MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION

By JOSEPH STALIN

The Soviet leader, whose theoretical and practical contributions toward the free development of nationalities is a basic feature of his successful application of Leninist theory, here sets forth the ABC's of the national question. Extracts from reports, speeches, and articles composed from 1913 to 1934 illustrate the Bolshevik approach to the problem. Jugoslavia, China, and the colonies of the East are considered. The appendix contains the principal decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the national question.

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INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Fourth Avenue New York City

BURYAT-Mongolia

International Publishers
NEW YORK, 1936
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Foreword

Today, when the Japanese militarists and imperialists are threatening the U.S.S.R. with war, using their “autonomous” puppet-governments in Manchuria, North China and especially in Inner Mongolia as figure-heads, and raising the false cry of “Pan-Mongolianism”, it will be of particular interest to learn of the tremendous achievements and progress realized by the Buryat-Mongols who live around Lake Baikal in the Soviet Union. Here a people have achieved real national and political freedom and unheard of cultural and economic advance by throwing off the yoke of its foreign as well as its own oppressors and joining the great brotherhood of peoples represented by the U.S.S.R. This booklet shows that the Japanese warmongers and imperialists will receive a terrible blow, should they try to single out the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic for their imperialist designs and their attacks on the Soviet Union.
Reception of the Delegates of the Toilers of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic by Party and Government Leaders in the Kremlin

On January 27, 1936, the leaders of the Party and the government received in the Kremlin the representatives of the toilers of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Sixty-seven delegates, headed by the Secretary of the Buryat-Mongolian Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Yerbanov, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic, Derzhiyev, assembled in the hall. The delegation consisted of collective farmers, milkmaids, shepherds, managers of stock raising farms, chairmen of collective farms, workers on state farms, workers in the field of culture and art, Party and Soviet workers.

The appearance of Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Orjonikidze, Mikoyan, Andreyev and Yakovlev, evoked a prolonged and enthusiastic ovation. Shouts of "Hurrah" in Buryat-Mongolian and in Russian, "Long live the leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Molotov!" "Long live Comrade Voroshilov!" and again prolonged applause, shouts of "Hurrah!" and cries of greeting.

Molotov greeted the delegates in the Buryat-Mongolian language and introduced the speakers.

Every speech was filled with warm gratitude to the Party, the government and to Stalin. The delegates told the leaders
of the Party and the government of the great strides made in
the economic life and the growth of culture and prosperity in
Soviet Buryat-Mongolia.

The last speech was delivered by the chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Molotov, who was
greeted with a thunderous ovation and cheers.

A warm and prolonged ovation in honor of Stalin, Molotov,
Kalinin and Voroshilov followed the conclusion of Molotov's
speech.

The speeches follow in the order in which they were de-

Speech by Batozhargal Badmayev

Chairman of the Voroshilov Collective Farm in the Ulan-
Onon District

Comrades, I am the chairman of the Voroshilov Collective
Farm, a border farm in Ulan-Onon, the farthest border
region of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic. In the name of all
the collective farmers of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic, and
in the name of the collective farmers of our farm, I convey
to our dear and beloved leader, Joseph Stalin, hearty collective
farm greetings.

Today, in this happy, joyous atmosphere, among the leaders
of the Party and government, I voluntarily recall the difficult,
wretched past of the Buryat-Mongolian people. Ours was in-
deed a joyless past: a nomadic life, a felt tent, darkness. Prior
to the October Socialist Revolution, the Buryat-Mongolian
people were under a triple yoke, under the yoke of the tsar's
officials, of the kulaks and the native officials and under the
yoke of the numerous lamas. The lamas stupefied the Buryat-
Mongolian people, keeping them in constant fear of a life after
death, and so forth.

It was only thanks to the great October Socialist Revolu-
tion, thanks to the policy of the Party and the Soviet govern-
ment that we have been liberated from them and have received
national equality. Now we are building socialism, making life
prosperous, happy and cultured.

Our collective farm was organized in February, 1931, with
30 poor peasant households. Now our collective farm consists
of 105 households and it proudly bears the name of our valiant
People's Commissar for Defense, the Marshal of the Soviet
Union, Comrade Voroshilov.
At first, the work of the collective farm was poor. The influence of the kulaks was very strong. The kulaks hampered us at every step.

On the basis of Comrade Stalin’s speech delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, we achieved great successes in the organizational and economic consolidation of the collective farm. This speech and the Stalinist rules of collective farm life have become the watchword of struggle and the program of action in the transformation of our collective farm into a Bolshevik collective farm, and the collective farmers into well-to-do farmers.

Our republic and our district specialize in stock raising. We adopted Comrade Stalin’s directives concerning the development of stock-raising, delivered at the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, as the basis for our work. The state plan for developing stock-raising in 1935 has been overfulfilled by our collective farm. In one year we have achieved an increase of 21 per cent for large-horned cattle, 12 per cent for horses and 40 to 45 per cent for sheep and goats. As a result, we now have 540 heads of large-horned cattle, 375 horses and 1,903 sheep and goats.

In 1935 we planted 262 hectares of grain. This figure may appear very small, but it must be taken into consideration that we did not begin to sow until 1931, for prior to that time we were nomads. In 1931, when our collective farm had just been organized, we planted seven hectares for the first time. In 1935 our harvest was ten centners to the hectare, a yield which we do not consider sufficient. We promise to raise the yield next year to 15 centners of grain per hectare.

I convey our thanks to Comrade Stalin for the Stalinist Model Rules of the Collective Farm Artel, which ensures the collective farmers a happy, cultured and prosperous life. I thank our Party, our government and Comrade Stalin for the attention they show the East Siberian region and our Buryat-Mongolian Republic, for the great privileges granted to our Republic.

In 1935, I received as my share of the annual products, for my work in the collective farm, 116 poods of grain, 66 kilograms of meat, 32 kilograms of butter and 10 kilograms of wool, exclusive of what I received in advance. We have many collective farmers who have up to 40 head of various kinds of cattle at their own disposal.

Along with our prosperity there is also a rise in our cultural life: we have a school, we have built fine, well-lit homes, we have a Red Corner, a bathhouse, radio, phonographs. Many of our young collective farmers ride bicycles. Heretofore, none of us had ever had a samovar, but now the majority of our families have beautiful fine samovars.

Before the Revolution, we could not even conceive of such things, but now they are a very common sight in our Buryat-Mongolian collective farm settlement.

Besides building up our collective farm and developing stock-raising, we pay attention to the defense of our country. The frontier location of our region imposes upon us a particularly great responsibility. We are proud of the fact that in our daily work we take part in strengthening our Eastern frontiers. And should the Japanese imperialists attempt to encroach upon our frontier, we, together with the fighters of the Special Red Banner Army of the Far East, will repulse the enemy decisively. Of this we assure our Party, our government, Comrade Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin and Voroshilov.

Long live Comrade Stalin! Long live our great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin! Long live the Soviet government and Comrade Molotov!

Stalin: Is there anyone who mistreats your collective farm or the collective farmers?
Badmayer: No, no mistreatment from anyone.
Stalin: Are you sure?
Badmayev: I am sure.

Upon the instruction of the 1,060 collective farms of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic and the 300,000 collective farmers I submit to Comrade Stalin this written report on the victories of the collective farms of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic. This report was signed by the entire delegation of 67 persons, which came with me to Moscow, upon the instruction of all the collective farms and the entire mass of collective farmers.

Speech by Dugar Gashunov

Manager of the Dzerzhinsky Sheep Raising Collective Farm in the Tunka District

Comrades, I bring to Comrade Stalin hearty collective farm greetings from the collective farms of the Tunka District.

Our collective farm is the farthest in the Tunka District. It is situated seven kilometers from the Mongolian border, at the foot of the Sayan Mountains. It is cold there; there is lots of snow, and very little grain is sown.

Before the Revolution, there were many exploiter-kulaks, lamas and the like in our settlement. Thus, for instance, in the Tunka District alone, there were 1,500 lamas, one to every five or six persons of our adult population. Now, there are no more than ten lamas in the entire district. There were three monasteries in our district; now they are closed.

Our collective farm was organized in 1931. It now numbers 58 households. Stock-raising is the chief occupation of our collective farmers. When I first began to work as manager of the sheep farm in 1932, we had only 425 sheep and goats; now we have 1,305, three times as many as we had before. In this increase, I can point also to my own efforts, to my own exertion.

I pledge to Comrade Stalin and Comrade Molotov to increase the number of sheep on our farm to 2,000 head in 1936.

Formerly, in my younger days, most people were illiterate. Now, I have learned to read and write, I subscribe to and read newspapers in the Buryat-Mongolian language. On the basis of the Stalin Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel, I have at my own disposal three horses, eleven head of cattle, 40 sheep and goats—54 head all told.

There are no collective farmers in our district who have no cattle, not even any who have only one cow—the least they have is two cows or more.

