the elimination of class antagonisms, i.e., with the victory of the working class.

The October Revolution created the prerequisites for solution of the national question. With the coming of workers' state power, Lenin laid down the principles of socialist democracy, defined its international character, identified economic and other factors influencing the relations among nations, and explained the leading role of the working-class party in developing these relations. He worked out the forms of national-state relations in conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction, and the policy of the party and the Soviet state on the national question.

These new principles of national relations, fully opposed to those existing in the antagonistic bourgeois world, were proclaimed as the foundation of state policy in the very first documents of Soviet power. Even posing the historic task of implementing the equality of nations—not to speak of realizing it—proved to be beyond the power of the bourgeoisie, though at one time, advancing towards power,

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it had talked loudly about the equality of nations. Even today the ruling circles of capitalist countries exploit this slogan for their own selfish ends. The regimes of apartheid and racism, and the bloody events in Northern Ireland, are but a few examples showing the true worth of this demagogy.

The founders of scientific socialism knew that liquidation of the exploitative system was a necessary condition for implementing the full equality of nations. It is only under socialism that a more developed nation, casting aside all selfishness, helps a less developed nation, sincerely and fraternally, to reach the level of the advanced. This aspect of the superiority of socialism over other social systems is a matter of record, both within the USSR and within the world socialist system.

The free self-determination of the nations and nationalities of former tsarist Russia, and their newly acquired statehood, enhanced the international unity of the working class and of all working people. The experience of the first years of the October Revolution strongly indicated the need for all the republics to pool their efforts in order to achieve their common aims. The struggle conducted by Lenin, and by the Communist Party as a whole, against bourgeois nationalist ideology of all hues—whether great-power chauvinism or local nationalism, national self-conceit or national nihilism, anti-Semitism or Zionism—played a large role in creating this international unity.

While opposing great-Russian chauvinism, Lenin also stressed the need to combat narrow-minded petty nationalism, isolation and seclusion, and to take account of the whole and the universal, of the subordination of particular to general interests.

Lenin's national policy was instrumental in building mutual trust among the nations and nationalities of Russia, and in calling forth their revolutionary initiative in the building of socialism. The substance of that policy, as put forward by the party, is embodied in these principles: the full equality of nations; self-determination of nations; international alliance and fusion of the workers of all nations. In defending the right of nations to self-determination, the Marxist-Leninists of the oppressing nation must put the stress on the self-determination of nations, and those of the oppressed nations must emphasize the voluntary uniting of nations. This approach, implementing Marxist theory, corresponds to the interests of the working people, reflecting the conditions that arose as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. The entire subsequent course of events in the young Soviet Republic and beyond its borders confirms

the deep perspicacity and historical legitimacy of putting the question the way V. I. Lenin did.

THE DEEPENING of the socialist revolutionary process led to the proclamation of Soviet power in the Ukraine (December 25, 1917), in Byelorussia (January 1, 1919), in Azerbaidzhan (April 28, 1920), in Bokhara (October 8, 1920), in Armenia (November 29, 1920), and in Georgia (February 25, 1921). Soviet power was subsequently established everywhere in Central Asia. Inter-state relations based on proletarian internationalism were formed between the newly-created Soviet republics, including the Russian Federation. Their experience played a big role in the molding of today's relations between fraternal socialist countries.

The juridical basis for the relations between the Soviet republics was at first the allied military and economic agreements between Soviet Russia and the other republics. These were historic documents of proletarian internationalism. They envisaged setting up united military organizations and military command, and equally defined economic bodies. Joint diplomatic missions abroad were formed.

The government of the Russian Federation rendered the other republics broad-scale assistance, including material aid, which was of great importance for the strengthening of people's power everywhere. As early as 1918, negotiations took place between the Russian Federation and some of the republics, in particular the Ukraine, about federative relations, but in that period military action and the temporary loss of certain territories hampered the completion of the talks.

The course of historical development made the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics a vital need. Without this union it would have been impossible to restore the productive forces ruined by the civil wars and imperialist intervention, to create a single planned socialist economy, to ensure rational and effective use of natural and labor resources, a steady rise in the people's welfare and the revolution in the sphere of culture. Without a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics it would have been inconceivable to defend the independence of the Soviet republics, or to ensure a firm defense potential against imperialist aggression and a worthy place in international relations.

The transition to a unified state was determined by the very substance of Soviet power, by the laws of the political, economic and ideological life of a socialist society. In Lenin's words: "We want as vast a state, as close an alliance of the greatest possible number of nations who are neighbors of the Great Russians; we desire this in

the interests of democracy and socialism, to attract into the struggle of the proletariat the greatest possible number of working people of different nations. We desire *proletarian revolutionary unity, unification*, and not secession. . . . We want *free* unification; that is why we must recognize the right to secede (without freedom to secede, unification cannot be called free)."

At the end of 1922, the Seventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, the Fourth All-Byelorussian Congress of Soviets, the First Transcaucasian Congress of Soviets and the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets recognized the need for the formation of the USSR. The historic decision of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets on setting up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, adopted on December 30, 1922 is justly considered one of the models of socialist democracy in action, and closely followed Lenin's concepts in this regard. Lenin had written, for example, in November 1921 concerning a proposed federation of the Transcaucasian republics: "The question of the federation should be discussed more widely by the party and the *masses of workers and peasants*, and energetic propaganda should be carried out *for* the federation at all congresses of Soviets of each republic . . ."

The principle of democratic centralism served as the basis for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It implies, on the one hand, centralization in defining and implementing an all-state policy in the main, decisive aspects and, on the other, broad independence and initiative of the union republics in the solution of their own affairs, in the selection of the means to achieve common goals.

When the USSR was established a socialist type of federation, based on democratic centralism was already in existence: the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). A Soviet federation excludes completely any coercion of one nation over another, and ensures favorable conditions for fraternal cooperation, for eliminating national strife, implementing authority in the center and in the local areas with the broadest, real democracy for the nationalities.

The USSR today, with the Communist Party as its leading force, conducts a policy of all-round development of each of the fraternal republics. As part of this policy, nations and nationalities gradually draw closer to one another, continuing a trend begun in the early days of Soviet power. At the same time, specific national features are carefully taken into account, and the development of the socialist national cultures promoted. As a result of this process, a new community of people—the Soviet people—has arisen and taken shape.

Today the USSR is no longer the only socialist state. With the appearance and development of the world socialist system, a new community of states and peoples uniting the fraternal socialist countries is emerging, opposed to the world capitalist system with its national oppression and racial discrimination. At the same time, other peoples are fighting for social and national liberation. Of greatest importance for these developments is the Soviet experience of the revolutionary transformation of the basis of social life, the building by the joint efforts of the Soviet peoples of a developed socialist society, and the solution of the national question, which is of the greatest difficulty and simultaneously of the greatest importance. And the guiding principles of this socialist national policy, even today, find their fullest expression in the teachings of the founder of the Soviet multinational state, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

MARA GREEAZANIE

Love of Country

*Always, on awakening, I look
at the map of lands without end:
It's on the wall, in front of me,
like the bird of my daring fancy,
spreading its eternal wings
over the eternal, gray ocean . . .
And it seems that I myself
fly high over the planet
in mists pierced by the sun . . .
I see how brightly my country
blazes—the red heart,
the all-powerful heart of the land.
Fifteen Soviet Republics—
arteries of the living heart—
pulsate in the sunshine,
shimmering in the vivid colors,
like a rainbow of the opulent summer,
when fruit-bearing thunderstorms
fly over the Russian fields . . .
Here's Latvia's amber reflection . . .*

MARA GREEAZANIE is a Latvian woman poet.

Here's Moldavia's green spot,
 And here, a golden expanse,
 where the waves of wheat march
 over the ancient steppe of Kazakhstan . . .
 My love, joy, Motherland,
 Your outlines look like
 a banner, caught up by the wind,
 triumphant, angry, unfurled,
 like the banner they proudly
 raised in the final struggle—
 in the last decisive fight—
 the heroes of the land—Communists—
 in tight, formidable leather jackets,
 in open naval pea jackets
 in clipped-off students' coats,
 in great coats fashioned by war
 My fate, Mother, Sovereign State,
 Heart of the hot planet,
 You illumine spaces of the Universe,
 like an unfailing beacon,
 like a victorious torch of reason,
 like the heart of the brave Danko
 leading us up
 toward the heights of the sparkling sun.

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN,
 with the editorial assistance of
 NAN BRAYMER

YAN SUDRABKALI

Maples in Bloom

*Latvia, you are beautiful when the maples bloom,
 Your streams laugh and burble with leaves,
 And maple buds drift over the land.
 The plowman with uncovered head,
 Hands full of moist, loamy soil,
 Sifts the earth through his fingers and says,
 "We'll reap the harvest, the people's happiness will grow
 Out of the furrows left by my plow."*

YAN SUDRABKALI is a People's Poet of the Latvian SSR and winner of a State Prize of the USSR.

*The maple flowers fall silently
 When the breezes of spring flow,
 And waves of invisible armies pass.
 Where are their graves? No one knows.
 What traces remain are strewn with flowers.
 And without knowing where my dear ones lie,
 Death does not part them from me.*

*Let their love burn deeply within us,
 A source of powerful creative strength!
 Let it harshly reproach those who have forgotten:
 "What have you done to conserve this power
 That is a deathless monument to the sacred graves,
 And, like the sun, will shine forever
 On the bloodstained fields?"
 The crimson haze, the days of suffering pass,
 Presaging days of joy for the people.
 The eagle of our dreams flies into the future,
 We ourselves create the living strength by our labor,
 The flower, like the maple's, of our young motherland.
 Let branches of peace foretell the joyous destiny,
 Bow deeply when they meet you.
 Latvia, you are beautiful when the maples bloom.*

Translated by MATTHEW KAHAN,
 with the editorial assistance of
 NAN BRAYMER

JAIME GAZMURI

Acting General Secretary, United Popular Action Movement, Chile

AFTER the Second World War the Soviet Union played a decisive part in the formation and development of the socialist community. Soviet foreign policy helped forward the consolidation of progressive forces throughout the world.

The national liberation movement has also been supported by the Soviet Union. Soviet assistance to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people combines these two aspects. It is assistance in the building of socialism and in the struggle against imperialism, for national liberation. There is no doubt that the search for a peaceful solution of vexing problems, especially the abolition of military pacts in Europe and establishment of a collective security system at the forthcoming European conference, will help to promote universal peace.

JOSEPH BRAGINSKY

Talking with Americans About Soviet Jews

I AM CLOSE to 70. The position of Jews in tsarist Russia and in the Soviet Union is an integral part of my autobiography. I not only observed the situation; I also suffered through it. To begin with, there are the recollections of my childhood. I was nine years old, the youngest in the family. My mother wanted at least one of her children to go to a gymnasium, in my case, the First Baku Men's Classic Gymnasium named after Emperor Alexander III.

According to the laws of the Russian Empire, as a Jew, I had to overcome three obstacles to get into a gymnasium: I had to 1) be in that quota of Jews allowed to take the exams; 2) get the highest marks in the entrance exams; 3) get a lucky "ticket" when those who passed drew lots.

With luck, I made it over all three hurdles and saw my name on the alphabetical list of those accepted for the first grade. I happened to be near the top of the list because my name starts with "B." Dressed in a new gymnasium uniform, buttons polished, an emblem on my hat, a shiny buckle on my belt, I set off on September 1 for the gymnasium. I was all smiles. But I was not allowed in the class. My name was not on the list, they said. Another name, "Itskovich," was on a piece of paper pasted over my name, obviously out of alphabetical order.

Later I found out what had happened. A Jewish businessman named Itskovich came to Baku in search of work and good fortune. He bought some land with money he had acquired by unknown means in hopes of striking oil. A fountain gushed forth and Itskovich joined the ranks of the nouveau riche; later he became a real millionaire. It turned out that his son also took the examinations when I did and failed miserably. But his mother went to the office of the gymnasium's director, an inveterate anti-Semite, and crawling on her knees from

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SOVIET JEWS

the door to his armchair, placed in his hands a good, solid sum of money. I have already told you the outcome. This was my first big, bitter lesson in life, a lesson on the status of Jews in tsarist Russia.

Yes, indeed, anti-Semitism reigned in tsarist Russia. There was a whole system of measures intended to deprive Jews of their rights, humiliate them, destroy their human dignity, sow hostility and hatred toward them. When mass indignation developed, the Jews were made the scapegoats, pogroms were organized. It goes without saying that it was mostly the poor Jews who suffered from this anti-Semitism, not the rich, not the millionaires, not the Itskoviches. This entire system was meant to depress the social and economic status of the Jews. They were forbidden to reside in most of the provinces of the Russian Empire; they were hampered in every way from making a living by farming and were forced into the Jewish Pale, into which, as Sholom Aleichem wrote, they "were shoved and pressed like herring in a barrel." This led to the distorted occupational pattern of the Jews in tsarist Russia: only 45.6 per cent of them were actually involved in production (workers in large plants, 4 per cent; in domestic crafts, 11 per cent; petty craftsmen, 18.4 per cent; peasants, 2.2 per cent; office workers, 10 per cent). Merchants, small businessmen and people without occupations made up the other 54.4 per cent. Even if we allow for the several per cent of the 54.4 who came from secure, rich families, the fact is that a considerable part of the 45.6 per cent involved in production, especially the craftsmen, were never certain of the next day, of the possibility of making a living—of *parnos*. More than half the Jewish population of tsarist Russia were *luftmentshen* (people who had no visible means of livelihood).

This example from my childhood is a small but typical enough illustration of how anti-Semitism in tsarist Russia not only persecuted and annihilated the Jews, but also withered the very soul, trampled in the dust that most precious thing—human dignity.

I could cite many examples from the life of Jews in the Soviet Union after the Revolution, examples both positive and negative, but nothing is proven by separate facts and examples. That is why I would like to turn to facts that give you the overall picture.

There is no need to stress that from its very inception Soviet power saved the Jews from the bloody pogroms inflicted on the Jewish masses by the old forces overthrown by the Revolution. The age-old plague of the working Jews, the pogroms, vanished for all.

"But," the American reader will point out, "in other civilized countries there haven't been Jewish pogroms for a long time." While this is true, I would also like to emphasize that in the USSR *all* anti-

Semitic propaganda in the press or on radio is prohibited and anti-Semitic organizations are outlawed. All coercive anti-Semitic excesses, which in some civilized countries have not been ruled out and have not vanished at all, have completely disappeared in the Soviet Union.

"Wait a minute," some Americans may object, "how about Trophim Kichko's book *Judaism Without Embellishment?* And Shevtsov's stories?" True, Kichko's and Shevtsov's works did contain some formulations, illustrations and episodes that could be interpreted as disrespectful and even insulting. But the very fate of these feeble works proves better than anything else that national intolerance in any form is not permitted in the Soviet Union. Kichko and Shevtsov's books were condemned by the public, party and state bodies and long ago banished from bookstores and libraries. They're long forgotten in our country, but some Americans keep bringing them up, though they themselves can find in their nearest bookstore a whole pile of anti-Semitic literature, from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* to the richly illustrated autobiography of the late Fuehrer of the American Nazis, George Lincoln Rockwell.

From a discussion of what does not and cannot exist in the Soviet Union, I want to move on to the positive aspect: What does exist, for Jews, in the Soviet Union today?

Do you know what is for me, an old Jew, one of the biggest joys in life? Knowing that in the Soviet Union the Jew is at last a real human being. Do you grasp that? The Jew is accepted as a human being just like all Soviet people—*azoi vi ale laitn* (no better and no worse, like everybody else), and not only *de jure* but also *de facto*. The old dream of progressive people has come true—drawing Jewish labor into the creation of material values. In our country 100 per cent of the Jewish population is provided with work and a livelihood—*parnosso*—in all the different branches of the economy: in industry, construction, transport, agriculture and the state trade network. Depending on abilities and qualifications (and that alone!), Soviet Jews are either laborers or managerial personnel in all fields of engineering and science; they work at such "traditional" professions as medicine and, for them, at such "untraditional" occupations as engineering, construction, mining and metallurgy. Some earn more, some less, like all Soviet people—but we have no poverty, no *luftmentshen!*

It is with this main, decisive result that I start the substance of my reply. This result had its beginning in the national policy of Soviet power, the recognition of the absolute equality of all the 130-odd large and small nationalities living in the Soviet Union, regardless of their numerical strength. This policy recognizes the right of all

nationalities to self-determination. The policy was elaborated by Lenin and is irreversible.

The essential feature of the Soviet national policy is that the rights proclaimed are not only juridically insured; they are also actually implemented, with the historical background of each nationality taken into account. It is not merely a statement of general principles prohibiting the stirring up of national discord; on Lenin's urging, the decree of 1919 declared that discrimination against any nationality was impermissible. It made a special note that anti-Semitism was incompatible with socialism and called on "the working peoples of socialist Russia to combat this evil by every means." Lenin personally added in his own hand: "The Council of People's Commissars orders all Soviets of Deputies to take decisive measures to eradicate the anti-Semitic movement. Organizers of and participants in pogroms and those conducting agitation for pogroms are to be outlawed."

Applying Lenin's insistence on factually equal rights for all peoples, the Soviet Government, by a decree of May 7, 1934, established the Jewish Autonomous Region, with its capital at Birobidzhan. It has grown into a flourishing industrial and agrarian territory, with an area larger than Belgium. The creation of the autonomous region opened the road for Jews to self-determination. They could move at will to the Jewish Autonomous Region or continue to reside in any area of our boundless homeland whatsoever. A small section of the Jewish population chose the Jewish Autonomous Region; most, however, remained in the cities.

Since the Jewish population, I repeat, voluntarily chose the second road, there was the large and complex problem of drawing Jewish labor into production. As a result of the great attention devoted to this question and a whole series of measures, this task has been realized: The Jews have become the same as all Soviet people and thereby the age-old "Jewish question" as it formerly existed has become nonexistent in our country.

I was fortunate enough to observe this process not only in the case of my relatives in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, but also in many other families. The poverty-stricken *shtetl* (small town) people and their children were transformed into skilled industrial workers, engineers, actors and professors.

One article is not enough to sum up the changes. I would like to touch on only one aspect—*koved* (esteem), the respectful attitude toward Jews, as to any nationality in the country. Its absence in tsarist Russia was no less painful to Jews than economic and legal

discrimination: "My God, aren't we human beings? Why this hostility and contempt?"

There is no more of that in the Soviet Union! Men of science everywhere enjoy, esteem, isn't that true? Well, according to data of the USSR Central Statistical Board, in 1969 there were 63,661 scientific workers of Jewish nationality in our country. Jews are in third place after Russians and Ukrainians, though in numerical strength they occupy 11th place, making up less than 1 per cent of the country's total population. Now would you say that the road to science is closed to Jews? This was made possible because under Soviet conditions 14 per cent of the Jewish population (more than 300,000) has received a higher education, a percentage nine times higher than among the Russians and 12 times higher than among the Ukrainians. In 1970-71, percentages of students enrolled in higher educational institutions were as follows: Russians, 2.1; Ukrainians, 1.5; Byelorussians, 1.5; Uzbeks, 1.9; Armenians, 2.2; Latvians, 1.5; and Jews, 4.8.

The roster of Lenin Prize laureates, the highest award in our country for scientific and artistic achievement, shows that out of a total of 844, 564 are Russians, 184 come from various other nationalities, and 96, or 12 per cent of the total, are Jews—that is 12 times more than the percentage of Jews in the population.

And what conclusions do you draw from the fact that many streets in Soviet cities are named after Jews: Nakhimson in Yaroslavl; Yakov Shenkman, a hero of the Civil War, in Sverdlovsk; and many others.

