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PRESIDENT M. KALININ

1945

63



1s.

WHY WE WIN

WHY WE WIN

The Strength of the Soviet State



by

MIKHAIL I. KALININ

**Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the U.S.S.R.**



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1945

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PRESIDENT MIKHAIL I. KALININ (BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE)

MIKHAIL IVANOVICH KALININ is Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

He was born in 1875 in the village of Verkhnyaya Troitsa, not far from Moscow. His parents were peasants. At the age of fourteen he went to work in St. Petersburg. He became an apprentice at the "Old Arsenal" Plant in 1893, simultaneously attending evening school. In 1896, while working at the Putilov Works, he became one of the most active members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which had been formed by Lenin. In 1898, he joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. For his revolutionary activities he was several times arrested and deported.

On returning to St. Petersburg in 1905, Kalinin again was employed at the Putilov Works and took an active part in the Revolution of that year. From 1908 to 1910 he carried on underground Bolshevik work in Moscow. From 1911 to 1917 he was back in St. Petersburg and on the staff of the Bolshevik newspaper PRAVDA, keeping in touch with both Lenin and Stalin.

In the days of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Kalinin was one of the most active leaders. In 1919 he was elected to the Central Committee of the Party. In March, 1919, on Lenin's recommendation, he was elected Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, at that time the supreme governing body of Russia. Thus he in fact became President of the Soviet Republic.

During the Civil War Kalinin frequently visited the fronts. For his outstanding work he was twice awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. Since 1926 he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

On the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, Kalinin was elected Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Following the adoption of the Stalin Constitution, he was elected Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In November, 1935, he was awarded the Order of Lenin for his distinguished services in founding and strengthening the first Socialist State of workers and peasants.



President Kalinin at breakfast with his family.

WHY WE WIN

THE European war unleashed by fascist Germany very soon developed into a second World War, into which the Soviet Union was also drawn by the sudden attack of the Hitlerite aggressors. The whole strength of the blow of the war machines of Germany and her satellites—Rumania, Hungary and Finland—fell on the U.S.S.R. To many, not only in the camp of our enemies, but also among our friends, it seemed that Russia would not withstand the assault of the power of the fascist arms, that the war in the East would last six months at the most, or even less.

At the beginning of the war, the fascist bosses in their propaganda boosted and praised the German army in every way, its technical level, the fighting qualities of its soldiers and officers, the strategy and tactics of fascist generalship. They strove to convince the whole world of the invincibility of the German army and of its ability to win a "lightning" war.

The Red Army, however, proved capable not only of halting the attack of the German-fascist hordes, but also of dealing them a series of heavy blows one after the other—at Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, on the Dnieper and beyond—blows under which the former vanity and self-assurance of the Germans have been considerably cowed. Now, however much the fascist High Command excels itself in explaining its failures by "climatic factors," a desire to "shorten the front line," the requirements of "elastic defence"—it is unwillingly and reluctantly forced to recognise the strength of the Soviet Union and the power of the Red Army.

The victories won by our soldiers over the German-fascist armies met with a wide response all over the world, which was not quite prepared for a correct estimation of the fighting successes of the Red Army. Since the beginning of the war the foreign press has never ceased to inquire: Wherein consists the strength of the Soviet Union? But no really comprehensive answer has been given to this question. No serious work has as yet appeared on this subject. The majority of foreign writers, in dealing with this question, confine themselves to certain isolated considerations or assumptions. Sometimes these assumptions are of an original character; sometimes they are attempts subjectively to explain our successes by the simple numerical superiority of our troops or by the historical traditions of steadfast endurance of the

Russian soldier ; while sometimes they boil down to a general statement that the material and manpower resources of the U.S.S.R. are inexhaustible.

Of course, to sum up the strength of one country in relation to another, especially its military strength, in terms of one of these factors, means to limit the understanding of the problem and not to place it in its correct light. But how can one properly determine the strength of a whole country or state, in this case of the Soviet Union ? It seems to me that this can only be done in representing the strength of the state in the entirety of all its material and spiritual values, its natural resources, economic development, political structure and state of morale, all of which determine the spiritual face of its people.

Let us in the first place consider the vastness of our country. The Soviet Union is the largest country in the world with a continuous territory. From north to south the U.S.S.R. stretches over more than 2,800 miles and from west to east over 6,900 miles. The whole area of the U.S.S.R. amounts to over 8,000,000 square miles, or one-sixth of the inhabitable dry surface of the earth. In terms of population, the U.S.S.R. occupies the third place in the world after China and India. This alone indicates the enormous possibilities of our country.

Within the boundaries of the Soviet Union there are tremendous and varied supplies of all kinds of mineral wealth. Even the north of our country, unexplored under Tsarism, to-day has revealed its enormous mineral wealth thanks to the many surveys by Soviet scientists. The Kola Peninsula, the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, Petchora, Nordvic, Norilsk, the Tungus basin, Verkhoyansk, Kolima, are supplying us with ever increasing quantities of nickel, tin, apatite, nepheline, iron, coal, oil, fluor-spar, graphite, mica, salt and gold.

The central zone of Russia also yields all kinds of minerals : Boxite, cement and slate from the Leningrad region, peat from the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ivanovo and Kalinin regions ; cement, iron ore and coal, from the Moscow basin ; rich deposits of phosphorous and iron in the Kursk region.

The further east one goes into our country, the richer and more abundant is the bosom of the earth. Oil from Syzran and Ishimbai, boxite from Bashkiria, salt from Elton and

Baskuntchak ; the Urals with their inexhaustible resources of ore, coal, rich fields of oil, deposits of nickel, copper, potash, asbestos, platinum, precious stones ; the riches of Kazakhstan with its coal, gold, lead, wolfram, molibdenum, and mercury mines ; Western and Eastern Siberia with their abundant resources of coal, ore and gold. And, finally, the riches of Yakutia, the Far East, Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

The resources of the south of the Soviet Union are well known : The coal of the Donetz basin, the iron ore of Krivoirog, the manganese of Nikopol. Georgia is famous for its Chiatursk manganese, Tkvarcheli and Tkvibuli coal ; Armenia for its Zangezour copper ; and Baku, Grozny, Maikop have a world reputation as centres of the oil industry. Our Central Asiatic republics are rich in coal, oil, slate, cement, lead, phosphorus, mercury, antimony, copper and other kinds of useful minerals.

Under the Soviet regime, ore and mineral deposits are being prospected and mined over vast stretches of the country. But of course this represents only an insignificant portion of the riches of our territory.

Parts of the Soviet Union differ in their climatic conditions, and accordingly we have a great variety of fauna and flora. The vast expanses of the Far North, with very scanty vegetation, are succeeded by extensive wooded massifs, with forests of coniferous and deciduous trees, which supply valuable building and industrial materials. Thence stretch the vast so-called forest steppes and the fertile soil of the strips of steppe coasting the Black and Caspian Seas, the Kuban, the Don area and Western Siberia. The spreading fields of the collective farms in that area yield millions of bushels of wheat and other grain and technical crops. The broad central zone is the main producer of vegetables and has a large number of inhabitants with long experience of production.

At the most southern part of our country there are sub-tropical zones, where tea plantations and citrus groves planted under the Soviet Government are being cultivated. Here also there grow trees which are valuable for production ; the box tree, bamboo and others. The dry stretches of our Central Asiatic republics—Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan—owing to a wide system of irrigation, now produce cotton, which supplies our entire textile industry. Even the desert zone is increasingly receding under the attack of our Soviet manhood, and as a result of irrigation is yielding valuable agricultural products.

The animal world of our country is just as rich and varied. Almost all known species in the world, both of wild and domestic creatures, sea animals and fish, are represented here.

The variety of climatic conditions alone, and the corresponding variety of branches of economic life in one country, broaden man's horizon. The multitude of nationalities represented by our population (193 million inhabitants) increases the common bonds between the various peoples and their mutual understanding. And I would say that such a brotherly living together of peoples of diverse nationalities is itself enough to deal a blow at the so-called racial theory of fascism.

The historical past of Russia was never noted for stagnation. Already in its infancy it fell to the Russian state to fight numerous wars for its existence and independence, as well as for the acquisition of this or that adjacent territory securing its frontiers. The severity of nature developed in our people a spirit of enterprise, the capacity to fight, and also love for their native land.

Of course, the vastness of the territory, the size of the population, the riches in the bowels of the earth and of vegetation—all these do not yet constitute the strength of a country in the full sense of the term, but only its potentialities. We know a number of large countries which possess great territory and a numerous population, but are weak in comparison with neighbours possessing smaller populations and lesser potentialities. Not so long ago, Tsarist Russia suffered a military defeat at the hands of Japan, who enjoys far less real or potential resources. But the factors above referred to are nevertheless the indispensable prerequisites for the development of the power of a country, because a small country with a limited territory and population is also limited in its possibilities.

The Soviet State

One of the main factors which determines the strength of our country is its Soviet Socialist structure, that is, the form of state power for which our people has fought and which it now calls its own. In one of his works* Marx said that theory becomes a material force as soon as it takes possession of the masses. And indeed the essence of Soviet power—the idea which it has translated into life and which has become the property of our people—is an unconquerable force which has sustained the most difficult trials in a struggle unexampled in history.

*" Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law."

