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*The*  
COLLABORATION  
OF NATIONS  
*in the*  
U. S. S. R.



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**THE COLLABORATION**  
*of*  
**NATIONS IN THE U.S.S.R.**

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One of the greatest gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R.

Bourgeois ideologists assert that international strife and enmity cannot be abolished, that they are an eternal law of history. Over and over again they repeat that the national problem is insoluble. Actually, however, this problem is insoluble only in the old, capitalist world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia for the first time showed the ways and means of successfully solving the national problem.

Armed with a scientific understanding of the national problem, the Bolshevik Party, on coming into power, put into practice the Lenin-Stalin theory of the commonwealth of nations; and practice, which is the final and most reliable criterion of the correctness of theory, has fully proved the viability and correctness of Bolshevik theory and of the Lenin-Stalin national policy.

It is to the Party of Lenin and Stalin that we are so greatly indebted for the fact that Russia, which in the past was a hotbed of national oppression and tyranny in their crudest and most inhuman forms, became the homeland of new relations between nations, an example of the implementation of true equality of nations, a country in which, for the first time, the national question has found solution.

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Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, made a most valuable contribution to social science by elaborating the Marxian theory of the national problem, thereby laying the necessary theoretical foundations for the practical solution of one of the most difficult problems, i.e., the national problem.

The Bolshevik Party's theory and program of the national problem are the ideological foundation for the solution of the problem of the collaboration of nations in the U.S.S.R. In elaborating the theory and program of the national problem, Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of the Party, disclosed the connection between the national problem and the problem of the socialist revolution, the problem of overthrowing imperialism and abolishing national-colonial oppression. They

merged the national problem with the colonial problem.

The Bolsheviks proceeded from the postulate that it is the direct duty of the proletarian parties to support the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed nations, that "... there cannot be a socialist proletariat that can in the least degree tolerate the oppression of other nations by 'its' nation,"\* that "... pronouncements about the 'equality of nations' which are not backed by the direct support of the proletarian parties for the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations are meaningless and false,"\*\* that "... he who does not recognize and champion the equality of nations and languages, who does not fight against all national oppression and inequality, is not a Marxist, or even a democrat."\*\*\*

The Bolsheviks showed that the abolition of national-colonial oppression is organically connected with the revolutionary struggle for the transfer of political power to the masses of the working people. The scientific analysis of the specific features of the epoch of imperialism enabled

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\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russ. ed., Vol. 21, p. 287.

\*\* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, pp. 60-61.

\*\*\* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russ. ed., Vol. 21, p. 12.



the Russian Bolsheviks to define the place of the national problem in the proletariat's general struggle for power, to disclose the connection between the solution of the national problem and the general struggle of the masses of the people to abolish the rule of capital. Lenin and Stalin irrefutably proved that imperialism cannot exist without oppressing and exploiting the peoples of colonies and dependent countries, that the peoples of colonies and dependent countries cannot be liberated without the overthrow of the yoke of imperialism, without a proletarian revolution, and, on the other hand, that the victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible without the support of the oppressed and exploited people of the colonies.

For the first time, the Bolsheviks gave the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination a clear, distinct and consistently revolutionary content by showing that this slogan implied the right of oppressed nations to political secession, the right to form independent states. The parties affiliated to the Second International interpreted the right of nations to self-determination, at best, only as the right to autonomy. Their theoreticians on the national problem, Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, restricted the concept of political self-determination to the right of so-called "cultural autonomy," which

meant leaving all political and economic power in the hands of the ruling nation. This interpretation converted the revolutionary slogan of self-determination from a weapon for the liberation of nations into an instrument for deceiving nations, into an instrument of imperialist policy.

The Bolsheviks urged the necessity not only of equality in law, but also of *actual equality* between nationalities, which necessarily implies that the advanced nations must assist the backward nationalities, and is one of the necessary conditions for the voluntary union of nations and the establishment of friendly collaboration between them.