Since Jews are like all other people, of course, there are also scoundrels, swindlers and lawbreakers among them. And when such a lawbreaker is caught and brought before the courts, our enemies abroad cry that he is being punished not because he is guilty, but because he is a Jew! The absurdity and shamefulness of this trick is obvious to all sober-minded people.

As for Jewish culture, there is the Yiddish magazine *Sovetish Heimland* and numerous translations and original works of Jewish writers. Much has already been written about that; in the last ten years, for instance, 320 books by Jewish writers were published in a total edition of 41 million copies. Therefore I will limit myself to several examples that are related to my own work in literature. Each of the 200 volumes of the *World Literature Library*, which is published in a huge edition of 300,000 (approximately 10 to 15 volumes a year), is devoted to writers of world stature—Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, Pushkin, Tolstoy, etc. One of the first in this series was a volume of Sholom Aleichem's work. My Russian friend Professor Igor Diakonov and I are currently preparing new translations

of the Bible, among others the Book of Ruth, in my translation, and Ecclesiastes, in Diakonov's translation, for the next volume of the series *Literature of the Ancient East*. A large book, *Jewish Folklore*, in Russian translation is being prepared for press by the publishing house of the USSR Academy of Sciences (the compiler was the late S. Raize; I am the editor). The work of Russian poets and those of other Soviet nationalities are published in very large editions in the *Poets' Library* founded by Maxim Gorky. Not so long ago a volume of verse of the late Perets Markish, a Jewish poet, came off the press. This is especially significant since Markish died in the early fifties, when laws protecting national minorities were violated in our country. I wish to remind you that the multinational Soviet people themselves, led by the Communist Party, openly condemned the flagrant distortions of Lenin's policy in our country and corrected them. These were our own difficulties, and we ourselves coped with them and continue to move ahead in keeping with Lenin's behests. The publication of the poetry of Markish is one of the many examples that such distortions have been corrected.

Soviet Jews en masse are deeply aware of what Soviet power brought them and what the building of socialism in our country gave them. They demonstrated their gratitude to their native land and their patriotism in the severe trials and tribulations of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War against German fascism. Again I will give an example from my personal life. There were four men of my generation who were most closely related: my older brother David, my brother-in-law Friedl (brother of my wife), my brother-in-law Abush (husband of my sister) and I, Joseph. My brother died in the Civil War in 1918, shot by whiteguard bandits in the Ukraine during the well-known Trepolie tragedy. His name has been engraved on the Obelisk of Glory towering over the Dnieper. My wife's brother, a company commander in the Soviet Army, died in 1944 fighting for the liberation of Vitebsk. My sister's husband died in 1941 in the Battle of Moscow, where he fought in the ranks of a people's detachment. Of the four, I am the only one still alive. Way back in my teens I took part in the last battles of the Civil War, in the thirties in the struggle against the Basmachi bands in Tadzhikistan, and in the years of the Great Patriotic War I served as a colonel on various fronts (for which I was awarded combat orders and medals). I cite that because it is so typical. To corroborate this I turn once more to statistics: 340,000 Jews were awarded state orders and medals for their labor accomplishments and for valor in the Great Patriotic War. Three out of every 20 Jews, including infants

and the old, wear government decorations; 117 Jews have been honored with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union (the highest military title) and 71 with the title of Hero of Socialist Labor (highest civilian title).

In light of the above figures and facts, can any other reply but a resounding "no" be given to the question posed by Americans: Is it true that anti-Semitism reigns in the Soviet Union as it did in old Russia? Ponder over that and answer the question yourself. And if you want to see for yourself, you are welcome to visit us!

But my sharp-minded American reader goes on to ask: "Didn't anti-Semitism leave deep roots in the history of Russian society? Certainly they must manifest themselves in our time."

I'll answer this question, too. The depth of the "roots of anti-Semitism" should not be exaggerated. Not to mention the decisive struggle against anti-Semitism waged in tsarist Russia by such great Russian people as Lenin and Gorky, it is well known that workers' detachments, of Russian and Ukrainian background, rebuffed the Black Hundreds way back in 1905! It is also well known that the best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia held the anti-Semites in contempt and came out in defense of the honor and human dignity of Jews. This was most strikingly evident during the Beilis case, when all the very best and progressive people in Russia declared themselves strongly against this provocation of the Black Hundreds. So there is no need for exaggeration! Anti-Semitism left its traces only on the most backward strata of Russian society, on the deluded and ignorant. But the struggle against anti-Semitism, as you can see, has a tradition in the advanced section of Russian society.

Are there people in the Soviet Union who still have anti-Semitic prejudices? Do you think all kinds of reactionary leftovers in people's minds, all kinds of anti-social attitudes and prejudices, including xenophobia, could completely disappear, vanish in thin air, in the 50-odd years of Soviet power?

No, indeed, not everything in our life is one bright color; there are also shades, even in the relations of people of different nationalities. I have many grandchildren. I won't hide the fact that I am very happy that not only Jewish, but also Russian, Armenian and Ukrainian blood flows in the veins of my grandchildren. In this respect one of my closest friends, the very kind Aziz Sharif, an Azerbaidzhanian, has me beaten. Armenian blood flows in the veins of his children, and in the veins of his numerous grandchildren, as in my grandchildren, flows Russian and Ukrainian blood, and *in addition*, Estonian, Jewish and Greek blood! The explanation for

this is that Aziz was born ten years earlier than I. What I'm writing here—about friendship, the closest and most intimate kind, between people of the most different nationalities—is a very common thing in the Soviet Union, hence the widespread mixed marriages.

Unfortunately, different attitudes can still be met, even among Jews, sad as it may be. I hate to hear the kind of shameful prattling of some Jews about "goyim," a word which should have been buried with all other anti-Semitic, Judeophobic remarks. I know of individual bureaucrats of Jewish nationality who abused their official position by selecting their "own" Jewish relatives and acquaintances for their staff. In my long life I have come across a petty official with anti-Semitic leftovers who took advantage of his position to infringe on the rights of a person of Jewish nationality.

Our country is the only one in the world where anti-Semitism has been declared a crime. But just as there are still lawbreakers of various kinds—money-grabbers, bribe-takers and xenophobians (including Jews), there are also anti-Semites. Such violations of our laws and ethical standards are used to slander the Soviet Union. But the important thing is the irreconcilable attitude toward such violations by the country's leadership and by public opinion. Here is what I said about anti-Semites in an article I wrote on the class basis of Zionism:

Nothing does more to advance the influence of Zionism than anti-Semitism. Though outwardly they appear as antipodes—Judeophile and Judeophobic—they have much in common in their origin and their nature. Both replace the class approach to the Jewish question with the racist, recognizing the Jewish people as "exceptional": the Zionists in the sense of "superiority" and "the elect," and the anti-Semites in an entirely negative sense. Both are for moving the Jews from the countries they inhabit. And both express national chauvinist ideology and psychology. The anti-Semites are ready to declare all Jews to be Zionists, and the Zionists to label all non-Jews as anti-Semites.

This was published not long ago in *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has a circulation of several million copies and expresses the policies of our country's leadership.

In conclusion, I would like to reply to another question that Americans I happen to meet pose: "What is the attitude of Soviet Jews to the appeal to emigrate to the state of Israel?" I believe I have the moral right to express the opinion of a considerable section of the Jews, since I meet many of them, scientific workers, when I lecture at plants and higher schools of learning. I have heart-to-heart talks with many Jews—professionals, skilled and unskilled work-

ers and students. I also know the feelings of Jewish war veterans. Finally, after my article appeared in *Pravda* I received hundreds of letters from people I did not know, most of them of Jewish nationality. All this permits me to feel like a sort of miniature "institute for the study of public opinion."

First of all, Soviet Jews, like all Soviet people, make a distinction between Israel's millions of working people and its government. I happen to be one of the first to enter liberated Kiev as an officer of the Soviet Army. I saw with my own eyes the horror of Babi Yar, where among the 70,000 murdered Jews lay my Kiev relatives. I know what motivated the hundreds of thousands of Jews in the countries of Europe, who lived through the tragedy of the annihilation of six million Jews by the Hitlerite Nazis, to leave for Israel. It was these hundreds of thousands who laid the real cornerstone of the state of Israel. I dealt with the attitude of the Soviet Government toward Israel in an article published in *Kommunist* (No. 9, 1970), the chief theoretical and political magazine of the Central Committee of the Communist Party:

When the decision was adopted in 1947 to set up a Jewish and Arab state, the world public hoped that Israel would take the road of peace and cooperation with its neighbors. Proceeding from that, the Soviet Union, true to the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, recognized the state of Israel. To a great extent the Zionists took advantage of the fact that the actions of the reactionary Arab rulers of those times, who were submissive to the will of the imperialists, prevented the Arab people from implementing their right to self-determination and statehood on the territory of Palestine. The vanguard of the Israeli working class, the world progressive public, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries believe that Israel can and should develop, not as a hotbed of war, but as a peaceful, democratic state maintaining good-neighborly relations with all countries of the Middle East.

It seems obvious enough that Israel can and should develop as a peaceful state. Moreover, it was the Soviet Government that convinced authoritative Arab leaders that relations with Israel should be settled not by military means, as the Arab extremists demanded, but by political, peaceful means, so that all states could live and develop in peace, within secure borders, without the seizure of alien territories.

We believe that a free national life for every people can be built only on the foundation of peace, democracy, socialism and, most important, the friendship of peoples, in this case Arab-Jewish friendship, which has such age-old historic traditions. To whom else can it be as clear as to working Jews, the victims of racism and genocide, how inhuman and morally impermissible it is to build one's happiness on the unhappiness of another people, in this case the Arab

working people, the Palestinians. Let us never forget the Aramaic saying: *Da'alakh sene lekhavrakh la ta'aved*—"What is hateful unto you do not do to your neighbor."

I happened to meet the old Jewish poet Avishaul of Israel at a conference of Asian and African writers. I was happy to learn that our views on this question completely coincided. I know that the same position is taken by many people in Israel, young and old.

As for the call of the newly-found patrons coming out in "defense of Soviet Jews" and offering us the chance "to save ourselves" in Israel, there can be only one reply to that: contempt for the anti-Soviet mission of these gentlemen. I will cite only one, a typical sample, of the many letters I received after my articles were published:

My father was a teacher of Yiddish, he went through a Soviet teachers' seminary. There were six children in the family. Two brothers were workers (a turner and a fitter), they attended a workers' college preparatory faculty (Rabfak) and then an institute, and now they are engineers in the defense industry. My sister graduated from a technical school, worked as an engineer in an auto plant, then went on to an institute; she is now also employed in the defense industry. Two sisters are office workers. I am an institute graduate, an economist in an auto plant. After finishing high school, my daughter took a job in the auto plant. During the war, she dropped her studies at an institute to volunteer for the army. After demobilization she finished college and then taught school, at first in Western Ukraine when it was liberated from the Germans, and now in Kharkov. She lives with her aunt, a former worker in a Kharkov clothing factory, who has been a member of the Communist Party from prerevolutionary times and fought in the Civil War on many fronts. That is the "family album" of our Jewish family. Now, tell me, what do we need Golda Meir and her "paradise" for?

This letter, not intended for the press but addressed to me personally and agreeing with my article, was written by auto plant worker I. Ashavsky. I repeat, this letter gives a picture that is very typical of thousands upon thousands of Jewish families in the Soviet Union.

In the words of the great Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, we will never leave "the soil which I nursed with my hands." Together with all the peoples of the Soviet Union the Jews put their heart and soul into building a new life in their socialist homeland, overcoming and ready to overcome all the difficulties and the temporary setbacks on the unfathomed road to the new social system. Jews perished on the battlefields in the fight for their Motherland, and no Zionists and anti-Semites (birds of a feather, I would say) will shake the patriotic feeling of more than a small proportion of the Soviet Jews.

I know of course that some Jews are asking for permission

to go to Israel, and most of those to join their close relatives. As for those who apply to go to Israel for other reasons, they form a small minority of the Jewish population. Some of them lack understanding, not having given careful consideration to the question, and they deserve pity and explanation; some are shamefully ungrateful to their Soviet homeland, and they deserve only contempt. That is what most Soviet Jews think. The minority of them who labor under a delusion will realize their mistake in time, I am certain of that, and will not soil the dignity of man and citizen they acquired in the Soviet Union. The sooner, the better! As my mother used to say when she was alive: "Alevai!" "So be it!"

DR. HERBERT MOCHALSKI

Pastor; President, Society for the Promotion of West German-Soviet Relations

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS I happened to be in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In these two union republics the solution of the national problem is manifested most clearly in the development of the national languages, literature, theater. The two peoples are making progress in every field; each nation enjoys equal rights and equal possibilities of development in the federal state. This is, in my opinion, a most important achievement of the USSR by the 50th anniversary of its formation.

BEJOY KUMAR SINHA

Public figure and journalist, India

A VISIT to Soviet Central Asia produces a great impression on each of my countrymen. American Senator Ellender, travelling round Kazakhstan, asked an Ukrainian couple he met there: "Explain to me, please, why did you leave your rich Ukraine and come to this steppe?" "We have come here to do anything worthwhile in our life, to help the Kazakhs," a young woman replied. "You see for yourself that there was nothing here," her husband replied, "and now almost 60,000 hectares have been plowed on our state farm alone. Thus, we are not living in vain."

KIM IR

First Vice-Chairman, Cabinet of Ministers, Korean People's Democratic Republic

THE SOVIET people have shown that the people who have taken power into their hands are invincible. They are working to strengthen the economic might of their country and to raise their standard of living.

MIKHAIL KULICHENKO

Economic and Social Development Of Soviet Peoples: A Factual Survey

The Soviet Nations: Economic Development

THE LENINIST national policy of the Soviet Government and Communist Party requires that for the national development of each people as well as the well-being of the entire multinational country, political equality must be supplemented by measures for the alignment of their economic levels. Overcoming lags in one or another field is not of course an end in itself. The aim is the rational combination of a maximum contribution to the common cause of communist construction with high rates of national development. Socialism is international by its very nature. Public ownership of the means of production has the same character. Therefore the national interest of every people involves both the effort to speed up its own development and, most important, to attain the common goal—successful building of communism.

The economies of all the union republics of the USSR have developed successfully in the eighth five-year plan period (1966-1970). The industries of the Russian Federation (RSFSR), the Ukraine, Estonia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia and some other union republics grew by 50 per cent, the average rate for the USSR as a whole. In Georgia, Latvia, Moldavia and Kazakhstan, the growth rates of total industrial output were somewhat higher and in Byelorussia, Armenia, Lithuania and Kirghizia they increased by 74-82.5 per cent. In agricultural production, with a 21 per cent average nationwide increase, the increase was 25-27 per cent in Moldavia, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, and 33-36 per cent in Byelorussia, Lithuania and Turkmenia.

The high economic development rates in the union republics enhanced the role of each of them in the distribution of labor, and

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their contribution to the building of the material and technological basis for communism. For example, the RSFSR accounts for 64 per cent of the country's total electricity generation, over 81 per cent of the oil, 45 per cent of the gas, 55 per cent of the coal, 49 per cent of the iron, over 54 per cent of the steel output. The share of the Ukraine in the total production of all the republics is 34 per cent for coal, 31 per cent for gas, 48 per cent for iron, 42 per cent for rolled stock, 56 per cent for iron ore, 48 per cent for metallurgical equipment, 94 per cent for mainline locomotives. Byelorussia accounts for about one half of the country's total production of potassium fertilizers, etc.

The results of the eighth five-year plan were due to the heroic labor of the peoples of the USSR and the consistent party national policy, which aims to secure the well-being of the peoples and priority development rates for those still below the average nationwide economic indices. Although the biggest profits are yielded by investments in such economically developed regions of the RSFSR as the Central, the Northwestern and Volga-Viatka regions and the Urals, the level of capital investments in other union republics has nevertheless been higher. For the entire USSR, as well as the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, capital investments increased 40 per cent over the five-year period, whereas in Armenia and Kirghizia there was an increase of 60 per cent, in Lithuania, Moldavia and Byelorussia, 70 per cent, in Georgia, 90 per cent.

During the eighth five-year plan there was a substantial rise in material well-being of the working people in all the republics. On a nationwide scale, as well as in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Azerbaidzhan, in 1970 the national income exceeded the 1965 level by 41 per cent, in Estonia, Kirghizia and Byelorussia, by 44-50 per cent, in Armenia, Lithuania and Kazakhstan by 54-61 per cent. Real per capita income rose in Estonia by 34 per cent, in Byelorussia by 37 per cent, in Armenia by 37.2 per cent, as against the nationwide average of 33 per cent.

As these figures show, one of the basic targets of national policy in the last five-year plan period was equalization of the levels of economic development in the republics and of the rates of growth of standards of living. Substantial successes were achieved in this. In 1962, the correlation between maximal and minimal industrial development of the country's economic regions was expressed by the ratio of 4 to 1. In 1968, this ratio in the economic regions was only 1.8 to 1 for the national income per head of able-bodied population, the main indicator of the development of productive forces.

At the same time, the least economically developed regions made the biggest leap forward. In 1926, the rate of industrial development in Kazakhstan was only seven per cent of the country's average, and that of the Central Asian Republics and Byelorussia, 31-40 per cent. By the end of 1968, the Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan had reached 79 per cent of the nationwide average, and Byelorussia, 100 per cent. In growth rates of national income in 1969, ten union republics developed faster than the country as a whole.

National income per head of able-bodied population in percentage to the nationwide average taken as 100, is smallest in the group of economic regions with an index of 70 to 84 per cent. In 1968, this group still included Kazakhstan, Moldavia, the Central Asian and Transcaucasian republics. Byelorussia and two economic regions of the Ukraine—Southwestern and Southern—more closely approached the nationwide average but were still below it. The Baltic republics exceeded the nationwide average by 11.9 per cent, the Donetsk-Dnieper region of the Ukraine by 13.5 per cent. The country's highest indices were recorded in the Central economic region (133.3 per cent), which was followed by the Northwestern region (132.3 per cent), the Volga-Viatka region (119.5 per cent) and the Urals (114.7 per cent).

In solving the problem of aligning the levels of economic development of the republics, great importance is attached to overcoming the lag in surplus product produced per head of the able-bodied population, to increasing labor productivity, and raising the proportion of those employed in industry to the total able-bodied population. Of course, one should not try to attain identical levels of industrial development in all republics, since some of the differences are due to climatic conditions and the requirements of the social division of labor. Therefore, of prime importance for assessing levels of development are the technical and economic indices of production, the qualifications of specialists, and their proportion to the total labor force. In agriculture, for example, a highly important indicator is the standard of mechanization of farming operations—the proportion of machine operators to the total number of farmers. For the following republics this proportion was below the national average, which was 8.4 per cent as of April 1, 1970: Kazakhstan (5.5 per cent), the Baltic republics (7 per cent), the Russian Federation (7.1 per cent). The average index was exceeded by the Ukraine (9.1 per cent), Uzbekistan (9.4 per cent), Byelorussia (10.2 per cent), Moldavia (11.2 per cent), the Transcaucasian Republics (16.2 per cent).

Since socialist internationalism has long been the basis for the national consciousness of the peoples of the USSR, everyone of us is extremely gratified not only by our own achievements but also by the rapid progress of any other people of the USSR, because the priority rates of this development are attained mostly by the joint efforts of the entire fraternal family of nations and for the benefit of all its members. For example, the Volga-Viatka region of the RSFSR increased its total industrial output 70 per cent during the seven-year period, whereas in the Chuvash, Mari and Mordovian Autonomous Republics, which it incorporates, the increase was approximately 130 per cent. In the eighth five-year plan, the region's total industrial production grew 60 per cent, as against 76-80 per cent in the above republics. The industrial output of the mountainous Karabakh Autonomous Region increased 130 per cent during 1966-1970, although in the Azerbaidzhanian Republic, of which that region is a part, the rates of industrial growth were much slower—5.9 per cent in each of the first four years and nine per cent in 1970.