The Soviet state was founded as a result of the victory of the working class and the peasantry over the exploiting classes. It grew and consolidated itself in the struggle for the Socialist transformation of our country. Prior to the passing of power into the hands of the Soviets, Russia was standing on the brink of catastrophe. The ruling classes—the capitalists, landlords, and their lackeys, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries—were not in a position to save Russia from complete economic collapse and ruin. Only our Bolshevik Party, the advance guard of the working class, found the right way out of the extremely difficult position which had been created.

The bold call of Lenin and of Comrade Stalin to the workers and toiling peasants to take Russia's fate into their own hands found a warm response in the popular masses. The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates became the sole and supreme power in the country.

Lenin wrote of the Soviets: "What has been won by the Russian revolution is inalienable. No power on earth can deprive us of that, any more than any power on earth can deprive us of what the Soviet state has already created. This is a world-historic victory. For hundreds of years states have been built according to the bourgeois model, and for the first time a non-bourgeois form of state has been discovered. Our apparatus may be a bad one, but it is said that the first steam engine to be invented was also a bad one, and it is not even known whether it worked or not. That is not the point; the point is that it was invented. Even assuming that the form of the first steam engine was unsuitable, the point is that we now have steam engines. Even if our state apparatus is very bad, it has been created, the great historical invention has been made, a proletarian type of state has been created."*

The road of Soviet rule is the road of struggle for the people's interests. Its achievements in this direction are common knowledge. To expound the essence of Soviet rule and the superiority of its forms of government over all other existing forms of government would demand a tremendous work. Therefore, I will only deal with two, from my point of view the most essential, aspects: The complete democracy of the Soviet state and the full equality existing between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

*" Selected Works." (Lawrence and Wishart, 1938.) Volume IX. Page 361.

The Stalin Constitution completely reflected the social and economic changes which had taken place in the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1936. And now the structure of the Soviet state is based on this constitution which in its essence marks the completion of the full democratisation of our country. At all their levels the Soviets are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, by secret ballot.

The highest organ of government in our state is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. It exercises legislative powers. The Supreme Soviet appoints the government, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consists of two chambers: The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which possess equal legislative initiative. The Soviet of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. divided into electoral districts on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 inhabitants. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in their Union and Autonomous Republics, autonomous regions and national areas on the basis of 25 deputies from each Union Republic; 11 deputies from each Autonomous Republic; 5 deputies from each autonomous region, and 1 deputy from each national area.

The soviets, as organs of power, include an enormous number of government workers who have risen from the popular masses. Here are some figures which fully illustrate this fact. 1,060,746 deputies are elected to the village soviets; 38,994 to the hamlet soviets; 140,158 to the district soviets; 151,822 to the town and borough soviets; 871 to the area soviets; 9,311 to the regional and territorial soviets; 2,320 to the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics; 4,532 to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and, finally, 1,338 to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The number of deputies spread over the entire Soviet Union from Moscow to its remotest corners is in itself sufficient to show that the Soviet State, through its deputies, is able to, and indeed does, carry out measures of the greatest importance, because these men and women, basically speaking, cover the whole of the population of our country.

And finally, the soviets represent an inexhaustible means for the training of public men.

The population, having elected its deputies, maintains direct contact with them. This contact continues as an unbroken chain from the bottom to the top and makes the Soviet administration the people's own administration.

The Soviet state is perhaps sometimes grumbled at for some unsatisfactory act of one or other of its representatives, but everyone understands that this state is his own, and if a man is dissatisfied with anything in this state, he expresses his dissatisfaction as a matter of personal concern, wishing to remove the defects from his state and to make it still better. The criticism of deficiencies in the work of the organs of the Soviet state goes on incessantly, and the further down we descend in the ladder of state, the more directly this criticism concerns the leadership of the various departments of the Soviet apparatus. Criticism appears not only in newspaper articles, but verbally in meetings and conferences and in private statements made to the deputies direct.

In order to illustrate the proximity of the Soviet power to the people, I shall relate one incident which happened to me personally. One summer I was at home in the village. Everyone was in the fields gathering flax. I made for the fields, together with six or seven leading workers of the village. When we reached the harvesters, one of the flax-gathering women called out, pointing to the men accompanying me: "Mikhail Ivanovitch, look how many people you are bringing out to us for a walk in the fields, while we, the women, are working!" "But all these people are your own," I replied. "This here is your son-in-law, there is your son, and there—her husband!" "We know they are our own," insisted the woman, "but the Soviet system has sorely spoiled them." "But why don't you compel them to work?" I asked. "One can't compel such loafers!" answered the woman. So I turned round to my companions (the president and secretary of the village soviet, the president of the collective farm, the one in charge of the Young Communist League, the educationalist, and so on) and told them that as everybody was in the fields and there was nothing to do in the village, therefore they too should clear five acres of flax. This decision caused a storm of delight among the working women. And in fact as I learned later, the village leaders acquitted themselves of the allotted task in two days, which is quite natural, as they were all people perfectly able to perform agricultural work. This incident clearly indicates the close relationship and contact between the soviet state and the people.

People may object that this can only happen in the lower organs of power, composed of local people whom one knows (where could one find outsiders for every village!). To this



President Kalinin at a conference of industrial workers.

I would reply that at the present time from this very same village have arisen one general, several officers, several secretaries of district party committees, not to mention myself. And I dare say that now you will not find a single village of any importance which does not have its representatives in the leadership of some branch of party or soviet work, in positions of command in the army or among men of science.

“Soviet power,” says Comrade Stalin, “is not a power divorced from the people; on the contrary, it is a power unique in its kind, emanating from . . . the popular masses and dear and near to them. Thereby is explained the indivisible force and adaptability which the Soviet state usually reveals in critical moments.”

The Leninist-Stalinist national policy has made the Soviet state united. But this has been achieved not by force, not by blood and iron, but by providing all the peoples with the fullest opportunities for the establishment of their national states. “The task of the party,” said Stalin, “is to help the toiling masses of the non-Great-Russian peoples to catch up with Central Russia, which is ahead of them, and to help them (a) to develop and consolidate their own Soviet state system in forms consistent with the national character of these peoples; (b) to organize their own courts, administrative bodies, economic organs and government organs functioning in the native language and recruited from among local people acquainted with the customs and psychology of the local population, and (c) to develop a press, schools, theatres, clubs and cultural and educational institutions generally, functioning in the native language.”*

In the initial stages, things were perhaps somewhat overdone, as for instance, in establishing a system of writing for peoples which did not exceed a thousand persons; or, for example, attempting to found separate national units out of kindred populations just because they spoke different dialects.

It is only natural that at the beginning of such a tremendous revolutionary movement as took place in our country, every national group, even the smallest, should have striven to express its distinct character, and thought this could be primarily achieved by administrative separation. But when such a possibility had been realised, these peoples manifested

*“Marxism and the National and Colonial Question.” (Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1935.)
Page 94-95.

an aspiration to unite with kindred national groups. In such a manner this perhaps rather difficult process ultimately led to a strengthening of the ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus tremendously increasing the power of the Soviet state.

Comrade Stalin has pointed to the special feature of our Constitution concerning the relationship between nationalities. It consists in the fact that all nations and races possess equal rights; that differences of colour and tongue, cultural level or governmental development, together with any other differences between nations and races, cannot serve as a basis for the justification of national inequality. The constitution lays down, says Comrade Stalin, that "all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society."*

The national policy of the Soviet state is called the Leninist-Stalinist national policy with perfect justification. It renders possible the fullest development of national self-government and national culture. Precisely such a policy has without a doubt strengthened the Soviet Union, as is especially clearly shown by the exceptional solidarity of all our nations in the hardest days of our Patriotic War against Hitlerite Germany.

To sum up all the special features of the Soviet state structure and its constitutional foundations: The source of the strength and invincibility of the Soviet state consists in the fact "that it enjoys the sympathy and the warmest, the most boundless support of the overwhelming majority of the masses."—(Lenin.) In this lies the strength of the Soviet Union.

Heavy Industry

The creation by the Soviet people of a heavy industry must be counted as one of the decisive conditions which determine the strength of our state.

"The salvation of Russia," says Lenin, "does not lie only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough—and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumers' goods—this, too, is not enough—we also need *heavy* industry . . . Unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without that we shall be

*"Leninism." (Lawrence and Wishart, 1940.) Pages 571-572.

doomed as an independent country . . . Heavy industry needs state subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then, as a civilised state—let alone as a socialist state—we are doomed."*

It is common knowledge that Tsarist Russia was essentially an agricultural country, with a poorly developed industry, and that the fundamental and decisive branches of the national economy—oil, railways, coal—were predominantly in the hands of foreigners. The industries producing means of production were especially weak, as a result of which colossal resources were wasted on importing from abroad materials, machines, tools, etc. Pre-revolutionary Russia, in spite of all its colossal resources of peat, coal and hydraulic power saw an exceptionally poor development of its power industry. The laying of this all-important foundation for all industry fell to the lot of the Soviet Government. From the very first days of the Revolution Lenin was faced with the task of the electrification of the country, and accordingly a plan was prepared known as G.O.E.L.R.O.† The most far-reaching measures of the Soviet Government in the field of the electrification of industry have promoted our country to second place in the world after the U.S.A.

