34 YEARS OF THE SOVIET STATE

L. P. BERIA

Report at Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet, November 6, 1951

Marshal MALINOVSKY

Speech in the Red Square November 7, 1951

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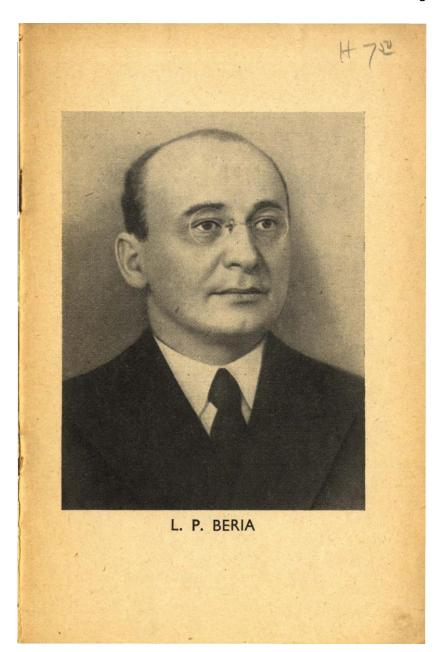
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34th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Report delivered by L. P. Beria at the CELEBRATION MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET, NOVEMBER 6, 1951

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Speech by Marshal R. Y. Malinovsky in the RED SQUARE, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 7, 1951

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SOVIET NEWS, LONDON, 1951

34th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Report delivered by L. P. BERIA

At the Celebration Meeting of the Moscow Soviet, November 6, 1951

COMRADES!

The peoples of the Soviet Union are today celebrating the 34th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution which was illuminated by the genius of Lenin and which set mankind on the road to a new, socialist world. Every new year of advance along this road brings our Motherland fresh achievements.

All the activities of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government in the period between the 33rd and 34th anniversaries of the October Revolution proceeded, as they have in all the years since the death of the great Lenin, under the wise direction of our leader, Comrade Stalin (*prolonged applause*). The perspicacity of Comrade Stalin's genius orientates our Party and our people in the complexities of internal and foreign affairs, and outlines the perspective of our further development. Comrade Stalin's inexhaustible energy in the day-to-day direction of affairs, big and small, his faculty for determining the chief tasks of the Soviet State and directing all our energies to their accomplishment, ensure the grand victories of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the building of communism (*applause*).

Last year, 1950, was the concluding year of the first Post-War Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people and all our friends abroad were happy to learn that the Post-War Five-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy of

the U.S.S.R., for the accomplishment of which our people had to work under difficult conditions of healing the severe wounds dealt by the war, was fulfilled successfully. This was undoubtedly another big victory for the Soviet people, one which further enhanced the might of our socialist State. The achievements in peaceful construction led to a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Soviet Union continued its indefatigable fight for peace, which had the effect of still further raising its international prestige.

In the past year it became more distinct than ever that there are two poles, two centres of attraction, in the entire world. On the one hand, there is the Soviet Union, heading the camp of socialism and democracy, which acts as the centre of attraction for all progressive forces that are struggling for the prevention of another war and for the consolidation of peace, and for the right of the peoples to arrange their lives themselves. On the other hand, the United States of America, heading the camp of imperialism, which acts as the centre of attraction for the aggressive and reactionary forces all over the world, which are working to unleash another world war with the idea of robbing and enslaving other nations.

In the camp of socialism and democracy the past year has been one of continued growth and the rallying of forces, of economic and cultural development and rising living standards of the working people. The peoples of the new democracies and the great Chinese people, having wrested their destinies from the hands of the imperialist enslavers, are, with the fraternal assistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union, joyfully and confidently building a new socialist life (applause).

In the camp of imperialism the past year was one of continued accentuation of domestic and foreign contradictions, further aggravation of the general crisis and debilitation of the capitalist system, the subjugation of the entire economy to the criminal aims of the preparation for war and ruthless attack on the vital interests of the working people.

New Achievements in Peaceful Construction in the U.S.S.R.

For our country the year 1951 is one of further progress of the socialist economy and culture. Absorbed in peaceful constructive labour for the benefit of their Motherland, the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are working with immense enthusiasm for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the State plans. Vivid evidence of this is to .be found in the patriotic letters to Comrade Stalin, published in the Press, in which people engaged in industry, agriculture, transport and construction report their production victories and the new obligations they have taken upon themselves in socialist emulation.

The Bolshevik Party inspires and organises our people in the performance of heroic feats of labour and directs their creative energies towards one goal-the triumph of communism. The great ideas of Lenin and Stalin are with every day taking deeper root in the minds of the broad masses of the working people, multiplying their energies and illuminating their path of struggle and victories. This finds expression in their conscientious attitude towards their work, their boundless initiative in the performance of their duty towards society, towards the State. Therein lies the source of the invincibility of our system, of the unending achievements in our work.

The results of the work in the economic field in the first ten months of this year show that the national economic plan for 1951 will be fulfilled and overfulfilled (applause). Industrial output will be more than fifteen per cent, higher than last year and twice as great as in the pre-war year of 1940. Compared with 1950 the basic productive resources of industry will have increased twelve per cent.

Increased technical equipment, higher skill of the workers and more efficient organisation of production have made it possible to raise labour productivity in industry by 10 per cent. Compared with last year. Nearly two-thirds of the increase in industrial output this year will be due to higher productivity of labour. This means that our industrial output is increasing mainly as a result of higher labour productivity.

As Comrade Stalin has repeatedly pointed out, reduction of production costs is an index of the efficiency of industry and one of the major sources of accumulation in the national economy. At the same time it is an indispensable condition for a reduction of prices and hence for raising the living standards of the working people. This year's plan for a reduction of production costs will be overfulfilled, which will mean a saving of 26,000 million roubles, in industry alone.

All branches of heavy and light industry have substantially increased their output this year.

