

Soviet Social-Imperialism Pursues A Policy of National Oppression

Since its usurpation of power, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has brought about an all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, frenziedly trumpeted big-Russian chauvinism and brutally exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. The policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist authorities has aroused strong indignation and resistance among the people of various nationalities in the country.

The following four articles tell from different angles how the Soviet social-imperialists push their policy of national oppression at home.

Soviet Revisionists Zealously Push Big-Russian Chauvinism

TO oppress the non-Russian nationalities at home and contend for world domination, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is feverishly preaching big-Russian chauvinism.

Trumpeting "Russian Spirit"

Soviet revisionist chieftains, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, have taken every opportunity to make reports or speeches publicizing big-Russian chauvinism and pan-Slavism. Soviet literature and art and the press also are replete with nauseating muck about big-Russian chauvinism.

Speaking of the national question, Lenin stressed: **"In any really serious and profound political issue sides are taken according to classes, not nations."** (*Critical Remarks on the National Question*.) Out of its counter-revolutionary needs, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has completely betrayed Lenin's teaching by wildly preaching a supra-class "Russian spirit" and openly advertising that an "eternally immutable Russian spirit" has existed since ancient times.

Engels pointed out in 1882 that pan-Slavism was a deceitful plan, under the mask of a non-existent Slav nation, in the scramble for world domination. It is also for world domination that the new tsars today should be so effusive about pan-Slavism. Time and again they have given publicity to the "traditions of Slav identity from time immemorial" between the Russians

and other Slavs and to "the ever-growing political, economic and cultural role of the Slavs in the modern world." The *Outline History of Southern and Western Slavs* published in the Soviet Union says that the southern Slavs "have been linked with Russia from time immemorial because of the closeness of their languages, culture and religious beliefs." The book even terms the Russian nation as the "granddad" and other nations as "junior relatives." "This strong, kind and brave 'Granddad Ivans,'" it goes on to say, "will liberate his junior relatives — the Balkan Slavs." A Soviet revisionist chieftain has even openly threatened that "those who oppose the Russians are opposed to all Slavs."

Moscow's Racial Superiority Mentality

All national chauvinists take "racial superiority" as their theoretical basis. Hitler's great Germanism was based on the allegation that the Germanic race was superior to all others. This is also the case with Brezhnev and company: They have the effrontery to say that "there has never been greater human character than that (of the Russian nation) at any time and in any place of the world" and that only "the Slav nation, the Russian nation in particular, is most capable of inheriting and developing the wisdom created by all nations for generations." Marxist-Leninists maintain that a nation is divided into classes, and that the working people of all nations, including those of the Russian nation, are industrious, and have inexhaustible wisdom and creativeness and their own fine traditions and culture. The theory that a certain nation is superior to others has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. It is Hitler-type fascism advocating aggression and domination of other nations.

According to the logic of the Soviet revisionists, the Russian nation, being the best of all nations, should naturally play the role of "saviour." They make no secret of this unbridled ambition. They said that the occupation of Central Asian countries by tsarist Russia "brought an era of happiness" to the land of Central Asia, that the annexation of Moldavia "ensured the possibility of a quicker economic and cultural development for the Moldavians," and that "the Balkan peoples regard the Russians as their liberators," and so on and so forth. The new tsars today want to go a step further to perform their mission as "liberators" throughout the world. An alternate member of the political bureau of the Soviet party central committee openly claimed at a meeting last October that the Russian nation is a "lead-

ing nation" which "undertakes the major responsibility of striving for social progress and happiness of mankind." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique boasted that the Soviet Union under its rule is now "the prop of international revolutionary liberation movements" and that without allying themselves with the Soviet Union, the developing and liberated countries "cannot have genuine national independence." This is a malignant development of big-Russian chauvinism.

"Aggression Is Justified" — A Fallacy of the Old Tsars

The new tsars have lavished praises on those Russian "heroes" who had performed service in aggression against other countries. This is part of their effort to instil the theory that "aggression is justified" into the Soviet people so as to drive them to serve as cannon fodder in the scramble for world hegemony. They openly proclaim that the "lust for conquest of unexploited land is a key factor of encouragement to the Russians." They describe tsarist Russia's aggression and expansion as a "process," accomplished in the early 20th century, of "amassing Russian land and seizing unclaimed land for centuries under the powerful hand of overlords." They laud the tsarist Russian aggressors' conquest of Siberia and the Far East as "enabling Russia to be very soon in sight of far-away and vast land as her soul." A Soviet admiral of the fleet has twaddled that tsarist Russia conquered the Astrakhan Kingdom simply because "the Astrakhan Kingdom blocked (Russia's) waterway to the Caspian Sea." Therefore, he added, the three nations along the Baltic Sea should also be conquered by Russia because they were in the way of Russia's passage to the Baltic Sea. It is the logic of both the old and new tsars that any nation which happens to be in the way of their access to the sea must be brought under their rule. Referring to tsarist Russia's contention with Britain for maritime hegemony, that Soviet admiral stated: "How good that the Russian peasants from the provinces of the interior, without waiting for the Englishmen to finish speaking, climbed down from his stove-bench and went to conquer the oceans." In the eyes of the self-styled "loyal Leninists" it was "good" indeed to be cannon fodder in tsarist Russia's conquest of the world! What they preach does not even have the slightest semblance of Leninism. They are echoing the words of the old tsars!

