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M. K A L I N I N

THE MIGHT  
OF THE  
SOVIET STATE



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
MOSCOW 1944

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M. KALININ

**THE MIGHT  
OF THE SOVIET STATE**

*Translated*

*by*

**J. FINEBERG**



**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE**

**MOSCOW 1944**

THE  
STATE

OF THE  
Soviet  
REPUBLICS

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics



THE European war launched by fascist Germany very soon developed into a second World War, into which the Soviet Union was drawn by the sudden attack of the Hitler aggressors. The whole weight of the German war machine and of the forces of Germany's satellites—Rumania, Hungary and Finland—was huried against the U.S.S.R. Many people, not only in the camp of our enemies, but also of our friends, believed that Russia would be unable to withstand the onslaught of the armed forces of fascism and that the war in the East would last no more than six months and even less.

At the beginning of the war the fascist rulers, in their propaganda, boasted about and in every way extolled the German army, its equipment, the fighting efficiency of its men and officers and the strategy and tactics of the fascist generals. They tried to convince the whole world that the German army was invincible and that it was capable of winning *blitz-kriegs*.

The Red Army, however, proved that it was able not only to check the advance of the German fascist hordes but also to inflict upon them, one after another, a series of crushing blows at Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, on the Dnieper and on the other side of the Dnieper, blows which knocked a great deal of the arrogance and self-assurance out of the Germans. And today, however much the fascist High Command may wriggle in their efforts to attribute their reverses to "climatic factors," to their desire to "shorten the

front" and conduct an "elastic defence," they are reluctantly compelled to admit that the Soviet Union is a mighty state and the Red Army a formidable force.

The victories our troops have achieved over the German fascist armies have been widely commented upon by world public opinion, which proved to be not well enough informed to be able fully to appreciate the Red Army's military successes. The question of how the might of the Soviet Union is to be explained has been discussed in the columns of the foreign press ever since the war began, but nothing like a reasonable answer has been given to it yet. No really important work on this subject has appeared to this day. The majority of the foreign authors who have studied the question confine themselves to various speculations or conjectures, sometimes of a rather original nature. Attempts are made subjectively to attribute our successes merely to the numerical superiority of our troops, or to the traditional staunchness of the Russian soldier. Others again sum up the whole subject in the general statement that the U.S.S.R. possesses inexhaustible resources of materials and manpower.

It goes without saying that to attempt to appraise the relative might of different countries, particularly countries at war, by means of any one of these factors means restricting the scope of the question and preventing anything like true light being thrown upon it. But how should the might of a whole country, or state, the Soviet Union in this case, be graphically defined? I think it is possible to do so only by depicting the might of this state in the light of the sum total of its material and spiritual treasures, natural wealth, economic development, political system, and moral and political condition, all of which determine the spiritual qualities of a people.

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First of all we will point to the area of our country. The Soviet Union is the largest continuous area country in the world. From North to South, the U.S.S.R. stretches over 4,500 kilometres, and from West to East 11,000 kilometres. The total area of the U.S.S.R. is equal to about 22,000,000 square kilometres, or one-sixth of the inhabited land surface of the globe. In population the Soviet Union stands third after China and India. This alone indicates the enormous potential of our country.

Within the boundaries of the Soviet Union there are colossal deposits of useful minerals of every possible kind and variety. Even the northern regions of our country, which had not been explored under tsarism, have now revealed their vast mineral resources thanks to the numerous expeditions conducted by Soviet scientists. The Kola Peninsula, the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, Pechora, Nordvik, Norilsk, the basin of the river Tunguska, Verkhoyansk and Kolyma are now providing us with increasing quantities of nickel, tin, apatite, nepheline, iron, coal, oil, fluor-spar, graphite, mica, salt and gold.

The central zone of Russia is also abundant in all kinds of minerals: bauxite, cement and shale in the Leningrad Region; peat in the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and in the Ivanovo and Kalinin Regions; cement, iron ore and coal in the Moscow Basin; and rich deposits of phosphorite and iron in the Kursk Region.

And the further one goes to the East of our country the more abundant her mineral wealth becomes: oil in Syzran and Ishimbay; bauxite in Bashkiria; salt in lakes Elton and Baskunchak; the Urals with their inexhaustible deposits of ores and coal and rich deposits of oil, nickel, copper, potassium, asbestos, platinum and precious stones. Kazakhstan is rich in coal, gold, lead, tungsten, molybdenum and quicksil-

ver. Western and Eastern Siberia possess immense deposits of coal, ores and gold. And lastly, there is the wealth of Yakutia, the Far East of the U.S.S.R., Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

The natural wealth of the southern parts of the Soviet Union is common knowledge: the Donets Coal Basin, the iron ore of Krivoy Rog and the manganese of Nikopol. Georgia is famous for her Chiaturi manganese and Tkvarcheli and Tkvibuli coal; Armenia for her Zangezour copper, and Baku, Grozny and Maikop are world famous as centres of the oil industry. Our Central Asiatic Republics are rich in coal, oil, shale, cement, lead, phosphorite, quicksilver, antimony, copper and other varieties of useful minerals.

Under the Soviet regime, ore and mineral deposits have been found over vast areas and are now being developed. It goes without saying, however, that only an inconsiderable part of the natural wealth of our territory has been explored.

The climate of the Soviet Union is different in different parts of the country and, consequently, it possesses a large variety of flora and fauna. The extensive areas of the Far North with their sparse vegetation give way to vast forests of coniferous and other trees, which provide extremely valuable building and industrial materials. Then follow vast tracts of what is called wood and steppe country, and the fertile soils of the steppe zone of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea coasts, the Kuban, the Don area and Western Siberia. The collective farm fields that stretch out here provide millions of tons of wheat and other cereals and of industrial crops. The broad central zone is the main producer of vegetables and the habitation of a large industrial population.

In the extreme south of our country lies the subtropical region, where the tea plantations, and the

citrus fruit groves, which were cultivated under the Soviet regime, are situated. Here, too, grow boxwood, bamboo and other timber valuable for industrial purposes. Thanks to the extensive irrigation system which has been developed, the arid areas of our Central Asiatic Republics: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan, grow cotton, which supplies our entire textile industry. Even the desert zone is steadily retreating before the onslaught of Soviet man, and thanks to irrigation systems is producing valuable agricultural produce.