Production of ferrous metals is rising considerably. Compared with last year the rise in output will amount to 2,700,000 tons¹ in the case of pig iron, some 4,000,000 tons in the case of steel and 3,000,000 tons in the case of rolled metal. The Soviet Union is now producing approximately as much steel as Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden combined (applause). Our Metallurgists are now making more efficient use of blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces. This alone will give us in 1951 additionally 1,300,000 tons of pig iron and 1,350,000 tons of steel.

No less considerable is the increase in output of non-ferrous and rare metals this year.

The ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries have trained

¹ Metric tons. One metric ton = 0.984 long tons.

splendid cadres of workers, engineers, technicians and executives who have an excellent knowledge of their business and are continuously improving production techniques.

The coal output is being successfully fulfilled. For the past several years the annual increase in coal output has averaged 24,000,000 tons. The coal industry of the U.S.S.R. is now not only satisfying our country's needs but has ensured the accumulation of necessary reserves.

The technical re-equipment of the coal industry in the past years has made it possible completely to mechanise such arduous and labour-consuming operations as hewing, stripping and conveying coal at the work faces as well as underground hauling and loading into rail cars.

The Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin personally are constantly concerned with lightening the work of the miners and improving their living conditions to the utmost. In contradistinction to the capitalist countries, where the miners rank among the most down-trodden and neglected of people, in the Soviet State miners are surrounded with attention and honour. In respect to workers' pay, coal mining holds first place among other industries. As a result, we have permanent cadres of skilled miners who are successfully promoting the development of the coal industry.

Even more substantial are the achievements of our oil industry. For a number of years past our annual increase in oil output has averaged 4,500,000 tons. This year's oil output target will be exceeded. As the result of a big programme of oil prospecting, rich oil deposits have been discovered in new areas, and prospected reserves of industrial value have been greatly increased.

The construction and expansion of oil refineries is being carried out on a large scale. New refineries completed this year, with their first-class Soviet-made equipment, alone can process 6,000,000 tons of oil annually.

It may be confidently said that the task set by Comrade Stalin of raising oil output to 60,000,000 tons annually will be accomplished ahead of schedule (*applause*).

Big achievements have been registered in the development of the electrification of our country. The power output this year will reach 104,000 million kilowatt-hours, which exceeds the power output of Britain and France combined. This year's increase in our power output alone will exceed 13,000 million kilowatt-hours, which is more than seven times the entire power production of Russia before the Revolution.

This year the construction of new power stations has assumed a still wider scale. The capacity of the new plants and new units put into operation in 1951 will aggregate about 3,000,000 kilowatts, which is approximately equivalent to five times the capacity of such a big power plant as the Dnieper Hydro-electric Station.

Our chemical industry is expanding from year to year. Output of chemical fertilisers has risen considerably and production of new organic antidotes to agricultural pests and weeds is almost twice as large as in 1950. Output of synthetic rubber will be 20 per cent higher than last year. The chemical industry personnel, working in close collaboration with Soviet scientists, have achieved substantial success in the solution of major technical problems in the field of chemistry.

Our economic development would have been inconceivable without the continuous advancement and perfection of our machine-building industry, 'which is the basis of the technical progress of our entire national economy.

The total output of the machine-building industry will be 21 per cent higher than last year. Output of the main types of equipment for power stations will be doubled or trebled. This year we are producing a steam turbine of 150,000 kilowatt capacity.

Nowhere in the world has a turbine of this capacity been produced before, which testifies to the maturity of Soviet science and technology. Output of equipment for the oil industry will be almost double that of 1950. This year our machine-building industry is turning out more than 400 new types of machinery and equipment,

Our machine builders may pride themselves on their success in producing complex up-to-date apparatus: geophysical, electromechanical, electronic, electro-vacuum and other precision instruments.

Thanks to the successful development of industry and the increased output of agricultural raw materials, production of consumer goods is greatly expanding. This year on Comrade Stalin's initiative the Government has taken measures to increase output of foodstuffs and manufactured goods over and above the quantities envisaged in the annual plan. As a result, the amount of goods the population will receive will increase as compared with 1950 as follows: manufactures and foods: textiles—24 per cent; tea 38—per cent. Recreational and household goods: and meat products-20 per cent; fish products—8 per cent; vegetable oil—35 per cent; butter—8 per cent; sugar—24 per cent; tea—38 per cent. Recreational and household goods: bicycles—nearly two-fold; radio sets—25 per cent; clocks and watches—11 per cent; cameras—39 per cent; sewing machines—28 per cent; furniture—44 per cent. Our industry is already beginning mass production of television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and similar domestic appliances.

As you see our industry has substantial achievements to its credit. But we should not overlook the shortcomings in the work of certain enterprises which, because of bad organisation of production and inefficient utilisation of their up-to-date machinery, are not fulfilling their programme in respect to raising labour productivity and lowering production costs; are

exceeding their norms of raw material and fuel expenditure; and permit losses from spoilage. Elimination of these defects would make it possible to effect substantial additional economies.

Some plants, while they fulfil and overfulfil their gross output programmes, do not always comply with the provisions of the State plan regarding the output of the most important items of production. The executives of these plants apparently want to make their work easier by turning out wares which require less effort and trouble. It is high time they understood that it is not any sort of fulfilment or overfulfilment of the plan that the State needs, but only such as assures the national economy the products it requires.

In our socialist economy every executive, be his job a big one or small one, must place the interests of the State above all else and strictly observe State discipline. The parochial outlook which is still to be observed among some of our business executives and which is detrimental to the interests of our planned economy, must be discarded, once and for all.

This year has been marked by the further progress of our socialist agriculture. Thanks to the larger quantities of machines and more efficient organisation of work the cereal crops this year were gathered more quickly and with far smaller loss of grain. The grain harvested this year by the collective farms and State farms is of a high quality; they completed their deliveries to the State ahead of schedule and have set aside the necessary seed stocks. For several years past the gross annual grain crop has exceeded 7,000 million poods.²

We will gather more cotton and sugar beet this year than last year. Our country is now producing more cotton than such famous cotton-growing countries as India, Pakistan and Egypt combined (applause).

