

THE SOVIET PRESIDENT
SPEAKS

M. I. KALININ

THE SOVIET PRESIDENT SPEAKS • M. I. KALININ • HUTCHINSON

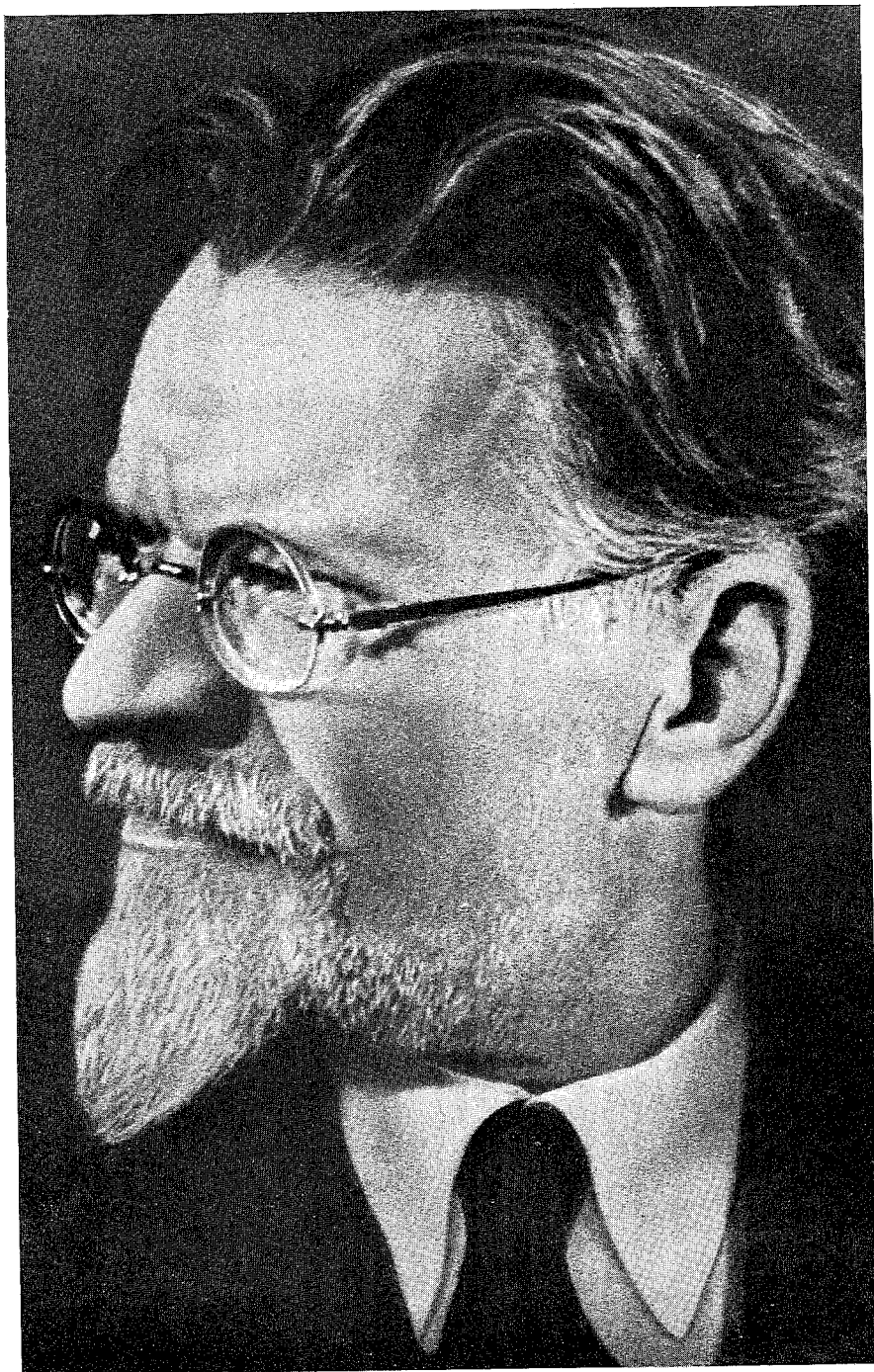
79/6

Scanned / Transcribed by
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php>





M. I. KALININ

THE SOVIET PRESIDENT SPEAKS

*Speeches, Broadcast Addresses, and Articles on the
Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*

by

M. I. KALININ

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

HUTCHINSON & CO. (Publishers) LTD.