There is order in my home, I lead a civilized life. In the past, we used to eat and sleep on the floor. Now, every member of my family sleeps in metal beds; we have tables and chairs, a samovar, porcelain dishes. We now scrub our floors, wash our dishes and our clothes; but formerly the lamas would forbid us to wash our dishes and our clothes, saying that by washing our clothes we wash away our luck.

We are aware of the fact that we live on the frontier. We know that the Japanese imperialists want to attack our native land. We give Comrade Voroshilov the word of collective farmers that when necessary we shall come out as one and we shall deliver a decisive blow to the enemy.

Long live our dear friend and teacher, Comrade Stalin!

Speech by Maria Arzhutova

Milkmaid from the Razumov Collective Farm in the Alar District

Comrades, in the name of the collective farmers, men and women, of the Razumov Artel, I bring heartfelt greetings to Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Molotov, Mikoyan, Orjonikidze and Andreyev.

Was anything like this ever heard of before, that I, an ordinary Buryat village woman, or anyone like me, should be
received by the leaders of the government? There could not be such a state of affairs before. Such a thing never happened before. It is possible only in our Soviet land. Today I am present here, in the government building, at a festive reception; I converse with the leaders of the government and the Party, with our leader Comrade Stalin, on equal terms, about our collective farm affairs.

(A little girl, Gelya Markizova, makes her way to the presidium with a large bouquet of flowers. She comes over to Stalin and hands him the flowers. Stalin picks up the little girl and holds her in his arms. Applause. All rise.)

Voroshilov: She wants to make a speech.
Stalin: Well, then, let’s hear her.
Gelya Markizova: Greetings from the Buryat-Mongolians to Joseph Stalin! (Thunderous applause. All rise.)

Arzhutova: Formerly, a woman was valued less than cattle. Women were bought and sold. This life, devoid of all rights, is left far behind, thanks to Lenin, thanks to Stalin! I compare my past, when a woman was considered on the same footing with cattle, with what is going on at present. I well remember the words spoken by Comrade Stalin that the human being is the most valuable capital in the world.

I am a daughter of a farm laborer. What could I have seen in the past? In the past I could only have seen a hapless life and want.

In 1930 I joined a collective farm. At that time I had only two cows, now I have six cows.

In the past, my husband and I worked for the kulaks. We dressed hides for them and made our living in this way. Now our work in the collective farm is joyous work, our labor is respected.

I have been working as a milkmaid since 1931. I am a shock worker since 1932. From the 15 to 17 cows entrusted to my care I receive as many calves every year, and I raised all of them without losing a single one. Besides this, in 1935 I was given two skinny prematurely born colts. I raised them and took care of them so that now they have grown to be big and strong. For such work I was rewarded many times.

I have seen a great deal this year. I was elected as a delegate to one of our district conferences, as one of the best shock workers. During this conference I had the good fortune to fly in an airplane for the first time in my life.

For the first time in my life, I traveled this year on a train, to Moscow; before, I never saw or even knew what a railroad was.

Once I was the last person in our village, now I am one of the foremost. My name is known far and wide.

I want to thank Comrade Stalin, our Party and our government for a happy life. (Applause.)

Speech by Nikita Shubin

Director of the Borgoi Sheep Raising State Farm in the Dzhidinsky District

Comrades, in the name of the 400 workers, engineers and technicians of our state farm, I convey to the leader of the world proletariat, our dear teacher, Comrade Stalin, our fervent proletarian greetings.

Comrades, who of us has not dreamed of being in this hall? Who of us has not dreamed of one day seeing our dear leaders, and particularly Comrade Stalin and the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, Comrades Molotov and Kalinin? No, this dream of ours has come true. We earned it by our honest and comradely work in developing stock-raising. Our work was appreciated by the leaders of our Party and the government. And as a result, we are here today, re-
porting to our government and our leaders about our cultured and prosperous life.

As a worker on a state farm, I wish to dwell briefly on the work of our farm. Our state farm is situated in a remote corner of our immense Soviet Union, at the border of the Mongolian People’s Republic. The state farm was organized in 1927. Up to the end of 1933 our farm could not rid itself of failure after failure. It was evident that the wrecking work of the kulaks and the lamas was having its results. They took advantage of the remoteness of our state farm, of the ignorance of the population and the weakness of the Party organization, made their way into our farm and carried on their shady work there. As a result of these wrecking activities, in 1932 our farm lost almost 50 per cent of its young livestock and sustained losses amounting to 250,000 rubles. Matters were no better in 1933.

Then the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Party, Comrade Yerbanov, and the Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars, Comrade Dorzhiev, visited our state farm. They went into every detail of the work on our farm; they placed their fingers on the root of our poor work; they found out why it was that our farm was unable to get out of failure year after year, and they chased the kulaks and the lamas out of the farm. After that, a number of Party workers were sent to our state farm to strengthen our work.

Since then a great change for the better has taken place on our state farm. In 1934 we already had an entirely different picture. Whereas in 1933 we lost 50 per cent of our young livestock, we fulfilled our 1934 plan for stock-raising 100 per cent by January 1, 1935. Whereas, formerly we systematically failed to carry out our obligations to the state, or at best carried them out only 50 per cent, beginning with 1934 we completely fulfilled our quota with respect to every item: wool, meat, butter.

In 1935, we entered the next stage, the stage of making our farm pay for itself. Thus, in 1935 we fulfilled our stock-raising plan 106 per cent; instead of 286 centners of wool, we delivered 301 centners; instead of 44 centners of butter, we delivered 50 centners; instead of 35 centners of goat cheese, we delivered 70 centners, and instead of 1,200 centners of meat we delivered 1,272 centners.

To provide a better supply of fodder, we began to extend our own area and to improve our haying. In 1935, we planted an area of 1,500 hectares to various crops and we obtained a good harvest. We garnered an average of 18 centners of wheat per hectare and, in some sections, as much as 30 centners per hectare; the yield for oats was 16 centners per hectare. This enabled us to lay up a considerable supply of fodder for our livestock. The loss of young livestock was reduced to 3 per cent and in place of the loss we had in 1933, we were able to show a net profit of 10,000 rubles.

Besides, the Stakhanov spark has reached our remote state farm also. We, too, have Stakhanovites. Here are two herders: Comrade Tumurov and Comrade Danzhurov who raised their young livestock without a single loss, and who overfulfilled their obligations to the state by 10 per cent. We also have Buryat tractor drivers—Stakhanovites. Last year we received a combine for the first time, and a Buryat combine operator harvested 310 hectares with it.

Along with the increase in the material strength of our state farm, we are also raising our cultural level. Although before 1935 we had no schools, no reading rooms, no clubs, no radio and no cinemas, now we have a school where 100 children of our workers receive their education, we have a cinema and a radio. The living standard of our workers is improving constantly. One year ago the average income of our workers was 184 rubles a month; now it is 224 rubles. Our workers sowed 116 hectares of grain for themselves, and now each one of
them received 19 poods of grain. Our workers have 738 heads of various cattle, which makes an average of more than two head for each of our 332 workers.

The achievements we were able to show in 1935 are only the first steps. We are faced with tremendous tasks. We still have many shortcomings. I have already mentioned that we still have a 3 per cent loss of young livestock. In 1936 we must reduce this loss to zero.

Comrades, in the name and upon the instructions of our workers, engineers and technicians I state here with a full sense of responsibility that we take it upon ourselves before Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mikoyan to give at least 25 per cent more than the 1936 plan calls for. We will give good meat, high grade wool and the best butter.

Now, I wish to say a few words about myself. Personally, I am proud of being a director. I am the son of a poor peasant. I finished only the third grade of a village parochial school. Up to 1920 I worked as a hired farm laborer. In 1920, I began to do social work. Now I work as director. I carry out my job fairly well. I justified the confidence of the Party and the government, and thanks to this I am now present at the reception given us by the government and by the leaders of our Party.

I myself am half Russian and half Buryat. In the old times, under Tsar Nicholas, there was national discord among us. In my childhood, as a result of this discord I was always teased in school. The Russian boys called me, "yellow-nosed Jap," and the Buryat boys called me "mangyt" (an abusive name for a Russian). Now I have my own children in school. One goes to the fourth grade, the other to the third. One comes from school and says: "Papa, I'm going skating with Agbanka." The other one comes from school and says: "Papa, I'm going to sing with the Russian boys." There are no more national animosities among the children of the different nationalities.

And all this is due to the fact that we have with us our great Comrade Stalin, that he is our leader.

Comrades, I have already said that our state farm is situated at the border of the Mongolian People's Republic. Our flocks are only four kilometers from the border. We know that Japanese imperialism wants to seize Mongolia and is stretching its paw out to the Soviet Union, our socialist fatherland. Comrades, when we left for here, we thought over what to say to our leaders and of what we should assure them. The workers' collective of our state farm instructed me to assure the Marshal of the Soviet Union, our valiant People's Commissar, Klementi Voroshilov, that in the event of an attempt to encroach upon our socialist fatherland, we workers will take to our rifles as one man, and our wives will till the soil and tend the sheep in our place. (Applause.)