 $^{^{2}}$ 62 poods = 1 long ton.

The collective farms and State farms are working successfully for the fulfilment of the Stalin programme for the development of socialist animal husbandry. The socially-owned livestock of the collective farms, together with the livestock of the State farms, now constitute the predominant bulk of stock herds. Enlargement of the fodder supply continues to be a major task in the sphere of animal husbandry.

Agriculture annually receives from the State large quantities of up-to-date machinery. This year it will receive 137,000 tractors (in terms of 15 h.p. units), 54,000 grain harvester combines (29,000 of them self-propelled), as well as 2,000,000 other agricultural machines and implements. Electrification of agriculture is being carried out on a big scale. All this makes it possible still further to mechanise the major farming operations, lighten the labour of the collective farmers and enhance its productivity. More than two-thirds of the field work in the collective farms is now done by machine and tractor stations. This year, nearly all the ploughing in the collective farms was mechanised, three-quarters of the sowing was done with tractor-drawn seeders and over 60 per cent. of the total grain crop area was harvested with combines. All the major operations in the State farms are almost completely mechanised.

The common assets of the collective farms are steadily growing.

Last year alone their indivisible funds increased by 11 per cent. The collective farmers must continue to consolidate and develop their socially-owned economy to the utmost, since this is the basis for the further progress of the collective farms and for increasing the prosperity of the collective farmers.

Together with industry and agriculture, our railways and river and sea transport systems are also making progress: This year rail freight will increase by 11 per cent. Incidentally this 11 per cent. increase is practically equal to the total freight annually

carried by the railways of Britain and France combined (applause). River-borne cargo will increase 12 per cent and seaborne cargo 7 per cent. It still remains the immediate task of our large army of transport workers to accelerate the goods wagon turn-round and to utilise all the rolling stock and sea and river transport facilities more efficiently.

Our country is carrying out an extensive building programme. The scale of capital construction work increases from year to year. State capital investments this year are more than two and a half times larger than in the pre-war year of 1949.

The building organisations are being supplied with everincreasing quantities of machinery and equipment, and the supply of building materials has been improved. This year there will be a big increase in the number of excavators, scrapers and bulldozers. Two million more tons of cement will be produced and there will be a considerable increase in the production of brick, roofing slate, iron and ceramic piping and other building materials.

Our builders have achieved definite success in lowering production costs and reducing building time-tables. But they have still much to accomplish. First of all, they must properly organise work at the construction sites, utilise the building machinery more efficiently, achieve better organisation of labour processes and greatly curtail overhead expenses. Extravagances, still to be found in the plans and estimates, which increase the cost of construction must be eliminated.

As you know, the big hydro-technical projects on the Volga, Don, Dnieper and Amu Darya, hold a place apart in our construction work. These projects are without equal anywhere in the world both for the scale and speed of construction. The 1951 plan of work endorsed by the Government for each of these projects is being effectively fulfilled and overfulfilled.

The first of these engineering works, the Volga-Don waterway, will start operation as early as 1952. With its opening,

all the seas of the European part of the U.S.S.R. will be integrated into a single transport system (applause).

These great hydro-technical works will solve the major problems of our national economy. The new power stations alone will annually supply 22,500 million kilowatt-hours of cheap electricity. This is nearly equal to the total annual power output of Italy. Expansion of the irrigated and watered area will make it possible to produce annually an additional 3,000,000 tons of unginned cotton, which is equal to more than one-third of the average annual cotton crop of ⋅the United States; 500,000,000 poods of wheat, 30,000,000 poods of rice and 6,000,000 tons of sugar beet. The cattle in these regions will increase by 2,000,000 head and sheep by 9,000,000 head.

These projects were undertaken on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, who displays constant solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of our Motherland and for lightening the labour and improving the living conditions of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin's initiative has met with the ardent support of all our people who rightly call these works the great Stalin projects of communism (*prolonged applause*).

Unlike the capitalist countries. where the aim of production is to increase the wealth and profits of a handful of exploiters, in our country the mainspring of economic development is the interests of the working people. The national income is increasing from year -to year and with it the earnings of the factory and office workers, and peasants. Compared with 1950, the national income of the U.S.S.R. this year will increase by 12 per cent.

The Soviet Government pursues a policy of systematically reducing prices of articles of general consumption. Last March, for the fourth time in the past few years, State retail prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods were again reduced, resulting in a further increase in the real wages of factory and

office workers, and a reduction of peasant expenditures on manufactured goods, owing to their cheaper prices.

The total volume of trade this year will increase by 15 per cent compared with last year. It must, however, be observed that there are still quite a number of defects in the work of our trading organisations. They still do too little to study the demands of the population, commit errors in the distribution of wares among various regions and Republics and do not always make efficient use of the available stocks of goods. The personnel of our trade organisations must considerably improve the service to the Soviet consumer.

Improvement of housing conditions of the working people is the constant concern of the Party and Government. This year new housing, with an aggregate living space of about 27,000,000 square metres³ is being made available for occupation in cities and industrial settlements; and 400,000 new houses are being built by collective farmers in the rural areas.

One very gratifying feature is that as a result of the growing prosperity of the people and the success of the Soviet public health system, the death rate in our country has been reduced to half compared with the pre-war year 1940 (applause) while the decline in infant mortality is even greater. For several years now the net increase of the population in the U.S.S.R. has been greater than in 1940 and exceeds 3,000,000 (applause).

Whereas in the capitalist camp the imperialist cannibals are engaged in inventing diverse "scientific" means of exterminating the flower of humanity and of reducing the birth rate, in our country, as Comrade Stalin has said, the most valuable capital is man, and the welfare and happiness of the people is the chief concern of the State.

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³ One square metre = to 764 square feet. Soviet figures for domestic floorspace exclude kitchens, hallways, lavatories and bathrooms.