The economic development of a particular republic can only conventionally be thought of as an independent factor in determining its importance for overall national development. First, the economy of a republic is an inseparable part of the economy of the country as a whole. Second, many other peoples take part in developing every branch of the national economy of a republic.

Also inseparably part of the economic development, both within each republic and in the USSR as a whole, is the 90-million-strong trade union organization, the largest multinational mass movement in the country. The trade unions play an essential role in involving workers both in fulfillment of production plans and in participating with management in the planning itself. At the same time the unions are a major force in constantly improving workers' living and working conditions, cultural and sport facilities, labor protection and health. The trade unions administer the entire comprehensive social insurance system. In addition to their work within each enterprise locally, Soviet trade unions, including all nations and nationalities, are united in the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

The Soviet Nations: Political and Cultural Growth

SOcialism, which is based on an advanced economy, is by no means reducible to the economy alone. In the conditions of transition from socialism to communism, the Soviet peoples have felt a historic need to enhance their sociopolitical activities, accelerate the development of their national cultures, intensify the processes of na-

tional consolidation, and bring about changes in the social structure of nations and nationalities.

During the eighth five-year plan, the peoples of the sovereign Soviet republics constituting the USSR, along with the development of the economy and culture, continued to strengthen their unity by consolidating the entire multinational state, on the one hand, and by increasing their political activity in advancing national statehood and its role in communist construction, on the other. The correlation between Soviet national statehood and the USSR, republican and nationwide interests, national pride and Soviet patriotism, is a correlation between a part and a whole, a practical embodiment of the national and the international in the relations among nations.

The past few years have seen further development of forms and methods of implementing democratic centralism, which is one of the fundamental principles of the multinational Soviet state. This centralism in no way contradicts national distinctiveness, but includes it as an inalienable component part.

At the 24th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev emphasized that the convergence of nations "is taking place in the conditions of close attention to national distinctions, the development of socialist national cultures. Constant solicitude both for the common interests of our nation and the interests of its constituent republics, such is the gist of the party policy."

In the early years of the eighth five-year plan representation of the republics in supreme government bodies was widened. The number of deputies from the union republics in the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet reached 32; in addition, there are 11 deputies for each autonomous republic, five from each autonomous region and one from each national area. The chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the republics were seated ex officio, by virtue of office, on the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Representatives of the republics were appointed to supreme planning and judiciary bodies. This was in addition to the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet is international in composition (deputies of 62 nationalities were elected to it in 1970).

This period saw a further upsurge in the activities of the legislative and executive bodies of union and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts in connection with the advancement of the peoples. An important factor in the development of every people is the increased activities of their elected representatives—at Soviet sessions, on permanent commissions of the Soviets, and in direct work within the masses.

Some idea of the activity of deputies to local Soviets can be gained from this example: in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, 5,237 sessions were held in 1968, and two of every three delegates took the floor. Approximately 16,000 deputies reported to the electorate on one occasion, a process regularly followed. Seventeen deputies were recalled by the voters. A total of 6,600 questions were discussed at meetings of permanent commissions of local Soviets; 10,250 questions at meetings of Soviet executive committees.

One of the characteristic features of the eighth five-year plan was the fact that enjoyment of the achievements of national cultures had assumed a truly mass scale. Expenditures on social and cultural benefits in the republics grew 50-100 per cent over the five-year period. Due to this practically one-third of the population of every nation and nationality is today engaged in one or another form of study. The party consistently pursued a policy of accelerating the cultural progress of those peoples which had not yet reached the nationwide average in certain important indices. Provisions for this are made in the republican budgets. For example, total investments in the national economy usually account for 45 per cent of the budget, and social and cultural appropriations for 37.5 per cent, whereas in the budgets of the Central Asian republics the latter are invariably much bigger than the former. In 1971, the social and cultural appropriations in the budget of Tadzhikistan accounted for over 54 per cent; in Turkmenia, for almost 60 per cent; in Kirghizia, for over 65 per cent of the total outlays, reflecting the particular growth requirements of those republics.

The republics earmarked the lion's share of their budget appropriations for public education in many national languages in the last five-year plan period. During this period, the demand for personnel with a higher and secondary education increased considerably. The scale of training in the republics has been greatly widened. For example, with the general increase of 55 per cent in the student body of higher schools in the period from 1962-63 to 1969-70, the number of Kazakh, Moldavian and Turkmenian students almost doubled, and Uzbek, Azerbaidzhanian, Kirghizian, Tadzhik and other students more than doubled. In the Uzbek Republic 16 per cent more specialists graduated in 1970 than in 1969, and this republic has moved ahead of Britain and the FRG in the training of specialists with a higher education.

During 1959-1970, great progress was made in the republics in analyzing standards of training of specialists with higher and secondary (complete and incomplete) education. The growth rate of

the number of specialists per 1,000 of employed population was below the nationwide average (147.7 per cent) only in six union republics (Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Georgia, Latvia, Estonia, and Turkmenia), while in others they were slightly above the average (Uzbekistan, 147.8 per cent; Tadzhikistan, 147.9 per cent; the Russian Federation, 149.0 per cent; Kirghizia, 149.9 per cent; the Ukraine, 152.5 per cent), and in still others the excess was considerable (Byelorussia, 179.4 per cent; Moldavia, 181.4 per cent; Lithuania, 198.4 per cent). In the 20 autonomous republics these rates were below the nationwide average only in the Komi, North Ossetian and Checheno-Ingushian republics, while in all the others they were above the average, in particular, in Kara-Kalpakia by 23 per cent, in Kalmykia by 24.3 per cent and in Tuva by 36.1 per cent.

The development of national cultures in the USSR is vividly illustrated by the growing numbers of books and brochures. Moreover, in the period 1966-1970, a rapid increase of publications in national languages was in evidence. The total circulation of magazines and other periodicals in the languages of Central Asia and Kazakhstan grew from 40.5 million copies in 1965 to about 116.7 million in 1970. This has resulted not only in larger numbers of volumes in libraries but also in the mass appearance of private libraries of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. During the eighth five-year plan, six billion books and brochures were sold. With a 32 per cent increase in nationwide retail book sales, in Byelorussia these sales grew by 67.2 per cent, in Armenia by 59 per cent, in Kirghizia by 52 per cent, in Lithuania by 50 per cent, in Latvia by 47 per cent. Sales of newspapers and magazines have markedly increased. At the end of 1970, circulation per 1,000 population in Byelorussia topped 1,000 copies, equaling the nationwide average. In Kalmykia this index was 1,079 copies in 1969; in Kazakhstan, 1,230 in 1970; in Moldavia, 1,369 (an increase of over 150 per cent above the 1965 level). Lithuania reached the 1970 nationwide average in 1966, and in 1970 circulation of periodicals was 1,700 copies per 1,000 population. In Estonia, it grew to 1,800.

The high development of the national cultures is also illustrated by the flowering of theatrical art, the expansion of the network of cultural and educational institutions, advancement of musical art, mass-scale amateur art activities. For example, at the end of 1970, Kazakhstan had 23 professional theatrical companies, 15 philharmonic societies, 60 people's theaters, about 6,000 village clubs and culture centers alone. During the five-year plan amateur art activities assumed a particularly wide scale in all national republics.

Many events in the cultural life of the peoples of the USSR during the last five-year period had no earlier precedent. The opera "Mountaineers," by Shirvani Chalayev, a composer of the small Lak people, marked the birth of opera in Daghestan; the first national opera "Aktapyr," by Erik Sapayev, was produced in the Mari Autonomous Republic; the first musical pieces were composed for the Mari national ballet.

Consolidation of National Identities

THE eighth five-year plan became also an important stage in the consolidation of nations and nationalities. National consolidation combines all the aspects of *intra*-national development: growing economic and cultural unity of the nation; increased importance of such socio-political factors as the national form of statehood, the national features peculiar to the population's participation in political affairs, national personnel training and language policy in particular; the growing role of the national working class and intellectuals in various aspects of the nation's development, particularly in the combination of the national and international factors; constant concern for national interests, national psychology and national consciousness.

The processes of *intra*-national consolidation are greatly influenced by the convergence of the state and the cooperative-collective farm forms of property, especially during the past few years. This is illustrated, in particular, by a sharp increase in state investments in agriculture, by large-scale joint construction of enterprises, schools, hospitals, etc. by state and collective farms. This steadily strengthens the ties between industry and agriculture, changes the entire image of rural areas, the professional specialization of rural residents. Moreover, the state gives great assistance in the integration of hamlets into urban-type communities, the resettlement of mountaineers to new villages on the plains. In Moldavia, for example, investments in agriculture doubled during the last five-year plan, one-third of this at the expense of the state. Today there are 79 state farm factories, some with specialized secondary schools. In the three years of socialist reconstruction of villages in Lithuania, 14,000 new homes have been built in urban-type communities to replace demolished hamlets.

Highly important for national consolidation is the alignment of the levels of economic development of the districts and regions *within* the union republics. In the Russian Federation, a case in point is the development of regions of Siberia, the Far East and the Far

North. In the Ukraine, where the average 1966-1970 increment of industrial output was 49 per cent, the increment in the Southwestern economic region was 52 per cent, and in the Southern economic region, 57 per cent. In Byelorussia with its 80 per cent total increase in industrial production over the five-year plan period, the increment in Grodno region was 90 per cent, and in Brest region, as large as 130 per cent.

The process of national consolidation is also substantially influenced by the establishment in most of the republics of unified power grids, more intensive exchanges between regions and districts due to new transport routes, telephone and telegraph communications, radio and television, and wider trade. This is strikingly illustrated by the progress made in these areas by the Central Asian peoples, who were previously almost completely illiterate and led largely a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life.

In the process of abolishing essential differences between the classes, between urban and village life, between mental and physical work, appreciable changes have taken place in the social structure of nations and nationalities, which has also been an important factor of national consolidation. Highly qualified cadres of the working class, particularly in the mass specialities, have emerged from among the indigenous population of the union republics. While the rate of increase in the number of factory and office workers in the country as a whole was in 1969 about 12 per cent above the 1965 level, the corresponding figure for the Baltic republics was 14.5 per cent, the Trans-Caucasian republics 19.5 per cent, and Central Asia 21 per cent.

Thus, the real facts leave nothing of the bourgeois propaganda fabrications about the national development of the peoples of the USSR being artificially retarded in favor of international interests. Socialism, far from contradicting all-around national development, is in fact the only system that provides realistic opportunities for this development. At the same time, the CPSU believes that national progress must not be interpreted only as the development of national distinctions in the life of the peoples, because this would hamper their consolidation.

National distinctions should not be simply developed on the basis of socialist internationalism, but should be constantly enriched by assimilation of other nations' distinctions, adapted to each people's specific situation.

At the 24th CPSU Congress and at the Communist Party congresses in the republics, deep concern was expressed that in a number

of aspects the development of national cultures had failed to meet the present-day requirements of Soviet people. For example, Dinmukhamed Kunayev, First Secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party, stated that "few fullblooded portrayals of our contemporaries are yet to be found in literature, on the theatrical stage, in films. The opera and ballet genres are still lagging, and the musical comedy genre has not yet developed at all." Sharaf Rashidov, Uzbek First Secretary, and Arvid Grigulis, President of the Latvian Writers' Union, made similar criticisms of shortcomings in drama, films and other art forms.

It was also emphasized that individual works of fiction and art and even research works sometimes display an unhealthy tendency toward "competition" in showing one's people to advantage against the background of others, toward disputes over whose ancestors were more talented and the like. The class approach is sometimes lost in the assessment of a nation's history. This approach has nothing in common with the Leninist understanding of national pride, assessment of national heritage; it gives rise to national self-conceit and interferes with the internationalist education of working people. Speakers at the Communist Party congresses in the republics severely criticized and denounced instances of deviation from the class-conscious assessment of events and individual personalities of the past.

The Integration of Nations: The Economy

THE MAIN sphere of expression of international friendship, the foundation of international relations in general, is the socialist economy as the factor uniting the Soviet nations. It is important to note not only its internationalist essence issuing from the socialized character of property, but also its level of development, where intensification, extension of economic exchange, increasingly become an objective prerequisite for further progress.

Specialization and cooperation are the main characteristics of inter-republican economic links. In terms of the country's existing division not only into republics but also into large economic regions incorporating republics (the Baltic, Central Asia, Transcaucasia), making up a part of them (the Russian Federation, the Ukraine) or covering whole republics (Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia), inter-regional exchanges accounted for two-fifths of the total volume of traffic and three-fourths of the total goods turnover as far back as the beginning of the eighth five-year plan period. Economic exchanges between the Soviet peoples are being constantly extended.

The economic life of the peoples of the USSR is merging into a whole in the full sense of the word, because all of them pursue the common goal of building the material and technological basis for communism. While making whatever contribution it can to the common cause of developing the country, every republic at the same time receives everything it needs for its own progress. The Ukraine, for example, annually supplies to other republics 57 per cent of its output of ferrous rolled stock, 20 per cent of its coal, 28 per cent of its iron ore, a large share of its output of machinery and equipment. From the fraternal republics, it receives the bulk of the oil products and timber it needs, many types of machines, instruments, etc. Byelorussia supplies to other republics nine-tenths of its output of mineral fertilizers, machine-tools, motorcycles, scooters, transformers, man-made fibers, more than two-thirds of its output of tractors, trucks, roller- and ball-bearings. The Byelorussian economy itself cannot develop without receiving metal and coal from the Ukraine, oil products from Azerbaidzhan and Tataria, many types of machines, electrical engineering equipment from the Russian Federation and the Baltic republics, some 40 per cent of the grain it needs from the RSFSR and the Ukraine, etc.

Other examples show that most of some types of products in the republics are produced to meet the needs of the country as a whole rather than for local use. The Central Asian republics supply to other fraternal peoples nine-tenths of their production of raw cotton, and two-thirds of their silkworm cocoons. The share of the Central Asian republics in supplying the country with natural gas has been growing. For example, Uzbekistan, which produces 32 billion cubic meters of gas, ships most of it to other republics along five gas pipelines built during the last five-year plan period. Tadzhikistan supplies to the other fraternal republics 80-90 per cent of its production of cotton, silken fabrics, non-ferrous metal ore concentrates, tinned vegetables and fruits, wines. Soviet Estonia, which receives products of the petrochemical, machine-building and other industries, supplies to other republics 60 per cent of its phosphate fertilizers, more than two thirds of its power production. The Latvian Republic supplies half its products to the Central and Northwestern regions of the Russian Federation, as well as to the Ukraine. For their part, these regions account for 55 per cent of manufactured goods and raw materials received by Latvia.

The current stage of economic cooperation between the fraternal peoples of the USSR is characterized not only by increased reciprocal deliveries of products and raw materials and exchange of

experience, but also by their direct participation in building individual large enterprises and whole industries. For example, in the last few years Soviet Bashkiria has built up a large chemical industry. Its petrochemical industry developed twice as fast as that in the rest of the country. These achievements were made possible by the help of the fraternal Soviet nations. Bashkiria received half the oil needed from Tataria; all the union republics took part in building the new enterprises.

The current free redistribution of manpower resources among the Soviet nations contributes to the internationalization of production collectives. At Kazakhstanskaya Magnitka, workers and specialists come from 46 nationalities, at the construction site of the Volga motorworks from 44, of the Nurek power dam from 41, at the "Tuvaasbest" combine from 36, at the Ust-Kamenogorsk titanium-magnesium combine from 32. Such examples run into thousands. They illustrate the main factor in Soviet life: joint construction of communism by working people of all nationalities in conditions of the growing well-being and friendly convergence of nations.

The fraternal cooperation among the Soviet peoples is accompanied by selfless mutual assistance. This was seen, for example, in the promptness and sympathy with which all the peoples of the USSR jointly came to the assistance of Uzbekistan and Daghستان when they were ravaged by earthquakes. This aid helped rebuild Tashkent and enabled the working people of Daghستان to provide housing in a little over two months to 34,258 families in distress, and to build and repair about 200 school buildings and hospitals with a total of almost 3,500 beds. The other Soviet republics provided over 5,000 children with free board, lodging and schooling facilities.

The deepening content and widening scale of economic cooperation among the peoples of the USSR greatly affect the essence and forms of international relations. The new features notable in them are manifested especially in the further *consolidation of the Soviet people as a new historical community*. This community implies for the most part an identical type of socialist relations of production, common ownership by the people of all the forms of public property, organization of production on the basis of the nationwide division of labor and, finally, common vital economic interests which by no means contradict the common economic life of every individual nation.

At the same time, in the USSR the term "national economy" applied to a particular republic has been practically abandoned in favor of the term "the republican economy." First, because the ma-

terial values of a republic are the property of both the nation or nationality the republic takes its name from and the working people of all other nationalities living on its territory. Second, because the economy of every republic is built up by the efforts of all the peoples of the USSR, and is their common property. All this however, does not rule out the "national interest" category.

The Integration of Nations: Language and Culture

IN ADDITION to advancing the economic community of the Soviet people, an important role in its further consolidation is played by the continuing interaction and mutual enrichment of national cultures, the development of the united Soviet multinational culture. The various national cultures, while retaining their originality, constitute at the same time the united Soviet socialist culture and assimilate the finest features of every culture. The national and international elements in Soviet culture blend into the unity of its national form and socialist content.

One of the most striking manifestations of the interaction and mutual enrichment of the national cultures of the Soviet nations and nationalities is the development of multinational Soviet literature in 89 languages.

The ten-day art and literature festivals of the fraternal peoples have become traditional in every Soviet republic. The growing interest of the peoples of the USSR in world culture, as well as the national cultures of other Soviet peoples, is illustrated by the scope of translations of literature. In 1971, books were translated in the USSR from 64 languages of Soviet peoples and 45 foreign languages. A total of 7,417 books have been translated into other languages of the USSR, with a printing of over 15.9 million copies, as well as over 2,600 books by foreign authors in about 67 million copies. Some 9,000 books by Russian classical and contemporary authors in over 230 million copies, and more than 2,000 books by Byelorussian, Georgian, Armenian and other writers, have been published during Soviet years in the Ukraine alone; while many Ukrainian writers are known to the other Soviet peoples. Among many other national literatures which have gained wide popularity, 700 works by Estonian authors translated into 37 languages of the USSR, for example, have been published, and over 200 works by Tatar writers and poets alone have been translated into Chuvash. Udmurtian authors have been translated into 15 languages of the USSR.

The repertoires of theaters and amateur art companies in the republics feature, in addition to the life of their peoples, the finest

works by classical and contemporary writers, dramatists and poets of the peoples of the USSR and abroad. This is one of the major channels for the convergence of cultures, particularly because of mass public interest in amateur art activities and theater.

An important tendency in the formation and development of the Soviet people as a new historical community has been the growth of bilingualism, the extension of the social functions of the Russian language along with the free development of the national languages. The latest population census (January 1970) demonstrated a further increase in the number of non-Russian citizens who named Russian as their native language—from 10.2 million to 13 million in 11 years. Simultaneously, there was a considerable increase in the number of people speaking Russian (41.9 million) or another language in addition to their mother tongue. More than one third of the citizens of ten nations and nationalities named a language other than their people's as their native tongue.

The demand for books, magazines and newspapers in Russian continued to rise in the republics. For example, in Moldavia, the average annual printing of books and brochures in Russian grew by 1.25 million copies during the eighth five-year plan period. A similar growth took place in Armenia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and other republics. Characteristically, this was concurrent with an increase in publications in the national languages, and not at their expense.

In a number of the Soviet Union's national regions, particularly in autonomous republics and districts, the tendency toward educating children in Russian-language general schools continues to increase. It would be a mistake either to depict this tendency as universal, or to ignore it. For example, in Chuvashia a voluntary changeover to instruction in Russian in all the subjects beginning with the fifth form has been effected at the request of parents of school-age children during the past few years. Similar change is taking place in the Checheno-Ingushian Autonomous Republic, the Komi Autonomous Republic, the Cherkessian and Adyghe Autonomous Regions, etc.