Long live the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin! (Thunderous applause, all rise.)

Long live our President of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Kalinin! (Applause.)

Long live Comrade Molotov! (Applause.)

Long live our valiant People's Commissar of Defense, Comrade Voroshilov! (Applause, Shouts of "Hurrah!")

Speech by L. V. Baldynov

Senior lieutenant, student in the Frunze Military Academy

Comrades, I bring hearty Far Eastern, Red Army greetings from the fighters, commanders and political workers of the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment to our beloved and wise leader of the toilers of the world and the true helmsman of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin!

Hearty Red Army greetings to the People's Commissar of Defense, the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov!
Hearty Red Army, Far-Eastern greetings to all the leaders of the Party and the government!

Comrades, under the guidance of the Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the unswerving execution of the general line of the Party, the successful industrialization of our country and the collectivization of agriculture, and the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, Buryat-Mongolia is changing from a former colony of Russian tsarism into an advanced Soviet republic.

Comrades, Buryat-Mongolia, together with all the toilers of the Soviet Union, is steadfastly strengthening the power and might of the workers' and peasants' Red Army. Her armed detachment, the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment, is an inalienable part of the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

During the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway, in 1929, the Buryat-Mongolian national detachment received its first baptism of fire, and in the November battles with the Chinese whiteguard generals it inscribed a glorious page into the history of the special Red Banner Army of the Far East.

In the battles on the Chinese Eastern Railway the Buryat-Mongolian Cavalry Squadron demonstrated its high fighting quality and its devotion to the Party and the proletarian dictatorship. At the same time, the Buryat-Mongolian Cavalry Squadron demonstrated its readiness and the ability of the Buryat-Mongolian toilers to defend the great conquests of the October Socialist Revolution.

As a reward for its distinguished service during the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway the Buryat-Mongolian Cavalry Squadron received from the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union the highest award—the honored Red Banner, and 14 Red Army men and commanders were awarded Orders of the Red Banner. The Buryat-Mongolian Squadron went through its fighting test with honor, and became a Red Banner detachment. And now, from a squadron it has been changed into the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment—a fighting unit of the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

Comrades, here is what the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, said about the quality of the Buryat-Mongolian national detachment:

"I can convince myself of the headway made by the Buryat-Mongolian toilers by reviewing a detachment of the valiant Red Army. I have in mind the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment. I have seen the commanders and the men, and I must say that in training and class consciousness they are on a par with our best divisions. They have given account of themselves brilliantly. We, the Revolutionary Military Council, can judge the toilers of Buryat-Mongolia by these fighters."

Comrade People's Commissar and Marshal of the Soviet Union, dear Klementi Voroshilov, we fighters have justified your judgment and are in the first ranks of the best detachment of the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

But this is not enough. Our national Red Army detachments are schools of political training for the toiling youth of Buryat-Mongolia. Not only did the Buryat-Mongolian cavalry train defenders of the land that is building socialism during the time of its existence, but it has also forged physically strong and politically educated organizers and leaders of socialist construction and of the collective farm villages of Buryat-Mongolia. Hundreds of former fighters of the Buryat-Mongolian detachment are now active Party, Soviet, trade union and collective farm workers of Buryat-Mongolia, as for instance, the leader of the Buryat-Mongolian Young Communist League, Comrade Tsydenov; the leader of the Buryat-Mongolian trade union movement, Comrade Tarov, and others. They are all graduates of our Buryat-Mongolian national detachment.

At present the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment has well-trained national military cadres.
In 1934, I was the only man in the entire Buryat-Mongolian Republic to be enrolled in a military academy, whereas now we have at least ten men who are receiving the highest military training in the various military academies.

Comrades, the Stakhanov movement is now developing in the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment to the fullest scope. Let us take, for example, the platoon commander, Comrade Seskin. He is one of the best Stakhanovites, who at the end of the academic year receives only marks of “excellent” in every subject of military training. Or the squadron commander, Comrade Zimin, a Stakhanovite who also receives marks of “excellent” in military and political training. Junior Commander, Comrade Nikolayev and his group of men rated nothing but “excellent” in every subject of military training.

Comrades, I could cite a long list of our Stakhanovite shock workers who set heroic examples in their work of mastering military technique. But what I have said will be sufficient. The facts I cited testify that the Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment, on the basis of the widely developing Stakhanov movement, on the basis of its fighting traditions, trains and hardens its Red Army men and commanders for future encounters with the enemies of the land that is building socialism.

Comrades, I wish to say a few words about myself. I am a son of a Buryat collective farmer. I learned to read and write only after the October Socialist Revolution. I was educated and steeled by our workers’ and peasants’ Red Army. In 1925 the Regional Committee of the Party sent several of us Buryats to the Leningrad Military Normal School. We went there with great hopes, studied diligently and were proud of our high calling of fighters in the workers’ and peasants’ Red Army. In 1929, I took active part in the battles on the Chinese Eastern Railway. At that time I was a platoon commander. My platoon was awarded five Orders of the Red Banner.

Upon the recommendation of the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Party, Comrade Yerbanov, to the People’s Commissar of Defense, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, I was sent to study in the Frunze Red Banner Military Academy which has been awarded the Order of Lenin. Commanders who have many years of military experience, who have on many occasions demonstrated their real mettle in encounters with enemies, study at this academy. When I found myself among such comrades, I asked myself: “How will I be able to study here with them?” But, comrades, I recalled the words of our great leader, Comrade Stalin, who said that “There are no fortresses that the Bolsheviks cannot take”, and I rolled up my sleeves and got down to study with Bolshevik energy and Bolshevik perseverance. With the active aid of the entire Party organization of the academy and of the commanding officers of the academy in the persons of Comrade Shashnikov, Schedenko and also Comrade Kork, I finished the first term with good marks in every subject. Now I have entered the second term and shall strain every effort to graduate the Frunze Military Academy with marks of “excellent”.

For this Bolshevik training I give my sincere thanks to Comrade Stalin and Comrade Voroshilov.

Comrades, the situation in the Far East, the growing menace of an armed attack on the part of Japanese imperialism, imposes on us the obligation to increase our energy tenfold. Comrades, let the imperialists remember that not only our Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment but, if that is required, all the toilers of Buryat-Mongolia will turn out to fight at the first call of the government and the Party. The toilers of Buryat-Mongolia will be able to organize several regiments and brigades. With these brigades and regiments we shall deliver a crushing blow to all those who attempt to “poke their pig snouts into our Soviet garden”.

Comrade Stalin and Comrade Voroshilov, I report to you
that our Buryat-Mongolian Red Banner Cavalry Regiment is
going its powder dry and its blades well-sharpened, and it is
ready at the first call of the Party and the government to
carry out the commands and to fight to the last drop of blood.

Long live our great leader, Comrade Stalin! (Applause.
Shouts of “Hurrah!”)

Long live our victorious workers’ and peasants’ Red Army
and the First Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov! (Applause. Shouts of “Hurrah!”)

Long live the glorious sentinel of the Far Eastern frontiers
—the Special Red Banner Red Army of the Far East and its
helmsman, the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade
Blucher. (Applause. Shouts of “Hurrah!”)

Speech by Dolgorzhap Erdyneyeva

Milkmaid of the “Ulan-Udung” Collective Farm in the
Selenga District

I bring the hearty collective farm greetings of the men and
women collective farmers of the “Ulan-Udung” Collective
Farm in the Selenga District to Comrade Stalin.

I would like to say a few words about my work on the
collective farm. I joined the collective farm in 1930 and from
the very first day I have been working as a milkmaid in
the stock-raising brigade. In 1930 I was put in charge of 12 cows,
and I raised 12 calves; in 1931, of 17 cows and I raised 17
calves; in 1932, of 19 cows and I raised 19 calves; in 1933,
of 21 cows and I raised 21 calves, and in 1934, of 16 cows
and I raised 16 calves.

Voroshilov: Splendid!

Erdyneyeva: In 1935 I was put in charge of 15 cows, and
I raised 15 calves. Thus, during all these six years I have not
lost a single calf. During these six years I raised and turned
over to the collective farm 100 calves.

Stalin: Well done!

Erdyneyeva: Each year I overfulfil the plan for milk de-
ivery; true enough, the cows are of local breed.

How did I manage to win these successes? First of all, by
realizing that the collective farm is my collective farm; second-
ly, thanks to Comrade Stalin’s directives about the necessity of
working honestly and of taking good care of collective farm
property, and thirdly, because I learned to read and write.
Since I have become literate I began to learn about zoo-technics,
which helps to increase our stock raising. At the end of last
year I was transferred to work on a pedigree cattle farm.

I give Comrade Stalin the following pledge: Since I have
shown that during the last six years I have not lost a single
calf, I undertake to bring the 12 milkmaids of my brigade up
to my standard and to train them to work just as I do.

Voroshilov: Right!