The Soviet revisionist authorities glorify the aggressors who rendered extraordinary services to tsarist Russia's expansion, describing them as "heroes" and even erecting monuments abroad as a tribute to them. The play *Gorchakov Free From Trial* portrays this tsarist Russian prime minister, who participated in the suppression of European revolution and served tsarist Russia in its contention for world domination, as a man symbolic of the "soul of the Russian people." In the novel *The Landmark of the Amur River*, Muraviev who forced China into signing the "Treaty of Aigun" and occupied large tracts of Chinese territory was portrayed as the "vanguard of the explorers in the Amur River area." On orders from Brezhnev and his like, a bronze

statue to Alexander II who was mocked by Engels as an aggressor in carrying out "Czarist variety of liberation" (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism*) is still preserved intact on the Russia Boulevard in Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. Soviet diplomats in Sofia pay homage to the statue every year and the Bulgarian people are also made to do so. Such cases are too numerous to be mentioned here. The all-out efforts made by the Soviet revisionist authorities in this respect are motivated by their attempt to turn the younger generations in the Soviet Union into "worthy successors" to the aggressors to "exploit new land" for Russia now under the rule of the new tsars.

Despicable Tactics in Moldavia

THE Soviet revisionists have resorted to despicable and malevolent tactics to Russify Moldavia.

Afraid to Acknowledge Historical Facts. In 1853 Marx and Engels pointed out that "the Wallachians or Daco-Romans" were "the chief inhabitants of the district between the Lower Danube and the Dniester." (*British Politics — Disraeli — The Refugees — Mazzini in London — Turkey.*) Both the old and new tsars are mortally afraid to acknowledge this fact because it is detrimental to their vicious scheme to Russify the Moldavian people. The old tsarist Russian ruling clique asserted that the Moldavians "were but slightly modified Russians," while the new tsars stress that "an independent nation of Moldavia" only came into being in the early years of the 20th century, and that, with regard to the Moldavian nationality group, the predecessor of this nation, "a number of Slav tribes (mainly the southern and eastern Slav tribes) also partook in its formation."

It is a well-known fact that the territory now under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Moldavia was grabbed by tsarist Russia by force. In 1791 Russia obtained the territory east of River Dniester through the Peace Treaty of Jassy and in 1812 it occupied the area west of this river and east of River Prut through the Peace Treaty of Bucharest. Later this area was renamed Bessarabia. Referring to this, Engels explicitly pointed out: "Here we are dealing with the naked conquest by force of foreign territories, with robbery pure and simple." (*The Foreign Policy of Russian Czarism.*)

Having taken over the old tsars' mantle, the new tsars are especially afraid of the exposure of the old tsars by the people. They fear most the narration by Moldavians of historical facts about the old tsars' occupation and oppression of their country. The Soviet revisionist authorities have openly declared against any permission "to make use of the Moldavians' respect for the past and their sense of national independence." While the new tsars have time and again criticized noted Moldavian scholars for their appraisal of "past events and phenomena," they themselves have distorted history by every possible means in defending the old tsars.

Destruction of Moldavian Culture. To ensure the Russification of Moldavia, the old tsars tried desperately to destroy Moldavian culture. The *Bigger Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1954 states in its 28th volume that, under pressure by the tsarist authorities, schools where teaching was conducted in the Moldavian language in the first half of the 19th century were closed, and Russian was used instead in all organizations. The new tsars, pursuing the same tactics as the old tsars, have forced the use of the Russian language and repressed the use of Moldavian under the cloak of the "system of simultaneously using two languages."

The report by the first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee carried in *Soviet Moldavia*, on April 27, 1973 declared that Russian must be studied from the kindergarten to the college in Moldavia. *Soviet Ethnography*, in its fifth issue last year, urged "popularization of Russian among the inhabitants of the (Moldavian) Republic." Moldavian language schools have declined under this policy, and the above-mentioned first secretary had to admit that little has been achieved in national education in some areas of Moldavia.