Equally abundant and varied is the animal world of our country. In it are represented nearly all the varieties of wild and domesticated animals, marine animals and fish known on the globe.

The variety of climatic conditions in a given country and the multifarious branches of economy resulting from it in themselves widen a man's outlook. The variety of nationalities inhabiting the country (constituting a population of 193,000,000) strengthens the mutual ties and mutual understanding between the different peoples. And, I would say, this fraternal cohabitation of peoples of different nationalities in itself strikes a crushing blow at the so-called race theory of fascism.

Russia's historical past was never marked by stagnation. The as yet nascent Russian state was obliged to wage innumerable wars for its existence and independence as well as to acquire adjacent territories to safeguard its security. The severity of the climate cultivated in our people the spirit of enterprise, their fighting spirit and their patriotism.

True, size of territory, population and abundance of minerals and vegetation do not yet constitute a country's might in the full sense of the term; they constitute only its potential might. We know of a number of big countries of large area and population

which are weaker than their neighbours with smaller populations and fewer potentialities. Not very long ago tsarist Russia was defeated in war by Japan, which possessed far fewer potentialities and real opportunities than Russia. Nevertheless, the above-enumerated factors are essential prerequisites for the development of a country's might; for a small country with a restricted area and population is restricted in its potentialities.

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One of the main factors that determine the might of our country is the Soviet socialist system, that is to say, the form of state which our people have won for themselves, and which they regard as their own. In one of his works Marx wrote that theory becomes a material force as soon as it takes hold of the masses.\* It can, indeed, be said that the essence of our Soviet regime, the ideas which it puts into practice, are understood by our people and constitute that indomitable power which has stood the greatest test and has pulled through the greatest struggle that any country has had to face in history.

The Soviet regime came into being as the result of the victory achieved by the working class and the peasantry over the exploiting classes. It grew and became consolidated in the struggle for the socialistic transformation of our country. Before political power passed to the Soviets, Russia was on the brink of disaster. The ruling classes—the capitalists and landlords—and their hangers-on, the petty bourgeois Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties, were incapable of saving Russia from utter economic collapse

\* *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Vol. 1, Karl Marx, "A Contribution to the Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," p. 614; German ed., 1939.

and ruin. It was our Bolshevik Party alone, the vanguard of the working class, that found the right way out of the extremely critical situation that then prevailed.

The courageous appeal issued by Lenin and Stalin to the workers and the toiling peasantry to take the fate of Russia into their own hands met with the enthusiastic response of the masses of the people. The Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies became the sole and all-embracing power in the country. Concerning the Soviets, Lenin wrote:

"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 greatest historical invention has been made, a proletarian type of state has been created."\*

The path pursued by the Soviet regime is the path of struggle for the interests of the people. Its achievements in this respect are common knowledge. To explain the essence of the Soviet regime and the advantages of this form of government over all other

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 361.

existing forms would be a formidable task. I shall, therefore, deal only with two points, the most important in my opinion: the complete democratism of the Soviet regime, and the really complete equality that exists among the nations constituting the Soviet Union. The Stalin Constitution fully reflects the social and economic changes that took place in the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1936, and today the Soviet state system is based on this Constitution, which, in fact, consummated the democratization of our country. At every stage the Soviets are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage and secret ballot.

The supreme organ of state power in our country is the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. It exercises legislative power. The Supreme Soviet appoints the government of the U.S.S.R.—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 with equal powers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—both enjoying equal power to initiate legislation. The Soviet of the Union is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. according to electoral areas on the basis of one member for every 300,000 of the population. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in their respective Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas on the basis of 25 members from each Union Republic, 11 members from each Autonomous Republic, 5 members from each Autonomous Region and 1 member from every National Area.

The Soviets as governing authorities constitute a large body of legislators and administrators who come from the ranks of the people. Here are a few figures which sufficiently illustrate this. The number of members elected to Village Soviets throughout the country is 1,060,746; the number elected to Settlement Soviets is 38,994; to Rural District Soviets

140,158; to City and Urban District Soviets 151,822; to Area (*Okrug*) Soviets 871; to Regional and Territory Soviets 9,311; to the Supreme Soviets of Autonomous Republics 2,320; to the Supreme Soviets of Union Republics 4,532; and finally, to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. 1,338.

The very number of members of the Soviets scattered all over the Soviet Union, from Moscow to its remotest corners, in itself shows that through these members the Soviet regime can and does carry out great measures, for, practically speaking, this large body of administrators is in contact with the entire population of our country. And lastly, it is an immense school for the training of legislators and statesmen. The voters maintain direct contact with their deputies, and this contact, running in a continuous chain from bottom up, makes the Soviet regime government by the people in the fullest sense of the word.

Now and again, perhaps, people may express dissatisfaction with the Soviet government because of the incorrect behaviour of some of its individual representatives; but everybody realizes that the government is the people's government, and when anybody expresses dissatisfaction with it, he expresses dissatisfaction with something that is his own and is prompted in his criticism by the desire to remove any defects it may suffer from and improve it. Criticism of the defects in the work of the Soviet administration is continuous, and the lower we descend the ladder of state, the more clearly do we find this criticism directed against the chiefs of particular departments. This criticism is expressed not only in newspaper articles, but also verbally, at meetings, and in direct conversations with deputies.

To illustrate how closely the Soviet regime stands to the people I will quote an incident that occurred

to me personally. One summer I visited my native village. All the people were in the fields pulling flax. I went to the fields followed by six or seven of the leading men in the village. When we came up to the people working in the fields a woman called out, pointing to my companions: "Mikhail Ivanovich, look how many men you have brought here to look on while we women are working!" "Why, they are your own men!" I rejoined. "This is your son-in-law and this your son; and this is her husband." "Yes, we know they are our men," answered the woman, "the trouble is, the Soviet government pampers them." "Why don't you make them work?" I asked. "That wants some doing," the woman answered. I then turned to my companions (they were the chairman and secretary of the Village Soviet, the chairman of the collective farm, leading members of the Young Communist League, the village school teacher, and others) and said that since everybody was in the fields there was not much for them to do in the village, and it would not be a bad thing if they pulled a couple of hectares of flax. The women greeted my proposal with vociferous enthusiasm. I learned afterwards that these leading men of the village did set to work and finished the job in two days. This was not surprising, for all of them were quite accustomed to agricultural work. This incident vividly illustrates how close the Soviet regime stands to the people.