Erdyneyeva: And to get an average yield of 3,000 litres of
milk per cow.

I have been awarded prizes 14 times: I was given a calf, a
pig, a sewing machine, a certificate and many other things. But
the most precious and the greatest award is today’s meeting
with our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin, with Comrades Molo-
tov, Kalinin, Voroshilov and the other comrades.

Long live the emancipated woman of Buryat-Mongolia!
Long live our beloved Stalin! (Prolonged and tumultuous ap-
plause. Shouts of “Hurrah!”)

Speech by Agafy Myasnikova

Milkmaid of the collective farm “Lenin’s Legacy” in the
Khori District

Comrades, allow me to convey the hearty greetings of the
collective farm men and women to our leader, Comrade Stalin.
Comrades, on our way to Moscow we were met by Stakhanovite workers from Irkutsk, Krassnoyarsk, Omsk and other cities, who asked us to give their heartfelt greetings to Comrade Stalin.

Comrades, I am a woman descending from the Old Believers,* an illiterate woman. . . .

Stalin: Better tell us whether you live well or poorly.

Myasnikova: I live well. Formerly, we were oppressed, ignorant, cowed. We were forced to pray, we beat our foreheads, bent our backs. And now, our thanks to Comrade Stalin!

I have a family—seven children. . . .

Stalin: Another seven children, that would be wonderful! (Merriment in the hall).

Myasnikova: All my children go to school, Pioneer; one girl is a Young Communist League member. One daughter wants to be a teacher, one son a doctor and another is determined to be a flyer.

Voroshilov: Quite right!

Myasnikova: I joined the collective farm in 1931. I had nothing then but one horse. Before, I worked as a hired farm laborer, but now I have my own cow and a pig and sheep. Before, there weren't enough products, but now we have plenty of everything. We have enough bread, enough butter and meat.

I have been working as a milkmaid since 1932. I have not lost a single calf that I had to take care of. Before, our milk yield was nine litres a day, but now I manage to get thirteen litres. Cows that gave four to five litres a day before, now give from eight to nine litres. I am aiming to raise the yield to twelve litres a day from each cow—3,100 litres a year.

Stalin: That would be excellent!

Myasnikova: In my future work I will pull up the other milkmaids and help them in their work so that we shall all be Stakhanovites.

Stalin: Right!

Myasnikova: And now I will say: Long live our leaders! Allow me to shake your hands. (Applause. Myasnikova walks over to the Presidium and shakes hands with everyone.)

Speech by Alexander Atenov

Manager of the thoroughbred stud collective farm “Krasny Nelkhai” in the Alar District

Comrades, collective farm greetings to Comrade Stalin from the collective farmers in the Alar District of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic and from the Stakhanovite stock breeders.

We, the Buryats, prior to the Revolution, lived under the oppression of tsarism, under the yoke of the local kulaks, native officials, lamas and shamans. It was only thanks to the October Socialist Revolution that we obtained our liberation and are now enjoying such a happy meeting with the leaders of our government and our Party. In the old times we could only hear of Moscow, but we hadn’t the slightest idea of what it was really like. Today Moscow has become a reality for us. We have been living here for several days already and are looking over all the points of interest.

Our collective farm was organized in 1924, one of the first in the Buryat-Mongolian Republic. It was formed almost simultaneously with the organization of the Republic. The Republic was formed in 1923. As one of the very first collective farms, our farm had to pass through all the difficulties of collective farm construction. But we did not lose heart. We, the poor farmers and farm laborers, carried on a resolute struggle for the strengthening of our collective farm, offering ruthless resistance to the kulaks, lamas and shamans, who made every effort to disrupt our collective farm from within.
Today, there are 120 households in our collective farm. In 1935 we planted 1,500 hectares of grain, 75 per cent of the area being sown to selected wheat. Despite the drought we harvested a yield of twelve centners per hectare, whereas the average yield in the district was seven centners.

At the same time our collective farm is a pedigree stock raising collective farm. All the 425 head of large horned cattle in the collective farm are Siementhal and Yaroslavl breed. We have over 300 horses, the majority of them being of the Orlov and American breed. We have 1,500 sheep, 70 per cent of which are merinos, the rest being cross-breeds. We have 206 hogs, all of which are of the White English breed.

Our collective farm has four stock-raising farms. We haven’t a single farmer who is without his own cows. This year we received four kilograms of grain per workday. I received 36 centners of grain all told.

Molotov: Comrade Atenov, what do you think is most important in the matter of raising stock breeding in Buryat-Mongolia to a higher level? What measures should be taken?

Atenov: First, it is necessary that every collective farmer engaged in stock raising should work in a shock brigade fashion, like a Stakhanovite. Secondly, it is necessary that everyone engaged in stock raising should have from three to five years’ experience. This is the most important thing.

Molotov: You mean training people?

Stalin: In order to accumulate experience?

Atenov: Yes. Before I joined the collective farm I was illiterate. Now I am literate, I can write, and I read newspapers. In the past I didn’t know the difference between “a” and “b”.

Our collective farm fulfilled its obligation to the government fully and ahead of schedule.

I am the son of a poor peasant. I was left an orphan at the age of seven. Now I am a prosperous and cultured man on our collective farm. I have four children, and I think I shall give them every possibility of completing their education.

Molotov: Should you happen to have more children, they will also have the opportunity to complete their education.

Atenov: I have been manager of the stud farm since 1932. At first, we had 12 mares and two stallions. Now we have 146 horses—84 thoroughbreds, and the rest cross-breeds and of an improved breed.

The race horses that I raised carried off the first prizes and took first place in the Regional and Republic races.

I pledge to obtain 50 colts from the fifty mares that are now in foal and to raise them without losing a single one.

I know that in 1937 there will be an All-Union Agricultural Exposition in Moscow. I intend to bring my race horses to this exposition, and I hope that they will not take the last place either.

Voroshilov: A good idea!

Atenov: We know from Comrade Molotov’s report that the Japanese imperialists are preparing to attack the Soviet Union. If that should happen, we will be able to show them the proper resistance. Every one of our collective farms will be a fortress of defense.

During the last two to three years my collective farm gave 32 of the very best horses to the Red Army, and we undertake to give even more and better horses in 1936.

Long live our beloved and great leader, Comrade Stalin!

Speech by Babu Bolotov

Manager of the stud farm in the Voroshilov Collective Farm in the Aga District

Our collective farmers of the Voroshilov Artel in the Aga District instructed me to convey hearty collective farm greetings to Comrade Stalin and to all the leaders of the Party and the government. I convey special greetings to Comrade
we scrub recently we living,

A shock collective

in my

in the interior of our district, to a distance of 250 kilometers from our former location. Our collective farm is the largest in the Aga District, and probably in the whole Republic, having 229 households and 12,500 head of all kinds of domestic animals. There are 55 head to each collective household or 11 head for each person in the collective farm.

The 1935 state plan for stock raising has been overfulfilled by our collective farm, with regard to every variety of cattle. In the past, stock raising among the nomad Buryats was extremely primitive; but today we are beginning to raise our livestock in an efficient and orderly manner: we store up fodder, we build warm and heated barns for our stock, and take good care of our animals. The collective farm has 2,518 head of cattle for the individual use of our collective farmers. Each collective farmer has at least two cows; the collective farm shock workers have 50 and more head of cattle each.

It was only in 1932 that we began to sow grain. We now get a yield of seven to ten centners per hectare.

We have shown great progress in the matter of cultural living, particularly when we consider the fact that until quite recently we kept wandering from place to place. We now have a bathhouse, every brigade has a Red Corner, we have samovars and phonographs; our boys and girls have bicycles; we scrub our floors, wash our dishes, and so forth. Formerly we used to sit on the floor, or simply on the bare ground, but now we sit on chairs and eat at tables. There is a radio in our farm and even a telephone, by which we are connected with the district center. We experience no shortage of anything now, we live a well-to-do life.

I want to say a few words about myself. I am a son of a poor peasant; I was born in 1908. I joined the collective farm in 1931 and learned to read and write. I now read newspapers in the Buryat-Mongolian language, such papers as Unen (Truth), Khamtyn Ash (Collective Farm Life), and others.

I have been working on the stud farm since 1933. When I first began, we had 709 horses, now we have 1,041 horses.

We collective farmers also take part in strengthening the forces of our workers’ and peasants’ Red Army. Last year we presented 60 fine horses to the Red Army, and now we are raising even finer horses.

We owe all these successes to our government, to our Party and above all to our dear leader, Comrade Stalin. We achieved these successes under the direct guidance of the East-Siberian Territorial Committee of the Party and its secretary, Comrade Razumov. We achieved these successes under the leadership of the Regional Committee of our Party and its Secretary, Comrade Yerbanov.

We realize that these successes which we have won are not yet sufficient; we shall not rest on these achievements and we pledge to Comrades Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov that we shall increase these accomplishments several times over and achieve much greater success in the nearest future.