Publications printed in the Moldavian language have decreased in number. According to the *Yearbook of Soviet National Economic Statistics*, the number of newspapers in Moldavian decreased by 50 per cent between 1960 and 1974. Only 33 per cent of the books published in the republic in 1974 were in the Moldavian language as against 64 per cent in 1950. The Kremlin authorities banned the use of Moldavian terminology, denouncing it as "an attempt to substitute terms alien to the nature of mutual linguistic relationship among the Soviet peoples for unified internationalist scientific terminology." The Soviet Central Television Station disclosed in its "Answers and Viewers" programme on September 27, 1974 that viewers had written letters to the station complaining that in Moldavia "the native language is practically not used."

Increasing Number of People Compelled to Move. To speed up Russification and tighten their control of Moldavia, the Soviet revisionist authorities, under the pretext of "cadres exchange," have moved large numbers of Moldavian people from their homeland. *Moldavian Inhabitants*, published in the Soviet Union, admits that, compared with the 1959 figure, the number of Moldavians living in all other republics increased in 1970 with the increase being twofold and even sixfold in some republics. The 1970 census indicated that more than 390,000 Moldavians (that is, 14.6 per cent of the entire Moldavian people) had been forced to leave the republic. Those who had left were quickly Russified and, according to the results of the 1970 census, 17 per cent of them had adopted Russian as their own language.

The Soviet-published handbook *World Population* says: "Those people who have adopted another language will eventually lose their ethnic (national) identity." That is to say, they have been completely Russified.

Repressing Moldavian Cadres. With the Moldavians having now been reduced to a powerless position politically, the new tsars have done everything they can to repress the Moldavian cadres. After the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party considered the training of large numbers of non-Russian cadres as one of the most important tasks in non-Russian regions. But the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is now doing exactly the opposite. *Soviet Moldavia* stressed in a report on April 27, 1973 that in Moldavia "the question of cadres should be handled in an internationalist way" and that cadres should have "received a higher education and be multinational." For years, the new tsars have on this pretext replaced many Moldavian cadres with so-called Russian experts with a higher education. The working people of Moldavia have lost their right to be masters of their own affairs. Many have been arrested and put into concentration camps merely because they wrote to the Moldavian authorities opposing forced Russification.

Lowest Level of Development in the Soviet Union. The old tsars turned Moldavia into a vast garden for growing grapes, vegetables and tobacco. The new tsars, flaunting the banner of "regional division of labour," have followed the old tsars' example. Today, Moldavia has the lowest level of industrial development in the Soviet Union. Its per-capita output of grain in 1974 was about 33 per cent below that of 1913 in tsarist Russia. The living standard of the Moldavian people also is the lowest in the Soviet Union.

Indignation and Resistance of the Moldavians. The new tsars' deeds have aroused strong indignation among the Moldavian people. Moldavian writers have used references to the evil doings of the old tsars to express their discontent with the new tsars. The first secretary of the Moldavian party central committee has complained that articles which deal with nationalism, give vent to apolitical views and distort past and contemporary history are found in certain Moldavian publications. The Soviet press has from time to time disclosed that some Moldavians have published books or distributed leaflets exposing the new tsars. It is reported that organizations whose aim is to get rid of the new tsars' domination have been set up. The Moldavian people's struggle against the new tsars is gaining strength.

Kirghizia's Economy Worsens

SINCE the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has ruthlessly exploited and oppressed the non-Russian nationalities. As a result, the economy of the Kirghiz Republic has been seriously damaged and class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities have become increasingly acute. This is best illustrated by the numerous facts given in a report by T. Usualiev, first secretary of the central committee of the party of Kirghizia, which was carried in the

Soviet paper *Sovietskaya Kirghizia* on January 17 this year.

Agricultural Plan Unfulfilled. Referring to agriculture in Kirghizia, the report admitted that "the republic has failed to fulfil adequately the tasks of producing grain, meat and milk set in the five-year plan. Our output of vegetables and potatoes is low and their quality poor." "Many regions and districts have failed to accomplish both the production tasks of the five-year plan and the procurement plans of the national economy," the report added.

According to the report, the republic's purchase of agricultural and animal products fell far short of the plan. It disclosed that "167 collective and state farms have failed to sell or deliver livestock and poultry to the state according to plan."

Farmland water conservancy is in a sad pass. The report admitted that "many important questions concerning the rational use of land and water resources have not been solved satisfactorily here. For instance, over half of the water from irrigation networks has seeped away without being utilized and about 40 per cent of the irrigation networks are being operated in the absence of necessary facilities, while more than half of the farmland in need of soil improvement lacks a drainage network that is fully reliable."