In the years of the Five-Year Plans we have built such giants as Dnieproghes, Kanarkirghes, Rionghes, Dzoraghes, the electro-stations of Shatursky, Gorky, Bielorussia, Klasson, Kashiry, Stalinogorsk, Baku, Tchelyabinsk, Berezenikov, Shterov, Stalingrad, and many other electric power stations, which cover our country with the ramifications of their network and form complete power systems such as those of Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, the Urals, and others.

In the years of peaceful construction the Soviet people have created, in addition to the coal and metallurgical bases in the south, a second coal and metallurgical base in the east, which has become the main industry for the Urals and Siberia. Between the Volga and the Urals a second oil base has been developed—the "Second Baku." As a result of this the production of coal, petrol and metal has increased many times over in our country.

The course adopted by the party and the Soviet state for the transformation of our country from an agricultural into an industrial one has led us from the initial stages of reconstruction,

*"Selected Works." (Lawrence and Wishart, 1938.) Volume X. Page 328.

†Russian abbreviation for "State Plan for the Electrification of Russia."

and the adaptation of old factories, to the erection of an enormous number of new and powerful metallurgical and machine-building enterprises. This process has not come to a standstill even now. Already at the end of the Second Five Year Plan the Soviet Union held first place in the world as a producer of agricultural machinery. A whole number of branches of industry, completely unknown to Tsarist Russia, such as for instance the production of harvester-combines and steam turbines, have been widely developed in the U.S.S.R., thus freeing the country from the necessity of importing the most important means of production from abroad.

Under the Soviet regime were built such giants of industry as the Electrocombinat and the machine-tool factory in Moscow, the Gorky Fraser Lathe Plant, the factory for heavy machine building in Kramatorsk, the Ural Machine Building Plant, the tractor factories of Kharkov, Tchelyabinsk, Stalingrad, the agricultural machinery works in Rostov-on-Don and others.

Together with the enormous extension of the railway network which now links the remotest parts of our country with the principal lines and with widely spread branch lines; and with the development of rail transport within the factories and works themselves, a pressing demand has arisen for an increased production of engines and coaches. A specially great development has taken place in locomotive building, in which the U.S.S.R. now holds the leading place in the world. A number of new factories for the production of rolling stock have come into being; the Voroshilovgrad locomotive works, the waggon-building factories in Nijni-Tagil, Dnieprodzherjinsk and others. Many old factories, after being thoroughly overhauled, have begun to turn out electric locomotives hitherto unknown, coaches for electric trains, coaches for the underground, powerful locomotives of new types: JS, FD, and others.

The aircraft and tank industries have been introduced into our country for the first time. The motor-car industry is completely new, and can boast of such outstanding examples as the Moscow ZIS, the Molotov Works in Gorky, the automobile assembly works at Omsk and Rostov-on-Don, as well as a number of subsidiary factories. The ball-bearing industry has also been recently established—as for example the Kaganovitch Ball Bearing Factory in Moscow, colossal even by international standards.

The metallurgical industry, carried on in newly-founded enterprises as well as in reconditioned old factories, has developed tremendously. Such establishments as Azovstal, the Magnitogorsk Metal Combine, the Stalin Works in the Kuzbas, Electrostal, Zaporozstal, the Tchelyabinsk iron foundry, etc., are well known. New works have been erected for the smelting of copper, lead, nickel and aluminium. The number of tube-making works and of large and medium metallurgical works has increased many times over.

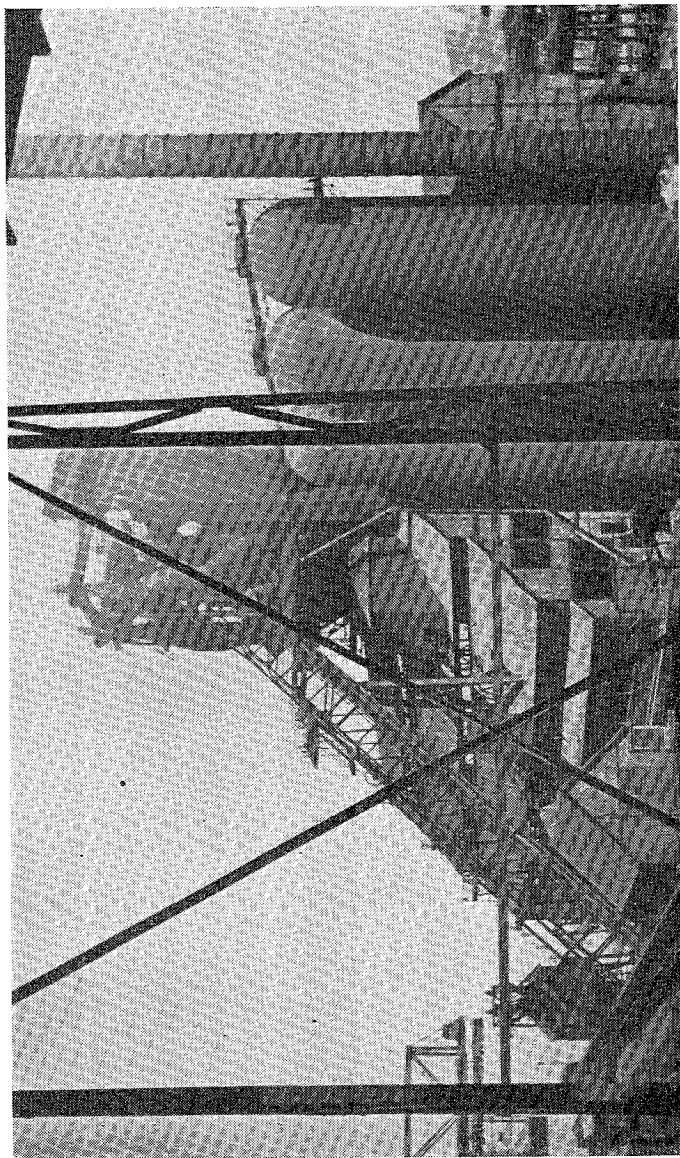
The chemical industry, leading a precarious existence under Tsarism, has also grown tremendously in the Soviet Union. Factories and entire combines for the manufacture of agricultural fertilisers have sprung up, such as for instance the chemical combines at Voskrésenk, Aktubinsk, and Tashkent. For the first time the rubber-asbestos industry, the potash fertiliser industry, the apatite and synthetic rubber industries have been introduced. The chemical-pharmaceutical industry has been an almost entirely new creation.

The timber, paper, and building industries have also made great strides ahead during the years of Soviet power. Our light industry has been considerably developed as well. Supplied with new machinery and tools, thoroughly overhauled and provided with a number of huge new enterprises, it has considerably increased its output.

Rapid progress has been made also by the food industry, which has replaced old semi-handicraft methods by new and mechanised means of production, and erected a number of large meat combines, canning and fruit preserving factories, as well as factories for semi-prepared foodstuffs.

It must be stated that the growth and development of all branches of our industry is largely due to their being equipped with machinery of the newest and most modern types, which is moreover continuously being perfected as a result of the strongly developed inventiveness and creative work of our engineers and technicians.

The industry of our Union Republics has grown rapidly. The figures on the subject are eloquent. The total output of heavy industry throughout the country has increased on an average by 10.9 times from 1913 to 1940, but in Kazakstan—22.2 times; in Armenia—22.3 times; in Georgia—26.4 times; in Kirghizia—160 times; in Tadjikistan—242 times



*"The kind of gigantic task carried out by the Soviet people."
Blast-furnace at Zaporozhye.*

In the districts of the Volga, Urals, Siberia, Far East, Karaganda, such industrial undertakings as existed only in the western and central parts of our country before the Revolution, have multiplied in numbers. The Soviet Government and the Party have made great efforts to abolish the irrational location of industry which was characteristic of Tsarist Russia. The centre of gravity of our industry shifts still further to the east every year, nearer to the sources of raw materials and fuel, and further away from our frontiers.

Together with the widening of the zones for the working up of technical crops a large number of new factories have sprung up where none existed before. Such are the sugar factories of Kirghizia, Kazakstan, Western Siberia and other areas of the Soviet Union.

The above lines lay no claim to be in any way a full survey of our industrial development, but merely indicate its general trend, showing the kind of gigantic task carried out by the Soviet people in creating an industrial basis for its strength, and showing the extent and potential of such base.

I shall quote no figures, although they are abundant, to demonstrate the productive capacity of our industry. The best evidence of our industrial power is the fact that during nearly three years of war on an unprecedented scale it has supplied the front with all its requirements in full. This clearly demonstrates the actual power of our industry which has evoked the admiration of the whole world.

The enterprises referred to by me are only some of the number erected under Soviet rule. But those enumerated reveal the tremendous physical and creative effort of our working class in the past, and even more so in the present. The factories which it has set up are now manufacturing and turning out millions of roubles worth of goods essential to the state, and especially for the front.

In the course of the construction and the working of these plants the working class and the engineering and technical personnel have themselves made great organisational and professional strides. To them these enterprises are not merely factories and works turning out this or that product, for they see in the their own efforts turned into concrete reality on a gigantic scale; they look upon them as upon their own children, their own property, which enables them to increase the strength of their Soviet State.