It may be said that this was a case of a Soviet body on the lowest rung of the ladder of state consisting of local people (it is impossible to find people from outside for every village!). To this I would answer that this same village has produced a general, several officers and several district Party secretaries, not to speak of my humble self. And today it is scarcely possible to find a single village of any size which has not supplied leading men for the Party, the Soviet

government, the army or for the field of science. As Comrade Stalin said:

"The Soviet government is not a government divorced from the people; on the contrary, it is the only government of its kind, a government which comes from the... masses and is near and dear to them. This in fact explains the unparalleled strength and resilience displayed by the Soviet government at critical moments."\*

The Lenin and Stalin national policy made the Soviet State a united state. This was not achieved by violence, not by blood and iron, but by giving the different nations in the U.S.S.R. every opportunity to build up their national states. Comrade Stalin said:

"... The task of the Party 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".\*\*

At first, here and there, perhaps, things were overdone. For example, a written language was invented for a nationality whose numbers did not exceed a thousand; or separate national administrations were

\* J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 72.

\*\* Ibid, pp. 82-83.

set up for peoples who differed from their neighbours only in that they spoke different dialects of the same language.

At the beginning of a vast revolutionary movement like that which took place in our country, it was natural for every nationality, even the smallest, to endeavour to assert its individuality and imagine that this can be achieved primarily by setting up its own administration. When, however, the opportunity to do so was given them, these nationalities betrayed a desire to unite with their kindred nationalities. In this somewhat involved way, perhaps, this process eventually resulted in the ties between the nations constituting the Soviet Union becoming more cemented, and this immeasurably increased the might of the Soviet State.

Comrade Stalin has pointed to the specific features of our Constitution as regards the mutual relations between nationalities. Our Constitution is based on the principle that all nations and races are equal, that difference in colour or language, level of culture or level of political development, or any other difference between nations and races, cannot justify national inequality. Comrade Stalin said that our Constitution is based on the principle that: "all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society."\*

The national policy of the Soviet government is rightly called the Lenin and Stalin national policy. It provides opportunities for the fullest development of national statehood and national culture. It is precisely this policy that has undoubtedly served to consolidate

\* J. V. Stalin, *On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.* Report Delivered at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., November 25, 1936.

the Soviet Union to the degree that is so vividly demonstrated by the exceptional solidarity displayed by all the nations constituting our Soviet Union during the most trying days of our Patriotic War against Hitler Germany.

To sum up the specific features of the Soviet state system, its constitutional principles, we must say that the source of the strength and the invincibility of the Soviet regime lies in that, as Lenin said, "it enjoys the sympathy and most ardent and self-sacrificing support of the overwhelming majority of the masses." Herein lies the strength of the Soviet Union.

\* \* \*

One of the decisive factors which have determined the strength of our state is the heavy industry which the Soviet people have built. Lenin said:

"The salvation of Russia lies not 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 doomed as an independent country.... Heavy industry needs state subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then, as a civilized state—let alone as a Socialist State—we are doomed."\*

It is common knowledge that tsarist Russia was mainly an agrarian country, where industry was scarcely developed and where the main and decisive branches of industry—oil, iron and coal mining—were largely in the hands of foreigners. The indust-

\* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 328.

ries-producing means of production were at a particularly low level of development and, as a consequence, colossal resources were spent on importing materials, machines, machine-tools and so forth, from abroad. In spite of her vast resources of peat, coal, shale and water power, pre-revolutionary Russia was exceptionally undeveloped as regards electricity. The task of building this essential base for any industry fell to the lot of the Soviet regime. Lenin raised the question of electrifying the country in the very first days of the revolution, and in this connection the GOELRO Plan\* was drawn up. The subsequent measures taken by the Soviet government for the electrification of industry brought our country to the position of being second only to the United States of America in this respect.

During the period of execution of the Five-Year Plans we built gigantic power plants like the Dnieper Electric Power Plant, the Kanakir Plant and the Dzoroget Plant in Armenia, the Rioni Plant in Georgia, the Shatura, Gorky, Klasson, Byelorussian, Kashira, Stalinogorsk, Baku, Chelyabinsk, Berezniki, Shterovka, Stalingrad and many other electric power stations whose networks cover our country and form entire electric power systems such as the Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, Urals, and others.

In addition to the coal and metallurgical base in the South, the Soviet people built during the years of peaceful construction a second coal and metallurgical base in the East, which became the basis of the industry of the Urals and Siberia. Between the Volga and the Urals we created a second oil base, which we called the "Second Baku." As a consequence, the output of coal, oil and metals in our country increased immensely.

\* The plan drawn up by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia.

The course taken by our Party and the Soviet government towards transforming our country from an agrarian to an industrial one led us from the initial stage of reconstructing and re-equipping old plants and factories to the stage of building an enormous number of new huge metallurgical and machine-building plants. This process is still going on. At the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period the Soviet Union was already the largest producer of agricultural machinery in the world. A number of branches of industry which were totally unknown in tsarist Russia, as for example the production of harvester combines and steam turbines, were extensively developed, thus relieving our country of the necessity of importing essential means of production.

Under the Soviet regime we built industrial giants such as the Electrical Engineering Plant and the Turret-Lathe Plant in Moscow, the Milling-Machine Plant in Gorky, the Heavy Engineering Plant in Kramatorskaya, the Urals Engineering Plant, the Kharkov, Chelyabinsk and Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Agricultural Machinery Plant in Rostov-on-Don, and others.