Bourgeois propagandists are attempting to exploit these phenomena in Soviet life as demonstrating a policy of "Russification," alleging that small peoples have an inferior status in the Soviet Union. The simple truth is, first of all, the voluntary character of the above process, reaffirmed in the 1966 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, which stated that the choice of the language in which children will be taught at school

rests with their parents. Equally important is the fact that it is this very tendency, conditioned by socialism, toward an equal development of large and small peoples that confronts the latter with the need for going over to the Russian general secondary school. Besides, there is no question of relinquishing the native language, which is studied in the primary and secondary school along with the history and literature of the local people.

It is common knowledge that the volume of information available to people everywhere is now doubling every eight years. It is practically impossible to bring the fundamentals of this information, let alone the latest achievements, within the reach of all schoolchildren in their mother tongue. To do this, all up-to-date information would have to be continually translated into all the languages of the USSR. Since in Soviet schools many languages are often used to teach children of very small peoples, timely translation of all this information, textbooks, etc., into all the languages is economically unrealistic. For this reason, graduates of national schools are at a disadvantage compared to those educated in Russian-language schools where they are given much broader instruction in the fundamentals of science. What is more, since higher schools train specialists in hundreds of fields, higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in the autonomous republics and regions providing instructions in local languages, by virtue of their being small in number, automatically limit the choice of a career by secondary school students. Nor would such graduates be able to use their right of free admission to higher schools of any other republic without full knowledge of Russian or the language of another large nation. Finally, it is the Russian language that makes it easiest for the younger generation of small peoples to learn the best achievements of the entire world culture, past and present.

Gradual Trend Toward Convergence

IN ADDITION to the growth of bilingualism and the functions of Russian as a language of international intercourse, other intricate processes are having profound impact on the further development of the Soviet people as a new historical community. Among them are the great variations in population increase among the republics, growing migration, and the rise in the number of mixed marriages.

The great progress in the consolidation of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union has provided the prerequisites for the appearance of individual elements of assimilation. Two important circumstances should be emphasized in interpreting the process of

assimilation. First, the point in question is voluntary, natural assimilation, which is an expression in socialist practice of the world-historic tendency toward the convergence and integration of nations. Second, natural assimilation in the true sense of the word involves a radical change of people's language, national consciousness, psychology, customs, traditions, as well as their inclusion into the socialist and national life of a new nation. If a person has only adopted another language, while considering himself belonging to the nation of his ancestors, this is just an element of assimilation and not the main one. This is why, speaking of the Soviet Union and judging by the results of the latest censuses, it would be more correct to refer only to elements of voluntary assimilation, especially since their manifestation, in addition to being natural in character, mostly concerns people who have been living for a long time, sometimes for several generations, in other republics, away from their own nation or nationality. On the whole, peoples living in a compact mass and having their own national statehood, have displayed in the main stable processes of national development. This is exemplified by the republics and regions where industrial construction and hence population migration have been less intensive. In certain cases, the number of people who named the language of their nationality as their mother tongue even slightly increased.

Mixed marriages contribute a great deal to the convergence of nations. In Latvia they account for about a quarter of all marriages, and in the Ukraine for 26 per cent in the towns and for up to six per cent in villages.

The Future

THE DIRECTIVES of the 24th CPSU Congress for the USSR five-year economic development program for 1971-1975 show a deep concern for the unity of the national and international interests of the peoples. For example, capital investments in Uzbekistan will increase by 60 per cent, the output of chemical goods, 120 per cent; machines, 65 per cent; gas, 37 billion cubic meters; electricity, 30 billion kilowatt-hours. In Lithuania, production of the chemical industry will grow 250 per cent, machine-building, 130 per cent. In Kazakhstan, the output of gas is to increase 200 per cent; oil, 130 per cent; iron, 130 per cent; steel, 200 per cent; rolled stock, 100 per cent, etc.

The fulfillment of the current five-year plan will be a long step forward in developing the planned all-around cooperation among the fraternal peoples. At the end of the five-year plan period, Turk-

menia will be producing 61 billion cubic meters of gas, supplying the bulk of it to other republics, in view of which a new gas pipeline to Khiva is projected. Turkmenia in turn will be supplied with electric power by its neighbors during the whole five-year period: in 1971 alone it is to receive 550 million kilowatt-hours of electricity from Uzbekistan.

Among the major problems the CPSU intends to solve in the current ninth five-year plan is further alignment of the levels of industrial development in the union and autonomous republics, provision of equal opportunities for enjoying all the benefits of culture, and advancement of the material well-being of the working people of all nationalities. These problems will be tackled in different ways. An especially important role is played by variations in the volume of capital investments. In the Soviet Union as a whole they will grow 40 per cent, whereas in Tadzhikistan the increase will be 44 per cent, in Azerbaidzhan and Byelorussia 50 per cent, in Uzbekistan 60 per cent, in Turkmenia 68 per cent. The plan targets for the growth of national income also vary: in Kirghizia 34 per cent, in Byelorussia 45 per cent, in Moldavia 49 per cent. An important tool for aligning the levels of economic development of the republics in the ninth five-year plan is, as before, an equitable redistribution of turnover tax revenues. Moreover, the Union Government makes additional appropriations for those republics where a larger growth of production is to be achieved or where development of natural resources, new construction projects, etc. are undertaken in the interests of the country as a whole. In 1970, 225 million rubles were allocated from the Union budget for Uzbekistan; in 1971, 411.5 million rubles for Kazakhstan, etc.

The immediate future will also see further consolidation of the Soviet people as a new historical multinational community. While the convergence of ethnic, national characteristics of the peoples plays a part in this, the main factor is the common struggle for socialism, building a classless society, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the emergence of the common multinational Soviet culture. This new, emerging community of the Soviet people, far from retarding the development of each nation or nationality, actually ensures the most favorable conditions for their prosperity and consolidation.

Of the variety of factors which have played an important role in strengthening the unity of the working people of all Soviet nations and nationalities, their cohesion within the framework of the new historical community—the Soviet people—particularly important are the growing friendship among the peoples of the USSR, their widen-

ing cooperation and mutual assistance in economic and cultural development, the development of the features common to all the nations and nationalities. These factors are in the full sense of the word the product of socialism and the socialist type of international relations.

The experience of the USSR in developing and consolidating the peoples of the multinational Soviet state is undoubtedly of lasting importance for humanity's progress toward higher international unity.

EDUARDO MIEZELAITIS

My Land

Once again on the shore . . . my cap
 crumpled in my hand.
 I touch the water with a branch
 covered with big buds . . .
 On my shoulders a snowdrift of bird-cherry blooms
 The fog over the river
 Floats away toward the darkening
 mouth of the ford.
 The brass bell of the sun
 has sunk into the water,
 Not to be rolled out till morning . . .
 The delicate stars,
 Gold as barley, do not follow
 the bell to the bottom.
 The cooling air
 repeats the water's ripples.
 And the quiet grows as if
 it were alive.
 The night enfolds its beloved earth
 into the coolness.
 The lily-of-the-valley opens up
 and from its leaves
 The dewdrops fall
 with a silvery tinkle . . .
 How the little beetle scratches away,
 how the flowers sigh,

EDUARDO MIEZELAITIS is a leading Lithuanian poet.

MY LAND

*How the sprouts shoot up—
 in this, the beginning of a rustling grove.
 How mysterious the languages of the leaves,
 the hills . . .
 How the water murmurs, reflecting blue
 from the stars . . .
 O, my land! . . . There is nothing more beautiful
 than you, nothing more dear to me . . .
 You give me everything, and your song
 sings within me . . .
 On the shore again . . . the stars
 whisper about you.
 In the gold of the Neman
 in the stillness . . .*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN from
 the Russian of PAVEL V. PROTALIN,
 with the editorial assistance of
 NAN BRAYMER

JESUS SOTO AMESTI

*Senator, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee,
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I THINK that the state system set down in the Constitution of the USSR and based on the complete recognition of the rights of all nations and nationalities, has proved very important in the rapid progress of all Soviet peoples and their unification for the successful construction of socialism, in the course of which their inviolable friendship has been the most reliable support.

Soviet foreign policy substantially contributes to world peace. It has won for the Soviet Union profound respect in the world. The Soviet Union has demonstrated by its policy that it is possible to cooperate with the economically developing countries without imposing all kinds of terms on them, as is done by imperialist states.

YUMZHAGIYN TSEDENBAL

Chairman, Council of Ministers, Mongolian People's Republic

THE HISTORIC accomplishments of the Soviet people in communist construction are of great importance for world peace and security and for the destinies of the peoples on all continents. That is why all honest people are looking with hope, trust and sincere love at the USSR as a bastion of peace and socialism.

just as it was expressed in the worldwide admiration for Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*.

THIS vital problem of the national and the international has been discussed at length from various aspects but not frequently enough in general esthetic terms as applied to literature. It is the purpose of this essay to discuss some of the more important esthetic considerations of this subject.

To begin by way of illustration: *Japan Sea in December*, a narrative by the Estonian writer Juhan Smuul, is about a cruise in the meteorological vessel *Voeikov*. The author describes the events, the work and leisure, the joys and sorrows of the expedition and its participants. But all the happenings of this distant voyage are linked by Smuul with his native Tallinn, with Estonian culture.

The following passage dealing with superstitions and ill omens is one example: "Sailors indeed fear Monday. I tried very hard to persuade the navigators and scientists that Monday, which is to be feared according to Russian naval tradition, is not so frightening as the Estonian Friday, which is *really* to be feared. And worst of all when Friday happens to be the 13th of the month!" One could cite many such examples, for every page of the book presents this expedition against the background of the folk wisdom and prejudices of Estonia.

The national element in Smuul's book thus manifests itself in a correlation of all the worldwide phenomena, of new experience in particular, with a historically-shaped national experience. The national experience itself and everything perceived through it is, in its turn, related to humanity, to its interests, experience and culture. It is not accidental, therefore, that in a narrative about an expedition of a Soviet meteorological vessel in the Japan Sea there is talk of Shakespeare, Heine, Chekhov, Einstein and others who are part of the universal heritage of all peoples. This brings us to an extremely important aspect of the problem of the national and the universal.

The dialectics of the national and the international is an integral part of the esthetic foundation of art. This problem has received practically no attention in world esthetics, although a universal and all-embracing art category like the beautiful is repeatedly emphasized. The artist sees the world according to the laws of beauty and his works give us esthetic pleasure. Beauty is an indispensable esthetic quality of any true work of art. A social conception of this category of beauty has been offered in a number of Soviet works on esthetics, which view beauty as a sphere of freedom, as the highest

YURY BOREV

Esthetics and Culture: The National and the International

ONE OF socialism's most democratic and humane objectives is the awakening of historical initiative in the masses so that each person can help chart the future of his people and, in Lenin's words, "so that each nation can help decide the destiny of all mankind."

But the problem of the national and its relationship to the international* is now more urgent than ever on the esthetic as well as the political level. Problems of social life inevitably express themselves in esthetic terms, in literature and art. In fiction they are refracted through the prism of the author's personality, through the medium of his literary characters. In this form, as in other areas of literature and culture in general, the crucial problem of the national and the international, or universal, must be seen in the light of the dialectical interaction between the individual, the nation and mankind as a whole. In literary expression it involves the friendship and mutual cultural enrichment of the Soviet peoples and, eventually the interaction of the various national literatures, and Soviet literature as a whole, with world culture.

The theme of broad internationalism—the struggle for the interests of the most remote peoples and nations as well as the writer's own—permeates the whole of Soviet literature, and comes alive through dialectical unity with specific *national* and *personal* elements predicated on historical and class factors. This internationalism can be seen for example in Mikhail Svetlov's poem *Grenada*, whose hero left his home in order to fight and give the land of Grenada to the peasants; or in the moving and serious passion for the English language of Makar Nagulnov in Mikhail Sholokhov's *Virgin Soil Upturned*—

* The Russian word used here, counterposed to the word national, is *obshcheloovecheski*, which means literally "common to all mankind." Unfortunately we have no single English word that conveys that exact meaning.—Ed.

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human value, an object of the greatest significance to humanity in general. This theoretical approach provides the materialist key to understanding the universal human element in art and the materialist basis for judging what is transient or eternal in works of art.

A truly humanist artist who sees the world according to the laws of beauty and strives to communicate esthetic pleasure to the reader through his works, inevitably sees all the phenomena he considers in a universal context, and assesses them from the angle of their significance to all humanity. The human element lies in the very foundation of art, which however, contains not only universal but also a national element because the very concept of human value is predicated on history, classes and national specifics. The more original a national vision is, the greater and more unique becomes its general artistic value. But, at the same time, its significance to the reader rises to the degree that the original and specifically national blends with the general. This is one of the prime factors of the artistry of a work, making it capable of becoming a classic of worldwide significance. Particularly important here is the human content of national experience and problems. In major art specific problems of social development are raised to a universally significant level, and are resolved not only from the standpoint of a transient situation but also from the standpoint of the interests of all mankind, where they appear in the context of a particular historical, class and national experience.

For example, in *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Soviet author Mikhail Sholokhov lays bare the vacillations of a "middle peasant," Grigory Melekhov, during the Revolution. The riotous winds of history drive him now to the side of the insurgent people and now to the side of their enemies, and he pays a tragic price for his mistakes. The greatness and humanism of Sholokhov's novel are that the author is concerned with both history and the individual. Sholokhov shows the historical necessity and inevitability of the revolution, and condemns the historical blindness of Grigory, but not without compassion, portraying him as a tragic character, not as a mere individual personifying an abstract counter-revolutionary force that must be destroyed. The international dimension of this purely Russian novel, using purely Russian historical material from the life of the Cossacks on the frontier area of two epochs, consists in the fact that the problem itself (the middle, non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois strata in a revolutionary situation) and its artistic resolution (the tragedy of a betrayal of the people's cause) are today among the central elements of the world historical process.

The fullest, most exact definition of the national element as an

esthetic category was given in the 19th century by the great Russian author Nikolay Gogol, who wrote: "The truly national element consists not in a description of the *sarafan** but in the very spirit of the people. A poet can be national even when he describes an entirely alien world but looks at it with the eyes of his national element, with the eyes of his people, when he feels and speaks in such a manner that it seems to his compatriots that it is they themselves who are feeling and speaking." (From "A Little About Pushkin," 1832)

Regretfully, the international element in art lacks a similarly accurate theoretical definition as an esthetic category. We should keep in mind in this connection that many concepts appear to us in both their political and esthetic aspects. These are interrelated, but each has its own specific. For example, in social life the "party spirit" is a political concept, but in art it has to be expressed in esthetic terms.

A unique feature of the art of "socialist realism"† is that in it the class viewpoint fundamentally coincides with the viewpoint of all humanity, because ultimately the class interests of the proletariat are the same as those of all working people and, indeed, all mankind. As Vissarion Belinsky, the noted 19th century Russian literary critic and publicist, wrote: "In speaking of himself, of his ego, a great poet speaks of what is general, of humanity; for in his nature lies everything that constitutes the life of humanity. Therefore, in the poet's grief everyone recognizes his own grief, and in his heart everyone recognizes his own heart and sees him not only as a poet, but as a person, as a brother human being." (From "Poems by Lermontov")

The very structure of an artistic image, uniting as it does subjective and objective factors, requires combining national and inter-

* A Russian national peasant dress.

† "Socialist Realism" is typically stereotyped by many critics as inherently restrictive. Alexander Dementyev, Chief Editor of the Soviet *Literary Encyclopedia*, comments as follows on this central concept after sketching its origins in previous literature: "The main creative method of Soviet literature and literary criticism . . . the essence of which is a lifelike, historically concrete betrayal of reality in its revolutionary development. . . . Socialist realism does not hand out recipes to writers, nor does it lay down how many positive and how many negative heroes are to be put into any particular novel. . . . Moreover, it does not reject out of hand conventionalism, symbolism, the grotesque, hyperbole or other 'heightened' media of artistic expression. It only demands that a work of art should not be divorced from life, that it should give a true presentation of man's thoughts and feelings. The Rules of the Union of Soviet Writers stress that the purpose of socialist realism is to ensure the artist's exceptional scope for creative initiative, and a choice of various forms, styles and genres." Alexander Dementyev, "Mirror of Life," *Sputnik*, August 1972. (Editor's Note.)

national principles, because the artist's own personality is not only predicated on class, historical and national features, but also embodies a generally human content enabling everyone to see in the poet "a brother human being." But since art is always a quest, the artist does not merely reproduce life; he conveys his own world view as well as his national experience when depicting "reality."

The national historical and artistic experience of any country is unique because the laws of social development find expression in uniquely individual ways while recurring in the history of each people. At the same time, we recognize the existence of these immutable laws of social development. Their recurrence, in unique forms, constitutes the dialectics of the national and international, of the personal and universal, and is conveyed by the art of every people. It manifested itself in a unique way in the life of the peoples who, after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, accomplished a leap from the patriarchal-clan way of life to the civilization and culture of the 20th century. It is specifically this transition from the patriarchal system to socialism that is portrayed by the Kirghiz writer Chinghiz Aitmatov,* whose characters make this leap within one generation.

Most of Aitmatov's people embody something special of a clan nature, but nothing purely individual or personal, or purely universal and international. They live apart from the mainstream of history, people for whom clan traditions and customs are the only natural principles regulating social life. There are as yet no distinct personalities in the patriarchal world because people are not yet confronted with problems involving individual decisions or strictly personal responsibility. They are still subject to the strict rule of custom, and are not even aware that any other situation is possible. But what makes the life of Aitmatov's heroes noteworthy is that their destiny repeats the historical destiny of their people, who in turn are essentially part of a worldwide historical process. From a life ruled by custom they pass to the more complex, more difficult but richer life of the self-conscious personality.

Aitmatov's *The First Teacher*, for example, and the film based on it, traces the transition of the narrow clan system of relations to the broader modern world not only in the sphere of human feelings but in people's entire world outlook. This transition of the human heart and mind is exemplified in Dyuisheh, a young man who has returned from the Civil War. This semi-literate teacher fosters a transformation in his pupils' whole attitude toward their traditional village life, giving them a new modern outlook. By showing them that there are other

* See the review of Aitmatov's film *Jamilya* on page 62 of this issue.

people besides those in the clan, other classes and mankind as a whole, he awakens their personalities. Time seemed to have stopped in the village, and only the present existed for its inhabitants. The first teacher, Dyuisheh, gave time three dimensions, dividing the present from the past, showing that the way people had lived formerly was no longer possible. From the very first lesson he had introduced the children to the idea of the future. These changes in human consciousness, the introduction of broad social categories such as world, classes, nations and future, create a personality integrated with history. A representative of a clan evolves into an individual accommodating a new relationship: personality-nation-mankind.

The international aspect is covered in the writer's conviction that the path taken by his heroes will also be taken if not today, then tomorrow, by the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Oceania, who are even now awakening to their own historical initiative.

The dialectic of the national and the international permeates not only the very idea, the themes and the problems of art, not only its content, but also its form. In art forms the dialectic of the national and the international manifests itself chiefly in the influence of the traditions of other peoples on the national art tradition, the influence of national artistic achievements and discoveries on mankind's perception of the world, the discovery of new artistic forms and methods of thought, and their gradual dissemination to the art of different nations.

FOR THE GREEKS the human figure was the measure of beauty.

They discovered the law of the golden section; the 1:3 ratio of the human face—forehead—nose—chin—underlay the golden section. It would seem that here everything is a matter of anatomy. But in a human being everything is universal, social, reflecting the specifics of history and the experience of a nation. Even the anatomical structure embodies not only human but also ethnic and national features. Not every nation has facial proportions like those of the Greeks. The canons of beauty contain permanent historical and national elements as well.