Of course, in all that has been said already, reference should have been made to the productive effort of the working class, since all these things are the most graphic demonstration of its heroic work. After all, the sum total of production is only the result of the efforts of the working class, applied to all the material possibilities present in our industry. The machines are only the means, but the producer is the working class, wielding the machines which it has itself created. Since we deal with this aspect daily in speech and print, and it is moreover apparent in concrete examples, it seems unnecessary to repeat it here.

Agriculture

An important element in the economic strength of the Soviet Union is agriculture and the successes it has achieved under Soviet rule.

In the sphere of agriculture we have made great strides, and I dare say it is now among the most advanced in Europe. These successes are undeniably due to the Soviet system. This statement may seem unconvincing to some people abroad, yet such is the real position.

Our country is now covered not by individual, scattered, unsystematically distributed private holdings, but by vast all-round collective farms, by fields measured and correctly laid out by experienced land-surveyors. By means of planning, economic expediency is taken into account in allotting the areas of ground, introducing the appropriate rotation of crops, and, at the same time abolishing small fields and fields separated from each other by land belonging to other owners.

Collective farming is largely mechanised. The tractors and other intricate agricultural machines working on the collective farms already to-day number hundreds of thousands. It is sufficient to state that as regards the utilisation of agricultural technique our country occupies the first place in the world. The average annual yield of our agricultural machinery, in particular of tractors, has reached a high level.

Remarkable achievements have been attained in the cultivation of cereals. At present, such cereals as for example wheat, which were always considered to be a product of the south, are being grown in many central and even northern regions. Other products, usually grown in the central and northern zones, have moved down south, for example, potatoes.

The collectivisation of agriculture has given a stimulus to the increasing of the areas cultivated. Our collective and

State farms have ploughed up vast stretches of fallow land, and especially has there been an extension of the cultivation of crops requiring greater attention, such as technical crops, vegetables and fodder.

It is very significant that a rapid process of intensification of agriculture has gone hand-in-hand with its collectivisation. This is particularly noticeable as regards vegetables. It would be possible to prove by figures the colossal increase in our sowing of vegetables. They now form a substantial part of the daily household consumption of the rural and urban population, which undoubtedly greatly improves the diet of the people. One may assume that with the further increase of the growing of vegetables in the central and northern regions of the Soviet Union, the demand for bread for food will decrease. A great development of fruit farming is also envisaged, which will also help to vary and improve the diet of our population.

In order to understand the achievements of the collective economy, it is necessary to point out that before the war the Soviet Government had given the collective peasants and State farms the task of producing a yearly harvest of 8,000,000,000 poods* of grain, and in the last years preceding the war this task had been almost fulfilled.

The introduction of intricate machinery into the collective and state farms has increased the productivity of agricultural labour and led to its specialisation. In order not to resort to the tiresome quotation of figures and statistics, I shall only indicate that in pre-revolutionary Russia the Southern Ukraine alone absorbed every year at harvest time 2,000,000 agricultural labourers who migrated mostly from the districts of Orlov, Tula, Ryazan, Kaluga and other of the central provinces of Russia. Under the Soviet regime, the cultivated land of the Ukraine has considerably increased in area as compared with Tsarist Russia, a greater variety of farming has been introduced and the crops have become more abundant, and yet the collective farm peasantry is managing it all with its own labour force, whilst at the same time introducing an ever-increasing intensification of agriculture. This process is taking place not only in the Ukraine but all over our vast Soviet country.

A great role is played by our State farms not only in the working up of agricultural products, but also in the improvement of agriculture. There is no doubt that their importance will

*8,000,000,000 poods are roughly 120,000,000 tons.

increase every year, as powerful mechanised and specialised undertakings, while their experiences will be utilised to an ever greater degree on our collective farms.

These colossal changes which have taken place in our country's agriculture have enabled us to exist comparatively comfortably during three years of a war in which we were deprived for two years of the Kuban, the Don area and the Ukraine, that is to say, of the most fertile regions of our country.

It can truly be said that the war has sharply demonstrated the great advantages of the collective farm system. "If in the third year of war," says Comrade Stalin, "our army is not experiencing a shortage of food; and if the population is supplied with food and industry with raw materials, this is evidence of the strength and vitality of the collective farm system, and the patriotism of the collective farm peasantry."

It may be said that we have received assistance in food from the U.S.A. Such assistance is to us of course a very valuable contribution, but only a contribution, no more.

It is clear that the rapid development of agriculture has greatly increased the variety of raw materials for industry, and thereby adds qualitatively to the general strength of our country.

One of the most difficult problems—the increase of livestock and the improvement in the quality of cattle—has been solved by the collective and State farms with growing success every year. There has been a general increase in the number of heads, but mainly in that of thoroughbreds.

Collectivisation, the division of labour in the collective farm economy, the introduction of elaborate agricultural machinery, the introduction of scientific methods—the whole of this complex process contributes to the growth of the technical knowledge and organisational ability of the mass of the collective farm peasants. To sum up, our agriculture as a whole is one of the pillars of the strength of the Soviet Union.

The Moral Force

However great may be the material resources of a state, it is generally admitted even by many military experts, including the Germans, that the war potential of a country in arms is decisively affected by the morale and the political outlook of its people. The German-fascist robbers in their arsenal of weapons, have allotted an important role to propaganda and

agitation calculated to undermine and demoralise the people of the countries with which they have been at war. They had quite seriously hoped that they would also achieve in the Soviet Union successes similar to or even greater than those gained in Western Europe. But the war with the Soviet Union has on the contrary proved that the Hitlerites have suffered a complete defeat in this respect as well.

The moral force and the political condition of our nation, as well as the degree of its unity, have proved better than our enemies assumed, or even than friends of the U.S.S.R. abroad thought possible. As regards our country, no one doubts the unity and the steadfastness of the people, its boundless devotion to the Fatherland and its readiness to defend the country's independence and freedom. It is indeed difficult to doubt this, because our people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—are united, monolithic, Soviet in their spirit; every part of this single whole emulates the others in patriotism, work, and struggle against the enemy. The whole people in its entirety represents a formidable source of spiritual and political power and morale.

Little is known of our working class beyond our frontiers. The general opinion there is, or at any rate was before the Revolution, that our working class was backward as compared to the rest of Europe. In fact this is far from being so. It is sufficient to point out that, from the 'nineties of the last century, the influence of the Bolshevik Party made its mark on the Russian working class. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the party has carried the ideas of revolutionary Marxism into the ranks of the working class in the course of a hard struggle against all brands of opportunism—the Narodniki, the Economists, and subsequently the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. Notwithstanding the fact that our party was illegal, its influence upon the working class was enormous, as has been clearly shown in the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the working class decisively supported the party in its struggle for a Soviet government.

The working class of Tsarist Russia marched along the hard but glorious road of the struggle against Tsarism. The workers and peasants made many sacrifices in the struggle for the seizure of power and in its subsequent defence. The best sons of the working class and the peasantry laid down their lives in their thousands for the Soviet state during the Civil War and foreign intervention. In the years of peaceful

construction tens of thousands of workers not only worked tirelessly for the establishment of industry, but also gave all their forces to the cause of strengthening the Soviet state. Everywhere, in towns and villages, workers were to be seen tirelessly exerting themselves in the Soviet organisations in order to put into working order and to strengthen the Soviet state apparatus. Their efforts for the consolidation and strengthening of the Soviet state were not in vain. Every year, in step with the growth of industry, the standard of living of the workers improved, their material comforts increased, their cultural level rose.

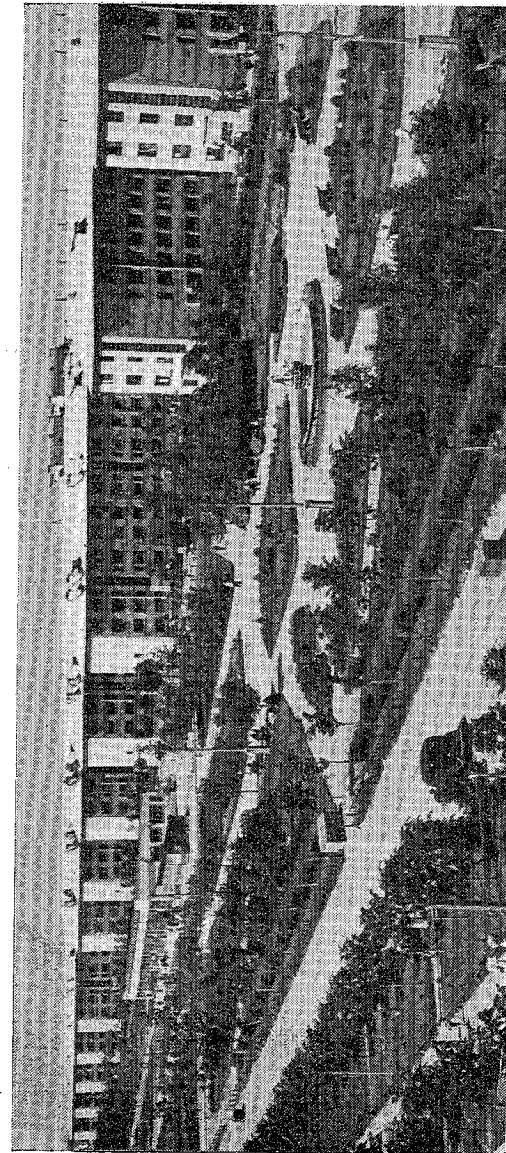
This is quite understandable, since the Soviet state was established in order to realise in life the ideals of the working class. In working-class districts new houses were built; parks of culture, theatres, kindergartens, creches and schools multiplied; the latter in such numbers that the Soviet Government issued a decree introducing general compulsory secondary education for all children.