The education and training of specialists for all branches of economy and culture has always held an important place among the measures of our Government. This year 2,720,000 persons are studying in higher educational establishments and technical schools. A total of 463,000 young specialists graduated from higher educational establishments and technical schools in 1951 alone. More than 5,000,000 specialists with higher education or secondary technical education 'are employed in our country today, besides a not smaller number of skilled practical specialists, who have developed in the factories and have perfected their training at part-time courses.

In all our achievements, a large measure of credit is due to Soviet science. In recent years our scientists have solved a number of highly important problems of value to our national economy and our defence. In many branches of knowledge Soviet scientists have taken the lead in the promotion of world science. A noteworthy feature of recent times is the greater extent and scope of fellowship between Soviet scientists and industrial workers. This not only facilitates a more effective application of scientific achievements in production, it also enriches science with the experience and creative thought of the numerous army of innovators in industry, transport and agriculture.

One of the most striking indications of the cultural progress of our country is the flourishing state of its literature and art. Expressing the great ideas of communism in concrete images, they represent a powerful means of educating the masses in a communist spirit, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism. This year, as in previous years, a number of works of art and literature of very high merit have appeared, works which truthfully portray the high moral qualities of the Soviet people, their life and their efforts for the further enhancement of the might of their Motherland, for peace and

friendship among nations, and for the happiness of the people of the whole world.

While concentrating a greater part of the country's forces and resources on the work of promoting its economy and culture, the Party and Government do not lose sight of the necessity of strengthening its defences. The experience of history has fully confirmed Comrade Stalin's repeated warnings that, being in capitalist encirclement, the land of victorious socialism must be always ready to repel possible aggression on the part of the imperialist powers. This year, as always, the Party and Government have done everything possible to ensure that the heroic Soviet people who, in the fervour of creative labour, are erecting the grand edifice of communism may continue to have no fear for the fate of their country (applause). The Soviet Army and Navy whose unsurpassed morale and fighting ability are known to the whole world possess all the types of modern weapons with which to deal a crushing blow to all who, ignoring the convincing lessons of history, would dare to attack our country again (prolonged, stormy applause).

As is known, the decisive factor in our victories is the advantages of the social and State system which was born in the October Revolution. One of the chief advantages of the Soviet system is that it has, for the first time, liberated and given free scope to the great energies of the people, has called into being the mighty activity and inexhaustible creative initiative of the masses emancipated from capitalist exploitation. It is this activity and initiative of the masses that constitutes the chief well-spring of the invincible forces of communism. Further improvement of the work of the Party and Soviet organs as well as of the public organisations that mobilise and organise this creative activity of the people continues to be the constant concern of the Party and the Government.

The Soviet people invariably achieve success in their work,

because conceit and smug complacency are alien to them, because they never rest content with what they have accomplished, and measure their achievements chiefly by the criterion of the great tasks of the future. Criticism and self-criticism, as Comrade Stalin teaches us, is a law of our development, a paramount means of overcoming routine and conservatism, everything old and moribund that hinders our triumphant onward march. The effectiveness of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in a large measure depends upon the level of political consciousness of the masses, the ideological and theoretical training of our cadres. Now as always, the attention of our Party is focused on the Communist education of the masses, on the further raising of the ideological and political level of our cadres, and their mastery of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The motive forces of the development of socialist society grow stronger and more effective with every new achievement in the building of communism. Every day the life and labour of the workers, peasants and intellectuals furnish fresh and vivid proof of their patriotism, of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and of the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The indestructible unity of the will and aspirations of the peoples of our country, the unity of their material and moral forces, is one of the principal foundations of the might of our land. It is thanks to this unity that our State is able to accomplish tasks of such magnitude as formerly to be beyond the dreams of the boldest minds of mankind.

The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace

The vast scale of peaceful constructive work in our country is eloquent proof of the peaceable character of the Soviet Union's foreign policy and exposes the slanderers who keep alleging that our Government has aggressive designs.

"No State," says Comrade Stalin, "the Soviet State included, can develop to the utmost civilian industry, launch great construction projects such as the hydro-electric stations on the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu Darya, requiring budget expenditures of tens of thousands of millions, continue a policy of systematic reduction of prices of consumer goods, likewise requiring budget expenditures of tens of thousand of millions, invest hundreds of thousands of millions in the restoration of the national economy, destroyed by the German occupationists, and, together with this, simultaneously with this, increase its armed forces and expand war industry. It is not difficult to understand that such a reckless policy would lead to the bankruptcy of the State."

The peaceful policy of the Soviet State springs from the October Socialist Revolution. The more than thirty years' history of Soviet power shows that the October Revolution was a constructive revolution, a revolution for the systematic building of a new, communist society. The wars forced upon us by our enemies only interfered with our great work.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Government was defined with exhaustive clarity by Comrade Stalin in his report at the 14th Congress of the Party when he said: "Underlying the policy of our Government, its foreign policy, is the idea of peace. Struggle for peace, struggle against new wars, exposing all steps being taken in preparation of a new war... this is our task." 5

There has not been a single international conference or meeting in which the Soviet Union has participated where the representatives of the Soviet Government did not submit constructive proposals for the prevention of international

⁴ J. V. Stalin Answers "Pravda" Correspondent's Questions (Soviet News, London, 1951, 1d.), page 1.

⁵ J. V. Stalin, Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. VII, p. 296.

conflicts and the safeguarding of peace and security. But in most cases our efforts in this sphere were directly counteracted by the ruling circles of a number of bourgeois States. The situation changed very little after the Second World War, from which one would think the statesmen of many countries should have drawn the proper lessons.

The peoples consented to endure immense sacrifices and privations in order to smash the aggressive fascist bloc, in the hope that, after victory, they would be ensured conditions for peaceful development. At the height of the Second World War, Comrade Stalin warned that it was not enough to win the war but that a stable and lasting peace among nations had to be ensured. But the blood of millions of victims on the battlefields had hardly congealed when the American and British imperialists began to plot another war. Immediately after the war the ruling circles of the United States, Britain and France adopted the course of directly violating the major agreements achieved by the great Powers during the war, of undermining international co-operation and of forming an aggressive bloc, with a view to plunging the peoples into the misery of another world holocaust.