The Bolsheviks exposed the false legend that for ages the world has been divided into "inferior" and "superior" races, that the "inferior" races are incapable of becoming civilized and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, whereas the "superior" races are the sole vehicles of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former. During the whole course of their struggle for the liberation of nations, the revolutionary Marxists-Bolsheviks argued that the economic and cultural backwardness of the oppressed nations is due not to their national, "racial" characteristics, but to the historical conditions under which they have lived and developed, to the intolerable



colonial oppression of the imperialist countries which artificially retarded the economic, political and cultural development of the colonial peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution proved by facts that "... the liberated non-European nations, once having been drawn into the channel of Soviet development, are no less capable than the European nations of promoting a *truly* progressive culture and a *truly* progressive civilization."\*

The reformists were of the opinion that the only way to solve the national problem is the bourgeois method of the falling away of one nation from another, their disunion and intensification of national enmity among the masses of the working people of the different nations. In opposition to this, the Bolsheviks substantiated the possibility and necessity of the international solidarity of the working people, and elaborated the question of the necessity of a voluntary state and organizational-economic union of equal, national, Soviet republics as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system. The Great October Socialist Revolution proved in practice that a new, proletarian solution of the national prob-

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\* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 223.

lem was possible, a solution under which the peoples who receive equal rights, far from separating from each other, voluntarily unite in order jointly and more successfully to solve the problems that confront them. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it proved in practice "... the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal alliance* between the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntary consent* and *internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as a direct proof of this."\*

The theoretical statements of Lenin and Stalin on the national problem gave the proper direction to the Bolshevik national policy. The Bolsheviks would not have succeeded in successfully solving the national problem and the problem of the collaboration of nations in a vast multinational state had they not been armed theoretically with a precise conception of the ways and means of solving them, and had they not been convinced that it was possible to establish new relationships between nations.

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\* *Ibid.*, p. 223, /

The Bolshevik theory and practice of the solution of the national problem is of enormous international importance. Like a powerful searchlight, it lights up the path of struggle of all oppressed nations for their freedom and independence. It has struck and continues to strike heavy blows at the reactionary theory that it is impossible to solve the national problem, and that the division of the world into oppressed and oppressing nations is inevitable.

Of inestimable scientific and practical importance is the Bolsheviks' exposure of the false race "theories" that are disseminated in capitalist countries.

The fascist party in Germany zealously disseminated among the German people the crazy idea that it was the special mission of the German nation to be the master nation, and that all other nations were to be merely the slaves of the Germans.

The exposure of the fascist race "theory" even before Hitler Germany collapsed was greatly facilitated by the experience of the U.S.S.R. The practice of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., which is based on the Lenin-Stalin national policy, exposed the slaveowning, imperialist character of the cannibal fascist race "theory" and policy. In the course of the war the Soviet ideology and policy of race equality and friendship among

nations achieved complete victory over the bestial ideology of nationalism and race hatred preached by the Hitlerites. But race "theories" are tenacious. The imperialists of the United States and Great Britain, inspired by Winston Churchill, Vandenberg and their ilk, are preaching their own version of the race "theory," in which the role of "superior" race is assigned to the Anglo-Saxons. Race "theories" are convenient instruments in the hands of the reactionary classes for justifying the oppression and exploitation of colonies and the preparation and unleashing of new imperialist wars. That is why it is necessary unceasingly and ruthlessly to expose all varieties of racism, to expose their advocates as obscurantists, imperialists and dangerous warmongers intent on starting another war. In opposition to the misanthropic, cannibal race ideology and policy of the imperialists, the Party of Lenin and Stalin advances the ideology of race equality and friendship among nations, the ideology of proletarian internationalism, the ideology and policy of fraternal collaboration among the free and equal peoples of the U.S.S.R.