We do not for a moment forget our frontier position, and in the event of an attack by the Japanese against the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, we shall fight without sparing our strength. We shall turn our collective farm into an impregnable fortress of defense against which the Japanese imperialists will dash their heads.

Once again, from the depths of my heart, I greet Comrade Stalin and the leaders of the Party and government. I
thank Comrade Stalin and the whole Party for the Stalinist Model Rules and for the happy, cultured and prosperous life of the collective farmers.

Long live our beloved Comrade Stalin! We wish him health and long life! (Applause.)

Long live Comrade Voroshilov and all the leaders of the Party! (Tumultuous applause.)

Speech by Khotsa Namsarayev

Author

To you, Joseph Stalin, the great architect of the happy and joyous life of millions, a life as bright as the Transbaikal sun, I address my words of greeting.

It is difficult for me now to express in words the joy that I feel at the realization of my dream of seeing you and addressing you heartfelt words. It is just as difficult as it is difficult to mirror in literature the socialist life which is overflowing with joy.

Buryat-Mongolian Soviet literature, which I represent in our collective farm delegation, is very young, having come to life only after the victory of the great proletarian revolution. It is a child of the October Socialist Revolution.

Despite the fact that it has existed for only 15 years, our literature has produced from among the people scores of writers for the great cause of the socialist transformation of the consciousness of the masses and for raising their cultural level. I am one of them.

In my childhood and in all the days of my youth, right up to the October of 1917, I knew nothing of real literature. I had no conception of it. The only thing I knew, and the thing that really captivated me, were the legends of the rhapsodists. Nor is it only I who have had such a pre-literary biography. All my comrades-in-arms in the field of Buryat-Mongolian literature came over to literature with a similar stock of knowledge. And that is why we writers—children of the Soviet epoch—date our creative work from October, 1917, just as the annals of our literature begin in 1917.

In the name of all the authors of Buryat-Mongolia, I report to you, dear Comrade Stalin, that in pursuance of your wise indication of the role of writers as the engineers of human souls, we are introducing into our literature, under the guidance and with the assistance of our Party organizations, all literary forms and styles, from verse to the novel and play.

Our creative work is penetrating the minds of our readers ever more rapidly and is evoking in them an immense interest in and love for literature. Our Soviet literature has completely ousted the church literature of the lamas.

Classical Russian works and the works of Soviet authors have been and are being translated into the Buryat-Mongolian language. We already have translations of some of the writings of Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov, the great master of proletarian literature—Maxim Gorky—Frunmanov, Sholokhov, Mayakovskiy, Kirsanov and other writers. We have translated and are translating the immortal works of the great Russian poet, Pushkin, in connection with the preparations for the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of his death. Thus, after a hundred years, we are putting into life the poet's dreams of bringing his works to the "Tungus and the friend of the steppes, the Kalmyk", who at the time of the poet were a wild, roaming people.

Such are the achievements of our literature, but they are still exceedingly small compared with the great tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan.

Long live the great engineer of human souls, Comrade Stalin! (Applause.)

Long live Comrades Molotov, Voroshilov and Kalinin! (Applause.)
TO THE GREAT STALIN

All conquering
Stalin
who art harder than steel!

Thou art taller
than the tallest
mountain ridge of Sayan;

Thou art more transparent
and clearer
than the bright waters of Baikal,
that carry a song of thee.

Our region
rushes forward
on wings of victory.

Thy teaching
has become the flaming heart of peoples.

Once
the sound of tambourine and drum
echoed in the wild steppe

The flowing vestments of lamas
and the robes of the shamans
fluttered in the wind as they carried
distress to our poor.

Now
Waves of grain
surge over our fields.
and Stalin, that freed Buryat-Mongolia from its age-long oppression, and gave it the opportunity of forming its own Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The history of the Buryat-Mongolian people is replete with pages of horror, written in blood. We have many instances when the Buryat-Mongolians sent their representatives to the tsarist officials, to the generals and to the Tsar himself in search of justice and protection. Great sums of the people’s money were collected for such purposes, petitions and supplications written. But all these pleas were left unanswered.

However, there was one case when a Buryat-Mongolian delegation was accorded the “honor” of receiving a reply. In 1904, the Tsar’s Minister of War, General Kuropatkin, was passing through Chita on his way to the Far East. The Buryat-Mongolians had sent their delegation to him with complaints against the tyranny of the local authorities. General Kuropatkin bestowed the “honor” of a reception upon the delegation and gave the following reply to their complaints:

“Bear in mind, that should your people be disorderly, you will be the ones to answer. If, however, your people should get it into their minds, which God forbid, to take any sort of liberties, to disobey the orders of the Tsar, let it be known to you that you will immediately be wiped off the face of the earth. Not a trace will be left of you. Take a good look around, see how many Russian troops there are here, and you can get hundreds of thousands of them. You will be beaten down and exterminated in the twinkling of an eye. You dare not demand anything. All you may do is beg for favors.”

Such was the reply of the tsarist general to the supplication of the Buryat-Mongolian people.

This, however, was nothing new to the Buryat-Mongolians. As far back as 1674, another tsarist governor also threatened to wipe the Buryat-Mongolian people off the face of the earth. The governor’s order read:

“Many men with firearms shall be sent into the villages; you, your women and children, and all the village inhabitants are to be put to death, and not you alone, but also your cattle; your tents shall be plundered and destroyed by fire ruthlessly; no one shall be captured nor shall ransom be accepted, and those of your brethren who are captured shall be hanged and put to death.”

This happened two hundred and thirty years prior to General Kuropatkin’s declaration. What, I ask, is the difference between that governor and General Kuropatkin? None whatever! Only that in the time of Kuropatkin our conditions had become much worse. This can be seen from Kuropatkin’s answer.

Voroshilov: Only that Kuropatkin expressed his thoughts more clearly. (Laughter.)

Yerbanov: Yes, also that this is written in the Slavonic language, it belongs to the more or less distant past. But we also have a more recent document.

Stalin: Who was it that answered two hundred years ago?

Yerbanov: It was the governor of the Yenissei jail.

Stalin: Something like a district police official?

Yerbanov: The institution of district police officials was as yet unknown in those days, this was a governor.

Voroshilov: And then the governors were transformed into district police officials. (Laughter.)

Yerbanov: We have a still more recent document. In 1919, the Buryat-Mongolian People’s Duma, headed by the Buryat-Mongolian nationalist intelligentsia, petitioned Kolchak to sanction the district self-governing national bodies which had been formed at that time. The answer to this petition was very laconic. On the petition Kolchak’s Minister of the Interior wrote: “They ought to be lashed.”

We all remember the horrible and bloody days of tsarism, of the Kolchakist and Semyonovite bands. Matters did not rest with mere lashings; hundreds of families and thousands of people were shot down.
Molotov: Comrade Yerbanov, were these answers of the officials widely known to the Buryat-Mongolian masses?

Yerbanov: It was only in recent times that some of the documents were made public; they are still unknown to the broad masses.

Molotov: And how was it before the Revolution?

Yerbanov: At that time they were not known at all.

Molotov: In other words, the deeds of those gentlemen were well known, but, unfortunately, the masses knew very little of what the tsarist oppressors were wont to blurt out.

Yerbanov: Quite true. Then came the year 1920. Our glorious Red Army freed Siberia from the Kolchakists, the Semyonovites, and from Japanese intervention. For the Buryat-Mongolian people a new historical period set in, the period of a free and happy life. The Buryat-Mongolian people were faced with the question of forming a national administrative unit, in the form of an autonomous region. I remember that happy and momentous time in December, 1920, when I was sent to Moscow, to Comrade Stalin, about the question of forming a Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Region. I was given a very friendly reception by Comrade Stalin, I told Comrade Stalin about the hopes and expectations of the Buryat-Mongolian people concerning the possibility of setting up their own national autonomous region, and I reported at the same time that there was a feeling among the local Communists against the idea of autonomy. They claimed that the Buryat-Mongolians would inevitably be assimilated, that the Buryat-Mongolians had no common territory, that they were an extremely uncivilized people and would be unable to administer an autonomy of their own.

When I reported all this to Comrade Stalin, he severely criticized such arguments, saying that they were nonsensical, that they were the result of the tsarist colonial policy, that they were the machinations of class enemies.

The working class had won for itself a government of Soviets, Comrade Stalin said, precisely in order to give all the peoples of Russia complete freedom and to afford them the opportunity of organizing their own autonomous republics and regions. Comrade Stalin emphasized that only under this condition would a real cultural and economic upsurge of all the peoples set in. (Applause. Shouts of “Long live Stalin!”)

This salient directive of Comrade Stalin was fully carried into effect by us locally, and in 1921 the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Region was formed within the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

When the Far Eastern Republic was being dissolved in 1922, and the question of uniting two autonomous regions came up, this question, too, was brought before Comrade Stalin. Again Comrade Stalin gave a categorical directive about the necessity of uniting the autonomous regions and forming an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. At the end of July, 1923, we received Comrade Stalin’s historic telegram stating that the two autonomous regions were being united (there was another autonomous region at that time in the Far Eastern Republic), that the Baikal Province was being joined to us and that as from August First full power would be transferred to the Buryat-Mongolian Revolutionary Committee.