Of course, the concept of the mere reciprocal influence and interaction of the art of different peoples, even in the essential but still extremely limited aspect of "wandering subjects," as propounded by the Russian comparativists, for example, cannot explain the entire significance of general human principles or the amazing coincidence of subjects, thoughts, forms and ideas in the art of different peoples. We find coincidences and interweavings of culture even in cases where there is no possibility of any influence, "wandering subjects" or

even contact between nations. The Japanese, for example, have a moon-admiration festival. Three days before the full moon in mid-September, when a tiny chip just slightly deforms the harmony of a perfectly round moon, the Japanese leave their homes in the evening to admire this celestial body. Here the esthetic taste of a people is expressed and maintained through the inclusion of discord in harmony. In the town of Nikho, about which the Japanese say, "He who has not seen Nikho has not seen beauty," there are gates of the most perfect harmony and symmetry. However, to achieve the utmost beauty the harmony of this structure is broken by just a tiny fraction: one of the pillars is turned with its face inward.

It is noteworthy also that among many peoples, the highest sense of beauty is founded on the inclusion of discord in harmony. In the Parthenon, the greatest structure of the ancient Greeks, the colonnade does not resemble a palisade because in it there is a perfect harmony of discords: a close look at the well-proportioned colonnade will show that it consists of columns with a different section diameter, that each column has a different number of edges, the distance between the columns is different, and so on. This intrusion of discord into harmony, this creation of beauty by the inclusion of elements breaking its symmetry, rhythm and integrity, is characteristic of modern ways of thinking: it has been utilized, for example, by the Soviet composers Dimitri Shostakovich and Sergey Prokofiev.

Human beings cope with the same material world, a single, multi-form material environment governed by uniform laws. All peoples are surrounded by a single ocean of air and a single star-studded sky; a single sun shines in the heavens. Similarly uniform laws govern nature and society, uniform psychophysical, and gnosiological laws govern perception and thinking, and uniform historical laws of social production, social relations, social formations and the class struggle operate and manifest themselves in the life of different peoples. This is the foundation of the general similarities, intercrossings and amazing coincidences which we encounter in the culture and art of different peoples. At the same time, the different and unique historical, artistic and psychophysical experiences of different peoples cause general principles and laws to be refracted in a national, unique manner in the art of every nation and in the historical and class-based art of every artist. The general manifests itself with particular clarity in similarities, common features and in seemingly discrepant and incompatible phenomena of culture. Although this community of elements has its ultimate causes, namely the fact that the life of all nations is governed by the same laws of history, one can see four

distinct groups and fundamentally specific cases of such coincidence and similarities.

The first group consists of similar works, images and subjects relating to the same epoch and emerging independently of each other among different nations on account of the close similarity of their living conditions.

The second group includes those artistic works clearly influenced by those of other cultures, a process raised to the level of a universal law by the comparativist school of literary criticism, which holds that similar phenomena spring from the influence (for instance, "wandering subjects") of one national art on another. But Marxist dialectics has shown that of the inner and external stimuli of development, the former are decisive. External elements can only speed up or slow down a process determined by inner factors. Thus, the influence of one national culture on another can only propel and stimulate the evolution of definite artistic phenomena when the need for them has already appeared and matured in national life.

The third group is determined by the general dialectics of the law of spiral development; more specifically, it involves the influence of the past on the present of a cultural tradition. Such similarity of phenomena located at corresponding points on the "spiral" of the evolution of art is noted frequently in the history of world art. For instance, the features of ancient Greek art were repeated on a new foundation during the Renaissance, while some features of ancient Roman art were repeated in classical art; the rationalistic, educational dramaturgy of Gotthold Lessing is "repeated" in the intellectual, epic drama of Berthold Brecht, and so on.

The fourth group is the most complex and the least studied. It is determined by the realization of various cycles or spirals of the evolution of artistic culture. The Georgian scholar Shalva Nutsbidze has suggested a fruitful and convincing concept of the existence, in addition to the Western, of an Eastern Renaissance, which began earlier and was characterized by specific features. A departure from the narrow, Europe-centered scheme makes it necessary to consider the history and theory of art not only of the Western but also of the Eastern cycle of evolution. Scholars have found a broad regularity: the repetition of the spirals of artistic development. A study of not only European but also American, African, Asian and Oceanic art will make it possible to trace the parallel historical movement of the various branches of artistic civilization and awaken a quest for the general laws of these dissimilar but ultimately comparable processes. Today this challenge is increasingly attracting the attention of

scholars throughout the world, for example Thor Heyerdahl and the book by the Soviet scholar Nikolay Konrad, *East and West*. There are thus not one but several spirals of the common evolution of world art. Artistic phenomena in a definite point of one spiral may be comparable to those of an analogous point on another spiral. Moreover, the spirals themselves may be at different levels.

Analogous socioeconomic development and the existence of analogous socioeconomic systems through which the historical movement of different nations passes cannot help but give rise to analogous processes in fiction.

Each of the four types of recurrence of artistic phenomena produces its own form of the dialectical link between the national and international, historically specific elements inherent in the given period, and of general uniquely repetitive features in the artistic life of different peoples.

The dialectics of the national and the international permeates the entire artistic process. The fruits of the spiritual activity of individual nations become the property of all. On the other hand, general achievements are refracted through the national experience and are expressed and consolidated in a unique national form.

At the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, June 1969, the combination of national and international elements and interests was termed one of the most vital problems of modern times. It was agreed that any deviation from the Leninist principle of combining these elements, any deviation towards nationalism and chauvinism, or towards cosmopolitanism and national

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THE SMALL AND BIG NATIONS and nationalities of the Soviet Union, having united into a friendly family, have achieved great strides in their development in a historically short time. I saw this for myself once again when I visited Azerbaïdzhan as a member of a Mongolian parliamentary delegation. This progress has been achieved owing to the correct solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has always stretched a hand of friendship to the other peoples of the world. The working people of our country, who have been marching together with their elder brother for half a century, know this better than anybody else.

nihilism is fraught with serious consequences in politics, culture, art and esthetic theory.

The half-century experience of the social and cultural life of the peoples of the USSR is thus of world historic significance. One of the most valuable elements of this experience is that the problem of the general, international resonance of the finest achievements of national art of the Soviet peoples has been profoundly resolved in the art of socialist realism. Here the dialectics of the national and the international permeates the entire artistic process. The fruits of the spiritual activity of individual nations have become the property of all.

SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

—And in the United States: A Commentary

YURY BOREV's article, "Art and Culture: National and International," has profound significance for the United States. We are a prisonhouse of nations, and culture is controlled as if from one center, New York City. But the trouble is not spatial. It is class. A pattern is forced on the arts of middle class tastes and troubles. There is no searching analysis of capitalism. American democracy is accepted as the best of all systems, almost as a product of nature, with no awareness of the self-centered violence that has poisoned it from the start. And it is this violence that has been faced by the many nations on the land of the United States. There is an unbroken thread under the change of style. There was the violence in tearing the land from the Indians, first pushing them West and then into reservations, with no interest either in their developing their ancient culture or bringing them into the mainline swing of life under capitalism. Slavery was a form of violence against the people dragged from Africa. It was followed after the Civil War by a form of violent oppression against the Black people which still today denies to them the full rights of citizenship. So it was with the Chicanos of the Southwest, seized from Mexico. The great waves of immigrants, welcomed to fill the

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need for labor on the railroads and in the fast-growing industry, were likewise greeted with racism and violence, a violence aimed at the freedom of labor. The United States has become the foremost home of racism.

The very opening of Borev's article, "One of socialism's most democratic and human objectives is the awakening of historical initiative in the masses so that each person can help chart the future of his people," points a way for the United States. It is a turn to the working people of the country, and encouragement of them to speak their own mind. Thus the true face of the United States will appear, and the foundations be laid for a truly national literature.

In the United States, the question raised by Yury Borev concerning "national" and "international," and the dialectic relation between the two, takes a new form. Whether the various minorities—who together make up a majority—can be considered "nations" or national groups is a political question, and will be settled politically. Esthetically they must contribute to the formation of an art of the United States nation, which is made up of many peoples. The most important minority is that of the Blacks. Numerically it amounts to one-tenth of the population, about twenty million. In music and poetry, as in the days of the spirituals a century and a half ago, it has taken from the art found among the whites on these shores and forged something new, proudly accepted as part of United States culture. So it is with jazz and other art forms. In the realm of "fine art," its struggles have been considerable, and can be examined for many long decades. The problem rests in encouraging formation of a Black audience for the arts, which will have an inspirational effect.

The more this people makes its achievements known against great odds, the more it encourages other national expression. The result will be a new United States culture, of a many-sided kind. It will make its effect internationally in a new and stimulating way. It will be a beautiful culture.

Borev speaks many times of beauty and the beautiful, and refers to it as a "human" element. This is a deep insight. For it is a humanization of nature, including people, turning the unknown into the known, the irrational into the understood, making the outside world an addition to human powers. Thus it continually plows ahead, entering new areas. The geniuses of each age take what is widely considered ugly, antihuman or inhuman, and turn it into something understood as part of human life, and therefore beautiful. So there are always walls to be broken down, new areas to enter. Beauty is something real and part of objective life, but it can be found only by

labor and the imagination. Art teaches the beautiful. Once its lessons are learned, it seems strange to people that they could have been so insensitive before, but that is part of the nature of art. So a new area of beauty is ahead for the United States people, and once it is achieved, they will wonder how in our time we could have been so insensitive, so inhuman.

IRAKLI ABASHIDZE

On Friendship and Kinship

PROBABLY no other event in my life, the life of a Georgian poet, so braced my sense of national pride in our culture as the celebrations of the 800th birth anniversary of Shota Rustaveli, author of our great national epic, *The Knight in the Tiger's Skin*. Envoys from all corners of the Soviet Union and foreign guests from forty countries gathered in Georgia on those days. The World Peace Council appealed to all countries of the West and East to pay tribute to this genius of the Georgian people.

However, a broader examination of that will take us beyond mere respect for the attainments of our national culture, beyond a mere professional evaluation of Rustaveli's poetry. For eight centuries Georgians have been listening to his clear-cut measured lines, now like an alarm bell, now like a tender lullaby. But only now has the whole world come to hear his powerful voice, only in our day has the depth of his philosophical thought, the rich prophetic significance of his humanism, become accessible to all.

The guiding principles of Soviet international culture have fulfilled the sage prophet's lines, like an epigraph to the fete: "The difference of tribes and countries impeded not their embrace."

"Shota Rustaveli's jubilee," *Pravda* wrote, "turned into a great festival of all the fraternal peoples of our country." And at the unveiling of a monument to the poet in Bolshaya Gruzinskaya Street,

IRAKLI ABASHIDZE, leading poet of Soviet Georgia, is well known not only as a fine poet, through numerous published works, but also as a prominent public figure. He has repeatedly been elected a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and was formerly Chairman of the Georgian Writers' Union. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Georgian Soviet Encyclopedia, and a member of the Georgian Academy of Sciences. He has been awarded five Orders of the Soviet Union, including two Orders of Lenin (the highest Soviet award).

Moscow, Leonid Brezhnev said, "Rustaveli is a Georgian, but he belongs not only to Georgia. He belongs to all the peoples of our multinational homeland."

The theme of internationalism is deeply rooted in Georgian culture. Firm creative and vital ties have linked Georgia forever with the names of such Russian poets and writers as Pushkin, Lermontov, Griboyedov, Ostrovsky, Gorky, Balmont, Mayakovsky, Blok and Yessenin. This enabled Ilya Ehrenburg to say, "It's hard to imagine Russian poetry without the Caucasus."

These ties continued to deepen and broaden. The Soviet poet Nikolay Tikhonov became a true associate of Georgia's men of letters, Isaak Babel worked as a reporter with a Tbilisi newspaper, Pyotr Pavlenko called Georgia his second homeland. The great writer Konstantin Paustovsky was known as the discoverer of the Colchis. The Soviet director Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, one of the founders of the Moscow Art Theater, began his artistic career in Tbilisi on the amateur stage. The master painter Yevgeni Lanser took a most active part in the establishment of the Georgian Academy of Fine Arts. The laying of the foundation of professional music education in Georgia is linked with the name of composer Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov.

Maxim Gorky, founder of Soviet literature, never forgot that he took his first steps as a writer in Georgia. At a plenary meeting of the Tbilisi City Soviet back in 1928, he summarized the efforts and aims of the Republic's first revolutionary transformations: "In these great days you are working for a great cause, and your work is of great importance not only for us but for the whole world. A new people has been born on the vast field, the vast space between Mount Ararat and Murmansk, between the East and Leningrad. That new people, that great force is you. Everything that is now being accomplished is being accomplished by you. Your goal is clear. The whole world is looking at you, listening to you, learning from you." Gorky was referring not only to economic achievements. He was speaking of the emergence of new social relations based on proletarian internationalism, which is so effectively promoted by culture and art.

We frequently use the words "mutual penetration," "mutual enrichment," forgetting that this is not a mechanical process and that the words were brought to life through concrete historical experience, based on the activities of many gifted people who gave all of their strength and talent to breathe life into this new quality, which is now second nature to us.

"... All of Georgia's beauty and diversity became part of my constant writer's wanderings, permeated my books and essays..." Many other writers would agree with Marietta Shaginyan in this. And on a deeper analysis of her words, we would discover the very close creative contacts that have linked many generations of cultural workers of the peoples of our multinational Land of Soviets.

We can never forget how composer Sergey Prokofiev, a usually restrained and modest man, ran up onto the stage in Tbilisi after the rendition of his Third Piano Concerto to embrace and kiss young conductor Yevgeny Mikeladze, whom composer Dmitri Shostakovich would eventually call "the pride of the Soviet conductors' school." We remember film director Nikolay Shengelay's joint work with Mikhail Sholokhov on the production "The Soil Upturned"; the Tbilisi debut of the outstanding Leningrad director Georgi Tovstonogov, who to this day maintains his creative friendship with the Georgian theater; the award of the Shota Rustaveli Prize, the republic's highest, to Ukrainian poet Mikola Bazhan and Russian poet Nikolay Tikhonov, symbolizing through their work the spiritual and fraternal kinship of Soviet peoples. It is quite impossible to list all the contacts, name all the friends of Georgian culture, or cite all the facts of constantly broadening creative ties. This summer, for example, the Tbilisi Opera Theater staged "Taras Bulba" by Lysenko, a classic of Ukrainian music, while Zakhari Paliashvili's "Absalom and Eteri" was produced by Ukrainians on the Kiev stage.

I can't resist the temptation of citing in this connection several examples of a personal nature. Like sacred tokens of friendship, I keep many letters sent to me, especially wartime letters from friends at the front. One of them was written on a letterhead of the Red Army newspaper *To Rout the Foe*, on which Mikhail Svetlov entrusted to me at a trying moment something very personal and dear to him. Or a letter from poet Ilya Selvinsky written to me from the front during World War II expressing his delight at becoming "intimately linked with the Georgians." And another letter: "We need two Georgian writers; if Chikovani and Mashashvili or Kaladze turned up it would be great. They'll first come to the newspaper, and from here go to the front lines. It would be perfect. But let them wear all the warm clothing they have..." What appraisal of my work could compare with the single deeply heartfelt line from a friend of mine, writer Viktor Shklovsky: "What you have written is written for all of us."

These friendly compliments, it seems to me, transcend any notions of personal egotism. Such feelings arise from the wise policy of inter-

nationalism governing today's Soviet spiritual life. As Viktor Shklovsky went on to say: "This is not even friendship. It's kinship!"

I began this piece by speaking of national pride. Our revived national self-awareness, certainly, has a right to pride. But we understand and understood that very national pride from the very outset of socialism on our ancient Georgian soil as it was spoken of in the Central Committee's report to the very first congress of Georgia's Communists: "We Communists understand national self-awareness not as a division of peoples but, above all, as the collaboration of working peoples on the basis of free relations."

And if today we are proud of our international gains, proud of the fact that representatives of Georgian culture, whether poets, musicians or dancers, are honorably representing the people's socialist culture in the world arena, it is first of all because of the great right given us to speak on behalf of the extraordinary community of nations called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

LIUDMILA TATYANICHEVA

The Winged Word of Our Peoples

WHEN speaking of the vocation of a writer or poet I always recall the following words of Rasul Gamzatov, the well-known poet of Dagestan:

"The Russian poets from Pushkin to Tvardovsky have presented to me Russia with all its history, destiny and heart; Shevchenko and Rilsky gave me the Ukraine with its joys and sorrows; Rustaveli and Leonidz gave me Georgia, with its courage and tenderness. . . . I have been lucky, indeed, for I, a highlander born in the remote village of Tsada, have been presented with a whole world of which my ancestors were deprived, and if before I used to say 'My Dagestan,' now I can say 'My Russia,' 'My Georgia' and even 'My planet.'"

This is a very apt statement. It is the vocation of all writers and poets to reveal the spiritual world and the beauty of the Soviet people, to awaken in them love for their Motherland and of being a united family of peoples.

LIUDMILA TATYANICHEVA, a well-known Soviet poet, spent her youth in the Urals, and many of her works are devoted to her native area. She is Secretary of the Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union.

Book and magazine publishing houses exist not only in Moscow and Leningrad, but in many other cities of the Russian Federation. Not long ago a new publishing house, *Sovremennik* ("Contemporary"), was founded by the RSFSR Writers' Union. Together with such old and acknowledged publishing houses as *Khudozhestvennaya Literatura* ("Fiction and Poetry"), *Sovetsky Pisatel* ("Soviet Writer") and *Sovetskaya Rossia* ("Soviet Russia"), it greatly contributes to the development and mutual enrichment of the national cultures of the peoples living in the Russian Federation. Along with the works of such famous Soviet Russian writers and poets as Mikhail Sholokhov, Konstantin Simonov, Leonid Leonov, Konstantin Fedin and Alexander Tvardovsky, for example, *Sovremennik* has put out *A Pagan Poem* by Yuvan Shestalov, a poet of the Mansi people, the works of Alim Keshokov, a Kabardinian, of Kaisin Kuliyeu, a Balkarian, Mustai Karim, a Bashkir, and many others.

In the course of five decades the many peoples of Russia have made a gigantic leap in both culture and economy, a leap which under a different social order could have been achieved only in the course of centuries.

The mutual enrichment and influence of the national cultures is particularly revealed in literature and in language as a means of its expression.

The literary language is a very complex and subtle phenomenon. And its creative mastery is one of the major tasks of every writer and poet. Only those who can cope successfully with it will penetrate into the depths of the native tongue and become real masters.

The word is often regarded as a neutral material like marble, paint or music, for instance. But the word is never neutral. Even in its initial state it carries in itself the age-old experience of a people, its life and esthetic ideas. The word serves the national essence of literature.

The part played by language in the mutual enrichment of brotherly literatures is of incalculable value. Its study promotes the mutual exchange of experience, acquainting each nation and people with the cultural achievements of all other peoples of the USSR, as well as with word culture. The knowledge of the Russian language, which is a means of inter-nation communication, has become a need for millions of Soviet people. In this connection I remember the wonderful words of Chinghiz Aitmatov, the famous Kirghiz writer and Lenin Prize winner:

"One can write in many languages. If I knew English, for instance, besides Kirghizian and Russian, I would be sure to write something

in English. And yet, as experience proves, one's native tongue is the soil on which a writer grows. And if the writer writes in several other languages after that, this will not affect anyone. I write both in Kirghizian and in Russian. These two languages are for me like two arms—the right and the left, and I cannot do without either of them."

The languages of all peoples develop organically in the Soviet Union. They become ever richer, brighter, more expressive and colorful.