The Trade Unions, which are playing the role of organisers of social activities among the workers, controlling the expenditure of their own ample funds and of the workers' insurance funds, have built numerous rest homes, stadiums, etc. It can be boldly stated that the level of social and cultural life of our working class is high, its material conditions are constantly improving; it is moreover able to look forward to a continued rise in its standard of life, culturally and economically.

The working class has already seen the results of its own self-sacrificing work, since its own position has improved. It realises that the Soviet Socialist State is indeed its real Fatherland. It is therefore defending it now with such boundless devotion. The infinite heroism shown by our workers in the course of the evacuation of industry, their heroic battles at the front and their selfless work in the factories prove that our working class considers the Soviet regime to be its own regime, to which it is prepared to give all its forces. It sees no other regime which could be nearer and more closely related to it. That is the reason why the steadfastness of its morale is so formidable.

The New Village

Commentators abroad, particularly in the camp of our enemies, regard the Soviet peasantry with the usual pre-revolutionary notions of "experts" on Russia, seeing in them mere "grey cattle" used for war. To them, the Russian



*"In working-class districts new houses were built."
A street near the automobile works at Gorky.*

moujik has remained the same as he was under Tsarism. But these "commentators" do not know either old or modern Russian history; they don't know that the peasantry cruelly disillusioned the Tsar and the landlords when they counted on the support of the peasant deputies in their Tsarist Duma, hoping to find in the peasant masses defenders of reaction. Even less do these "experts on Russia" understand the new, Soviet, history of the development of the peasant masses. To them, the process which has taken place in our village in the last 20 years is utterly incomprehensible.

Our village now is no longer a collection of primitive isolated holdings, disunited among themselves, as it used to be in the past, but on the contrary, the contemporary collective farm village is monolithic, and intellectually many-sided. There is now a whole stratum of village intellectuals. Every collective farm of any importance has its own agronomist with high agricultural qualifications, a person in charge of the co-operative, its collective farm president who is endowed with considerable organisational ability, since he directs the large and complex collective holding. On the farms there is a supervisory and technical staff; in the farm itself, the brigade leader, who must be capable not only of working well himself, but also possess organisational abilities. Men and women tractor and combine drivers, fitters, mechanics, dairy women, and other responsible workers according to the type of agricultural production with which the collective is concerned. It is obvious that the very size of the agricultural undertaking, its mechanisation and the intensification of its production make greater intellectual demands upon the collective farmers than the individual peasant holding. Now even in the smallest collective farm there are nursery schools and kindergartens where children are brought up in cultured conditions. The postal network has been extended, the quality of the schools improved and the study of foreign languages introduced into their curriculum. From this it is clear that there has been a great increase in the number of teachers in the villages.

Our village now engages in amateur art (the production of plays, play reading, choirs, dancing and the playing of a variety of musical instruments, etc.). From year to year there is an increase in the number of mobile cinemas, of collective and individual wireless sets. All this has radically changed our rural population and its psychology. In every collective farm there is a branch of the Young Communist League, which is always the pioneer of all social and cultural undertakings.

Youth, having completed its secondary education, is the preponderant element in these organisations.

With the growth of the economy and the raising of the cultural level in the village, the bonds between our collective farm population and our highly qualified intelligentsia have been strengthened. The collective farms have produced many administrators occupying high positions, party workers, scientists, artists, doctors, Red Army officers. The standard of living in the village has considerably risen in recent years, and the collective farms announce with justification that they have attained a comfortable and cultured life.

Incidentally, some Swedish journalists at the end of 1941 or beginning of 1942, I don't quite remember which, made a tour of inspection in Southern Ukraine, and wrote in their dispatches home that they had seen in the Ukraine precisely the same huts as existed 100 years ago, that they had seen ragged women and children, although the children, according to them, looked well nourished.

Correspondents are by virtue of their profession supposed to have sharp eyes, but in this case they for some reason failed to notice that they went into the Ukraine in the wake of the German looters, who had carried off from the Ukrainian villages into Germany whole train-loads of so-called personal parcels. The contents of these parcels consisted of goods robbed from the peasants, from the women in particular. So it would have been surprising if the Ukrainian peasant women had had anything to wear except rags during the period of the German occupation. If any of the peasants succeeded in hiding anything from the Germans, they saw to it that it remained well hidden until the return of the Red Army.

The fact that our collective farm peasantry is now endowed with considerable intellectual powers can be seen, among other things, from the scale of the partisan movement. The partisan movement would never have attained such scope or been led so skilfully if the collective peasantry had not possessed its intelligentsia. Among the partisans we find not only collective farmers, but also collective farm presidents, leading members of the soviets, party organisers, teachers, scientific workers, artists and military specialists. For that reason the partisan movement makes use, not only of rank and file citizens, ready to lay down their lives for the defence of their country, but also of qualified people, able to organise

the partisan movement more rationally and to deal the most effective blows with the least possible losses to themselves.

The collectivisation of agriculture has not only brought about an improvement of the agricultural holdings, a transformation of the means of cultivating the land, but it has also changed the peasant himself, broadened his outlook and made him more socially minded.

This is why our village is to-day sending to the Red Army not only brave fighters, as previously, but at the same time technically trained and expert people: Tractor, combine and lorry drivers and technicians. In a word, the village, like the Soviet town, provides class-conscious fighters for the Fatherland, fighters whose efficiency the enemy is increasingly feeling every day on his own skin.

It is no accident that whenever the commander of a company or a detachment is put out of action in battle, a fighter always emerges from the ranks of the Red Army, a native of some town or village, who assumes command and carries the operation to its end. This fact alone shows that the peasantry of our collective farm stands far higher in the consciousness of its patriotic duty and in the development of its intelligence and culture than was the case under Tsarism. The collective farm peasantry, just like the town population, gives our army conscientious fighters, fully aware of what they are fighting for.

The Intelligentsia

Our Soviet intelligentsia has won an honourable and glorious place in the building up and strengthening of the Soviet state. In the beginning the mass of the old intelligentsia met the Soviet authorities with a somewhat hostile attitude. It seems to me that in this instance, in addition to immediate material considerations—the loss of material comforts—a part was played by the fact that many of them thought that culture was at an end, although even then the more enlightened minds identified themselves with the Soviet state from the very first days of the Revolution. It must be said to the credit of the Russian intelligentsia, that the discord between the old intelligentsia and the Soviet state did not last long. The intellectuals as a whole rapidly took part in Soviet work; and, of course, their most valuable contribution to our common cause consists in having reared a large stratum of young Soviet intellectuals, with whom they now work in a friendly spirit.

Fundamentally speaking, the nearness of the intelligentsia to the Soviet state is reasonable. Our Soviet intelligentsia is close to the people not only in the social sense—by a constant influx into its ranks of fresh forces from the masses of workers and collective farm peasants—but also in the conditions of its work. To illustrate this statement I recall that Darwin founded his laborious work on the origin of species by exchanging letters with hundreds of voluntary correspondents, scattered all over the world and who, at his request, observed the life of animals and birds. But even such a method of collective work appears quite immature when seen in comparison with the degree of co-operation achieved in the work of the Soviet intelligentsia.

Let us take as an example our Arts Theatre and our Bolshoi Theatre. Everyone knows that they are among the most advanced and artistically first-rate theatres in the world, theatres of a type that as a rule rely on a rather select public. This was so until the revolution. Now, in addition to the fact that their stalls and circles are filled to a large extent by workers and collective farmers, they are visited by hundreds of people from the provinces who come with a purpose. These people come to the theatre not only to get personal pleasure, but as representatives of collective farm dramatic societies, houses of culture, workers' theatres and clubs. They come in order to make comparisons with what has been achieved by them locally and to see what is still lacking; they come in the capacity of specialists striving towards perfection, in order to carry their observations and the lessons of the great masters back to the masses of workers and peasants. I do not think that this has escaped the notice of our talented artists or that it can fail to affect their every-day work.

In our science—right to the very summit—we find workers linked to the people by a thousand bonds. At the disposal of our agronomists and scientific workers engaged in the study of plant biology, are placed not only good institutes, but also an incalculable number of "hut laboratories,"* ready to assist them in scientific experiments. And we see that our greatest scientists know how to use their assistance. In this connection Academician Lisenko may be mentioned.

Workers in the physico-chemical sciences, particularly those engaged in experimental work, have at their disposal

*"Hut-laboratories," occupying a hut on the territory of the collective farm, in which local research is carried on.

a large number of research institutes, factory laboratories, and inventors' circles. As you see, our great scientists can always avail themselves of the assistance of numerous workers in these branches.

It is no accident that in the course of the war our country has seen such a wide expansion of scientific research and creative work in the spheres of engineering, medicine and other branches of science. I think that in the achievements of our industry supplying the front, no small merit is due to our Soviet intelligentsia.

The importance of science in the U.S.S.R. is growing without cease, and the influence of the intelligentsia increases accordingly, permeating the entire fabric of our life. Our intelligentsia has understood this, and its patriotism has burnt high in the hard times experienced by the Soviet state.