There is no need here to enumerate generally known facts. It is enough to say 'that the United States is openly restoring the two seats of war-in the zone of' Germany in the West and in the zone of Japan in the East—the elimination of which in the last war cost the freedom-loving nations millions of lives, colossal material sacrifices and incredible suffering.

Of late, measures have been taken to speed up the remilitarisation of Western Germany and in this work Hitlerite war criminals are being enlisted. Moreover in defiance of common sense, a most active part in the rebuilding of German militarism is being taken by the present; rulers of France, whose people suffered all the horrors of German aggression twice in one generation. It is easy to understand why America's rulers find it more convenient to have their plans in relation to

Germany implemented by the obliging Frenchmen, under the guise of the "Schuman Plan", the "Pleven Plan" and the like. But the peoples of Europe cannot help realising that this creates a serious menace to peace. The Soviet Government could not close its eyes to this gross violation not only of the Potsdam Agreement, but also of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and, Mutual Assistance, concluded in 1944. In special Notes it warned the French Government of the dangers with which its present policy was fraught, and of the responsibility it bore for the situation that had arisen.

The American-British bloc recently steam-rollered through the so-called peace treaty with Japan. The U.S.A. has furthermore concluded a military agreement with Japan, and has openly set out to resurrect Japanese militarism. World public opinion is outraged by the fact that the great Chinese people, who suffered from Japanese aggression more than any other, and contributed greatly to the defeat of Japanese imperialism, was not allowed to participate in the peace treaty with Japan while at the same time, the Americans made great play of the signatures of the representatives of Honduras, Costa Rica and similar small semi-colonial States which not only had no share in defeating imperialist Japan, but in the person of their numerous merchants and landlords, made good profits out of the war with her. It is no secret to anyone that this separate treaty with Japan does not serve the purpose of peace, but that of preparation for war. The Soviet Union, which has repeatedly insisted on the conclusion of a real and just peace treaty with .Japan on the basis of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and the Yalta agreement, would have betrayed its traditional policy of peace if it had put its signature to this "peace" treaty. The value of this treaty is further reduced by the fact that India, the second largest Asian State in size and importance, had no part in its conclusion.

Those who are sponsoring the resurgence of German and Japanese militarism evidently have no wish to pay regard to the German or the Japanese people, who suffered no less than the other nations from the war their recent rulers instigated. These peoples can expect nothing good from another war, and will scarcely consent to serve as cannon fodder for the American billionaires.

The aggressive nature of the policy of the American bloc is most clearly exposed by the armed intervention of the United States in Korea. The U.S.A.'s representatives have torpedoed every proposal made by the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving States for the cessation of the American aggression in Korea; and are now doing all they can to drag out the Kaesong negotiations.

We are confident that the courageous Korean people will emerge with credit from the sanguinary. conflict provoked by the Americans, and will thereby demonstrate to the world once again that no force can subjugate a people that has the will to fight and win (applause).

The United States is stubbornly endeavouring to turn the United Nations into an instrument of war. Under United States pressure, it lent its flag as a screen for American aggression in Korea, and then, in defiance of the old-established rights of nations, declared the Chinese People's Republic an aggressor. Honest people throughout the world cannot but admit the correctness of Comrade Stalin's statement that "actually, the United Nations Organisation is now not so much a world organisation as an organisation for the Americans, catering to the needs of the American aggressors".

The imperialist camp has lately been speeding up preparations for war. The United States is doing everything to expand the aggressive Atlantic bloc and, by pressure, threats and

⁶ J. V. Stalin Answers "Pravda" Correspondent's Questions (Soviet' News, London, 1951, 1d.), p. 5.

various empty promises is bringing new countries into it, including countries which geographically have no connection with the Atlantic zone, is establishing new military bases in all parts of the world, feverishly expanding production of weapons of all types and seeking cannon fodder in all corners of the globe.

The least manifestation of an anti-war sentiment—and this is particularly true of the United States—is ruthlessly suppressed, and fascist police methods are being implemented in all departments of the state machine. Only wretched rags and tatters remain of the vaunted "American democracy". Even the American Press itself is obliged to admit this. Senator Chester Dempsey of the State of Wisconsin recently wrote in Capital Times that there was a time when Americans used to wonder at the servility of the Germans under the influence of Hitler's and Goebbels' propaganda, but now they were in a worse plight than the Germans had ever been, for thought control in America was complete, and Americans were in the grip of the military and their slander-mongering clique. U.S. statesmen have gone so far in their infatuation as to carry their police methods into international forums. Hitlerite political wire-pullers might well have envied the fraudulent methods practised at the San Francisco conference by the American diplomats, headed by Truman (applause).

In the United States, the state machine is being more and more absorbed by capitalist monopolies. Formerly, the real masters of the country, the financial and industrial magnates, themselves remained in the background and left it to their political agents to defend their interests in the political sphere; but now they are openly taking America's administrative, political and diplomatic machine into their own hands. We know that the major affairs of the State are decided by Charles Wilson, a businessman of the Morgan group, who unceremoniously installs in key government posts representatives of the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Dupont and other major billionaire groups

which are closely, interlinked with one another not only by economic but also by family ties. They are brazenly harnessing the country's economy to the interests of the billionaires.

Yet, with plutocracy and police rule running riot in his own country, President Truman has the audacity to talk insolently of the "absence of democracy" in the Soviet Union, in the very country where, as is known, police rule and plutocracy have long since been overthrown and where power belongs to *demos*, the people (*prolonged applause*).

Such, comrades, are the facts. They show that the American-British bloc has adopted a course of preparing and unleashing another war.