It is from this historic moment that we reckon the beginning of the formation of our Republic. Only thirteen years have passed since then, and during this short period Buryat-Mongolia has achieved the greatest successes under the leadership of our Party, and with the constant care and aid rendered us on the part of Comrade Stalin.

Buryat-Mongolia has been completely transformed. Whereas in the past, delegations from the Buryat-Mongolians, who had been conquered and enslaved by tsarism, would go to Moscow with complaints and supplications for help in their hard life and against the tyranny of the local authorities, now, we,
the representatives of the Buryat-Mongolian people, liberated by the October Socialist Revolution, have come here not with supplications or complaints, but to tell of our free and happy life, bearing with us a written report for our great teacher and leader, Comrade Stalin.

Our economy and our culture are rising to a higher level. The collective farms now comprise 82 per cent of the peasant households. We have 28 machine and tractor stations with about 1,000 machines. The socialist sector of our agriculture includes 93.5 per cent of the sown area, and 92 per cent of the livestock. We have shown considerable success in the cultivation of our fields. I shall not attempt to cite detailed figures here; they are known to all. I shall simply mention that our best collective farmers earned the honor of being present at the All-Union Conference of the Stakhanovite Tractor Drivers and that five of them—B. G. Banzarov, N. M. Ivanov, K. F. Ivanov, E. L. Petrov and S. A. Antonov—were awarded a high order by the government, the "Badge of Honor".

Our basic industry, as you well know, is stock raising. Since 1934 it has been improving steadily. According to the Stalinist New Model Rules, at Comrade Stalin's suggestion, the stock raising sections in the Eastern districts of our Republic have been classed in the fourth group, which allows collective farm families to own privately as many as 10 horses, 8-10 cows and 100-150 goats and sheep. Some of our individual collective farmers, as has already been pointed out here by my comrades, own as many as 70 head of various kinds of livestock.

Our collective farmers call the Stalinist New Model Rules of the Agricultural Artel the "Golden Rules", and this is indeed so, because the Stalinist Model Rules make the life of the collective farmers a happy, cultured and prosperous one.

The decision of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, adopted on February 5, 1934, upon the initiative of Comrade Stalin, played a very important role in the matter of improving stock raising. This decision grants special privileges to the Eastern districts of Buryat-Mongolia, releasing them from state grain deliveries and deliveries of milk, meat and wool.

The last two years marked for us a great change for the better in the matter of stock raising. Thanks to the attention and aid about which I have already spoken, the increase in livestock in 1934 was as follows: 12.1 per cent in large horned cattle, 24.5 per cent in sheep and goats, 62.3 per cent in hogs. But the number of horses decreased by 1.5 per cent. If we take into consideration the number of horses we sold in the Far-Eastern Territory and beyond the borders of our Republic, then there was no decrease.

According to preliminary figures of the January census we have fulfilled the 1935 plan for stock raising as follows: 104.4 per cent for large horned cattle, and 117.1 per cent for sheep and goats. These are our two most important and principal kinds of livestock. In 1935 in comparison with 1934 there was an increase of 3.5 per cent in horses, 17.5 per cent in large horned cattle, 25 per cent in sheep, 33.5 per cent in goats and 27 per cent in hogs.

We have particularly good indices in the matter of raising young stock in the socialized herds. Here the state plan has been overfulfilled as follows: calves by 18 per cent, lambs and kids by 59 per cent, suckling pigs by 20 per cent, and colts by 4 per cent. We consider this a very important positive factor, because it is precisely the preserving and raising of the young that creates a real base for a further increase in livestock.

It is also interesting to note that we have a considerable number of large stock raising collective farms with from 5,000 to 12,000-13,000 head of livestock. True, most of the livestock are sheep and goats. Of the 37 collective farms in
the Aginsky District, for instance, there are 14 farms owning from 5,000 to 12,500 head of the livestock. The Voroshilov Artel in the same district has a total of 10,084 head of socialized livestock, of which there are 1,041 horses, 1,701 head of large horned cattle, 7,033 sheep and goats, 297 camels. It has 406 hectares of land under cultivation, and 130 households. The Markizov Artel has 11,000 head of livestock of which there are 1,442 horses, 2,567 head of large horned cattle and 6,337 sheep and goats. It has 450 hectares of land under cultivation, and it consists of 200 households. The Stalin Artel in the Selenga District has 8,600 head of livestock of which there are 423 horses, 3,169 head of large horned cattle and 4,853 sheep and goats. It has 1,800 hectares of land under cultivation, and it consists of 220 households.

We have already solved the main problem of stock raising—the problem of the transition from a nomadic to a settled mode of living. We consider that in the main all of our stock raising enterprises are firmly settled. There is no room now for the former nomadic life. On the expanses where cattle formerly wandered freely and where there were only scattered felt tents, we now have thousands of newly built so-called central homesteads of the collective farms, and their departments—new collective farm settlements, I would say. The old felt tents have been replaced by real, newly-constructed houses for our collective farmers, schools, clubrooms, hospitals, heated barns and many other buildings. The age-long dream of our people has been fully realized: they have been given land and rich pastures in perpetual tenure. For instance, the Stalin Collective Farm in the Selenga District with its 220 households received 23,000 hectares of land. This is the same collective farm that you visited, Comrade Voroshilov.

Voroshilov: Is that the former commune?

Yerbanov: Yes, that is the former commune; it is now an agricultural artel.

This collective farm has grown tremendously since your visit, Comrade Voroshilov. Generally, the life of the collective farmers has changed radically.

This collective farm has a middle school with a ten-year term, a clinic, a steam-power flour mill, a cheese factory, a children’s sanatorium, a day nursery and a maternity hospital.

Stalin: So it has a ten-year school?

Yerbanov: Yes, a ten-year school.

Stalin: In what language are the subjects being taught?

Yerbanov: Up to the fifth grade all subjects are taught in the native Buryat-Mongolian tongue. Russian is taken up from the second grade on. Beginning with the sixth grade, classes are taught in the Russian language and Buryat-Mongolian is studied as a separate subject. This is because it is still difficult to arrange all the teaching in the native tongue.

Stalin: Are there any Buryat-Mongolian teachers?

Yerbanov: Yes, there are.

If you took a trip now over our wide and formerly barren steppes, you would see new collective farm homes, schools, hospitals, stockyards and the like; in a word, you would see a new populated center, which I have already called a collective farm settlement. The former Buryat-Mongolian “centers”, the monasteries, have in many places been turned into cultural centers: schools, clubrooms, hospitals.

Voroshilov: How many monasteries were there formerly?

Yerbanov: Before the Revolution there were 44 monasteries. Now, six of them have been officially closed; twelve have dissolved of their own accord, that is, the lamas fled to other monasteries, and twenty-six still remain.

Voroshilov: And how many lamas were there before?

Yerbanov: Prior to the Revolution, there were 14,000 including the khovunrakas—lamaist pupils. Now, in all the 26 monasteries, there are no more than 900 persons left, among whom there is not a single young person. Since 1925, all the
young people have been attending Soviet schools, they no longer attend the monasteries. This is a great victory over lamaism.

I want to say a few words about our agricultural artels, which comprise 97.7 per cent of our collective farms while the Labor Associations for Haying and the Labor Associations for the Cultivation of the Soil make up only 2.3 per cent.

The artel form of collective farming in our conditions has been fully consolidated. We consider that in the matter of collectivization we have achieved not only quantitative but also qualitative improvements, inasmuch as the predominating form of our farm organization is the agricultural artel and, what is most important, these agricultural artels have been fully consolidated as has been shown by our experience, by life itself. This point of view is shared by the Territorial Committee of the Party, including Comrade Razumov.

Not only have our Buryat-Mongolian villages been reorganized but so also have our Old-Believers' settlements. Take the village of Bolshoy Kunaley, for example. The street extends for a stretch of four kilometers, and all along on both sides there are level, high sidewalks. The street is paved. Now and then, bicycle riders whizz through the street. There are about 200 bicycles in the village. The houses of the collective farmers and the tall House of Socialist Culture are flooded with bright light, supplied by the collective farm electric power station.

The demand for the best and most expensive goods is increasing. The striving for culture is growing. The film Chapaev has been showing in the collective farm for months.

The Buryat-Mongolian settlement and the Old-Believers' village have been radically transformed.

Where formerly tempestuous winds and snow storms raged, where only the incantations of lamas and shamans could be heard—combines and tractors now sound, we now see waving fields of golden rye, and million-headed herds grazing.

Voroshilov: Well, well! He is beginning to speak in poetry, so life has indeed become joyous. (Laughter.)