Youth

Soviet youth and the glorious Lenin-Stalin Young Communist League—the organiser of the youth—play a tremendous part in the life of our country, and in the strengthening of the power of the Soviet state.

I will not stop to speak of the heroism of the Young Communists, of youth at the front, in the partisan detachments and at their tireless tasks in the rear. In the factories and works, and in agriculture, their patriotism and devotion to their country is known to all. I merely want to say that the Young Communist League, like the flame of an enormous furnace, melts and forges the new Soviet man. The Young Communist League is the first step for our youth, a step leading to a rich social and political life, leading the youth to the Party. The Young Communist League is the most important organisational factor for the young workers, and for the collective farm peasant youth in particular. The Young Communist League is, as it were, the source of comradeship and of widespread social activity on the part of our youth; its role in shaping the Soviet citizen, in widening his social and political outlook, is of the utmost importance.

The Communist Party

The source of the spiritual strength of our state, the basis of its organisation and leadership, is the Communist Party, counting millions of people in its ranks. And these are the best people of the country. The Bolshevik Party has rallied



“ . . . The heroism of the Young Communists, of youth at the front, in the partisans detachments . . . ”
Zoya Kozmodemyanskaya, Heroine of the Soviet Union, being led to the scaffold by the Germans for her partisan activities.

all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. around the banner of Lenin and Stalin and has inspired millions of Soviet citizens at the front and in the rear. It rightly enjoys the deepest popular confidence and authority. The fact alone that our people, sensing the danger which hung over the country, rallied more closely to the Party, and filled its ranks, testifies to its tremendous authority.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the workers in their struggle for the strengthening and development of the Soviet Socialist regime. It is the core of leadership in all the organisations of the workers—social as well as governmental.

The party organisations in the Soviet territories invaded by the enemy held high the banner of Lenin and Stalin. Even those Communists who fell into the hands of the Gestapo—where the fascist executioners employed every means, from unbearable torture to alluring promises, in order to corrupt them or break their spirit—remained true to their Soviet country. The enemy has been grossly mistaken. The Communists under the most difficult conditions in the rear of the enemy led an unrelenting struggle against the Germans, carrying the non-party masses with them.

Nor could it be otherwise. The education in the Communist Party is entirely different from that of any other party. Our party is not a sect, it has no sectional, isolated aims. Its task is the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the liberation of suffering mankind from the bitter yoke under which they have suffered for centuries, the establishment of better forms of human society and of a true brotherhood of nations; in a word, to realise the aspirations of humanity's best men in every generation. This our party has achieved, following the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. These are the great ideas which inspire our people, and lead them to the deeds which amaze the whole world.

The Communist Party makes strict demands on its members. It does not give them any privileged position, but on the contrary requires that every Communist should be a model of discipline in affairs of work and state, that his ideological and moral standing should be above reproach and that he place the interests of the Soviet state before his own personal interests.

Our party has covered the long road of relentless struggle against Tsarism and all its accompanying social and economic ways of life. It grew and became steeled in the course of this

struggle. Its members were the leading, the most selfless fighters in the days of the Civil War, and the most ardent workers in the building up of the Socialist State. It would not be presumptuous to say that the Communist Party is one of the most powerful parties, not only in numbers but also in its qualitative composition. The fact alone that our party has been founded and reared by such leaders as Lenin and Stalin—whose activities, even according to our enemies' own admission, have opened a new chapter in the history of the world—testifies to the greatness of our party, and shows that by its deeds it has written the brightest page in the history of human existence:

The influence of our party is not expressed through organisational formalities. It leads with it the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, whose full confidence it enjoys. However numerous its membership, it can never be a real political party unless it has the following of the people. The people trust our party and follow it. This was clearly shown during the hardest days in the history of the Soviet state—in the period of the Civil War, when it seemed that victory hung in the balance—at that time there was an enormous influx into the ranks of the party. Now, too, in the present war, recruitment to the party grows incessantly, and it is significant that the masses of the Red Army are the main source of recruitment. The non-party Red Army men, going into the attack and knowing that they may die at any moment, apply for admission into the party, thereby indicating their desire, if they get killed, to die as Communists. This popular feeling, most clearly of all, reveals the fact that our party is indeed leading the people.

Comrade Stalin

In analysing the material, moral and political elements which determine the strength and power of the Soviet state, I would say that one of the most important factors of the strength of the Soviet Union is Stalin's leadership. It is now over 20 years that Comrade Stalin has been leading our party and our country. It is no accident that workers, peasants and intellectuals often declare at meetings: "We shall win because we are led by Comrade Stalin." From the outside this may seem an ordinary oratorical greeting, but, in fact, it is a conclusion reached by the people as a result of their sustained, daily experience of actual leadership.

Death robbed our country of Lenin's leadership at a time when the Soviet state was barely set on its legs, when not a single task of the socialist transformation of the country had been solved in practice. Opportunist and hostile elements wanted to utilise Lenin's death in order to disorganise and destroy the party, thereby destroying the Soviet state. But the party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, smashed the anti-party and anti-Soviet elements, and was forged into a single entity capable of carrying out the testament of Vladimir Ilitch Lenin.

The problem of the day then became the restoration of industry, followed by the further industrialisation of our country. The soul of this great cause was Comrade Stalin, and under his guidance the party and the Soviet people have brilliantly acquitted themselves of this task.

Comrade Stalin has shown great foresight into the future. Almost in the first stages of the industrialisation of the country, Comrade Stalin raised the question of the absolute necessity of building tractor plants. Foreign observers regarded this measure as a preparation for war. Of course there is no denying that tractor parks are of great importance in contemporary motorised warfare. But for Comrade Stalin at that time this was a secondary consideration. In stressing the necessity for erecting tractor plants, he had in view the collectivisation of agriculture which would urgently require a technical basis. This complex and difficult measure had a tremendous significance. The collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture did not have an immediate war purpose, but a socialist purpose, and of course greatly increased our country's strength.

Here is a detail, characteristic of Comrade Stalin's approach to the development of production. In the initial stages of industrialisation, complaints were made to Comrade Stalin by industrial experts who said that our inexperienced workers were ruining the new machines imported from abroad. But Comrade Stalin always replied to this that it is impossible to teach workers new methods of work with new equipment without incurring a loss. At first they will break the machines but later they will learn to operate them, and we shall have good qualified cadres.

As a sort of final note to the conclusion of the country's industrialisation, when our entire production, agriculture and transport were established on a firm basis, Comrade Stalin

issued his slogan on the training of cadres: "It is time to realise that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realised that, under our present conditions, 'cadres decide everything.' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport, and the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres—we shall be lame on both legs."*

The combination of all these measures carried through by our party under Comrade Stalin's leadership has rendered our industry, agriculture and transport capable of fighting the most powerful enemy in the world.

Comrade Stalin has spent much energy in the cause of strengthening the Soviet Union. He understands better than anyone the significance of such strength, and in all his reports he always emphasises the fact that the Soviet people must not stop in their achievements and rest on the laurels of their success. Victory might escape us if complacency entered our ranks.

Comrade Stalin, whose work in establishing the strength of the Soviet State has been enormous in itself, was moreover able to unite and fuse into one all the forces of the state, to inspire them and to direct them towards the main, the most essential task of the present moment: The defence of the Soviet State against the German-fascist bandits.

The Red Army, the most vital section of the population of the U.S.S.R., is directly fighting German fascism on the battlefields. Comrade Stalin spent a great deal of energy on the foundation of the Red Army. And now, when the Red Army, having passed over to the offensive, is beating the German-fascist troops, is chasing them off our land, the German generals and the fascist military observers explain it by saying that for decades we have been preparing war reserves and secretly maintaining a huge army. The lying statements of these "experts" are apparently an attempt to excuse the military defeat of the German army and to belittle the military skill of Soviet generalship.

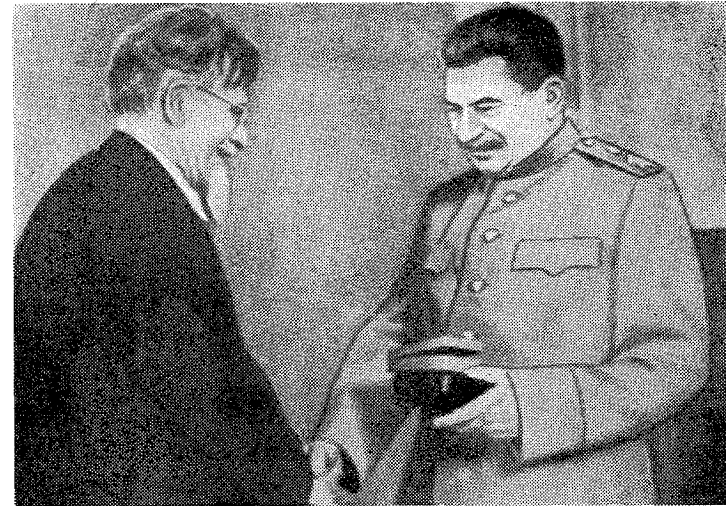
Until the advent of fascism to power in Germany, our army had a very modest numerical strength, and only after the creation of the threat of fascist aggression did it gradually begin to grow. It can be said with certitude that the whole

*"Leninism." (1940.) Page 544.

course of military events shows that our army has grown in the course of the war, not only numerically, but also in the continuous perfecting of its quality. Our generals have not descended from the clouds, they were commanders of this or that section, but their fighting qualities, their military ability, have been brought to the fore by the war. Now the whole world can see that the ability of our generals, officers, and soldiers by far surpasses that of the much advertised German generals, officers and men. The victories of our army over the most powerful enemy in the world are the result of many years of work by Comrade Stalin in the perfection of the fighting qualities of the Red Army. This gigantic work has resulted in the superiority of the Soviet over the fascist army, which is now no longer denied even by the enemy himself. All the efforts of German propaganda to explain the defeat of their army by the mere numerical superiority of the Soviet troops are ridiculous. There is indeed a superiority, but a superiority of military skill and ability. It is quite understandable that this is not an easy admission to make for an enemy who bawls right and left that he is fighting eastern barbarism. But there is no getting away from facts.