Industry in a Mess. Industrial production is also in a mess in Kirghizia, with one-tenth of the enterprises failing to fulfil the sales plans every year.

The report pointed out: "Many enterprises under the Ministry of Building Materials Industry, the Ministry of Local Industry and the Ministry of Construction as well as machine-building and metal-processing departments have suffered heavy losses owing to the rejects they turned out." The report continued: "Shoddy products have brought considerable losses to the national economy" and "in the past two years alone, shoddy products ran to 5.8 million rubles in value in the total sales volume." "Do we consider it normal that only 3 per cent of our industrial products are up to the best-quality mark? The proportion of quality products turned out by enterprises under the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry is even smaller, ranging from 0.6 to 0.4 per cent only," the report disclosed.

Regarding problems existing in the construction departments, the report noted: "The situation in the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Rural Construction is even worse, with more than one-half of their bureaux unable to fulfil their plans for years running."

No Welfare for the People. The Brezhnev clique has time and again professed "concern for the people's welfare." But as a result of ruthless oppression and exploitation by the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie, the so-called "people's welfare" is nothing but a humbug. The report had to admit that in Kirghizia,

"many of the working people's needs are far from being fully satisfied. Housing is both backward and shoddy. Party organizations and local Soviet organs have shown little concern for service facilities, particularly those in rural settlements."

The Brezhnev clique's line of intensifying national oppression has led to the daily sharpening of class contradictions and the contradictions among the various nationalities in Kirghizia. The report disclosed that the so-called "Zlobin method," a new trick used by the Soviet revisionist authorities to step up the exploitation of workers in the construction departments, has met with resistance from the people in Kirghizia. As a result, out of the 84 building brigades that have adopted the "Zlobin method," only eight met their targets last year. The working people also show their resentment by absence from work and slowdowns. The report lamented that "the waste in working hours in enterprises of local and light industries is enormous, resulting from absenteeism, work stoppages and groundless leaves approved by the management." "In the republic's building units alone, absenteeism in the past five years amounted to a loss of more than 325,000 workdays," it added.

While boasting that "the objective prerequisites for any antagonistic contradictions in the relations between nationalities have been eliminated," the report wildly attacked the so-called "nationalist remnants," "localism" and "national conceit," and trumpeted the need to step up "the struggle against these manifestations."

In the face of the deteriorating economy and sharpening class contradictions and contradictions among the various nationalities, the Brezhnev clique has resorted to its stock tricks: wholesale removal of cadres in the economic departments as scapegoats and sweeping purges of cadres considered to be incompetent in repressing non-Russian nationalities. Kirghizia is no exception. The report admitted that "1,184 people in the list of leading personnel under the direct charge of the Kirghiz party central committee were removed from office in the last five years."

Another Big Purge in the Ukraine

THE Brezhnev clique recently removed a large number of cadres in the Ukraine. This is yet another big purge since 1972.

Purge Wave. The President and two Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine as well as 14 Vice-Chairman, Ministers and Commission Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, all appointed at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine last July, have been replaced. Practically all the secretaries of municipal party committees of the Ukraine, many secretaries of regional party committees and secretaries of party organizations at various levels in charge of ideological work have been removed.

At the Ukrainian party congress held from February 10 to 13 this year, the Soviet revisionist authorities again replaced a number of important figures. I. K. Lutak, member of the political bureau and second secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee; N. T. Kalchenko, member of the political bureau and first Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; V. I. Degtyaryov, member of the political bureau; and V. M. Tsybulyko, alternate member of the political bureau and first secretary of the Kiev regional party committee, were all removed.

Reason for the Purge. The Ukrainians are the largest non-Russian nationality in the Soviet Union. The big-Russian chauvinist policy of national oppression pursued by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in the Ukraine since its usurpation of power has met with strong resistance from the Ukrainian people who have on many occasions held strikes and demonstrations against national oppression by the new tsars.

In the autumn of 1972, a large-scale strike by workers took place in Dnepropetrovsk, one of the biggest industrial cities in the Ukraine. In the spring of 1973, students of Ukrainy University, on the occasion of commemorating the Ukrainian poet T. G. Shevchenko, held a rally protesting national oppression by the new tsars. The Ukrainian people have also persisted in publishing underground journals and distributing leaflets to expose the new tsars.

Panic-stricken by these developments in the Ukrainian people's struggle, the Brezhnev clique has repeatedly arrested and suppressed those Ukrainians who dare to resist oppression and exploitation. It has more than once blamed the party and government leaders of the Ukraine for "failing to discharge their duties in overcoming the remnants of nationalism." P. E. Shelest was thus removed from his post as first secretary of the Ukrainian party central committee in May 1972. This was followed by successive purges of Ukrainian cadres,