As a consequence of the enormous expansion of the railway system, which linked the remote parts of the country with trunk lines and a ramified system of branch lines, and of the construction on an extensive scale of railways for internal transport purposes in large industrial plants, the urgent necessity arose of increasing the output of locomotives and rolling stock. The locomotive industry particularly was extensively developed and the U.S.S.R. became the largest locomotive-building country in the world. A number of new railway engineering plants arose such as the Locomotive Plant in Voroshilovgrad, and the Railway Car Plants in Nizhni-Tagil, Dneprodzerzhinsk, and other places. After undergoing thorough

reconstruction many of the old plants began to turn out electric locomotives, cars for electric trains, cars for the Moscow Metro, and powerful locomotives of a new type such as the "JS," "FD," and others, none of which had been produced in Russia before.

The aircraft and tank-building industries were introduced and developed in our country for the first time, as was also the manufacture of automobiles, now so well represented by the Stalin Automobile Plant in Moscow, the Molotov Works in Gorky, the Assembly Plants in Omsk and Rostov-on-Don, and by a number of auxiliary plants for the automobile industry. The manufacture of ball bearings was started with the erection of the Kaganovich Plant in Moscow, one of the largest plants of its kind in the world.

The metal industry was extensively developed in our country by the erection of new plants and the reconstruction of old ones. Plants like the Azov Steel, the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Plant, the plant in Stalinsk, Kuzbas, the Electrostal Plant, the Zaporozhye Steel Plant, the Chelyabinsk Ferrous Alloys Plant and others, are known to all. We have erected a number of new plants for the smelting of copper, lead, nickel and aluminium. The number of pipe rolling and casting plants, and large and medium metallurgical plants has increased immensely.

The chemical industry, which was in a wretchedly low state in Russia under the tsarist regime, has been extensively developed. Factories and entire plants for the manufacture of fertilizers have been erected, such as those in Voskresensk, Aktyubinsk and Tashkent. The rubber and asbestos industry, the production of potassium fertilizers, apatites and synthetic rubber were introduced and developed for the first time. We also built up the pharmaceutical industry almost from the beginning.

The lumber, paper and building industries also made considerable progress under the Soviet regime. What are called the light industries have been greatly developed. Receiving new machines and machine-tools, considerably reconstructing the old factories and building a number of large new ones, they are rapidly increasing their output.

Rapid success is being achieved by our food industry, which has replaced its old semi-hand methods of production by modern mechanized methods, and has built a number of large meat packing and fruit and vegetable canning plants, as well as plants for preparing foods for the kitchen.

It must be said that the growth and development of all branches of our industry is greatly facilitated by the fact that they are equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, which, however, thanks to the widespread inventiveness and constructive activity of our engineers and technicians, is continuously being improved.

Industry in our Union Republics has also grown at a rapid pace. This is eloquently proved by the following figures: from 1913 to 1940 the gross output of large-scale industry over the whole of the Soviet Union increased on the average 10.9 times; that of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, however, increased 22.2 times, that of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic 22.3 times, the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic 26.4 times, the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic 160 times, and the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic 242 times.

In the regions of the Volga, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East and Karaganda, industrial enterprises have been built of a type which before the Revolution had existed only in the western and central regions of our country. The Soviet government and the Communist Party exerted a great deal of effort to abolish

the irrational distribution of industry that was characteristic of tsarist Russia. Year after year the centre of our industry was shifted more and more to the East, nearer to the sources of raw materials and fuel.

Thanks to the expansion of the industrial crops zone, numerous new plants were built where none had existed before. Thus, sugar refining plants appeared in Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and other regions of the Soviet Union.

The foregoing does not claim to be anything like a complete review of our industrial development; it merely reveals the general trend, and shows what a vast amount of work the Soviet people have performed in laying an industrial foundation for their might, and how great and formidable this foundation is.

I shall not quote figures to illustrate the output capacity of our industry, although such figures are available in abundance. The best evidence of our industrial might is the fact that, for nearly three years of war of unprecedented dimensions, our industry has provided our armed forces with everything they need. This fact vividly illustrates the real might of our industry, which is causing wonder all over the world.

I have given only a brief list of some of the industrial plants which have been erected during the period of the Soviet regime, but this list reveals what enormous physical and constructive efforts our working class exerted in the past, and is exerting particularly at the present time. The plants it has erected are now manufacturing goods needed by the state, and particularly by our armed forces, amounting in value to billions of rubles.

In the course of erecting and operating these plants our working class, engineers and technicians acquired immense organizing experience and professional knowledge. They regard these plants not sim-

ly as factories for the manufacture of certain goods, but as the embodiment of their own labour materialized on a gigantic scale; they regard them as their own offspring, as their own property, which enables them to increase the might of their Soviet State.

Of course, to all that has been enumerated above should have been added the efforts of the working class in production, for the most striking illustration of all this is its heroic labour. The sum total of production is the result of the application of the efforts of the working class to all the material potentialities of our industry. Machines are merely a means; the producer is the working class, which operates the machines it itself has created. This is talked and written about every day and is proved by concrete facts; it would, therefore, have been superfluous to dwell on it here.

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A most important element of the economic might of the Soviet Union is agriculture and the successes it has achieved under the Soviet regime.

In agriculture we have made great progress and our country is, perhaps, one of the most advanced agricultural countries in Europe. These successes in agriculture are undoubtedly the fruit of the Soviet system. This statement may sound unconvincing to some people abroad, but it is nevertheless a fact.

Today our country is covered not by individual, scattered and chaotically distributed privately owned allotments, but by large and continuous collective farms, with measured fields properly planned by skilled surveyors. In planning the fields economic expediency was the main consideration. Proper rotation of crops was introduced and, of course, the old strip field and open field system was abolished.

The agriculture of the collective farms is mostly

mechanized. The number of tractors and other complex agricultural machines used in collective farms now runs into hundreds of thousands. Suffice it to say that, as regards the technical equipment of agriculture, our country now holds first place in the world. Moreover, the average annual performance of agricultural machines, and of tractors in particular, has reached a high level.

Notable achievements have been attained in the cultivation of cereals. Today the cultivation of cereal crops, like wheat, for example, which were always regarded as southern crops, has extended to the midlands, and even to the northern regions of our country. On the other hand, crops which formerly were as a rule cultivated only in the North or in the midlands, have extended to the South. As an example we may mention potatoes.