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The political basis for the successful solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R. was the

overthrow of the exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of the Soviet form of government. J. V. Stalin pointed out that the vehicles of national oppression are definite classes and strata of the population. These are, primarily, the landed aristocracy and imperialists, who manage to carry with them the petty bourgeoisie, part of the intelligentsia and part of the labour aristocracy who also to some extent share in the fruits of national plunder. As Comrade Stalin said: "There is thus a whole chorus of social forces, headed by the landed and financial aristocracy, which support national oppression. In order to create a real democratic system, it is first of all necessary to clear the ground and remove this chorus from the political stage."\*

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia carried out this great historical task. In the course of the revolution, the chief exploiting classes, viz., the landlords and the big bourgeoisie, were abolished. Political power passed into the hands of the working people. A new type of state was set up in Russia, viz., the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a new form of government—the Soviets.

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\* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, Moscow 1940, p. 55.



"...the triumph of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitute the basis and foundation on which the fraternal collaboration of peoples within a single federal state can be built up,"\* said Comrade Stalin.

In the shape of the Soviets, a new and higher form of democracy came into being, viz., Soviet democracy, democracy for the working people, which ensured for the people real political rights and the decisive part in the administration of the state.

The overthrow of the exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and genuine Soviet, socialist democracy constituted that necessary political basis without which the successful solution of the national problem and the establishment of complete equality and free, voluntary and friendly collaboration among the nations would have been impossible.

The Great October Socialist Revolution brought about and secured freedom and equality for all the nations inhabiting Russia. On October 25 (November 7), 1917, the voice of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets rang out over the whole world, announcing in its

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\* *Ibid.*, p. 124.



“appeal to the workers, soldiers and peasants” the transfer of power to the Soviets, and declaring that the Soviet State would ensure for all the nations inhabiting Russia genuine right of self-determination. On November 2(15), 1917, “The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia,” signed by Lenin and Stalin, was promulgated. It declared that the national policy of the Soviet government was based on the following principles: equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; right of the nations inhabiting Russia to free self-determination, including right to secede and form independent states; abolition of all and sundry national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; free development for the national minorities and ethnical groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

These first political acts of the Soviet State for the solution of the national problem served as the basis for the actual emancipation of the colonial and dependent peoples of Russia. The Soviet State granted all the peoples inhabiting former tsarist Russia complete independence in determining their destiny. It granted the right of free self-determination to all the nations in Russia. This did not lead to the disintegration of the state, as the enemies of the Bolsheviks kept on reiterating; on the contrary, it strengthened the state, for the majority of the peoples

that had inhabited tsarist Russia did not wish to separate from Soviet Russia. The Soviet State took shape as a multinational state of a new type, differing in principle from the old multinational states, for it was established on the basis of new relations between nations. Unlike the bourgeois multinational states that are based on violent means of uniting nations, on the oppression and exploitation of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries by the ruling classes of those countries, the Soviet multinational state is based on the principle of *equality* of all nations and of their strictly *voluntary* amalgamation in a single state union. The Soviet Socialist State is "... *a new type* of state, adapted not to the aim of exploiting and oppressing the labouring masses, but to the aim of completely emancipating them from all oppression and exploitation, to the tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat."\*

Amidst the conditions of civil war and the invasion of foreign troops who repeatedly seized the whole territory of individual republics, amidst incredible economic difficulties, the peoples of Soviet Land built up their state, strengthened their alliance and unity and established

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\* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 6, p. 120.

increasingly close and more perfect forms of collaboration, while at the same time developing the statehood of the individual nations. In the course of building up the Soviet State more expedient forms were worked out for the solution of the national problem, forms that corresponded to the vital interests and conditions of life of the peoples inhabiting our country who, thirty years ago, were in the most diverse stages of social development. The forms of uniting the nations and national republics were adapted to the tasks of protecting their common Socialist Motherland and of developing her economy and culture.

In describing the development of the state federation of the Soviet peoples, Comrade Stalin said that in the first period of the revolution, when the toiling masses of the nationalities first came to feel that they were independent national units, while the threat of foreign intervention had not yet become a real danger, collaboration between the peoples did not yet assume a fully definite, strictly established form. In the period of the civil war, when the requirements of military defence in the national republics assumed prime importance, while questions of economic construction had not yet been placed on the order of the day, collaboration took the form of a *military alliance*. In the postwar period, when