Here I should like to say that I have never been a supporter of vulgar "folklorism," a simple subordination of the writer's creative work to the broad readers' tastes. The problem of "writer and reader," which is extremely acute all over the world, has a very important aspect—the democratic character of creative work. The task of poetry is to educate people both ethically and esthetically. The folk character of literature, to my mind, should be understood as a reflection of the most urgent problems in the most perfect artistic forms, and the acquaintance of the widest strata of readers with them. One cannot bring up people on primitive writing. A deeply artistic apprehension of life, a rich literary imagination—this is what real literature requires. Reality, as revealed both in the diversity of the outside world and in the spiritual richness of man's inner world, is what creative art is based on. The results of an artist's work are always tested in life; thus the "elite" theory of art is quite unfounded. A work of literature that comes as a result only of the subtle subjective work of the author's mind will die soon, since it will not find any response in the reader.

Some Western writers are proud of the fact that they write only for the elect. We and they have differences of principle in the understanding of the essence and purpose of art. The particular feature of Soviet multinational literature lies in reflecting life in a harmony and diversity of national colors. I do not know what can inspire a Soviet writer more than the irrepressible desire to write for the working people. A writer draws satisfaction from his work only when the writer-reader relationship also works in reverse, when he is sure that the literature of his country is an active means of mutual interchange and cognition, an agent of struggle for peace, for humanism and social progress.

The Board of the RSFSR Writers' Union carries on important organizational and creative work, including discussion of new works and debates on the major problems of development of the literatures of the peoples of the Russian Federation. Not so long ago a visiting

session of the Secretariat of our Board took place in Kazan, the capital of the Tatar ASSR, as well as a plenum of the Board devoted to the part played by literature in the molding of our contemporary world outlook and moral make-up. Days of Russian literature were held in the sister republics of Azerbaidzhan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Moldavia and Uzbekistan. Writers from Kirghizia and Lithuania spoke at readers' meetings. Such living contacts with the readers are among the traditions of Russian writers. They symbolize the indissoluble ties between writers and poets on the one hand and their readers—workers, peasants and intellectuals—on the other. The creative work of Soviet fiction writers and poets is a constant stimulus to the development and mutual enrichment of national cultures.

UIGUN

The Coming of the Flowers

*The drifting of the sands
Went on through centuries.
How many mountain villages and flower gardens
Were buried in the dust!
The wind moved stubbornly,
Sluggish with choking heat.
How many Karakum deserts
Were formed by the coming of the sands!*

*The sand-hills closed in,
Burying the poplars.
The conquered fields
Dried up and died.
The canals were clogged
The gardens were smothered.
Heavy and endless toil
Was the aftermath of our misfortune.*

*The years passed in dread
As century succeeded century.
And man remained slave of nature,
Powerless against its onslaughts.*

UIGUN is a pen name for Rakhmatulla Atakuziev, People's Poet of Uzbekistan.

*A host of whirlwinds
Bore down on Turkmenians and Uzbeks,
Forcing man and growing things
To fall back.*

*But the people took heart
With the coming of the October Revolution
Reborn, they learned to control nature's fury.*

*Now we are masters in our lands.
Our people's toil is precious,
With immortal Lenin
Inspiring us,
Leading us on to Communism.*

*Our generation
Has grown so powerful and whole-hearted
That it has launched
An unheard-of attack on the desert.
With liberated minds
We are absorbing the new techniques.
The power of the Karakum deserts
Can at last be conquered!
Yes, my friend, today we see
Blossoms springing up among the sands,
As the desert retreats
With the coming of the flowers!
The arid winds are in flight,
As the mountain villages come to life again.*

*We have pitted ourselves
Against nature's forces
We Communist daredevils.
And this is not the end—we see no limits
To the abundance of our land,
Where flowers sparkle
With the light of peace and spring.*

*Look! Ready for conquest,
The flowers have already invaded the steppes—
The countenance of the Communist future
Is brilliantly illuminated.*

Translated by BERNARD KOTEN,
with the editorial assistance of
NAN BRAYMER

NIKOLAY MIKHAILOV

The Russian Republic: Vast Federation of Soviet Peoples

THE UNION of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed December 30, 1922. Its fifteen constituent Union Republics enjoy equal rights. Aside from matters of defense, national economic planning and a few others which they delegated to the USSR, the republics exercise state power on their own.

The USSR is the largest country in the world, with an area of 8,640,000 square miles. Its population is almost 250 million people, third in the world after China and India.

The USSR was formed on territory which before 1917 was known as tsarist Russia. Even today people abroad often refer to the USSR as Russia. However, inside the USSR the word Russia has different meaning: *the Republic of Russia*. Its full official name is the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

On November 7, 1917 (October 25 in the old style tsarist calendar), Soviet power was established in the country. In January 1918 the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets proclaimed the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), of which Russians form the largest component. At that time the largest nations of the old tsarist empire formed their own republics. In December 1922, by mutual agreement, the republics formed the united Soviet Union.

The expanses of the Russian Federation have boundless plains, high mountains and long rivers. The world's biggest forests and deepest lake—Lake Baikal—are in Siberia, which is a part of the Russian Republic.

Within the Russian Federation you will find Moscow, capital of

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the RSFSR and the whole Soviet Union; Leningrad, a large industrial and cultural center; the Volga region with its large industries and a cascade of hydropower stations; the towns and steppes of the South with their diversified economy; the rich Urals, a metallurgical center; the North, overgrown with forests; the Soviet Arctic region; the boundless Siberia with its new construction projects; the unique and awesome Soviet Far East with its volcanoes and geysers.

The RSFSR, biggest of the Union Republics, occupies more than three quarters of the Soviet Union, stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, from the northern shores of Siberia to the Black and Caspian Seas and to the Caucasian mountains. It has an area of 6,650,000 square miles, double that of the USA.

The RSFSR is the biggest of the Union Republics in population as well. At the beginning of 1972 it had a population of 131,400,000, more than half the total population of the Soviet Union. The "most multinational" of the Union Republics, it has 16 Autonomous Republics, five Autonomous Regions and ten National Areas. That is why it is called a Federative Republic.

The Russian Republic accounts for two-thirds of the USSR's industrial output. Its virtually endless list of products includes elaborate machinery, instruments, fabrics, footwear, metals of different grades, oil, natural gas, coal, superb timber and chemicals. Its industries, like those of the other union republics, are rapidly advancing. In less than five days the RSFSR produces an output equal to the annual output of tsarist Russia. Advanced modern industries have been built up, such as aircraft, engineering, electronics and rocketry. Russia's farms grow wheat, rye, sugar, beet, silky flax, oily sunflower and different breeds of cattle. During the Soviet period her agricultural output has nearly tripled.

In half a century the republic built nearly 600 new modern towns with the latest amenities. The higher educational establishments of Russia serve two million students. Her research centers and industries are staffed with a half a million researchers. Her public health system employs one-third of a million doctors. The RSFSR has three hundred theaters.

In the Soviet Union people refer to the Republic of Russia as the "first among equals." When the USSR was formed the Russian Federation was accepted as a model. The Russian towns sent other Soviet republics machines and qualified personnel—engineers, designers and skilled workers—for their industries. The higher educational establishments of Russia trained students from the national republics.

Today Uzbekistan manufactures the best cotton-picking machines. Remote, mountainous Kirghizia has surpassed France in the extent of higher education. Armenia has no rival in Western Europe in number of doctors per capita. But all this could not have been achieved without the economic and other cooperation of the most developed part of the Soviet Union, without the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Russian people has long been rendering assistance to different nationalities within the RSFSR itself. The engineering Udmurt Autonomous Republic, the coal, the oil and natural gas producing Komi Autonomous Republic, the wood-working Karelian Autonomous Republic, the diamond-extracting Yakut Autonomous Republic, the sheep-breeding Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, the metal-making North Ossetian Autonomous Republic, the petrochemical Bashkir Autonomous Republic and the widely developed Tatar Autonomous Republic are all members of the Russian Federation.

THE economy of the Russian Federation is developing steadily. During the Eighth Five-Year Plan period (1966-1976) RSFSR industrial output grew by 50 per cent. Over the same period the national income increased 45 per cent. Close to 950 big factories and plants were commissioned. Average annual grain production in the Russian Federation reached 100 million tons as compared to 77 million in the preceding five-year period. The main targets in improvement of the living standards of the population were surpassed. In the current Ninth Five-Year Plan period (1971-1975) industrial output in the Russian Federation should increase 44-47 per cent. Further industrial development has been planned on a grand scale.

Moscow, the RSFSR and USSR capital city, is building on a vast scale. Its architects seek to combine monumental features with lightness, convenience and grace. Some 300 new flats are occupied daily.

Natural gas is used in Moscow apartments, as well as in factories, plants and thermal power stations. It is supplied via gas pipelines from the Volga region, the Carpathian Mountains, the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia. The use of gas as a fuel has helped to reduce the smoke and pollution over the city. The giant hydropower stations on the Volga supply Moscow with electricity in abundance. Moscow has also become a port of five seas: the Baltic, White, Caspian, Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

In effect a new city, Moscow is several times the size of pre-Revolutionary Moscow, and incomparably more beautiful and far more convenient. I grew up in a wooden house without running

water. It was pulled down long ago, and my family moved to a new apartment with all modern conveniences in the Southwestern part of the city, a new city area built on an empty plateau, and now inhabited by three quarters of a million people.

The second most populous city in the USSR is Leningrad. I have seen many beautiful cities in the world: Rome, Naples, Rio-de-Janeiro and others, but Leningrad is superior to all. Clear, spacious avenues cut straight into the distance. Graceful columns give proportion to the grey flatness of the facades. The abundant Neva River waters have been bridled by the frame of stone embankments. One hundred islands have been linked by five hundred bridges.

Leningrad, northernmost of the world's big cities, is on the same latitude as Alaska, but the warm waters of the gulfstream soften its climate. Winter days are short, but in early summer the white nights last for weeks on end.

Leningrad is not only a city of beautiful buildings and historical monuments. It is also a city of metal workers and machine builders, and is a big cultural center. The world-renowned Hermitage Museum, housed in the Winter Palace of the Russian tsars, is here. Today the cruiser *Aurora*, famous for her role in the storming of that Palace, is moored alongside the Neva embankment as a relic of the Revolution.

Industries and Farmlands—the Volga

THE ZONE to the south of Moscow is characterized by steppes and a combination of forests and steppes. Before the Revolution this area was dominated by landlords, peasant misery and constant hunger. After serfdom was abolished in 1861 the best lands were left to the landlords. The peasants were given miserable plots for compensation, which deteriorated steadily as a result of landlords' greed. Lack of land and hunger forced the peasants to put all the meadowlands under plow and to cut down the forests. There were no pastures for the cows, no manure for the fields. After the forests were cut down, ravines reduced the area fit for cultivation.

The Revolution deprived the landlords of their land, handing it over to the peasants without compensation. During the years of Soviet power farming was mechanized. For instance, the collective farms of the relatively small Belgorod Region have more than eight thousand tractors, three thousand grain combine harvesters and four thousand trucks. Fifty years ago, the plowman in bast shoes would plow the field with a wooden plow and seed it from a bast basket. Today the vast undivided fields are cultivated with machinery.

All the collective farms have clubs, where in the evenings the latest films are shown. There are nurseries to ease the life of the farm women, and large, airy, village schools. Some of the richer villages have regular water supply systems, stadiums and amateur theaters organized by the village youth. All villages have electric lighting, and in many collective and state farms the production processes are powered by electricity too. New trades have appeared in the countryside, such as the tractor driver, driver, mechanic, electrician and librarian. These changes are typical not only of the RSFSR, but of the whole country too.

Voronezh is the biggest town of the Black Earth region. Before the Revolution it had only a railway depot, a bell factory, three distilleries and several steam mills.

Today it has a population of half a million, manufactures machine tools for factories, machinery for the fields, tires, radios, TV sets and many other goods. Near the town the Novo-Voronezhskaya Atomic Power Station has been built on the bank of the Don River.

The Black Earth region used to be farming country; its industrial output now surpasses that of the farms. The food industries make sugar, sunflower seed oil and potato starch. There is a big factory for processing essential oil seeds. But the heavy industries are growing at a faster rate than the food industries. Kursk factories produce knitted garments and super-modern products such as computers. The Kursk Region is now developing its vast iron ore deposits.

Tambov is famous for its chemical engineering works. The cement plant in Belgorod is the biggest of its kind in Europe and the vitamin factory one of Europe's biggest.

In the southernmost part of the RSFSR health resorts have been built on the shore of the warm Black Sea. Sochi is one of the best resort towns, with more than 130 sanatoria, rest homes, holiday hotels and tourist houses, where two and a half million come from all over the Soviet Union to spend their annual leave.

The Volga region, east of Moscow, is an important area of the RSFSR, with several regions and Autonomous Republics along its 2,300-mile-long shores.

Through the towns of the Volga had some metal-working industries before the Revolution, saw mills, distilleries and flour mills prevailed. The burlaks or barge haulers survived for a long time. On the jetties the stevedores would each handle from 300 to 800 poods (one pood= 36.1 lb.) per day on their backs.

I have seen the old Volga and the new river. It is hard to believe that it could have changed so in less than one human lifetime. A

cascade of hydro-power stations has transformed the longest river in Europe into a series of deep and broad lakes.

The Volgograd hydroelectric power station, with a capacity of two and a half million kilowatts, has long been completed. A mammoth dam spans the entire width of the Volga; it is now a bridge for trains and motor vehicles. Near the station a beautiful white stone town, Volzhski, has been built, with its factories, park, stadium, Palace of Culture and abundant verdure.

The hydroelectric stations have changed not only the river, but also the entire surrounding economy. The river has been adapted to do three jobs simultaneously: generate electricity, serve as an inland waterway and irrigate the fields in the drought-afflicted areas of the Volga region.

Four years before Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in 1941 a relatively small station had been erected at Ivankovo where the canal to the Moscow River was built. Before the war a bigger station had been completed at Uglich, farther downstream. In November 1941 the station at Rybinsk—still farther down—generated its first current. It was then regarded as a giant station, with turbine rotors 29.5 feet in diameter. The war had hardly ended when work on a station near Gorky—larger than the one at Rybinsk—was started. Five years after the war work began on the powerful stations at Kuibyshev and Volgograd, still farther downstream.

The industries of the region were now getting an ample power supply. The electric power stations helped promote the petrochemical, engineering and consumer industries.

People matured too. I will mention one name, which embodies the new life on the Volga and the life of the people. Forty years ago Aleksandr Busygin was a peasant boy from the Vetluga River—a tributary of the Volga. He came to build the Gorky Motor Works as a carpenter. Two years later he became the operator of the first steam-powered hammer. Three years later he was a Hero of Labor who exceeded all world records in efficiency in making crankshafts. He was then sent to study at the Industrial Academy where he received an engineer's diploma. He returned to work as a shop superintendent at his plant.

Another example. Several bronze busts have been installed at the livestock raising farm in Karayevo near Kostroma. They are busts of working women—Ulyana Barkova, Yevgenya Grekhova, Lidya Ivanova, Nina and Anna Smirnova, and Agrafena Nilova. For excellent achievements in labor the title of Hero of Socialist Labor has twice been conferred on them.

The Ural Area: Powerhouse of Nature

THE URAL Mountain Range, the boundary between Europe and Asia, is also an important industrial zone. Before the outbreak of World War II, I witnessed the birth of the socialist industries in the Ural region. I did not realize in those days that what I saw was the laying of the foundation for the independence of our country. I walked through the just-completed departments of the now famous Uralmash Engineering Works situated in the main city of the Ural region, Sverdlovsk. Centuries-old pines were roaring in the wind, as if they were amazed at man's audacity. During the Second World War the Ural region was putting out more military equipment than any other region of the Soviet Union.

The Ural range stretches from north to south over a distance of one and a half thousand miles. Its old name was Kamen, Russian for "stone."

In the course of several million years, water, wind, heat, and cold caused the Ural Mountains to erode, laying bare their boundless wealth. Close to one thousand minerals have been found, nearly half of all those known to exist.

The first metallurgical plant in the region was built in 1631 in the wooded valleys near rivers down which timber floated. Russians built furnaces for smelting iron with the help of charcoal. When the Revolution broke out there were close to seventy small and very small steel-making plants.

Today, the Urals is a mighty industrial complex with several huge iron and steel plants, biggest of which is the Magnitogorsk Works. They are all modern industries with mechanized blast furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and highly efficient converters. Nitrogen chemistry has been developed in connection with the coking of coal. The plants are equipped with big steel-rolling mills, utilizing the latest processes, such as automation, high-speed smelting, oxygen blowing and steel pouring in vacuum.

Sverdlovsk is the biggest city of the region. More than a thousand miles from Moscow on the eastern slope of the Ural Mountain Range, it has a population of more than one million.

Before the Revolution Sverdlovsk, known as Yekaterinburg, was known for the art of cutting semi-precious stones and diamonds. Today Sverdlovsk is known above all as a machine-building center based on the local metal industries. The huge Uralmash plant manufactures equipment for the heavy and construction industries. Recently, it built a huge walking excavator with a 32.5 cubic yard

scoop and a 328 foot boom. This earth-moving giant compares with a 25-story house in height and does the work of 15,000 men.

Sverdlovsk also houses the Ural branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, with several research establishments.

Before the Revolution oil was mainly extracted in the Caucasus, in Baku. In 1932 came the exciting news that oil deposits were found in the heart of Russia, in Bashkiria in the Ural region. Today Bashkiria is an oil-producing region which has surpassed the output of Baku. The fields of the "Second Baku" now stretch to the city of Perm in the north and to the Volga River in the west.

Siberia to the East and North

SIBERIA, another important region of the Russian Federation, stretches from the Urals nearly to the Pacific coast in the East. From north to south it is 2,200 miles and from west to east, 4,300 miles: Siberia alone accounts for nearly half the area of the Soviet Union, is nearly equal to the whole of Europe and is larger than the United States. In the North the Siberian coast is washed by the Arctic Ocean and in the South it borders on China and Mongolia.

In a single decade the USSR put under plow, mainly beyond the Urals, 104 million acres of virgin and disused lands. Between the Revolution and the launching of this great reclamation scheme, the area under crop increased to the size of France. Now the virgin lands project has added an area equal to that of Italy.

The natural resources of Siberia include oil, gas, coal, ore, gold and diamonds. Its timber is partly transported by rail to the west and partly floated down the big Siberian rivers, the Yenisei above all. The saw mills in Igarka—a town on the bank of the Yenisei River—saw the Siberian timber and ship it to Western Europe via the Arctic Sea Route.

Siberia is also rich in furs. The severe frosts help improve their quality: the ash-grey glossy fur of the squirrel, the dark brown and yellow silky fur of the sable, the bright red fur of the fiery fox, the black and silver fur, the silver and blue fur of the different foxes, the white fur of the ermine. Now Siberia has new animals like the mink and muskrat.

Siberia's industries are making huge strides. The power-generating complexes form the foundation for Siberia's present and future economy. Many hydroelectric and coal-burning stations have been built on the Irtysh, Ob, Angara and Yenisei. More are being built. The great Lena River will one day be harnessed too, and stations with a capacity of twenty million kilowatts will be possible.

In many places coal lies close to the surface, making possible open-cut mining. Siberian coal is thus the cheapest in the country, and mammoth thermal power stations are being built to burn it.

Several years ago, an exciting event occurred. Siberia had no liquid fuel of her own. Finally, oil was found in the West Siberian lowland, in the Tyumen and Tomsk regions. These deposits are the USSR's biggest, are situated in the North, in the taiga forests. Northwest Siberia is now one of the largest oil areas of the world. Defying swamps and severe cold, the people are building a "Siberian Baku." Railways, highways and electric power transmission lines are being laid. A gas pipeline has already reached the Ural region. An oil pipeline now reaches Tyumen and another, a thousand miles away, has been laid to Omsk. Other lines are under construction. Oil production in the area will be increased to 120-125 million tons by 1975.