The collectivization of agriculture gave an impetus to the expansion of the cultivated area. Our collective farms and state farms have raised vast areas of virgin soil, and the cultivation of heavy crops such as industrial crops, vegetables and cattle feed has increased to an exceptional degree.

It is characteristic that the process of collectivization of agriculture was accompanied by a rapid process of intensification. This is particularly noticeable in regard to vegetables. Figures could be quoted to prove what colossal achievements we have attained in this sphere. What is particularly important is that our agricultural science has succeeded in developing the cultivation of vegetables in regions which formerly were regarded as unsuitable for this owing to climatic conditions. Vegetables are now becoming a common item of food for the peasant masses as well as for the urban population, and this undoubtedly signifies a considerable improvement in the people's diet. We may anticipate that as the consumption of

vegetables increases in the midland and northern regions of the Soviet Union, the consumption of bread per head of the population will steadily diminish. A very considerable growth is also observed in the cultivation of fruit, which also creates greater variety and improves the diet of our population.

To enable the reader to appreciate the successes achieved in collective farming it must be said that before the war the government set the collective farm peasantry and the state farms the task of obtaining a total crop of 133,000,000 tons of grain per annum, and that this was almost achieved in the last years before the war.

The introduction of complex machines in the collective farms and state farms greatly increased the productivity of agricultural labour and permitted the introduction of specialization. To avoid burdening the reader with figures and complicated calculations, I will merely state that every year, before the revolution, South Ukraine alone absorbed during harvest time up to 2,000,000 agricultural labourers from other regions, mainly from the Orel, Tula, Ryazan, Kaluga and other midland gubernias of Russia. Under the Soviet regime, however, although the cultivated area of South Ukraine has grown considerably compared with what it was under tsarism, although intensive methods of farming are now applied on a wide scale and the crops cultivated are much more varied and the yield much higher, the collective farm peasantry managed all their agricultural operations unaided. This applies not only to the Ukraine, but to the entire area of our vast Soviet land.

Of great importance not only for the raising of agricultural produce, but also for improving the methods of agriculture, are our state farms. There can be no doubt that these large mechanized and specialized farms, whose experience will be utilized by col-

lective farms on an ever increasing scale, will play an increasingly important role in our agriculture.

The colossal changes that have taken place in our agriculture enabled us to pull through three years of war with comparatively little hardship, and it must be remembered that for two years we were deprived of the Kuban, the Don area and the Ukraine, i. e., the most fertile regions of our country.

We have every ground for stating that the war has vividly demonstrated the enormous advantages of the collective farm system. As Comrade Stalin said: "The fact that our Army is not experiencing any shortage of food in this third year of the war, that the population of our country is being supplied with food and industry with raw materials, is evidence of the strength and vitality of the collective farm system and of the patriotism of the *collective farm peasantry*."\*

It may be said that we receive assistance in the way of food from the United States. Of course, this is a very valuable aid, but only an aid, nothing more.

It goes without saying that the rapid development of agriculture enormously increased the supply of raw materials for industry and thereby enhanced the might of our country also qualitatively.

One of our greatest problems—of increasing our livestock and improving the breeds—was steadily brought nearer and nearer solution year after year by our collective farms and state farms. The collective and state farm flocks and herds increased and, what is most important, the breeds improved.

Collectivization, division of labour in collective farming, the introduction of complex agricultural machinery and agronomic measures, all facilitated the acquisition of technical skill and the growth of

\* J. V. Stalin, *Speech on the 26th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.*

organizing ability among the masses of the collective farm peasantry. In general, our agriculture as a whole is one of the important factors of the economic might of the Soviet Union.

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However great the material resources of a country may be, it is generally admitted, even by many military experts, including the Germans, that the political and moral state of the people is an exceptionally important factor in the military potential of a belligerent country. Among all the weapons of war in their arsenal, the German fascist aggressors attached considerable importance to propaganda and agitation for the purpose of demoralizing the peoples of the countries with whom they are at war. They seriously believed that they would achieve the same successes in the Soviet Union as they had achieved in Western Europe, and even more. The war against the Soviet Union has shown, however, that in this respect the Hitlerites have suffered utter defeat.

The political and moral condition and the unity of our people have proved to be superior to anything our enemies, and even our friends abroad assumed. As for our country, none of us had the slightest doubt about the unity and staunchness of our people, about their boundless devotion to their country and their readiness to fight in defence of her independence and freedom. How could there have been any doubt about it considering that our people—the workers, peasants and intellectuals—are united, monolithic, Soviet in spirit. Every particle of this united whole emulates the others in patriotism, labour and in fighting the enemy. The entire people represent a source of enormous spiritual, political and moral strength.

Little is known abroad about our working class. The prevailing opinion abroad was, at all events

before the revolution, that our working class was backward compared with the European working class. This was far from being the case. Suffice it to say that beginning with the nineties of the last century the Russian proletariat was politically influenced by the Bolshevik Party, which, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and in a fierce struggle against opportunism in all its forms—the Narodniks, Economists and subsequently the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—inculcated the ideas of revolutionary Marxism in the ranks of the proletariat.

Notwithstanding the fact that our Party was obliged to operate underground, its influence over the working class was enormous, and this found concrete expression in the Great October Revolution, when the proletariat resolutely supported our Party in the struggle for the Soviet regime.

The working class of tsarist Russia traversed a difficult but glorious road in the struggle against tsarism. The workers and peasants suffered heavily in fighting for power and later in defending it. Thousands of the best sons of the working class and peasantry sacrificed their lives for the Soviet State during the Civil War and foreign intervention. During the period of peaceful construction tens of thousands of workers not only toiled to build up industry, but devoted all their strength to the task of consolidating the Soviet State. All over the country, in villages and in towns, there were workers who served devotedly in Soviet administration bodies, helping to organize and consolidate the Soviet apparatus of state. Their efforts to build up and consolidate the Soviet State were not in vain. Year after year, as industry grew, the conditions of life of the workers improved and their cultural standard rose.

This is quite understandable, for the object of building the Soviet State was to realize the ideals of

the working class. New apartment houses were built in the working class districts, palaces of culture, theatres, kindergartens, crèches and schools sprang up, and their number became so large that the government was able to issue a decree introducing not only compulsory elementary education but also secondary education.