The Army in the Soviet Union is inseparable from the country. Everything that has been said before of the development of the material and spiritual power of the Soviet people, of its morale and its political condition, all this is transmuted into the military valour and mastery of our army. In the eyes of the whole world our Army concentrates in itself the material and spiritual strength of the Soviet people and sharply reveals the full extent of this power of the people. Comrade Stalin, in his capacity of Supreme Commander-in-Chief, is directing this force with the skill of a great military leader towards the final destruction of the German-fascist aggressors, and their expulsion from Soviet soil.

(First published in U.S.S.R. in April, 1944).



**President Kalinin awards Marshal Stalin the
Order of Victory.**

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

THE 27th year of the existence of the Soviet system is one of the most glorious years in the history of our people. The German-fascist hordes which invaded our Motherland with the aim of enslaving it have suffered a series of decisive defeats. The Red Army has swept the German invaders from our soil. Inflicting one smashing blow after the other on the Hitlerites, our attacking troops have entered the territories of a number of countries beyond the boundaries of our State.

They are waging offensive engagements in East Prussia. Fulfilling its great mission of liberation, the Red Army is clearing from the German invaders Poland, Czechoslovakia and the north-eastern areas of Norway. Thanks to the victories of the Red Army the former vassals of Fascist Germany—Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland—have not only fallen out of the Hitlerite bloc, but turned their weapons against the Germans. Hungary, on whose territory the Soviet troops are conducting a successful offensive, will also probably be lost to Germany soon.

Of course, these results did not come from heaven. They could only be achieved by a great army, a great people. The basis of these victories is the self-sacrifice and heroism of the whole Soviet people, the valour and military skill of the Red Army, the genius of Comrade Stalin. And every citizen of our Motherland, every fighter of the Red Army, cannot but be proud of his people, his victorious people.

On February 23, 1944, Comrade Stalin ordered: "The entire Red Army—with bold combination of fire and manœuvre, to break open the enemy defences to their whole depth, to give the enemy no respite, opportunely to liquidate enemy attempts to stem our offensive by counter-attacks, skilfully to organise the pursuit of the enemy, to prevent him from evacuating his war material, to envelop the flanks of the enemy troops by bold manœuvre, to break into the enemy rear, to surround enemy troops, split them up and wipe them out if they refuse to lay down their arms."

The idea expounded by Comrade Stalin in this Order was also expressed by him in previous orders, which shows the tremendous importance which he attributed to manœuvres. And these ideas became the property of our officers and generals, under whose leadership the Red Army troops turned

them into magnificent military deeds. Thanks to the brilliantly executed manœuvres of our troops, the Germans frequently got into critical situations—they were surrounded.

During the offensive of the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front alone, between December 24, 1943, and January 13, 1944, the Germans lost in killed alone about 100,000 officers and men, and vast quantities of military equipment. In February, troops of the 1st and 2nd Ukrainian Fronts routed large German groupings at Korsun-Shevchenkivsky. In March those of the 2nd Ukrainian Front routed large tank forces at Uman, and troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front routed the 6th German Army commanded by Col.-Gen. Holidt.

A little earlier troops of the Leningrad Front, jointly with the troops of the Volkhov Front, widely applying outflanking manœuvres, executed a brilliant operation, routing the German-fascist troops at Leningrad. The blows of our troops crushed the strongest enemy defences, which the Germans themselves considered impregnable and insurpassable—the Northern Wall, the steel ring of the Leningrad blockade. In this operation the main forces of the 18th German Army were defeated.

A large heavy artillery grouping of the Supreme Command of the German Army, which had shelled Leningrad, and which was equipped with 320 guns of calibres between 150 and 406 mms., was routed. Nearly ever since, the Red Army has been uninterruptedly carrying out operations at the basis of which lies bold and decisive manœuvre.

One example of the Red Army's offensive skill is the Crimean operation, executed by troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front and the Independent Maritime Army. The Crimea played a great rôle in the Germans' imperialist plans. They considered the Crimean place d'armes as the gateway to the Caucasus, the key to the Caspian Sea and to the Baku oil. In the Crimea the German-fascist troops were almost completely annihilated. The enemy lost in killed more than 50,000 and in prisoners 61,587 officers and men. He lost 299 tanks and self-propelled guns, 578 planes, 3,079 guns, 7,036 lorries and large quantities of other war material, and 191 enemy ships were sunk.

In the summer of 1944, in close collaboration, the troops of four fronts—the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Byelorussian and the 1st Baltic—carried out in Byelorussia outstanding operations which shook the very foundations of the German Front. As a result,

the entire Central Grouping of the enemy armies was routed, and the capital of Soviet Byelorussia, Minsk, and the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Vilnius, were set free. Developing the success of their offensive, troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front entered Poland and reached the Vistula.

German losses in the first month of the Red Army's offensive in Byelorussia were more than 381,000 killed, 158,480 officers and men taken prisoner including 22 German generals, 631 planes, 2,735 tanks and self-propelled guns, 8,702 guns of various calibres, 5,695 mortars, 23,071 machine-guns and 57,152 lorries.

Great success was achieved during the summer of 1944 by troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front which inflicted tremendous losses on the enemy in men and material. They surrounded and routed enemy formations at Brody and Lvov, liberated Lvov and Peremyshl, and broke through into southern Poland.

Before the German Command had time to recover from the rout of their Central Grouping and their armies in western Ukraine, an equally devastating blow followed from troops of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts against the German-Rumanian armies in the Jassy-Bendery area, which freed the capital of the Moldavian S.S.R., Kishinev. And on August 31 the Red Army entered the capital of Rumania, Bucharest.

In the successful offensive of our troops in the south between August 20 and September 3, which ended with the encirclement and rout of the 6th German Army—formed for the third time—and the 8th German Army which formed part of the group of German troops in the southern Ukraine, the Germans alone lost 256,000 officers and men killed and captured, 338 planes, 830 tanks and self-propelled guns, 3,500 guns of various calibres and 33,000 lorries.

This Red Army victory crushed the German positions in South-eastern Europe. The operation of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian Fronts, executed according to the plan of the Supreme Command, is one of the greatest and most outstanding operations in this war, in terms of strategic, military and political importance.

The magnificent operations of the Red Army will be thoroughly studied by Supreme Commands and military academies. Already the victories of the Red Army have aroused deep interest and created a wide literature outside the

boundaries of the Soviet Union, where people try to understand where the strength of the Red Army lies.

Incidentally, the German military observers, unable to conceal the defeats of their army, always explain every successful operation carried out by our troops by the tremendous numerical superiority in men and material.

This is an obvious lie. The Red Army is winning not only by superior numbers of men and material, but primarily by its mastery—the superiority of our Red Army fighter over the German fighter, the general—and particularly the military—level of culture of our officers and generals, which is far superior to that of the Germans, and by the ability of the Supreme Command. Of course, it is most difficult for the German generals and the German Supreme Command to admit this.

But facts are stubborn, and they cannot be dimmed by any verbal cunning. When the German hordes were entering Soviet territory, the Fascist leaders said they had 250,000,000 people to back them. And true, apart from direct participants in the war and the German vassals—Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland—the Germans brutally exploited the whole of continental Europe.

It must also be taken into consideration that the suddenness of the German attack on the Soviet Union enabled the enemy quickly to capture a considerable and most densely populated part of the western regions of the Soviet Union, where we could not mobilise the people.

Thus, if we compare the numbers of population on the one side and the other at the outset of the war, these are obviously in favour of the Germans. The Germans themselves used to shout about this. Now their publicists, striving to save the military prestige of the fascist army, are babbling about the numerical superiority of our troops.

But if our Supreme Command was able to achieve a change in the proportion of forces to our advantage, this proves first of all the superiority of our military system, our skill over that of the Germans.

If our Supreme Command is able, under the very nose of the German Command, to concentrate an overwhelming number of its troops on some sector of the front and thus to overthrow the lauded German troops—well, one cannot think of a greater blow to the German Command, as the skill of command consists precisely in creating a superiority of forces

secretly, in the main direction of the blow. Precisely in the immense military skill of our Supreme Command, now already obvious to the whole world, lies one of the main reasons for the victories scored by the Red Army.

Our people value this skill highly, and they have conferred the Order of Victory on the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armies, Comrade Stalin, for outstanding services in organising and executing the offensive engagements of the Red Army, which imposed the heaviest defeats on the German Army and brought about a fundamental change in the situation on the battle-front against the German-fascist invaders, in favour of the Red Army.