It is in these conditions that the Soviet Union, faithful to its peaceful policy, is conducting an indefatigable struggle for the prevention of war and the preservation of peace. At every session of the United Nations Assembly, at every sitting of the Security Council, at every meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Soviet Union in every way exposes the plans of the warmongers, and submits concrete proposals for the safeguarding of peace, and disinterestedly defends the rights and sovereignty of the nations. Everyone is familiar with the recent Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great powers, for the reduction of the armed forces of the great powers by one-third in the course of one year, and for the prohibition of atomic weapons, for a speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany to be followed .by the withdrawal of all occupation forces, and for the establishment of an all-German democratic Government. One of the most graphic illustrations of the Soviet Union's fight for peace was the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on March 12, 1951, of the Peace Defence Law, according to which persons guilty of war propaganda shall be committed for trial as major criminals.

Our foreign policy is backed by the might of the Soviet State. Only naive politicians can interpret its peaceable character

as a sign of lack of confidence in our own strength. The Soviet people have shown the world time and again how well they can defend their Motherland. There was a time when our young and still weak Soviet Republic had to uphold its existence against the armed campaign of 14 bourgeois States led by the imperialist sharks of Britain, America, France and Japan. We were besieged by enemies from the North and South, East and West. The country was in a state of economic dislocation and lacked bread for its workers and weapons for its army. The interventionists were certain that the days of the Soviet State were numbered, that they would quickly stifle it by armed force. But it turned out differently. "All the world knows", Comrade Stalin wrote of the outcome of this campaign, "that the British interventionists and their allies were hurled with disgrace out of our country by our victorious army.

"The gentry who are bent on instigating another war would do well to remember this."

When, in June 1941, fascist Germany, armed to the teeth and controlling at that time the war potential of practically the whole of Europe, treacherously attacked our country, not only Hitler's generals, who were intoxicated with their easy military successes in the West, but even many in the camp of those who were then our allies believed that the Soviet Army could hold out only for a few weeks, at most for a few months. Yet it was precisely against the strength and might of the Soviet Union that Hitler's war machine was shattered.

We persistently strive for peace not only because we do not need war, but also because the Soviet people, who have established in their country, under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, the most just of social systems, regard aggressive war as a heinous crime against mankind and the greatest misfortune that can befall the common people of the world. But, if the imperialist beasts of prey construe the peaceableness of our people as a sign of weakness, a more ignominious downfall awaits them than that which was experienced by their predecessors in the warlike ventures against the Soviet State (*stormy applause*). There is a good Italian proverb which says that "he who refuses to learn a lesson, will learn it to his own cost" (*applause*).

The ruling circles of the United States and Britain are trying to deceive world public opinion by alleging that they are compelled to arm because of the threat of an armed attack by the Soviet Union.

This false talk of the Soviet threat and of the insincerity of the Soviet peace proposals is not new. Such talk was used by European and American imperialists after the First World War as a screen for the arming of fascist Germany, for which many nations had to pay with their blood in the Second World War. But the worthy diplomats of the American-British bloc are mistaken if they think that the memory of the peoples is so short that they can succeed so easily in enmeshing them in a web of lies.

The peoples of the world judge the policies of governments not by their words but by their deeds. The Soviet Union has never evaded the strict observance of the treaty obligations it assumed. Its word is as good as its bond. It is strange, to say the least of it, to hear America's rulers accusing others of insincerity when they themselves have grossly trampled upon the historic decisions of the Teheran, Yalta-and Potsdam conferences. Whose words and deeds really diverge cannot be concealed from the peoples of the world.

In order to justify their aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union, the imperialist statesmen calumniously assert that the Soviet people deny the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems.

Already in the early years of Soviet Power Lenin, the founder of our State, formulated the principle of peace and agreement with capitalist States. "Our path is a true one", Lenin

said. "We stand for peace and agreement, but we are against enslavement and the enslaving terms of agreement". This Leninist principle constitutes the basis of the policy of the Soviet State. "The basis of our relations with capitalist countries", Comrade Stalin has said, "is recognition of the possibility of the "coexistence of two opposite systems". Comrade Stalin has also defined a feasible basis of agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. "Exports and imports", he pointed out, "are the most suitable ground for such agreements. We require machinery, raw materials (cotton, for example), manufactures (metals, etc.) while the capitalists require a market for these goods. There you have a basis for agreement. The capitalists require oil, timber, grain products and we require a market for these commodities. There you have a basis for agreement." This was said in 1927. Today we have incomparably greater potentialities for business relations with capitalist countries. We have no objection to expanding considerably business-like co-operation on a basis of mutual advantage with the United States, Britain, France and other bourgeois countries both in the West and East. It is not the fault of the Soviet Union that the ruling circles of these States have, to the detriment of their own countries, taken the course of undermining and disrupting economic relations with the U.S.S.R.

The peaceful co-existence of the two systems also presumed political agreements. "We are pursuing a policy of peace", Comrade Stalin has said, "and we are prepared to 'sign pacts of nonaggression with bourgeois States. We are pursuing a policy of peace and we are prepared to come to an agreement concerning disarmament, up to and including the complete

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⁷ J. V. Stalin, Talk with First American Workers' Delegation, September 9, 1927. Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. X, p. 123.

abolition of the standing armies, as we declared to the whole world already at the Genoa Conference. There you have the basis for agreement in the diplomatic field."⁷

But what the imperialists need is not agreement. They are scared of agreements with the Soviet Union, because they might upset their aggressive plans, render unnecessary the arms drive, which is a source of billions in super-profits. The imperialists need war. They need it for the robbery and enslavement of the nations. And American monopolists need it most of all, as a . source of colossal super-profits.

The preparations for war are led by the American imperialists, yet United States leaders never tire of professing their pacific intentions. They are not opposed, you see, to "preserving" peace, but only on "conditions" that will be dictated by the United States. And what are these "conditions"? The peoples of the world must go down on their knees before American capital, renounce their national independence, accept a form of government the American "advisers" will impose on them, adopt the "American way of life", develop only those branches of economy which the American monopolists desire and find advantageous, and only to the extent that they desire and find advantageous. In a word, the nations must renounce their political sovereignty and economic independence, their cultural and other interests and become subjects of a newlybaked American empire. And this they call "preserving" peace! Indeed why should the American imperialist bosses risk war, when by bullying and brow-beating alone they could succeed in bending nations to their diktat? As we know, the maniac Hitler was also agreeable to "peace conditions" like these, But it was precisely these imperialist "peace conditions" which led to the

⁷ J. V. Stalin, Talk with First American Workers' Delegation, September 9, 1927. Collected Works, Russian Edition, Vol. X, p. 123.