The trade unions, as the organizing factor in the cultivation of social habits among the workers, possessing large funds of their own as well as being in control of the state insurance funds, have built numerous rest homes and stadiums. It may be boldly asserted that the social and cultural life of our working class stands at a fairly high level. Its standard of living steadily improved before the war and there was every prospect of further improvement in its material and cultural life.

The working class was already reaping the fruits of its self-sacrificing labours, for its own conditions improved. It realized that the Soviet Socialist State was really the state of the working people, and that is why it is fighting so devotedly now to defend it. The boundless heroism our workers displayed when industry was evacuated from the threatened regions, the heroic struggle they are waging at the front and their self-sacrificing labours in the factories is the most convincing proof that our working class regards the Soviet regime as its own and is devoting all its strength to preserve it. It can see no power that can be nearer and dearer to it. This explains why its morale is so strong.

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Foreign commentators, particularly those in the camp of our enemy, measure the Soviet peasants with the ordinary, pre-revolutionary yardstick of the

"Russian experts" and regard them merely as "dumb cattle" to be used as cannon fodder. The Russian muzhik, they say, is just the same today as he was under tsarism. But these "commentators" are ignorant of the ancient and modern history of Russia. They are ignorant of the fact that the Russian peasantry cruelly disappointed the tsar and the landlords when the latter counted on receiving the support of the peasant representatives in the State Duma and hoped to find defenders of reaction among the peasant masses. Still more ignorant are these "Russian experts" of the modern Soviet history of the development of the peasant masses. They totally fail to understand the process our rural districts have undergone during the past twenty years.

Today our rural districts are no longer a conglomeration of the primitive, individual and disunited farms they were before. On the contrary, the inhabitants of the rural districts in the Soviet Union today are more homogeneous, and at the same time intellectually more versatile than they were before. Today we have a large stratum of rural intellectuals. Every collective farm of any size has an agricultural expert with a college education, cooperative society workers, and a chairman with considerable organizing ability, for he manages a large and complex enterprise. The dairy and livestock departments of these farms have managers and technical staffs. The brigadiers, *i.e.*, foremen and forewomen of the different groups of collective farm workers, must not only be skilled at their particular jobs but also capable organizers. The collective farms have their men and women tractor drivers, combine drivers, fitters, mechanics, milkmaids and other workers, according to the particular character of the collective farm.

As is evident, by its very mature collective large-scale agricultural production, its mechanization and

intensification, makes far higher calls upon the intellect of the farmer than individual peasant farming. Today, every collective farm of any size has a crèche and kindergarten, where the children are cared for by trained personnel. Postal communication in the rural districts has been improved and the number of schools, mainly secondary, the curriculum of which includes the study of foreign languages, has been increased. From this it is evident that the number of school teachers in the rural districts has grown immensely.

There is a very rapid development today of amateur art in the rural districts (village theatricals, dramatic circles, and classes for singing, dancing, the playing of musical instruments, etc.). The number of travelling cinemas and public as well as privately owned radio installations is growing year after year. All this has radically changed the mentality of our rural population. In every collective farm there is a Young Communist League organization, which is always the pioneer in social and cultural undertakings. A large section of the members of these organizations have had a secondary education.

With the growth of rural economy and the raising of the cultural level of the rural districts, closer connection has been established between the collective farm population and our highly qualified intelligentsia. No few administrators occupying high posts, Party officials, scientists, artists, authors, physicians and Red Army officers have come from the ranks of collective farmers. The general conditions of the rural districts have immensely improved in the past few years, and the collective farmers have every justification for saying that they have achieved a prosperous and cultured life.

Incidentally, certain Swedish journalists who made a tour of South Ukraine at the end of 1941 or begin-

ning of 1942—I don't remember which—wrote in their correspondence home that they had seen in the Ukraine the same kind of huts as had existed there a hundred years ago, and ragged women and children, although they admitted the children looked well fed.

Newspaper correspondents are supposed to have keen eyes, but these, for some reason, failed to notice that in touring the Ukraine they were following in the tracks of the German brigand army, which was shipping to Germany trainloads of so-called "individual parcels." These parcels contained belongings which the Germans had grabbed from the peasants, mainly from the women. It would have been surprising had the Ukrainian peasant women worn anything else but rags during the period of German occupation. If some peasants did manage to save anything from the Germans, they hid it until the Red Army arrived.

That our collective farm peasantry possess considerably larger intellectual forces than formerly is evident from the dimensions assumed by the partisan movement. The partisan movement would never have grown to its present magnitude, and would not have been led so skilfully, had there been no intellectuals among the peasantry. Among the partisans we see not only rank-and-file collective farmers, but also chairmen of collective farms, leading rural Soviet officials, leading Party officials, school teachers, scientific workers, artists and military experts. This is why the partisan movement has in its ranks not only rank-and-file citizens fighting self-sacrificingly for their country, but also highly skilled people capable of organizing partisan warfare on the most rational lines, and of striking the most effective blows with the least possible losses.

The collectivization of agriculture not only served

to amalgamate the small agricultural plots and to change the methods of tilling the soil, but it also changed the peasantry, widened their horizon and made them more politically minded.

That is why our rural districts have sent to the Red Army not only brave soldiers, as they did before, but technically educated and capable men: tractor drivers, combine drivers, motor drivers and technicians. In short, the rural districts, like the Soviet urban districts, provide intelligent fighters for their country, fighters whose superiority the enemy is feeling on his own hide day after day to an increasing degree.

It is no accident that when a company or platoon commander is put out of action during a battle, a private is always found, often a native of the rural districts, who takes his place and conducts the operation to a successful conclusion. This alone shows that our collective farm peasantry are far more conscious of their patriotic duty and far superior in intellectual and cultural development than were the peasantry under tsarism. The collective farm peasantry, keeping pace with the city, are providing our army with intelligent soldiers who know quite definitely what they are fighting for.