LONDON : NEW YORK : MELBOURNE : SYDNEY



THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED IN
COMPLETE CONFORMITY WITH THE
AUTHORIZED ECONOMY STANDARDS

CONTENTS

	PAGE
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE—M. I. KALININ.	7

1942

WE SHALL ADVANCE	9
THE GREATEST VICTORY IN HISTORY	10
HOW HITLER'S PLAN FAILED	11
FOOD FOR THE RED ARMY	13
DON'T WAIT FOR WAR TO COME TO YOU	14
WHY DID WE RETREAT?	15
VICTORY WILL BE OURS!	17
WHY THE GUERILLA MOVEMENT SPREADS	21
TWELVE MONTHS OF WAR	23
THE BATTLE OF THE CAUCASUS	27
THE CREATION OF THE SOVIET STATE	30

1943

TASKS OF YOUTH	34
LENIN, STALIN AND THE RED ARMY	35
PATRIOTIC WAR AND TOTAL WAR	37
SOVIET TENACITY WILL WIN	39
UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER	41
JOBS FOR LOCAL SOVIETS	43
THE DAY AFTER LIBERATION—BACK INTO THE PRODUCTION FRONT!	45

1944

HAPPY NEW YEAR!	47
SLAVS AND THE WAR	49
THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET STATE	55
THE TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR	73

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

M. I. KALININ

MIKHAIL IVANOVICH KALININ, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), is one of the oldest Bolsheviks, a loyal associate of Lenin and Stalin and an outstanding statesman of the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Kalinin was born on 20th November, 1875, in Tver Gubernia (now Kalinin Region). His parents were peasants. At the age of 14 he went to St. Petersburg to work. In 1893 he was an apprentice at the "Old Arsenal" plant and simultaneously attended evening school to educate himself. In 1896 he was working at the Putilov Plant, and became one of the most active members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class formed by Lenin. He joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1898. For his revolutionary activities he was on several occasions arrested and deported.

On returning to St. Petersburg in 1905 from Olonets Gubernia where he had been exiled in 1904, Kalinin again obtained employment at the Putilov Plant, was a member of the Narva District Committee of the Bolshevik Party and took an active part in the first Russian Revolution. From 1908 to 1910, Kalinin engaged in underground Bolshevik Party work in Moscow. From 1911 to 1917 he conducted revolutionary activities among the St. Petersburg workers, was on the staff of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, maintained communication with Stalin and was in correspondence with Lenin.

Kalinin was one of the most active leaders of the armed insurrection in the days of the Great October Socialist Revolution. From the time of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), held in 1919, he has been a member of the Central Committee of the Party. In that same year, after the death of Sverdlov, Kalinin, on Lenin's recommendation, was elected President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. During the years of the Civil War, Kalinin frequently visited the fronts, inspiring the men of the Red Army to victory over the foes of the Revolution. For his militant services and outstanding work in strengthening the Red Army he was twice awarded the Order of the Red Banner. Following the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), in 1926 he was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.).

As head of the supreme organ of the Soviet State since 1919, Kalinin has irreconcilably and firmly fought for the strengthening of the Soviet system, for the correct realisation of the Lenin and Stalin national policy.

In November, 1935, Kalinin was awarded the Order of Lenin for his distinguished services in founding and consolidating the first socialist State of workers and peasants in the world.

On 30th March, 1944, on his 25th anniversary as head of the supreme organ of Soviet power, Kalinin was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour by the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for outstanding services in the cause of building and strengthening the Soviet State.

1942

WE SHALL ADVANCE

*[From a speech broadcast by Moscow Radio at midnight on
New Year's Eve, 1941-42]*

THE New Year opens with good prospects. Over a considerable part of the front the enemy is retreating. In many places he is fleeing in disorder, leaving in our hands tanks, guns, machine-guns and other military equipment.