Second World War. Obviously, when Truman advances similar "peace conditions", he is following the path of Hitler and his aim is to drag the nations into a third world war.

Every honest person may legitimately ask himself: on what grounds do the United States claim an exclusive position among other countries? Are not the nations of the world equal? Perhaps on the grounds that it has plenty of gold, coined from the blood and suffering of millions and suitable for the purposes of bribery? But the nations do not barter their liberty. Let not the American imperialist gentry cherish the belief, that, since they have succeeded in buying with their gold certain rulers of bourgeois countries, they have also bought the peoples of these countries.

The United States leaders cannot hide the fact that they need the arms race in order to dictate under the threat of force their predatory imperialist "peace conditions" to other nations.

As you see, these gentry are always and everywhere chattering about peace, while at the same time making preparations to launch another war, openly indulging in sabrerattling and vaingloriously boasting of the possession of some or other "fantastic missiles". Let them not think they can scare anybody with this. As for the Soviet people, only those who have lost all faculty of soberly assessing historical events can still think that the Soviet people can be scared by threats. Until now, every armed attack by the imperialist States on our country has invariably ended in an ignominious debacle, and today our State is stronger and mightier and our peoples are more solidly united and confident of their strength, than ever before (applause): Let the gentry intoxicated by war hysteria know that if they attack our country, the Soviet people will be able to give them a reception that will wean them forever from the desire to attempt insensate encroachments on the liberty and independence of our socialist Motherland (stormy, prolonged applause).

If anybody has to fear the consequences of another world war, it is above all the capitalists of America and other bourgeois countries, for another war will make the peoples pause to think about the perniciousness of the capitalist system, which cannot live without war, and of the necessity for replacing this bloodthirsty system by another system, the socialist system (prolonged applause)—as was the case in Russia, after the First World War and as was the case in the people's democracies of Europe and Asia after the Second World War.

It may appear at first glance that the imperialist camp represents a mighty integration of aggressive forces. Of course, these forces must not be underrated. However, the camp of peace is much stronger than the camp of war. Whereas the camp of peace is united by a common aim, in the camp of war there are serious divergences of interests, and many countries have been coerced into joining this camp, through their economic dependence on the United States, as a consequence of the notorious "Marshall Plan".

The superficial unity of the imperialist front cannot conceal its profound internal antagonisms, chiefly due to the competitive struggle for sources of raw materials, markets and spheres of capital investment. These antagonisms are .interwoven and embrace all the countries of the imperialist camp, but the chief of them are antagonisms between the United States and Britain both in Europe and Asia.

It is scarcely to be doubted that the antagonisms in the imperialist camp will become deeper as time goes on.

An even more serious factor is the weakness of the imperialist rear. However the imperialists may try to enmesh the peoples in lies, however the right-wing socialists, those zealous servitors of imperialism in betraying the interests 0 the working people, may exert themselves, the fact remains that in the imperialist camp itself, in the imperialist rear, there are impressive forces of peace in the shape of millions of honest

people, workers by hand and brain who set higher store in the preservation of peace than in any wretched sops capital may throw them. The anti-war sentiment of the masses is bound to grow because of the heavy burden, he colossal expenditure, the preparation for war lays upon the backs of the working people.

The weakness of imperialism's rear also finds expression in the growth of the national liberation movement .in the colonial and dependent countries. The people of Viet Nam are fighting heroically for their liberation; so are the peoples of the Philippines, Burma and Malaya; the people of Indonesia have not laid down their arms; the forces of resistance to imperialism are growing in the Near and Middle East and in North and South Africa.

The economies of the leading imperialist countries; and above all of the United States, are constantly menaced with upheavals. The militarisation of economy taking place in the United States, Britain and other capitalist countries—the incredible inflation of the war industries, and of branches that serve these industries at the expense of production for civilian consumption—is bound to lead to economic collapse in the near future. I shall not speak of the millions of unemployed in the United States.

Such is the picture in the camp of imperialism and war.

Quite different is the situation in the camp of democracy and peace. The forces of this camp, which is immune from all internal antagonisms, are growing in size and strength from day to day. I have already spoken of the progress of the Soviet Union, which is the chief and leading force in the camp of democracy and peace. The people's democracies also are marching from achievement to achievement. Having, thanks to the advantages of their new social system, quickly eliminated the severe aftermath of war, the peoples' of these countries are developing their economies at a rapid pace. Compared with prewar, industrial output by the end of the first half of this year had

increased by more than two and half times in Poland and Hungary, more than three times in Bulgaria, more than half as much again in Czechoslovakia, more than double in Rumania and more than four times in Albania. As in our country, industrial development in these countries serves to satisfy the requirements of the working people and to promote further peaceful development. With economic progress, the whole cultural pattern of these countries is changing, science, literature and arts are advancing and a new type of individual is arising; one who understands the vital interests of his people and is capable of defending them. A new social and political order has been fully consolidated, ensuring the unswerving advance of these countries along the road to socialism.

Big achievements have been registered by the Chinese People's Republic which occupies one of the leading positions in the struggle for peace. In the short period of its existence the Chinese People's Republic has been able, under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party, to strengthen the system of people's democratic dictatorship, and to solve a number of important economic and political problems, in the struggle for complete economic independence from the capitalist world, for industrialisation of the country and for cultural progress.

The work of peaceful construction is successfully proceeding in the German Democratic Republic which has firmly taken its place in the camp of democracy and peace. It is persistently battling for the vital interests of the entire German people, for an independent, united, democratic and peace-loving Germany, for the conclusion of a just peace treaty ensuring the German people a worthy place among the nations of the world.