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Our Soviet intelligentsia gained for itself an honourable and glorious place in the work of building up and consolidating the Soviet State. At first, most of the old intelligentsia were rather hostile to the Soviet system. I think that apart from direct material interest—deterioration of standard of living—this was due to the fact that many of them imagined that the revolution meant the end of culture. Even then, the more enlightened minds associated themselves with

the Soviet regime in the very first days of the revolution. To the honour of the Russian intelligentsia it must be said that this discord between the old intelligentsia and the Soviet regime did not last long. Most of the intelligentsia soon took up Soviet work and, of course, their most valuable contribution to our common cause was that they reared a large stratum of young Soviet intellectuals with whom the older intellectuals are working in complete harmony.

As a matter of fact, the intimacy between the intelligentsia and the Soviet system is quite natural. Our Soviet intelligentsia is democratic not only socially—fresh forces flow into its ranks in a constant stream from the ranks of the workers and collective farmers; it is democratic also because of the conditions under which it is working. To illustrate what I mean I will recall the fact that in conducting his laborious study of the origin of species Darwin corresponded with hundreds of voluntary collaborators scattered all over the world who, at his request, studied the habits of animals and birds. But even this method of collaboration must be regarded as primitive compared with the scale on which our Soviet intelligentsia is collaborating in its work.

Take, for example, our Art Theatre and Grand Theatre. It is common knowledge that these two theatres are among the most advanced and artistic in the world, theatres that would seem to cater only for the élite. Before the revolution this was actually the case. At the present time, however, apart from the fact that their boxes and stalls are largely occupied by workers and collective farmers, they are attended by hundreds of visitors from the provinces, who come not only for the purpose of enjoying the entertainment they afford, but also as leaders of dramatic and art circles in collective farms, Houses of Culture, workers' theatres and recreation clubs in

their different localities. They go there to compare what they have achieved in their respective fields of work with what they still lack; they go there as experts, as it were, with the object of improving themselves in their art, of gaining experience from the great masters and diffusing it among the masses of the workers and peasants. I am sure that our talented artistes bear this in mind, and that it influences their daily work.

In our scientific world—from the lowest rung to the very top—we see men and women who are bound with the people by a thousand ties. In addition to well-equipped institutes, our agronomists and scientists who are studying the biology of plants have at their service the staffs of innumerable village laboratories, which eagerly assist them in their scientific experiments; and we see that our famous scientists make full use of these services. By way of illustration I may mention Member of the Academy of Sciences, Lyssenko.

Scientists working in the field of physics and chemistry, especially in their experimental branches, have at their command innumerable research institutes, factory laboratories and inventors' study circles. It is evident, therefore, that our foremost scientists can always rely on the assistance of a large body of workers in their respective branches of science.

It is no accident, therefore, that scientific research work in the spheres of engineering, medicine and other branches of science has developed on such a wide scale in our country during the war. I am of the opinion that the successes our industry has achieved in supplying the needs of our armed forces are in no small measure due to the efforts of our Soviet intelligentsia.

The importance of science in the Soviet Union is continuously growing and the influence of our intel-

ligentsia is growing accordingly and permeating all spheres of our social life. Our intelligentsia is aware of this, and this explains why its patriotism glowed so brightly during the dark days our Soviet State passed through.

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The Soviet youth and our splendid Lenin and Stalin Young Communist League—the organizer of the youth—play an extremely important role in the life of our country and in consolidating the might of our Soviet State.

I shall not dwell on the heroism of the members of the Young Communist League and of young people generally at the front, in the partisan units, and on their self-sacrificing labours in the rear, in industry and in agriculture. Their patriotism and devotion to their Soviet Motherland is common knowledge. I only want to say that the Young Communist League is like a huge furnace in which the young Soviet generation is steeled. The Young Communist League is our young people's first stage on the road to broad social and political life, the first stage on the road to the Party. The Young Communist League is the most important organizing factor for young workers generally, and for the young people in the rural districts in particular. The Young Communist League serves, as it were, as the initiator of collective and public activity for these young people, and its role in moulding the Soviet citizen, in widening his political and social outlook, is exceptionally great.

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The source of the spiritual might of our state, its organizing and leading element, is the Communist Party, which has a membership running into several

millions. These are the pick of the population of our country. The Bolshevik Party has rallied all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. around the banner of Lenin and Stalin and inspires the Soviet people in the rear and at the front. It deservedly enjoys the confidence of and prestige among the vast masses of the people. The very fact that when our people became aware of the danger that hovered over our country they rallied more closely than ever around the Party and augmented its ranks is evidence of the enormous prestige the Party enjoys.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to consolidate and develop the Soviet socialist system. It is the leading core of all the organizations of the working people, both public and state.

The Party organizations which remained in the territories captured by the enemy bravely held aloft the banner of Lenin and Stalin. Even those Communists who found themselves in the dungeons of the Gestapo—where the fascists tried by every means, from unbridled terrorism to tempting promises, to corrupt and break their spirit—remained loyal to their Soviet Motherland. All the enemy's hopes in this connection were dashed to the ground. Even under the sternest conditions in the enemy's rear the Communists waged a heroic struggle against the Germans and led the masses of the non-Party people in this struggle.

Nor could it be otherwise. The training received in the Communist Party is entirely different from that obtained in any other party. Our Party is not a sect; it has no specific and separate tasks of its own. Its task was to abolish the exploitation of man by man, to lead suffering mankind out of the vale of tears in which it has resided for centuries, to create better forms of human society, a genuine fraternity

of the peoples, in short, to realize the age-long dreams of the noblest men in history. Guided by the tenets of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, our Party has achieved this task. It is these great ideas that ennoble our people; stimulate them to perform the great deeds which have roused the wonder of the whole world.

The Communist Party makes stern demands upon its members. It does not put them in a privileged position. On the contrary, it demands that the Communist should set an example in labour and state discipline, that he should be morally and ideologically beyond reproach, that he should place the interests of the Soviet State above his own personal interests.

Our Party traversed a long road of self-sacrificing struggle against tsarism and against the whole of its concomitant social and economic system. In this struggle it grew and became steeled. Its members were the leaders and devoted fighters in the Civil War and the pioneers in building the Socialist State. It will not be immodest to say that the Communist Party is one of the mightiest parties not only in the size, but also in the quality of its membership. The fact alone that our Party was formed and moulded by leaders like Lenin and Stalin—who, as even our enemies are compelled to admit, opened a new chapter in world history by their activities—this fact alone testifies to the greatness of our Party and shows that by its activities it has inscribed the brightest page in the history of mankind.