But there are still great difficulties ahead of us. The offensive in frosts and deep snows demands from you tremendous efforts and strength of will. One thing should encourage you—that by the strength of your arms the enemy has been compelled to roll back; that we are fighting the enemy on equal terms; that the initiative has been wrested from the enemy.

In the struggle which is deciding the fate, present and future, of our motherland and of the whole of Europe, our Red Army single-handed has changed the situation.

Twenty days ago on several sectors of the front it went over from active defence to the offensive. During this period it liberated from the German invaders the following towns:—

Rostov - on - Don, Tikhvin, Yelets, Rogachev, Klin, Yakhroma, Solnechnogorsk, Istra, Yezhov, Stalinogorsk, Mikhailov, Yepifan, Livny, Yefremov, Zaskovye, Dubna, Bogorodetsk, Kalinin, Visogorsk, Alexin, Visokin, Ruza, Tarusa, Volokolamsk, Plavsk, Blodogorsk, Terenech, Odeyevo, Narofominsk, Visokonichi, Novosil, Kozelsk, Tim, Ugodski Zavod, Kerch, Feodosia, Kaluga and other towns.

I think that in the next few days a number of other Soviet cities will be liberated once and for all from the German yoke.

Our forces are growing. We are confident of victory. We know that not a single person in the Soviet Union will be content as long as a single Nazi remains on the sacred Soviet soil and until Hitlerism is burnt out as with a red-hot iron.

The guarantee of our final triumph is the heroic work of all our country for the front, for victory. The guarantee of this is the fact that the leader of our armed forces, Comrade Stalin, directs our Red Army, leading it on to the destruction of the brazen enemy, to the liberation of all the peoples enslaved by German Fascism.

Dear Comrades, men and women citizens of the Soviet Union. Men of the forces, commanders, political instructors! On behalf of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, I congratulate you on the beginning of the New Year, and I wish all the Soviet people in the year 1942 the complete destruction, without any survivals, of our mortal enemies, the German invaders.

A Happy New Year, Comrades!

THE GREATEST VICTORY IN HISTORY

FOR nearly two months now the Red Army has been successfully developing its offensive. During this time some units have advanced at least 250 miles.

At first the advance of our troops followed the line of an arc with Moscow as its centre. The Red Army men were cutting off and destroying the German tanks. The Germans could camouflage their retreat by saying that the front line had not moved very far from Moscow. But now this arc has been straightened and every step forward by the Red Army shows that the front is moving westward along a straight line.

New flanks and new pincers are being formed further away from Moscow, but these have resulted from the victories of the Red Army and its rapid advance. The fact that our troops have passed to the offensive is by no means accidental. It is a consequence of the tactics employed by them during their retreat.

The Red Army's defence was an active defence. In all their operations our troops followed the principal rule of the Soviet Command—exhaust the enemy's strength to the limit and inflict on him the heaviest possible losses. During the retreat our army coped with this task more brilliantly than in any past war.

Stalin's call for guerilla warfare was an exceptionally important factor which helped to inflict heavy losses on the enemy and caused considerable demoralisation among his troops. The Germans measure their successes by the number of towns they seize and the area of territory they occupy. Our commanders, on the other hand, measure our successes by the losses which the enemy has suffered and by the extent of his exhaustion. The defence of Kiev, Odessa, Gomel, Kalinin and other cities is a vivid example of a war of attrition.

Hitler, undeterred by heavy losses, sacrificed everything to his delirious plan for capturing Moscow. The idea of seizing the Soviet capital haunted him like his own shadow. He has already paid dearly for it and will pay still more dearly. At a time when the whole world expected the fall of Moscow, our Command prepared and began the defeat of the Nazi hordes at the approaches to the city.

With staunch troops and a skilful Command, Moscow was the perfect place for resisting and defeating the enemy. And on 6th and 7th November, at a moment when it seemed that the German army had achieved its greatest success at the approaches to the capital, Stalin confidently called upon our army and the whole Soviet people to inflict utter defeat on the invaders.