Unlike the countries of the imperialist camp which are engaged, and cannot but be engaged, in bitter rivalry among themselves, the countries of the democratic camp are developing their economies on the basis of close co-operation and mutual assistance.

Thus, morally and politically, as well as economically, the camp of democracy and socialism represents a united and indestructible force. Its strength is enhanced by the fact that it champions the righteous cause of defending the liberty and independence of the nations. And this means that if the ringleaders of the imperialist camp risk unleashing a war after all, there can be no doubt that it will end in the crash of imperialism itself (applause).

Comrades! One of the greatest popular movements of modern times is the movement for peace. In spite of all obstacles, in spite of the persecution of peace supporters by the ruling circles of the imperialist States, the peace movement has assumed unparalleled scope, embracing all countries and all sections of the population, irrespective of political, religious or other convictions. The champions of peace all over the world are inspired by the words of Comrade Stalin, the great standard-bearer of peace: "Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the peoples take into their own hands the cause of the preservation of peace and defend it to the end." (applause).

The initiators and leading force of the battle for peace in all countries are the Communist Parties. Thanks to their dauntlessness and self-sacrifice in the fight for the vital interests of the working people, and in defence of peace and the sovereignty of the nations, the Communist Parties have won the confidence of the broad masses of the peoples.

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Comrades! By the 34th Anniversary of the October Socialist

⁸ J. V. Stalin Answers "Pravda" Correspondent's Questions (Soviet News, London, 1951, 1d.), p. 7.

Revolution our country has made a new stride towards communism. Our achievements confirm once again that the policy of the Bolshevik Party is the only correct policy and one that ensures the steady growth of the might of our country and the welfare of its working people (applause). In the effort to accomplish the grand programme of communist construction, the Soviet people have rallied still more closely around their own Communist Party, around the inspirer and organiser of our victories, great Stalin (stormy applause).

Conscious of their strength and the rightness of the road they are following the Soviet people are continuing their great constructive labours with unshakable calmness and faith in the future. No force on earth can retard the victorious march of the Soviet people towards the final triumph of communism (applause).

Long live the great invincible banner of the October Socialist Revolution! (applause).

Long live our mighty Motherland-the indestructible bulwark of liberty. and peace! (*applause*).

Long live the Party of Lenin and Stalin, our glorious Bolshevik Party! (prolonged applause).

For the triumph of peace and democracy the world over!

(Prolonged, stormy applause. The ovation in honour of the organiser and inspirer of the titanic, historical victories of the Soviet people, in honour of mankind's inspired genius, the standard-bearer of peace, the great leader and teacher, J. V. Stalin, lasts several minutes.)

Speech by MARSHAL R. Y. MALINOVSKY. In the Red Square, Moscow, November 7, 1951

Comrades Soldiers and Sailors, Sergeants and Petty Officers!
Comrades Officers, Generals and Admirals!
Working people of the Soviet Union!
Foreign friends who have come to us for the festival!

On behalf and on the instruction of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), I greet and congratulate you on the occasion of the 34th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Soviet people are observing the glorious Anniversary of the October Revolution with outstanding victories in all spheres of the country's political and economic life.

Having fulfilled the Post-War Five-Year Plan ahead of time the Soviet people have attained fresh achievements in carrying out the national economic plan in the current year.

The workers, collective farmers and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union are realising by their selfless labour the Stalin Plan for remaking nature, are building the world's greatest hydroelectric stations and canals, and laying the material and technical foundation of communist society.

The steady advance of Soviet national economy is being accompanied by the further progress of Soviet culture, science and art, by the rise in the well-being of the working people of the Soviet Union.

Our heroic people owe all their achievements in building communism to the wise guidance of the Bolshevik Party, to our leader and teacher Comrade Stalin.

The outstanding successes of the Soviet people serve as an inspiring example for the working folk of the people's democracies who are successfully building socialism.

Engaged in constructive labour the Soviet Union is consistently and firmly pursuing a Lenin-Stalin policy directed at strengthening peace and co-operation among the nations.

The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet State accords with the vital interests of millions of working people of all countries.

Entirely different is the policy of the ruling circles of the United States of America. This is a policy of aggression. Its aim is to establish the domination of the American monopolists over the peoples of other countries, to rob the working masses and worsen their living standards.

The ruling circles of America and their accomplices in the North Atlantic bloc cover up their aggressive. policy with shouts about the alleged danger of war on the part of the Soviet Union. The purpose of such inventions is clear. The warmongers seek to deceive the peoples, to weaken their resistance to the policy of war and starvation.

The masses of the peoples, however, will not let themselves be enmeshed in a web of lies. They do not want a recurrence of war calamities and are fully resolved to foil the plans of the aggressors. With each passing day they are becoming increasingly convinced that the Soviet Union is engaged in carrying out plans of peaceful construction and does not contemplate attacking the United States of America or any other country.

It is known that the American imperialists, having unleashed the brigand war in Korea, and crudely trampling upon international agreements, are preparing another world war. With this end in view they are reviving the fascist army in Western Germany, are restoring militarism in Japan and are knocking together aggressive blocs against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the people's democracies.

The Soviet people, taking account of the present international situation and being highly conscious of their patriotic duty, tirelessly strengthen their socialist Motherland.

The imperialists will not succeed in seeing our country weak and unarmed. The Soviet people, should they be forced to it, will meet the aggressor fully armed.

The armed forces of the Soviet State vigilantly stand guard over the peace and security of our country.

The fighting men of the Soviet Army and Navy persistently perfect their military and political knowledge and enhance in eve way the combat preparedness of the troops.

The Soviet people can fully rely on their armed forces . They were, are and will be a reliable bulwark of the State interests of the Soviet Union.

Long live the 34th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their courageous armed forces!

Long live our beloved Soviet Government!

Long live the great Party of Lenin and Stalin—the inspirer and organiser of all the victories of the Soviet people!

Glory to our beloved Leader and Teacher, the great Stalin!

Hurrah!