Siberian metal forms the foundation for the big engineering industries. Chemical, light and food industries are being expanded. To build up all these industries, the concerted effort of millions of people is required. But Siberia is rather thinly populated. Before the Revolution it had a population of eight million people and now it has about twenty million.

The biggest city of Siberia is Novosibirsk. Situated at the intersection of the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Ob River, it is a relatively young city. In 1917 its population was only 70 thousand; today it has surpassed the one million mark.

Novosibirsk, 1,864 miles from Moscow, has an opera and ballet theater, an excellent drama theater, a youth theater, musical comedy and puppet theaters. The city has fourteen higher educational establishments, including a university and conservatory. You can see what changes Soviet power has wrought in the former "land of convicts."

However, the most interesting development in the cultural life of Novosibirsk is the Siberian Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The new research center, Akademgorodok, or Science City, has been built in a pine forest on the shore of the "Ob Sea" formed by the dam of the Novosibirsk Hydroelectric Station. Many top scientists work here, some native Siberians, others from all parts of the country; average age, 34.

Science City has twenty research institutes, in such areas as mathematics, nuclear physics, thermal physics, kinetics and combustion, inorganic chemistry, automation and electrometry, hydrodynamics, theoretical and applied mechanics, geology and geophysics, economics and statistics and cytology and genetics.

A high speed electronic computer installed here has been used for a purpose difficult to associate with the usual conception of "Siberia." Novosibirsk mathematicians have used this instrument to probe the mystery of the written monuments of the ancient Maya Indians who inhabited Central America many centuries ago.

An impoverished small town before the Revolution, Krasnoyarsk—one of the biggest industrial centers of the USSR—is situated on the banks of the wide river Yenisei. It is a breathtaking sight from nearby hills, with its many factories and plants producing synthetic rubber, tires, fiber, silk, pulp and paper, aluminum, river craft, industrial steel, bridge cranes, metal structures, consumer goods.

Twenty-five miles upstream from Krasnoyarsk, where the Yenisei flows at seven meters per second, the Krasnoyarsk Hydroelectric Station has been built near the town of Divnogorsk. The station alone is capable of doing more work in terms of muscular effort than all the inhabitants of Siberia taken together. Today this station is the largest in the world. Its capacity is six million kilowatts.

Lenin spent nearly three years in the village of Shushenskoye, near the Yenisei to the south of Krasnoyarsk. When I visited Shushenskoye I saw that it had increased in size and resembled a town. Many people come to Shushenskoye to see two houses, now museums, in which Lenin lived while in exile.

The Angara, a tributary of the Yenisei, flows out of Lake Baikal 37 miles from Irkutsk, to pass through the city in a rapid and wide stream. There are now two hydroelectric power stations on this river, one near Irkutsk and the other lower down, the huge Bratskaya Station with a dam 416.5 feet high. Nearby Bratsk has developed into an industrial town. A big reservoir has been formed in the midst of the pine forests. Urban neighborhoods and workers' settlements have appeared on both banks along with factory buildings.

One hundred and fifty-five miles downstream from the Bratsk Station another station is being built at the mouth of the Ilim River—the Ust-Ilimskaya power subject, to be commissioned before 1975. The biggest of the Siberian hydroelectric stations, with a capacity of over six million kilowatts, is now being built in the upper reaches of the Yenisei, in the Sayan Mountains.

Yakutia, the Far North, the Arctic

THE YAKUT Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is in the heart of Siberia, far to the north of Lake Baikal. It is the biggest of the Autonomous Republics and regions in the Russian Federation. With nearly half its territory beyond the Arctic Circle, Yakutia has a long

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and severe winter, whose frosts last from six to eight months a year. The new buildings in Yakutsk have triple window frames, and the brick walls are nearly a meter thick! In the winter you see the snow-covered forests frozen stiff under the clear starry sky. The thermometers here are alcohol thermometers, because mercury freezes. In the tense silence you can hear the sudden cracking of frozen trees torn asunder. The rivers are bound with ice 6.5 feet thick. You can hear people breathe, for the water vapor exhaled freezes instantly, dropping to the ground in the form of rustling dust! The Yakuts refer to this as the "whisper of stars."

At the same time the summer, though short, is rather hot in Yakutia. The farmers in its central part are able to harvest wheat, vegetables and even watermelons. The layer of eternal frost is 656 feet thick. But permafrost is no hindrance to farming. Precipitation being scarce, the moisture in the upper melted layer performs the function of the rain for the plants.

There were few places in old Russia where people were poorer than in Yakutia. The poor families often ate pine and larch "zabolon"—the layer of wood directly under the bark. In a hungry year a family would consume up to ten poods of "zabolon." In the latter half of the 19th century 22 hungry years were registered in the northern part of Yakutia. And famine meant that thousands of people would perish, sometimes whole areas.

Today Yakutia is being developed harmoniously. Here they not only hunt for fur-bearing beasts, but also run tanneries, fish processing plants, gold mines, and extract lead, mica, coal, even diamonds.

Yakutsk, the main center of the republic, is situated on the left bank of the Lena River. At present Yakutsk is building tall stone blocks of flats and other buildings on piles. To preserve the foundation there has to be a clearance between the bottom of the building and the ground. In winter it has to be aired to prevent the warmth coming from the building from thawing the permafrost ground and warping the buildings.

During the Soviet years gifted writers, artists and actors have appeared among the Yakuts. The Institute of Cosmophysical Research is carrying on work in Yakutia which is of great interest to world science, studying solar physics and cosmic rays; the unusually clear sky facilitates observations. The local university trains geologists, engineers, builders and doctors. In Yakutia there are 48 students per ten thousand inhabitants, more than in France or the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Yakuts, Evenks and Russians, descendants of the Cossacks

or exiles, lived in poverty in the sparsely scattered settlements in the valley of the Indigirka, which flows into the Arctic Ocean. This was, perhaps, the most backward region of Siberia. The thousand-mile paths for pack animals that led from Yakutsk were difficult to negotiate; the traders who mastered them controlled the whole of the Indigirka region, bringing in only enough grain to keep the prices at the highest possible level. The hunters would give a squirrel pelt for a box of matches, a fox pelt for a needle and a sable pelt for a bottle of vodka. Today mining industries have been started here. It was not an easy task, as this place is the coldest in the country.

Originally it was thought that the "cold pole" in populated land was Verkhoyansk, in the northern Siberia on the bank of the Yana River, where the temperature drops to nearly -70° Centigrade. However, it was recently found that in Oimyakon, in the upper reaches of the Indigirka, it is even colder. A big mining industry has been built in a place which only four decades ago was not on the map.

The northern shores of the Republic of Russia are washed by the Arctic Ocean, part of which enters the Soviet sector of the Arctic. The apex of this sector is the North Pole. Soviet explorers have done much work in the Arctic. They have been conducting hydrological, meteorological, and magnetic observations from icebreakers, aircraft and drifting ice-floe stations which are set up sometimes for prolonged periods in the Arctic basin, including its central part.

The Soviet Far North is rich in minerals, fish, furs and sea animals. But in the past the map of the Arctic region was covered by a chain of blank spots. During the years of Soviet power it was decided to navigate the Arctic from ocean to ocean in one summer season and to lay a permanent route.

A fleet of powerful icebreakers was built, with the atomic icebreaker *Lenin* as flagship. The depths have been sounded and plotted, lighthouses and beacons have been built, and fuel bases have been organized. The ships at sea are guided by radio and ice reconnaissance aircraft. Thus a waterway has been opened from the central regions of the country to the Far East, passing through area wholly under Soviet jurisdiction.

The Arctic Sea Route is needed not only for through shipments, but also for cargo traffic to North Siberia and back. The great Siberian rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean thus connect the Arctic Sea Route with the internal regions of Siberia.

With its vast and variegated geography, economic advances and its many different peoples, the RSFSR is truly "first among equals" of the fifteen Union Republics of the USSR.

YAKOV KOZLOVSKY

Rasul from the Mountain Village of Tsada

SERGEI NAROVCHATOV, a well-known Soviet poet, literary critic and connoisseur of poetry, once said that if he were asked to name the five best poets of the country, he would mention Rasul Gamzatov among them; if he had to name four—Gamzatov would be mentioned again, and lastly, if he were to name the best poet he would repeat: "Rasul Gamzatov" once more. Thus in the flowery Oriental style the Russian poet expressed his admiration for the talent of the Avar who has become famous all over the world.

The poet's native Daghestan is a land of mountains. The Caspian, the world's saltiest sea, lies at their feet. One can never foretell how the sea might behave at sunrise or moonrise—either it thunders diabolically, frightening the women whose husbands have gone out fishing, or peacefully tosses white foam on the beach.

Mountain villages stand on the slopes. From time immemorial courage and honor had been regarded there as attributes of human dignity. "After the death of a steed there remains the steppe, and after the death of a hero there remains his name," they used to inscribe upon swords.

Daghestan is a land of many peoples. More than 30 languages and dialects are spoken in the mountain villages of this one small Republic, in which live one and a half million people! There even exists a legend for the explanation of this phenomenon, to the effect that once God sent a horseman with a bag containing languages which he was to distribute among the peoples. But when the horseman reached the Daghestan plateau, he nearly fell into a gorge. So not wanting to take any risks after that, he untied the bag and poured out the languages. And that is why there are so many languages in Daghestan now.

Every village of Daghestan is famous for something. Balkhar for

YAKOV KOZLOVSKY, the well-known Russian translator of poetry, has long maintained a close association with Rasul Gamzatov and succeeded in penetrating to the very essence of his poetry, which is written in the Avar language, one of many tongues spoken in the mountains of Daghestan, North Caucasus.

instance, is known for its earthenware; Untsukul—for its engraving and carving; Tsumada—for its fine cloaks made of black and white sheep's wool; Kubachi—for its gold and silver chasing; Tsovkra—for its rope walkers, while the village of Tsada is famous for its poets. They say that the most apt sayings and proverbs come from there.

The sun rises early in the village of Tsada, and even after a big rain the soil does not stick to one's soles. The word "Tsada" means "fiery." It was here, in the year 1923, that a third son was born into the family of Gamzat Tsadasa, a famous Dagestan poet. The boy was named Rasul, meaning in Arabic "envoy" or "representative." He grew up like all village boys: he climbed rocks, brought wolf cubs in his hat from the woods, was fond of listening to fairy-tales told by his grandmother at the fireside. He was eleven when he wrote his first poem; four years later his poems were published by the local paper.

At first Rasul signed his poems with his father's pen-name of Tsadasa. But once a venerable mountaineer from a neighboring village, not knowing that Rasul also wrote poetry, asked him: "Listen, sonny, what is the matter with your honorable father? Before, when I read a poem of his only once I immediately memorized it, while now I even fail to understand his verses." After that, having taken for his surname his father's first name, Rasul started signing his poetry as "Rasul Gamzatov."

The young poet's first teacher in all his literary undertakings was his father. He was a strict and demanding master. Speaking of his son's first literary experiments, he said: "If one were to take a pair of fire tongs and rummage in these ashes, he would be fortunate to find a coal big enough to light a pipe."

Years passed. Rasul finished school, then a teachers' training college. First he worked as a school-teacher at the school where he himself had been a pupil, then as assistant director with the Avar traveling theater, and then as a journalist. But he did not stop writing poetry for a single day. He woke up in the morning with his head stuffed with rhymes, and he went to sleep in the evening whispering like a prayer the lines he had not had time to write down.

The war broke out in 1941. Thousands of families were visited by misfortune, including that of old Gamzat Tsadasa—both his elder sons died the death of heroes. The death of his brothers left a deep wound in Rasul's heart. His poetry become more mature, serious and moving. In the autumn of 1945 the young Avar poet came to Moscow to study at the Gorky Literary Institute.

The late Marshak, outstanding Soviet poet and translator, once

wrote of Gamzatov: "I remember Rasul telling us, during one of our encounters, that he had been suckled by two women. When his mother was sick, he was nursed by a mountain peasant woman. In literature, likewise, he had two mothers—the poetry of the Orient and the great Russian poetry. And by means of Russian poetry he came to know the great classical poets, such as Robert Burns, Heine, Shakespeare and Goethe." (See Rasul Gamzatov, "My Book Has Two Mothers," NWR, Fall-Winter 1968.)

Who were Rasul Gamzatov's teachers and idols? Listen to his own testimony: "I was enamored in turn by different poets—now by Blok, now by Mayakovsky, Yessenin, Pasternak and Tsvetayeva, now by Edward Bagritsky, by the Avar Magomedov and the German Heine. But my love for Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrassov has remained unchanged." Delighting in Russian poetry and studying it, Rasul at the same time familiarized his student friends and, later, the Russian poets, with the eternally living Oriental poets of the past century, Makhmud, Magomedov, Chanka (Tazhuddin) and Eldarilav. "A poet is the friend of a poet"—this comment of Yessenin is illustrated by Rasul's entire life and work. He was a great friend of such gifted Russian poets as Alexander Tvardovsky, Samuel Marshak and Kornei Chukovsky. Firm ties of friendship also bind him to contemporary poets like Sergey Narovchatov and Yevgeny Vinokurov, the Kalmyk David Kugultinov, and the Balkar lyricist Kaisyn Kuliyeu. The lines he addressed to the Bashkir Mustai Karim show the human traits Rasul prizes most: "It is good that you are right by, Mustai, loyal friend and genuine poet."

Gamzatov has traveled all over the world. But no matter where he has been—in the United States or in Indonesia; whether a guest of the famous Pakistani poet Faiz Akhmed Faiz, or watching the cranes fly as he stood on top of Mt. Fujiyama; whether at the "Havana Libre" hotel in Cuba, or visiting Bamako, Mali, he always heard the call of his native land. Once he said: "I feel myself responsible for the whole state." And these were not mere words. Rasul Gamzatov devotes much time to social activities and matters of state, for he is a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a passionate champion of peace.

But let us analyze his poetic work a little and see what is typical of his poetry. "A word is more precious than a steed," an old mountain proverb says. Rasul firmly keeps to this rule in his creative work. His poems have nothing trivial about them—they remain true to the traditions that proceed from the metaphoric character of folk speech and the experience of the ages. The vividness of his images,

the loftiness and depth of his thoughts and the harmony of his rhymes blend in his works to create a wonderful and harmonious spiritual reflection of life. Flimsy lyricism and flowery rhetoric alike are alien to the poet: he hates falsity and triteness, as he hates stupidity and malice. A broad mind, independent opinion and conviction—these are typical of Rasul Gamzatov's poetry and prose. His poems are unique, aphoristic and deeply national. Rooted in the ancient culture of the Caucasus, his work has also absorbed the finest traditions of classical Russian and Soviet literature. It has also been translated into many other languages of the world.

Rasul Gamzatov's books of poetry have even been out in space! Astronaut Vitaly Sevastyanov, a great admirer of his works, took a book of his verse along when he went on his space flight. Having visited the Stellar Town where Soviet astronauts live, Rasul commented: "We live in an age when the dream of many generations of men comes true. It makes me happy to know that a small volume of my verse has been included among other books in the space library. We have been the first to pave the way in space. We have dreamt and still dream of the faraway stars. But for me people will always be the highest stars."

"Rockets have many times sailed out into the sky to the faraway stars. Oh, men, you are the highest stars, and I wish I could reach you," he wrote in one of his poems.

Rasul Gamzatov is the author of many books. Among the best of them are "My Heart is in the Mountains," "The Mountain Woman," "Stars So High" (for which he received a Lenin Prize), and "A Star Speaks to a Star," "The Mulatto," "Rosary of Years," "The Third Hour," and his brilliant book of prose, "My Daghestan."

Not long ago *Novy Mir*, the literary magazine, published "My Daghestan," a long story which for the first time acquaints the reader with Gamzatov the prose-writer. It is a unique work of fiction, containing many parables, legends and tales. The poet relates the heroic history of his native mountain land, acquainting the reader with the life, manners and customs of the highlanders. The artistic achievement of this book is in no way inferior to that of Gamzatov's poetry.

In everyday life Rasul Gamzatov is the same as in his creative work: he is friendly, open-hearted, capable of sharing other people's joys and sorrows. This makes him a charming and witty companion. Since his youth, the poet has been very selective in his choice of friends. He has shown, one might say, a particular gift for sensing both a sterling character and a genuine poet. He is wise, self-critical, and never carried away by his own success.

To make better acquaintance with this most gifted poet and human being, one must read his books. Certainly he will then become a life-long admirer of an author whose creative work does much to confirm the simple truth that a great talent can just as easily be born in a small mountain village as in a large city.

POEMS OF RASUL GAMZATOV

Following are three poems of Rasul Gamzatov which beautifully and effectively capture the humanistic concern and awareness which inform his work. They appeared also in Fifty Soviet Poets, edited by Vladimir Ognev and Dorian Rottenberg (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969).

*Three songs there be that thrill the human breast
Three songs with human joy and sorrow laden.
And one of them is happier than the rest—
The song a mother sings beside a cradle.*

*The second by a mother, too, is sung —
Caresing icy cheeks with mourning fingers,
She sings it at the graveside of a son.
The third is sung by all the other singers.*

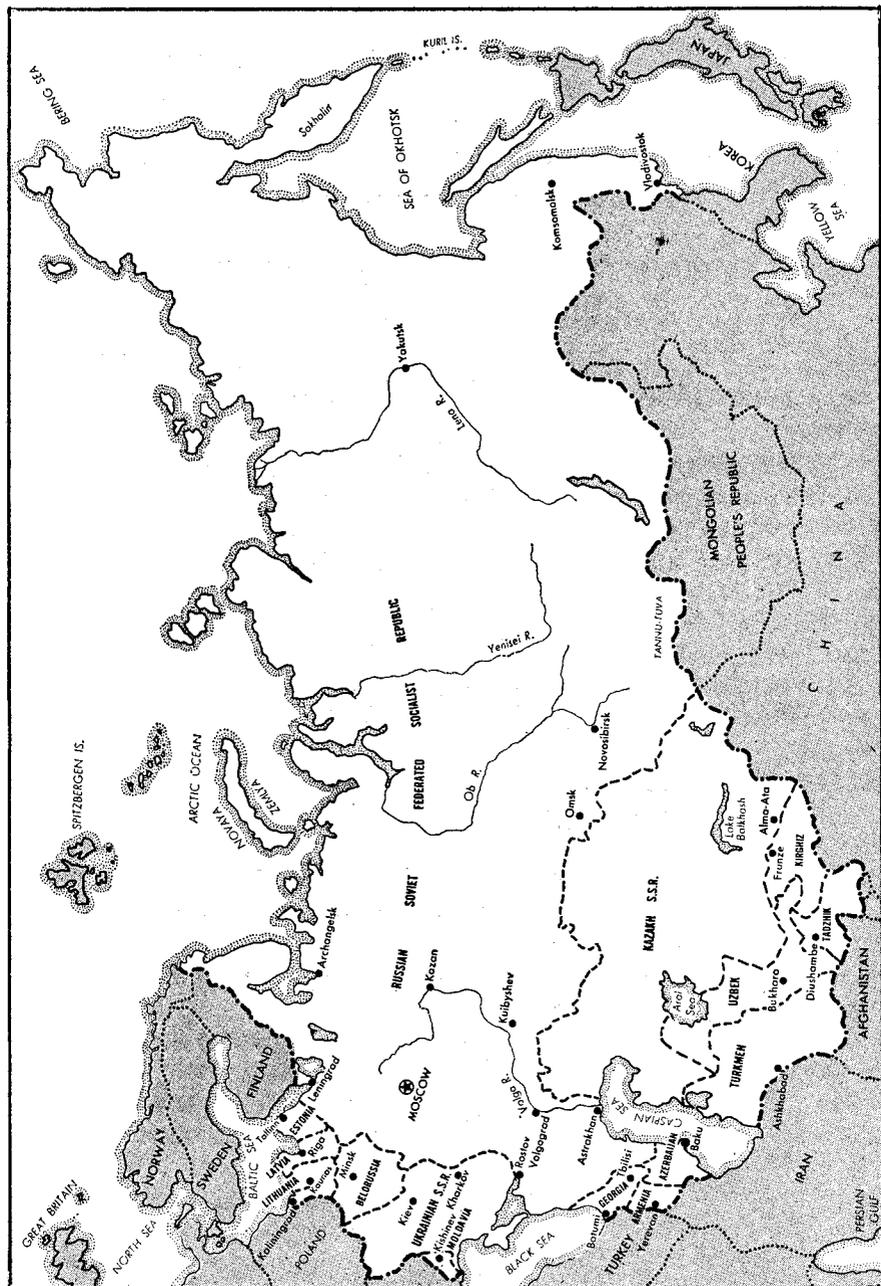
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*"Happiness—tarry; say whither you fly?"
"Into a loving heart."
"Youth, to return—whither haste you and why?"
"Into a loving heart."
"Courage and strength—tell me, whither and where?"
"Into a loving heart."
"And whither haste YOU, O sorrow and care?"
"Into a loving heart."*

•

*Even some of those who have at best
Five short minutes left to live—no more,
Toil and moil without a minute's rest
As if they had some hundred years in store
While snowy peaks, coeval with Creation,
In silence stern regarding petty Man,
Stand frozen still in mournful expectation
As if but five more minutes were their span.*

Poems translated by LOUIS ZELLIKOFF



Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Map reprinted from *Russia Re-Examined*, by William Mandel (Hill & Wang, 1964, 1967), by courtesy of the author.