My words are inadequate to describe the effect of Stalin's speech on our population and the army. I can only say that our strength seemed to redouble. One hopes that the response of millions of Soviet people may one day be embodied in a masterpiece of literature. It was one of the most remarkable events in the history of the war.

In countering our stubborn resistance near Moscow, the German army could do nothing but extend its flanks. This meant that while it continued the encirclement of the city, it weakened its own striking power. Encirclement, however, proved impossible. The German troops were immobilised by our pressure against their centre, which tended to weaken the extended Nazi flanks. Our Command did not fail to take advantage of this. Both German flanks

were routed and then the Nazi troops, under the blows of the Red Army, began to roll back on the central sector of the front as well.

The experience of the battle at the approaches to Moscow is very enlightening. It vividly reproaches the inglorious surrender of Paris, one of the best positions in the world for anti-tank defence. Kneeling before the enemy, Petain proudly stated: "We have preserved our honour." To allow the enemy to defile and plunder one's country is a curious way of preserving the national honour. The preservation of the "honour" of German agents in France was more highly valued by the French Army Command than the observance of their duty as soldiers of their country.

During the retreat our army fought heroically and the enemy paid a heavy toll for every inch of our territory. The Red Army's efforts were not futile. They created the conditions for our offensive. The initiative passed to our troops. Town after town, district after district is being liberated from the yoke of the Nazi invaders. The hour is not far distant when all our Republics now occupied by the Germans will return to their family.

The number of Ukrainian towns and villages returning to the motherland is growing every day. Our advancing troops are steadily approaching the frontiers of Byelorussia, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania. No matter how fiercely the enemy may resist, no matter what efforts he may exert he will not wrest the initiative from the Red Army. Our troops will deal him still heavier blows.

Our railwaymen, too, have accomplished a colossal task. They have carried for thousands of miles from west to east enormous quantities of industrial equipment, materials and grain, as well as millions of people escaping from the Fascist barbarians. The Soviet railwaymen have put out of countenance certain foreign "experts" who predicted that our transport would be unable to cope with its tasks in war time.

I am certain that our Army will retain the initiative in its hands and score the final victory over Hitlerite Germany.

HOW HITLER'S PLAN FAILED

EVERY detail of the second World War was planned in advance by Hitler. For many years the Nazis cleverly exploited the avarice of financial groups in the various countries of Western Europe. They assured these groups that they were preparing to attack the Bolsheviks, and that this was the whole object of their heavy rearmament.

The governments of some large European States sympathised with and even encouraged this "noble" enterprise. The Nazis took advantage of this to embark on a huge armament programme.

They first snatched back the territories ceded by Germany under the Versailles Treaty. Then, meeting no serious resistance, they annexed Austria in March, 1938. Czechoslovakia fell in March, 1939. All these events the Nazis represented to the world as part of their preparations for an attack on the U.S.S.R.

Then came a sequence of even more aggressive moves. On 1st September, 1939, Germany attacked Poland. Britain and France replied on 3rd September with a declaration of war on Germany. Poland was defeated in 18 days and her territory seized by the Germans.

Nazi troops began to occupy the Ukrainian and Byelorussian areas, but our Government sent the Red Army to occupy the western regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia and so stem a further German advance.

To-day everyone realises the value to our country of the agreement concluded with Germany in August, 1939. This agreement was useful, if only because the attack on the Soviet Union was postponed for nearly two years. Having crushed Poland, Germany concentrated its main blow against France, true to the Nazis' rule of dealing with their enemies one by one.

A seven months' lull followed the French and British declaration of war against Germany. The Nazis quietly used this period to prepare their blow against France. In 37 days the French Army was routed and the French Government sued for an armistice which was concluded on 22nd June, 1940.

The rapid defeat of France is explained by several factors. France fell mainly because her rulers feared their own people and refused to resist. The military leadership and the ruling circles of the French upper class were riddled with defeatism, while the Fifth Column prepared for treachery. Another basic reason for the defeat of France was the weakness of the French Army, so recently regarded by military experts as the best military force in Europe.