Analysing the successes of our troops and the military skill of the Red Army, one cannot overlook the main quality of the Soviet men and commanders—their high discipline. Discipline is characteristic of the German soldier. But German discipline is a mechanical discipline, a discipline of the rod, cultivated since the times of Frederick II. Discipline in the Red Army is a conscious discipline, one that does not kill initiative in commanders and men, but on the contrary furthers it.

There are hardly any instances in the German Army where a rank and file man has taken the place of a company commander killed on the field; but with us this is quite a frequent occurrence, often mentioned in communiqués and news items.

In our army it is not at all surprising that many of those who went into the war as Red Army privates have already become captains and even colonels. Of course, this also indicates that our army contains a considerable proportion of people who are not only brave, but also cultivated, capable of occupying commanding positions.

The high level of culture in our army as a whole has enabled it, following the instructions of its Supreme Commander-in-Chief, to study incessantly during the war, to increase its military skill. Our people, who love their army so dearly, proudly name not only individual heroes, but whole army units whose deeds have earned them great fame. Let us quote some examples:

In the autumn of 1941 the 1st Guards Tank Brigade, under the name of the 4th Tank Brigade, repelled brilliantly at Orel the onslaught of Guderian's tank hordes, which were trying to break through to Moscow. In the battles near Moscow this brigade earned the title of Guards Brigade. Its glorious

military path covers the approaches to Moscow, the Kursk salient, the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Pruth, the Carpathians. On this path the brigade has never known defeat.

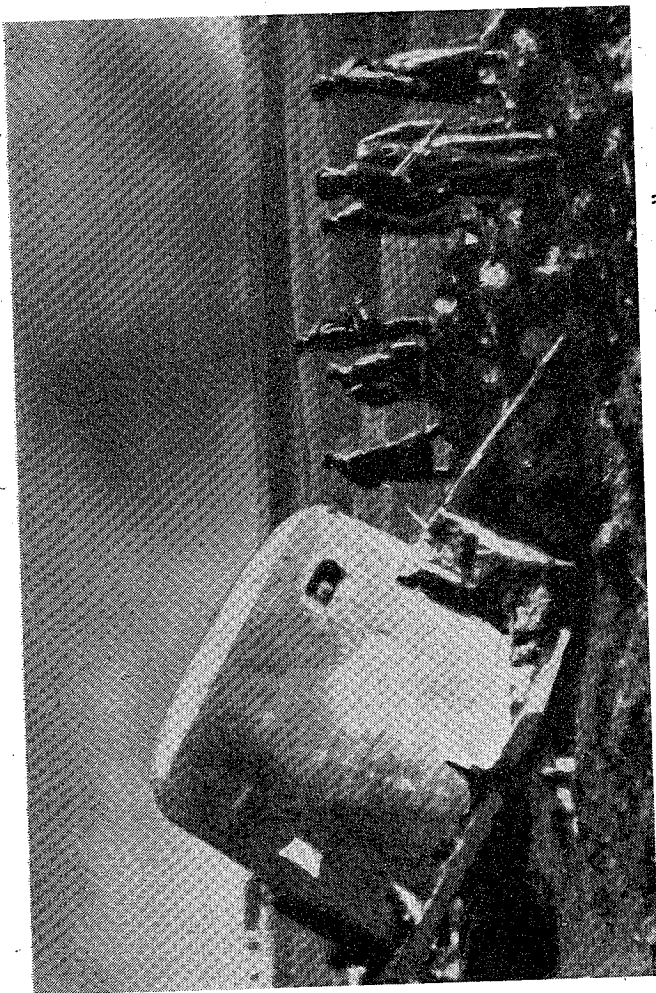
The Guards tankmen beat the enemy by their precision in organising every battle, by the suddenness and overwhelming force of their blows, by the superiority of their tactics. In their forest march to the Carpathian foothills they covered more than 250 miles in seven days. Their brigade has been awarded four Orders.

The division commanded by Maj.-Gen. Gladyshev has been mentioned five times in Orders of the Day of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, and awarded Orders. In an exceptionally short time, in constant battles with the enemy, it marched about 375 miles through the fields and forests of Byelorussia and Lithuania.

The division commanded by Lt.-Gen. Russianov began the glorious list of Soviet Guards units. Its victorious path to the west lay from Stalingrad, through the Donbas and across the Dnieper. This division has been thrice mentioned in the Orders of the Day of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief.

The regiment commanded by Guards Col. Afanasiev, taking part in the offensive of troops of the Leningrad Front on the Karelian Isthmus, covered in 11 days the glorious and hard path to the advanced Finnish defence line and to Vyborg; and, in the offensive on one of the most responsible sectors during the piercing of three lines of powerful Fascist defences, all men of the regiment displayed outstanding military training and heroism. The commander of the regiment, Guards Col. Afanasiev, has been awarded the title "Hero of the Soviet Union."

The Guards Group of Armoured Launches, now part of the brigade commanded by Capt. of the Second Rank Derzhavin, started its military career on the Volga, at Stalingrad. It fought on the Azov Sea and landed forces in the Crimea. Together with troops of the Red Army and the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, it took part in the liberation of Belgrade. The Group is now fighting for the Danube, having traversed during the two years of our offensive the remarkable path from the Volga to the middle course of the Danube, from Stalingrad to Belgrade.



“ . . . Our army units have entered German territory . . . ”
The end of a German pill-box, East Prussia.

One could go on enumerating the glorious deeds and names of our ground, air and sea units, but the examples quoted above speak clearly enough of the fighting qualities of the Red Army and Navy as a whole.

The victories of the Red Army are characterised not only by military skill in executing each individual operation, but also by the strategic plan as a whole, thoroughly worked out by the Supreme Command. The war of manœuvre demands not only great knowledge of the military art, but also talented army commanders. Facts show that all the victories won by our army are the result of skilful and talented operations of manœuvre, examples of which have been quoted above.

Of course, these operations required from the Supreme Command, from the leadership of our Headquarters, armies and divisions, great intellectual effort and immense work in organising and inspiring. Naturally, they had also to be consolidated, and consolidated they were.

Our working class, the collective farm peasantry and intellectuals—all our people, headed by the Bolshevik Party, continually perform deeds of heroism which will long be remembered by the Soviet people, and which will serve as an example of heroism for the future generations of our country.

This year, heavy defeats have been inflicted on the German armies by the Allied Armies, which developed their operations widely and exposed the Fascist bluff about the impregnability of the Western frontiers. Within a short period the Allied troops not only landed their troops on French territory, but also covered a wide space, almost completely liberated France, Belgium, Luxembourg and a considerable part of Holland, and entered German territory.

The Germans may comfort themselves by saying that their communications have been shortened. True, our troops from the east, and the Allied troops from the west, are striving to shorten their communications to the maximum. But this will hardly be an advantage to Germany. One need not doubt that soon the Germans will remain without any communications whatsoever.

On the eastern front the Germans are considerably “facilitated” in yet another way, of which the German publicists are speaking: they have in their rear no more guerillas—that terror to their armies. And so at long last

the Germans have admitted the force of the guerilla detachments, and the losses which these inflicted on their armies. They have got rid of the guerillas and incidentally of the territories on which the guerillas operated!

But they must not forget the 12,000,000 foreign worker-slaves whom they have driven from all the corners of Europe and forced to work for them. This is sufficiently dangerous fuel, which may prove a very great disadvantage to the German slave-owners.

Our peoples and the Red Army can look with satisfaction on the path of labour and battle they have covered this year. Their work and their military courage have found reward. Our army units have entered German territory. Enemy troops are stepping on German soil for the first time since the Napoleonic wars, and the German inhabitant feels war on his own hide, in his own home.

Our army is loved not only in our own country. It has won tremendous authority, respect, and—one can say without exaggeration—love among considerable numbers of people beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union. And with this, the international importance of the Soviet Union has also increased tremendously.

With the complete liberation of our territory, the war is not completed. Our Red Army is confronted by an enemy who is infuriated by heavy battles and still has considerable forces at his disposal on our front. And before his final defeat he will snap back still more ferociously. Therefore, we must firmly remember Comrade Stalin's words:

“However, it would be unpardonable short-sightedness if we were to rest content with the success already achieved and to believe that we had already done away with the German troops. This would be empty boasting and conceit unworthy of Soviet people. One must not forget that there are still many difficulties ahead.”

Therefore great exertion is still required from every fighter of the Red Army, all his physical and moral strength, great self-sacrifice and boundless devotion. Although the tasks confronting us are great, an army which over a period of three years has got used to smiting the Germans will exert every effort to finish off the enemy on his own territory.

What are the Germans hoping for? They can hardly plan by military measures to get out of the war unscathed. Judging from all the facts, they think of using political measures for this purpose. Not by chance has their main mouthpiece of lies, slander and deceit, Goebbels, almost from the very first days of the war been trying to find a crack to introduce discord among the Allies.

But eleven years of Fascist domination in Germany, a period saturated with treachery towards all countries without exception, have exposed to the widest masses of the entire world the fact that these people cannot be trusted in anything, not even to the slightest degree. And in the sphere of politics they will be beaten just as completely as on the fronts.

The day is not far off when the troops of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the U.S.A. will meet on German territory. This will be the day of our complete victory.

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President Kalinin has a game of billiards.

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