The Soviet National Republics: Background Data

IMMEDIATELY following the November, 1917 Revolution, the Russian Federation (RSFSR) and the Ukraine declared themselves independent Soviet Republics, as did Byelorussia in 1919, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan in 1920 and Georgia in 1921, the last three forming the Transcaucasian Federation. At the end of 1922, the Congress of Soviets of each of these republics agreed to set up a single Union State. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets, with elected delegates from these original Republics, approved a declaration forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The original USSR thus consisted at that time of the two federative Republics, the Russian Federation (RSFSR), the Transcaucasian Federation (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan), the Ukraine and Byelorussia. (Finland and Poland, formerly part of the Tsarist Empire, seceded in 1918 and 1919 respectively, and their independence was recognized by the Soviet Government. See page 8).

By early 1923, the Russian Federation included 10 autonomous republics, most important of which were the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Yakut ASSR in Northeastern Siberia, the Tatar ASSR in the mid-Volga area and, formed soon after, the Tadzhik ASSR. The RSFSR also included 11 Autonomous Regions. The Georgian SSR included the Abkhazian and Adzhar ASSRs and Azerbaidzhan included the Nakhichevan Autonomous Region.

Other constituent republics joined the USSR as follows: The Turkmenian and Uzbekistan SSR's in 1924; the Tadzhik SSR, transformed from an autonomous republic in 1929; the Kirghiz SSR (also formerly an autonomous republic) in 1936; the Azerbaidzhanian, Armenian and Georgian Republics joined as separate union republics, ending the Transcaucasian Federation, under the new Soviet Constitution adopted in 1936.

The Baltic States declared themselves Soviet Socialist Republics in July, 1940 and the following month joined the USSR as the Latvian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR and the Estonian SSR.

The Moldavian SSR, combining the former Moldavian ASSR with-

in the Ukraine with Bessarabia (whose annexation by Romania in 1918 was never recognized by either the USSR or the US) was created and joined the USSR in 1940.

The USSR today contains the following Union Republics; RSFSR, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, Armenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Moldavia. Autonomous republics, autonomous regions and national districts within the union republics are as follows:

Within the RSFSR the autonomous republics are as follows: Bashkirian ASSR, Buryat ASSR, Daghestan ASSR, Kabardino-Balkarian ASSR, Kalmyk ASSR, Karelian ASSR, Komi ASSR, Mari ASSR, Mordovian ASSR, North Ossetian ASSR, Tatar ASSR, Tuva ASSR, Udmurt ASSR, Checheno-Ingush ASSR, Chuvash ASSR, Yakut ASSR.

The RSFSR autonomous regions are as follows: the Adygei, Gorny-Altai, Jewish (Biro-Bidzhan), Karachai-Cherkess and Khakass Autonomous Regions.

The 10 RSFSR National Districts are: the Aginski-Buryat, Komi-Permyak, Koryak, Nenets, Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets), Ust-Ordynski Buryat, Khanti-Mansi, Chukchi, Evenki and Yamalo-Nenets National Districts.

The Uzbek SSR contains one autonomous republic, the Karakalpak ASSR.

The Georgian SSR has two autonomous republics, the Abkhazian ASSR and the Adzharian SSR, and the South Ossetian Autonomous Region.

The Azerbaidzhanian SSR contains one autonomous republic, the Nakhichevan ASSR, and one autonomous region, the Karabakh Autonomous Region.

The Tadzhik SSR contains the Gorny-Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

In the course of the fifty-year development of the USSR, as the above chronology shows, a number of changes have taken place, with the accession of new union republics, some of them transformed from former autonomous republics, and new autonomous regions and national areas. Space does not permit enumeration of all these internal changes. A few of the more important ones should be noted.

In accordance with exchanges of territory between the USSR and Finland, agreed to in the Soviet-Finnish Peace Treaty of March, 1940, the Karelian Isthmus and other areas became part of Soviet territory. In April 1940, most of this area was joined with the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been a part of the RSFSR,

to form the Karelian-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic. At a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet in August 1956, President Otto Kuusinen appealed on behalf of the Karelian-Finnish Supreme Soviet and the people of the Republic that it be transformed into the Karelian Autonomous Republic within the RSFSR. He based his request on the fact that hardships during World War II had resulted in continuing economic difficulties which could be better handled as part of the RSFSR. Furthermore much of its former Finnish population had resettled in Finland and Russians now constituted three-fourths of the population. The appeal was granted and the Karelian-Finnish SSR became the Karelian ASSR within the RSFSR.

The main Tatar center of the Union has always been the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the RSFSR, with Kazan as its capital. In the early days there was also a Crimean-Tatar Autonomous Republic, also within the RSFSR, organized on the basis of the Tatar minority, at that time only a quarter of the population. In 1945, this autonomous republic was abolished, because some of the Tatars had collaborated with the German invaders, and the Crimean Tatars were resettled in other parts of the USSR. This territory then became part of the Ukraine and new settlers were established there.

Asked why the Crimean-Tatar Republic had not been reestablished (as was the case with several autonomous regions that had been abolished), at a press conference held in May, 1972 during the Nixon visit, Justus Paleckis, of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities, replied: "The Ukrainian Government considers that the percentage of Crimean Tatars living in the area is too small to warrant the establishment of a new administrative national entity. But Tatars who lived there in the past have the right to return. Crimean Tatars living elsewhere have also been offered the opportunity to resettle in the Tatar Autonomous Republic, (referred to above) where they have facilities to publish their own books and newspapers and to develop their culture."

The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—formerly part of the Tsarist Empire, formed their own Soviet governments during 1917 and 1918. Torn away from the young Soviet Republic by the robber Brest-Litovsk Treaty, they were then utilized by internal and international counter-revolutionary forces in the armed intervention to overthrow the Soviets, and when that failed, used as part of the *cordon sanitaire* against them. This opened the way for reactionary fascist regimes which became vassals of Nazi Germany. A broad anti-fascist movement, led by the Communists, restored Soviet power. The new Baltic governments applied for admission to the USSR and

entered the union in 1940. Ravaged by the Hitlerite invading forces, their real economic reconstruction began only after the 1945 victory. In the beginning the US had refused to recognize their independence from the new Soviet State. US Secretary of State Robert Lansing, for instance, declared in 1919 that in the American view "the Baltic Provinces of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia shall be autonomous states of a Russian Federation." US recognition came soon after, however, and absurdly, embassies of the three former Baltic regimes, long passed from the stage of history, still exist in Washington, D.C.

National Groups and Languages: Soviet Census Figures

The following figures are from the official Soviet censuses, and are based on individual declarations. Children are given the national language designations declared by their parents.

	Population (in thousands)		Proportion of each national- ity which claims the given na- tionality's lan- guage as its mother tongue (in per cent)		Proportion of each national- ity (in 1970) speaking another Soviet language fluently (in per cent)	
	1959	1970	1959	1970	Russian	others
	The USSR, overall	208,827	241,720	94.3	93.9	17.3
Russians	114,114	129,015	99.8	99.8	0.1	3.0
Ukrainians	37,253	40,753	87.7	85.7	36.3	6.0
Uzbeks	6,015	9,195	98.4	98.6	14.5	3.3
Byelorussians	7,913	9,052	84.2	80.6	49.0	7.3
Tatars	4,968	5,931	92.1	89.2	62.5	5.3
Kazakhs	3,622	5,299	98.4	98.0	41.8	1.8
Azerbaijdzhanians	2,940	4,380	97.6	98.2	16.6	2.5
Armenians	2,787	3,559	89.9	91.4	30.1	6.0
Georgians	2,692	3,245	98.6	98.4	21.3	1.0
Moldavians	2,214	2,698	95.2	95.0	36.1	3.6
Lithuanians	2,326	2,665	97.8	97.9	35.9	1.9
Jews	2,268	2,151	21.5	17.7	16.3	28.8
Tadzhiks	1,397	2,136	98.1	98.5	15.4	12.0
Germans	1,620	1,846	75.0	66.8	59.6	1.1
Chuvash	1,470	1,694	90.8	86.9	58.4	5.5
Turkmens	1,002	1,525	98.9	98.9	15.4	1.3
Kirghiz	969	1,452	98.7	98.8	19.1	3.3
Latvians	1,400	1,430	95.1	95.2	45.2	2.4

BACKGROUND DATA

Peoples of Daghestan	945	1,365	96.2	96.5	41.7	8.9
Including:						
Avars	270	396	97.2	97.2	37.8	5.7
Lezghians	223	324	92.7	93.9	31.6	22.3
Dargins	158	231	98.6	98.4	43.0	2.8
Kумыks	135	189	98.0	98.4	57.4	1.2
Laks	64	86	95.8	95.6	56.0	3.5
Tabasarans	35	55	99.2	98.9	31.9	10.2
Noghays	39	52	90.0	89.8	68.5	1.1
Rutuls	6.7	12	99.9	98.9	30.7	18.8
Tsakhurs	7.3	11	99.2	96.5	12.2	43.5
Aguls	6.7	8.8	99.4	99.4	39.8	9.6
Mordovians	1,285	1,263	78.1	77.8	65.7	8.1
Bashkirs	989	1,240	61.9	66.2	53.3	2.6
Poles	1,380	1,167	45.2	32.5	37.0	12.7
Estonians	989	1,007	95.2	95.5	29.0	2.0
Udmurts	625	704	89.1	82.6	63.3	6.9
Chechens	419	613	98.8	98.7	66.7	1.0
Mari	504	599	95.1	91.2	62.4	6.2
Ossetes	413	488	89.1	88.6	58.6	10.7
Komi and Ko- mi-Permyaks	431	475	88.7	83.7	64.8	5.2
Including:						
Komi	287	322	89.3	82.7	63.1	5.4
Komi-Permyaks	144	153	87.6	85.8	68.5	4.6
Koreans	314	357	79.3	68.6	50.3	1.7
Bulgarians	324	351	79.4	73.1	58.8	7.9
Greeks	309	337	41.5	39.3	35.4	14.5
Buryats	253	315	94.9	92.6	66.7	2.7
Yakuts	233	296	97.6	96.3	41.7	1.1
Kabardians	204	280	97.9	98.0	71.4	0.8
Karakalpaks	173	236	95.0	96.6	10.4	3.6
Gypsies	132	175	59.3	70.8	53.0	16.4
Uighurs	95	173	85.0	88.5	35.6	9.5
Hungarians	155	166	97.2	96.6	25.8	9.8
Ingushes	106	158	97.9	97.4	71.2	0.9
Gagauz	124	157	94.0	93.6	63.3	8.6
Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East	130	151	75.9	67.4	52.5	7.1
Including:						
Nenets	23	29	84.7	83.4	55.1	3.3
Evenks	25	25	55.9	51.3	54.9	7.5
Khants	19	21	77.0	68.9	48.1	7.3
Chukchi	12	14	93.9	82.6	58.7	4.8
Evens	9.1	12	81.4	56.0	46.4	17.6
Nanaians	8.0	10	86.3	69.1	58.0	9.4
Mansi	6.45	7.7	59.2	52.4	38.6	5.4
Koryaks	6.3	7.5	90.5	81.1	64.3	5.5

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Dolgans	3.9	4.9	93.9	89.8	61.9	3.2
Nivkhis	3.7	4.4	76.3	49.5	43.8	5.6
Selkups	3.8	4.3	50.6	51.1	40.8	8.6
Olcha	2.1	2.4	84.9	60.8	56.8	7.0
Saami	1.8	1.9	69.9	56.2	52.9	9.3
Udeghes	1.4	1.5	73.7	55.1	46.0	10.1
Itelmens	1.1	1.3	36.0	35.7	32.5	4.3
Kets	1.0	1.2	77.1	74.9	59.1	2.0
Oroches	0.8	1.1	68.4	48.6	44.4	6.6
Nganasans	0.75	1.0	93.4	75.4	40.0	15.7
Yukaghirs	0.4	0.6	52.5	46.8	29.1	32.8
Karelians	167	146	71.3	63.0	59.1	15.1
Tuvinians	100	139	99.1	98.7	38.9	0.4
Kalmyks	106	137	91.0	91.7	81.1	1.5
Romanians	106	119	83.3	63.9	29.6	16.3
Karachays	81	113	96.8	98.1	67.6	1.2
Adyghe	80	100	96.8	96.5	67.9	1.4
Kurds	59	89	89.9	87.6	19.9	36.2
Finns	93	85	59.5	51.0	47.0	8.5
Abkhaz	65	83	95.0	95.9	59.2	2.8
Turks	35	79	82.2	92.3	22.4	31.2
Khakass	57	67	86.0	83.7	65.5	3.4
Balkars	42	60	97.0	97.2	71.5	2.5
Altayans	45	56	88.5	87.2	54.9	3.2
Circassians	30	40	89.7	92.0	70.0	2.5
Dungans	22	39	95.1	94.3	48.0	5.7
Irani (Persians)	21	28	44.7	36.9	33.9	12.7
Abazinians	20	25	94.8	96.1	69.5	6.1
Assyrians	22	24	64.3	64.5	46.2	14.7
Czechs	25	21	49.0	42.9	35.6	21.4
Tats	11	17	70.9	72.6	57.7	15.3
Shorts	15	16	83.7	73.5	59.8	5.9
Slovaks	15	12	61.2	52.0	39.3	31.3
Other nationalities	108	126	61.6	69.4	38.4	12.8

The Supreme Soviet

THE 15 constituent republics make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in which all have equal rights. The highest governing body of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet, is made up of two equal houses. One is the Soviet of the Union, elected by direct vote of numerical constituencies throughout the country, on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 people. The other is the Soviet of Nationalities in which there are 32 seats for each of the Union Republics irrespective of size, 11 for each Autonomous Republic, five for each auton-

BACKGROUND DATA

mous region and one for each national area. In addition, the 15 chairmen of each of the Union Republics are vice-chairmen of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which takes action between sessions of the latter, subject to its ratification. This system ensures *more than proportional* representation of the smaller nations and nationalities in the Supreme Soviet as a whole.

There are 1,517 deputies in the Supreme Soviet—767 in the Soviet of the Union, 750 in the Soviet of Nationalities. 62 nationalities are represented. Workers (31.8 per cent) and farmers (18.6 per cent) make up over half the deputies; one third are women; one third non-party people. In Soviets at all levels are over 2 million deputies and over 23 million volunteer activists.

Both houses of the Supreme Soviet have equal powers in initiating legislation and all other matters, and all laws must be passed by both houses, a simple majority in each being required. There are frequent joint sittings. Each house elects its own chairman. The chairmen of the two houses preside alternately at joint sessions.

Each Union Republic has its own Constitution, based on the USSR Constitution, but taking specific national needs into consideration, and its own Supreme Soviet. Lower bodies are the local Soviets in cities and villages, and district and regional Soviets. Each Union Republic has its own Union-Republic and Republic Ministries.

Elections at all levels are on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. All citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin or past activities, have the right to vote with the exception of persons who have been legally certified insane. Every citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 23 is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or lower bodies, on the same basis.

ISMAIL ALI ABUKAR

*Vice-President, Supreme Revolutionary Council,
Somali Democratic Republic*

THE SOVIET people have turned their country from a backward into a modern powerful industrial state. Socialism has proved that it not only ensures equality, social justice and rapid economic progress but also helps forward the growth of a multinational economy.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

(continued from page 5)

Every step in Soviet policy since then has been in accord with this program, in a "peace offensive" that has won worldwide attention. Most important to the people of the US and to the peace of the world, were the US-USSR agreements at the Moscow Summit meeting (covered in NWR #33, 1972) and especially the SALT agreement, the first step by the two biggest nuclear powers limiting nuclear armaments. It can only be considered a historic victory for the Soviet peace policy that Richard Nixon felt compelled to sign, along with Leonid Brezhnev, as first of the principles governing US-USSR relations, that "in the nuclear age there is no alternative to conducting their relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence."

October 18, the US-USSR trade agreement was signed, expected to expand greatly the recent \$200 million trade level, and including US credits and efforts to secure most-favored-nation treatment for the USSR by Congress. The USSR agreed to a \$722 million Lend Lease settlement insisted on by the Nixon administration, although the blood of over 20 million Soviet people shed in our common anti-fascist cause surely repaid this debt many times over. Most important for US workers is the opening of new job opportunities through Soviet orders. The billion dollar grain purchase was a great boon to the USSR in preventing shortages due to this year's difficult harvest conditions.

In addition to the constant strengthening of friendly, peaceful relations with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we have seen the improvement of relations with France and other European nations, especially the new treaties of the USSR and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany, opening the way to the all-European Security Conference long sought by the USSR and talks on troop reductions in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The USSR has proposed a similar Security Pact for Asia; has sought indefatigably to end the rift with the People's Republic of China; supported all realistic opportunities for peace throughout Southeast Asia; strengthened friendly relations with India and improved relations with Japan, looking toward conclusions of a Peace Treaty. In the Middle East the USSR continues its friendship and support in defensive weapons and economic aid for Egypt and other Arab countries, and stands for a peaceful settlement, providing for withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories and guaranteeing the rights of all peoples in the area, including, of course, both Israel and the Palestine Arabs.

The Soviet call for a World Disarmament Conference, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1971, met with warm support by many governments and organizations throughout the world. The USSR proposed further in the 1972 General Assembly that all UN member states agree to abandon the use or threat of force in international relations and prohibit for all time the use of nuclear weapons.

In closing, we wish to express our gratitude to the writers who have contributed to this issue, and to the Novosti Press Agency whose cooperation made possible the inclusion of articles by leading Soviet authorities on the national question. It is our hope that this special issue will open the way to a deeper study of this subject which is so important in finding solutions to the problems that beset our country and the world in these turbulent times.

And once again we urge unending action to compel the signing and fulfillment of the peace treaty to end the war in Indochina. *(November 3)*

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THE USA-USSR ENCOUNTER

An Interview with

RICHARD MORFORD of NCASF

Plus a report on the

USA-USSR YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

held in Minsk in June, 1972

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