Our Party's influence is not limited to the Party organizations. It leads the proletariat, the peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia, who have the utmost confidence in it. No matter how large a party may be, it will never really be a political party unless the people follow it. The people have confidence in and follow our Party. The best proof of this is the fact that in the most difficult period the Soviet State

passed through — the period of the Civil War, when victory hung in the balance—large numbers of workers joined the Party. And today, in the present war, the influx of new members into the Party is continuously growing, and the characteristic thing is that it comes particularly from the ranks of the Red Army. Before going into an attack, in which they may perish at any moment, non-Party Red Armymen put in applications to join the Party stating that, if they are to die, they want to die Communists. This popular sentiment is most striking proof that the Party really has the people behind it.

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Analysing the material, moral and political elements which determine the strength and might of the Soviet State, I would say that one of the most important factors of the might of the Soviet Union is Stalin's leadership. Comrade Stalin has been leading our Party and country for over twenty years. It is no accident that in their speeches at public meetings workers, collective farmers and intellectuals often say: "We shall win because Comrade Stalin is leading us." On the face of it, this would seem to be merely an ordinary oratorical flourish. As a matter of fact, however, it is the conclusion drawn by the people from their long and daily observations of the activities of the leadership.

Death tore Lenin away from the helm of state when the Soviet regime was only just barely getting on its feet, when not one of the tasks connected with the socialist transformation of our country had been fulfilled. The opportunist and hostile elements wanted to take advantage of Lenin's death to disrupt and wreck the Party, and thereby disrupt and wreck the Soviet State. But under Comrade Stalin's leadership, the Party vanquished the anti-Party and anti-Soviet

elements, rallied and became a united body, capable of carrying out Lenin's behests.

The task of restoring industry and then of proceeding to industrialize the country came up on the order of the day. The moving spirit in the fulfilment of this great task was Comrade Stalin, and under his leadership the Party and the Soviet people carried it out brilliantly.

Comrade Stalin can see very far into the future. Almost at the very first stages of the industrialization of our country, Comrade Stalin urged the necessity of building tractor plants. Foreign observers regarded this as preparation for war. Needless to say, tractors are extremely important in modern motorized warfare, but at that time this was only a subsidiary consideration for Comrade Stalin. In urging the necessity of building tractor plants he had in mind the collectivization of agriculture and the laying of a firm technical foundation for it. This complex and difficult measure was of exceptional importance. The collectivization and mechanization of agriculture did not pursue direct military objects; they pursued only socialistic objects, but naturally they enhanced the might of our country.

The following is a characteristic detail, illustrating Comrade Stalin's approach to the development of industry. At the early stages of industrialization Comrade Stalin received complaints from factory managers to the effect that our inexperienced workers were spoiling new, imported machine-tools. To these complaints Comrade Stalin invariably replied that it was impossible to teach workers new methods of production on new machines without cost. At first the workers would spoil these machines, but they would learn to operate them, and we would have cadres of skilled workers.

The final chord in the consummation of industrial-

ization, in placing our entire industry, agriculture and transport on a firm foundation, was sounded in Comrade Stalin's call to train cadres. He said: "It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realized 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."\*

Thus, the sum total of all the measures carried out by our Party under Comrade Stalin's leadership enabled our industry, agriculture and transport system to contend against the most powerful enemy in the world.

Comrade Stalin has spent a great deal of effort on increasing the might of the Soviet Union. He appreciates its magnitude better than anybody; nevertheless, he always emphasizes in his public utterances that it is unbecoming for Soviet people to rest content with what has been achieved, to become intoxicated by success. Victory may slip out of our hands if complacency appears in our ranks.

Comrade Stalin, whose labours in building the might of the Soviet State have been enormous, succeeded in combining, in merging all the forces of the state, in inspiring and directing them towards the achievement of the object that stands paramount before us today, namely, to defend the Soviet State from the German fascist invaders.

Directly contending against German fascism on the battlefield is the Red Army—the most virile section of the population of the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin exerted much effort in creating the Red Army, and

\* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 544.

today, when, having passed to the offensive, it is beating the German fascist troops and driving them from our soil, the German generals and fascist military observers claim that this is due to the fact that we had been piling up stocks of war material for decades and had secretly maintained a vast army. This false assertion of these military experts is evidently prompted by the desire to explain away the military defeat of the German army and of its command, and to belittle the military skill of our Soviet generals.

Before the fascists came to power in Germany our army was of very modest dimensions; it began to grow gradually only after the menace of a fascist attack arose. It may be confidently asserted that the whole course of the war has shown how our army has steadily grown not only in numbers, but also in quality. Our generals did not drop from the sky. They were commanders of army units before the war; but their fighting qualities, their military capabilities were fully revealed by the war. And today the whole world can see that our generals, officers and men are superior in ability than the vaunted German generals, officers and men.

The victories our army has achieved against the most powerful enemy in the world are the fruit of the many years of work put in by Comrade Stalin to improve the fighting qualities of the Red Army. This gigantic effort resulted in the superiority of the Soviet army over the fascist army, which even the enemy does not now deny. All the attempts of German propaganda to attribute the defeat of the German army to the numerical superiority of the Soviet troops are ridiculous. The Soviet troops are, indeed, superior, but they are superior in military skill and talent. Naturally, it is not easy for our enemies, who have been shouting from the house tops that they are

fighting Oriental barbarians, to admit this. But facts are stubborn things.

In the Soviet Union the army is part and parcel of the people. All that we have said above concerning the material and spiritual might of the Soviet people, about their political and moral condition, is reflected in the military prowess and skill of our army. The Red Army stands before the world as the incarnation of the material and spiritual might of the Soviet people; it most clearly and fully reflects the might of the people. And Comrade Stalin, in the capacity of Supreme Commander-in-Chief, with the skill of a truly great captain, is directing this might towards the utter rout of the German fascist invaders and their expulsion from Soviet soil.