Yerbanov: I must confess that I really conceived these visions when I was attempting to translate Comrade Namsarayev's poem into Russian. Yes, life in Buryat-Mongolia has indeed become joyous. We have our own schools, universities, technical schools, workers' faculties, Houses of Socialist Culture, clubrooms, theaters, including the Buryat-Mongolian State Theater, radio broadcasting and receiving stations, and the like.

Stalin: Are there any Buryat-Mongolian actors?

Yerbanov: Of course there are; six of them are right here at this reception.

Before the Revolution, the Buryat-Mongolians did not have a single hospital, not a single dispensary or clinic. We now have many hospitals, dispensaries, courses for doctors' assistants, tens of thousands of day nurseries, several health resorts, sanatoriums and Houses of Rest.

Stalin: How do you fare in the matter of literacy?

Yerbanov: 70.2 per cent of our population can read and write; and among our male population, the percentage of literacy comes up to 85 per cent.

Stalin: This means, then, that the average literacy is 70.2 per cent?

Yerbanov: Yes, and among the male population—85 per cent.

Stalin: Not at all bad.

Yerbanov: Before the Revolution, only 8 per cent at the most were literate.

Andreyev: How many Buryat-Mongolian schools are there?

Yerbanov: There are 283 Buryat-Mongolian schools, of which 244 are elementary and 39 secondary schools.

Andreyev: And how many were there formerly?

Yerbanov: Formerly there were no Buryat-Mongolian
schools whatever. The tsarist government did not allow us to have national schools and to study in our native language. Formerly, there were some Russian parochial schools, clerical schools, seminars and similar institutions in the big urban centers.

Molotov: How about teachers and doctors, are you developing your own staffs?

Yerbanov: Yes.

Stalin: How many newspapers are there in the Buryat-Mongolian language?

Yerbanov: We have sixteen district newspapers, printed in Buryat-Mongolian and Russian, the text running parallel, and one regional newspaper in Buryat-Mongolian, Unen, published at the center.

Stalin: What alphabet do you use?

Yerbanov: We use both the Latinized alphabet and the old Buryat-Mongolian, we have not yet discarded the old Buryat-Mongolian.

Voroshilov: Doesn't the old Buryat-Mongolian alphabet interfere with the introduction of the new Latinized alphabet?

Yerbanov: No. We began to introduce the new alphabet only in 1931, and in 1933 we published the first textbooks for our schools. We went over to the use of the new alphabet in our school system completely during the school term of 1933-34, that is, only a little over two years since we began our present work.

Voroshilov: Is it taking root? It is easier to learn to read and write with the Latin alphabet.

Yerbanov: It is considerably easier than with the old Mongolian. Formerly, only the lamas, the native officials and the kulaks were able to read and write in the old Mongolian alphabet; the masses of toilers remained ignorant and illiterate.

During the last two to three years industry has greatly developed, especially in the working up of agricultural products.

A huge milling combine, a mechanized glass factory and a bakery have been built and are now in operation. A large meat packing and refrigerating plant is now being completed, and mechanized cheese and butter making dairies are being built. At the same time, heavy industry is also being developed. There are the "Barguzin" gold mines, and the tungsten combinat on the Djida, which has the greatest capacity of any tungsten plant in the Soviet Union. It has already produced 500 tons of metal this year; extremely rich deposits of tungsten are to be found there. The locomotive and car repair works are now being completed in the city of Ulan-Ude.

Stalin: Will it be ready soon?

Yerbanov: It will be fully completed in 1937. At present 20,000 people are working there, of whom 5,500 are being trained to man the plant; the others are engaged in construction work. Just imagine, on a place which was absolutely bare except for woods, huge structures are now being built. A number of shops are already in operation. Repair work on locomotives and cars is going ahead at full blast. This year the repair works are scheduled to turn out 300 overhauled locomotives and several thousand cars.

The great Stakhanov movement, which has spread throughout the entire Union, is embracing enterprise after enterprise, one collective farm after another. There are hundreds of thousands of Stakhanovites in every branch of the national economy. I can name some of our own Stakhanovites: Comrade Rudenko, a glass cutter in our glass factory; Comrade Prozorov, an assistant foreman in the meat packing plant; Comrade Golubev, in the meat packing and refrigerating combinat; Comrade Sergeyev in the mechanical foundry; Comrade Abiduyev in the flour milling combinat; Comrade Malev, a Krivonoissovit locomotive engineer in the Ulan-Ude depot; Comrade Vasilyeva a Stakhanovite woman typesetter in the printing plant, and many others. The best Stakhanovite, the
locomotive engineer in the Ulan-Ude depot—Comrade Kalinin—the pioneer of the Stakhanov movement in Buryat-Mongolia, has been awarded the high Order of the Red Banner of Labor. Some of the departments in our gigantic locomotive and car repair works, in the glass factory, in the flour milling combinat, and in other enterprises have gone over to Stakhanovite shifts, and now work Stakhanovite days.

Not only have our proletarian cadres grown tremendously, but so also have our cultural and executive cadres in general. Since the formation of the Republic, hundreds and thousands of our people have graduated universities in various large cities all over the Union, especially in Moscow and Leningrad. Before the Revolution, there was not a single engineer or technician in Buryat-Mongolia. There were only two Buryat-Mongolian physicians and a score or so of teachers. We now have scores of engineers and hundreds of technicians in every branch of the national economy. We have large staffs of cultural workers. Formerly, we did not have a single author, artist, or musician. We now have scores of gifted specialists in cultural work: artists, musicians, actors, authors. We have a talented self-taught artist, Comrade Sampilov, upon whom our government has bestowed the title of “People’s Artist”, and whose painting we are bringing as a gift to Comrade Stalin.

Nevertheless, we must not lie back and rest on our laurels. We still have a great many shortcomings in our practical work. We must take strict account of Comrade Molotov’s warning that it is too early to give ourselves airs and that we must not lose our heads over our successes.

Nor must we on this happy day forget the fact that we Buryat-Mongolians constitute that part of our great union which borders imperialist Japan on the East. The toiling masses of Buryat-Mongolia are quite familiar with plots and the grasping designs of the Japanese imperialists in the Far East and in neighboring Mongolia.

Allow me to cite a historical fact: In January, 1920, when a detachment of the Japanese-Semyonov bandits invaded the Transbaikal in the valley of the Tugun River, which was at that time in the throes of the partisan movement, the Japanese ordered a Buryat partisan, Damba Banzarakshieyev, to be shot. Before he was shot, Damba Banzarakshieyev exclaimed: “I am a Bolshevik, and although the Japanese are killing me now, hundreds of fighters will take my place and they will wipe out the whole pack of hangmen.”

There were only few such Banzarakshieyevs at that time; now Buryat-Mongolia possesses tens of thousands of Bolsheviks such as he, both Party and non-Party, and they will be able, together with our entire glorious Red Army and the toilers of the Soviet Union, to defend the frontiers of our fatherland, the U.S.S.R., and they will not let the Japanese imperialists “poke their pig snouts into our Soviet garden”.

In the name of all the Buryat-Mongolian toilers we declare here with a feeling of profound joy and honor that not only are we fighting for a prosperous collective farm life, for an advanced republic, but we are fighting with even greater zeal for the strengthening of the defenses of our great fatherland, the U.S.S.R. (Thunderous applause.)

Organized for the first time ten years ago on the basis of regular army units, the Buryat-Mongolian national military detachment is growing and gaining in strength, is mastering the art of military technique as an inalienable part of our glorious Red Army. The toiling masses of Buryat-Mongolia know well the heroic deeds of the Buryat-Mongolian cavalry detachments in the fight with the Chinese whiteguard generals and capitalist hirelings, during the conflict on the Chinese-Eastern Railway, in 1929.

Great are the joy and pride of our people; great is the love for our glorious Red Army and for its beloved leader, Comrade Voroshilov. Let the enemies know this and let them not
compare the old "foreign tribes", the old Buryat-Mongolians, with present day, Soviet Socialist Buryat-Mongolia.

Could there have been any talk of a fatherland and of its defense formerly, when the hangman Kuropatkin threatened to wipe the Buryat-Mongolian people off the face of the earth? Could there have been any talk of a fatherland and its defense when the tsarist rulers and officials made slaves of the Buryat-Mongolians? Clearly, there could have been no talk of that.

Allow me in the name of all the Buryat-Mongolian toilers to assure the leaders of the Party and the government, our beloved leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin, and the Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Voroshilov, that the toiling masses of Buryat-Mongolia will keep their powder dry, that we shall be able to create a strong rear for our Red Army, that we are able at any moment to rise to the defense of our great fatherland, the great Soviet Union.

We assure you, dear Joseph Vissarionovich, that the toiling masses regard their future with confidence. Our hearts are overflowing with joy and happiness. This joy, these hearty words of greetings we carry first of all to you, our wise leader and teacher, our great Stalin! (Thunderous ovation. Shouts of "Hurrah for Comrade Stalin!")

Speech by V. M. Molotov

Comrades, I greet you in your own mother tongue: Sain, Nukhud! The Buryat-Mongolian Republic is the farthest-republic of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, we must say that this republic, too, the farthest from Moscow, has been accorded the constant solicitous consideration of the Soviet government, of our Leninist Party, and, from the very formation of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic to this moment, the constant personal attention of Comrade Stalin.

We may add to this that—despite the backwardness of the Buryat-Mongolian Republic in the past—at present, due to its persistence in creating a new socialist life, to the work of its collective farms and to the development of its cultural work, the Buryat-Mongolian Republic is in the ranks of the foremost Soviet republics.

The most important thing in the economy of Buryat-Mongolia is stock raising. Within the last two or three years, after the completion of the so-called reorganizational period in the building up of the collective farms, collective farm life in Buryat-Mongolia has really begun to flourish. Where, only a short time ago, a few fortunate ones managed to get rich, collective farms began to arise, rapidly growing in strength, and, what is particularly important, stock raising of the collective farms and the collective farmers has begun to improve. This is to be seen from the fact that the 1935 state plan for stock raising in respect to horses, cattle, sheep, goats and hogs has not only been fulfilled by Buryat-Mongolia, but even over-fulfilled.

Last year Buryat-Mongolia achieved considerable success in the field of stock raising. But this is still far from sufficient.

We are witnessing only the beginning of the upsurge. Now we must ensure an increase in stock raising of such proportions as Buryat-Mongolia has never yet witnessed, such as she could never have dreamed of before.

To accomplish this, we must concentrate on the solution of the most urgent practical tasks in this field. We must considerably improve our veterinary work and launch an extensive campaign against all kinds of epizootic diseases among the cattle on our state and collective farms. We must improve the quality of the breed, and assure a greater fecundity. Further, it is necessary to create more favorable conditions for the working up of the products derived from livestock, and to furnish the necessary machinery and equipment especially to the collective and state farms.

The problem of improving our stock raising occupies the
center of attention of the Soviet government. It is the most backward branch of our agricultural activity. Although the need for hides, wool, meat and other products of stock raising is extremely great in our country, it is as yet very insufficiently satisfied. It is our duty to support with all our forces the efforts of the foremost collective farmers and the workers on the stock raising state farms in the matter of improving stock raising, in the matter of raising the productivity of the stock, in the matter of creating such conditions for stock raising in our country as would in the very near future fully ensure the satisfaction of the urgent needs of the population for wool, hides and similar products.

Representatives of the best collective and state farms of Buryat-Mongolia have addressed us here, have told us of a number of admirable achievements in their work on the stud farms and cattle ranches of the state and collective farms, which are waging a successful fight for the quickest increase of the herds of cows, sheep, goats and hogs.

We greet, comrades, your achievements in bringing stock raising up to a high level, and we hope that you will acquit yourselves with honor of the further and still greater tasks in the matter of stock raising.

Not only in the field of agriculture, but in industry as well, Buryat-Mongolia has made tremendous strides ahead. Already, a number of large industrial enterprises have made their appearance in your republic, such as the giant locomotive and railroad car repair works, which is now in the process of completion.

The population of Buryat-Mongolia is growing, and its capital, Ulan-Ude, is rapidly coming to the fore. During some fifteen years the population of that city has grown from 18,000 to 100,000 inhabitants.

The development of cultural construction in Buryat-Mongolia is particularly gratifying. Schools are springing up rapidly, and the number of Buryat-Mongols who are literate has increased at least tenfold since the Revolution. The Buryat-Mongolian press has grown, newspapers are published, textbooks printed. Whereas before the Revolution there was not a single hospital in Buryat-Mongolia, now there are scores of them. Sanatoriums, rest homes, health resorts and several thousand day nurseries have made their appearance.

Not the last place by far in the cultural and political development of Buryat-Mongolia is occupied by the formation of the Buryat-Mongolian military unit, which is a component part of our workers’ and peasants’ Red Army. Not so very long ago there was only one Buryat-Mongolian Squadron. At present this Squadron has been transformed into a Regiment, which, according to Comrade Voroshilov’s testimony, stands on a high level.

Voroshilov: Quite right!

Molotov: I may add upon the authority of Comrade Voroshilov that it won’t be long before this Regiment will become a Buryat-Mongolian Brigade.

We hope that the Buryat-Mongolian Regiment, and even more so the future Buryat-Mongolian Brigade, as well as the other national units of our workers’ and peasants’ Red Army, will fulfil with honor the task which the Soviet Union will set it.

I stress the importance of this military unit in connection with all the Soviet construction which is now going on in Buryat-Mongolia. On a par with other national units of the workers’ and peasants’ Red Army, the Buryat-Mongolian military unit will contribute its part towards developing new national cadres, towards raising Soviet culture, towards the national flourishing of Soviet Buryat-Mongolia. A guarantee of the further rapid economic and cultural growth of Buryat-Mongolia is the growth of the cadres of its national Soviet intelligentsia. This national Soviet intelligentsia will yet have its say in the matter of the regeneration of the Buryat-Mongolian people as one of the glorious parts of the great Soviet Union.
A tremendous distance—one might say an abyss—lies between the quite recent past of the Buryat-Mongolian people and the present period, when the Soviet banner was raised over Buryat-Mongolia.

Much has been said here of Buryat-Mongolia’s difficult past, with its tsarist oppressors and capitalist robbery, with its lamas and shamans. We heard here a farm laborer’s daughter who in the past had drunk the cup of sorrow to the bitter end—Comrade Arzhutova, now a collective farm member. Recalling her past, she said: “Formerly, a woman was valued less than cattle. Women were bought and sold. This life, devoid of all rights, is left far behind...” What can be added to these bitter words?

Comrade Yerbanov cited here glaring examples of how the tsarist government treated the Buryat-Mongolian people. Beginning with the first tsarist colonizers and ending with the General Kuropatkins and their like, the tsarist autocracy, the landlords and the numerous pack of tsarist officials, regarded the Buryat-Mongolians as slaves, as cattle. The tsar’s government especially valued those of its proteges who acted as hangman of the Buryat-Mongolian people, and it exerted every effort to saddle such hangmen upon the conquered borderlands. Comrade Yerbanov was right when he said that the history of the Buryat-Mongolian people is replete with pages of horror.

In the matter of oppressing the Buryat-Mongolian people, the wealthy cattlemen, the merchants and big officials from among their own people played a not inconsiderable part. The deserved end to this fraternity came at the time when the Buryat-Mongolian toilers put a revolutionary end to it, when they happily did away with the numerous caste of lamas who, like leeches, sucked the blood of the Buryat-Mongolian people. The toilers of Buryat-Mongolia have succeeded in reaching the new road, the road to a happy life, only because they have done away with their reactionary lamas, in the same manner as the Russian revolutionary workers and peasants have done away with their own caste of priests.

The history of tsarism and its inglorious end has shown that no power of landlords and capitalists can continue to hold the toilers under its yoke when the revolutionary working class, organized in a Bolshevik manner, becomes the leader of the masses of the people. The workers and peasants of Russia have thrown off the hangmen of tsarism and the oppression of capital because they understood their task of emancipation and formed a strong fraternal union with the toilers of other nationalities of Russia in the struggle for Soviet power, for the building of socialism in our country.

Together with the Buryat-Mongolians and with all the other peoples of our country, in the brotherly union of toilers of all nations, the Russian proletariat found a true support in the struggle for a happy life for the peoples of the entire Soviet Union.

The brotherhood of nations of our country is based on the common interest of the toilers in their struggle against the yoke of tsarism, against the exploitation of capital and the landlords. We are fortunate that we live in a country which gave birth to a revolutionary working class, to the great Party of Lenin, to the October Revolution; we are fortunate that we are working under the direct guidance of the great continuer of the cause of Lenin, Comrade Stalin.

We have achieved no few successes, but the brotherly relations of the peoples of the Soviet Union ensure us of further and still greater successes and victories. There is no limit to the achievements of peoples who march forward as one, under the banner of Communism.

No trials will daunt the peoples of the Soviet Union, who have been freed from tsarist oppression, freed from capitalist exploitation, who are building collective farms and socialist industry, and making the Soviet frontiers impregnable.

With the words: “Long live the toilers of Buryat-Mongolia!” I shall conclude my speech: “Buryat-Mongolyn aradzon
Having heard the report of the Buryat-Mongolian comrades on their achievements and victories in the field of cultural and economic construction, on their fight for the cause of socialism, the Presidium of this conference deems it necessary to suggest to the higher government bodies that the best representatives of Buryat-Mongolia be given the highest award of the Soviet Union.

In addition, allow me, comrades, to present you with these gifts from the government—watches, and phonographs and records—and to announce that each collective farm represented here will be presented with a truck. (Tumultuous applause. Shouts of "Hurrah!!")

Although, as you yourselves have seen, I might have attempted to translate my speech into the Buryat-Mongolian language myself, I do not doubt that Comrade Yerbanov will do it better than I, and I give him the floor.
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