Hitler and his accomplices were dizzy with success. Having conquered France, they decided to settle accounts with England in two or three months' time. They calculated that victory over England would place Europe, and later the whole world, at Hitler's mercy. They included in these plans of world domination even the Americas, where his agents had long been engaged in subversive activities.

But the war against England was no short job. It spelt reverses from the very start. The German air force, though numerically far superior to Britain's, was unable without a strong navy to ensure the landing of German troops on the British Isles.

It was hopeless to attempt invasion without a fleet. Nor did air bombing have the effect on which Hitler counted. So the war with England dragged out and reached a stalemate.

All this time, Hitler was secretly preparing for a sudden attack on the Soviet Union. Military experts assured him that victory over the Red Army would enable him to win the entire world war. They forecast that such a victory would be his in no more than five or six weeks and that it would entail only trivial losses for the German army. Encouraged by these prophecies, Hitler sent his army against us.

Germany's aim was first to defeat the Soviet Union and then to direct her main forces against Britain and America. Not so long ago, in November, 1941, Ribbentrop spoke of the "New Order" in Europe at the conference of the so-called Anti-Comintern Powers.

Taking it for granted that the Soviet Union had already been defeated, Ribbentrop declared that the Axis Powers must now "become independent of overseas countries." He continued: "Europe has once and for all freed herself of the blockade danger. Her requirements in grain and raw materials can be fully satisfied by European Russia. The war industries of European Russia will serve the war economy of Germany and her allies. Thus two final and decisive requisites now exist for ultimate victory over England by the Axis and its allies."

Anticipating the fruits of his robber plans, Ribbentrop added: "The war will be fought by England and her North-American helper on the one hand

and the great European bloc on the other. Germany and Italy will be able to concentrate the crushing might of their armies, fleet and aviation to rout the chief enemy—England."

The Nazis were much too early in announcing their plans. They will regret their haste. They intend to annex the Baltic States, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. They hope to impose on the rest of the Soviet Union a government on the Petain model, which would acquiesce in the looting and ruination of the country by the Germans.

Using our raw material and receiving cheap grain from the slave labour of the peasants, forcing our workers to manufacture arms in factories stolen from the people, Hitler hopes to continue the war to subjugate all the remaining free nations.

As Vichy Frenchmen were sent by the Nazis to fight for German interests, so would Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians be sent to the front to die for the Nazis.

This is the basis on which Hitler hopes to conquer the world. Let us bear well in mind what the Germans wish to do with our country. In the meantime let us continue to strike at them with relentless blows.

FOOD FOR THE RED ARMY

As spring approaches, agricultural work becomes one of the most important tasks to be done by the people of the Soviet Union. Only the production of arms and ammunition can compare with it for urgency. We can look on our farmers as being right in the front line. A hitch in the agricultural programme would be as detrimental as a reverse on any sector of the military front.

The provision of a proper diet for the Red Army men and commanders is an essential element in securing military successes. At the same time our work in the fields this spring will very largely determine what provisions our civil population will receive for the whole year.

All agricultural equipment must be ready for service. This is particularly important in regions where the Nazis set foot. For more than ten years the Soviet Government has allocated hundreds of millions of roubles annually for the production of agricultural implements, which it introduced on the collective and state farms.

Even bearing in mind that a number of tractors have been taken over by the army, Soviet agriculture to-day has enough tractors and other machines to cope with the spring sowing, if they are skilfully used.

Recently collective farmers of the Altai region in Southern Siberia pledged themselves to increase the area under grain, and to plough up the maximum acreage of virgin land. Farms of other regions should follow their example, and forge ahead this spring under the slogan "More grain and vegetables!" Where there is no extra land which can be put under the plough, bumper crops must be the aim.

The success of spring field work will depend on the people—on the collective farmers and their leaders. A united effort can overcome all difficulties created by the war. Women have always played a big rôle in collective farm work. Now their part has become decisive.

The State has its own plan for growing potatoes on a large scale, but the area sown with this crop must be augmented by individuals cultivating their own small plots. People must not only consume—they must also produce. Factory workers, railwaymen, staffs of hospitals and rest homes must try to obtain part of their food from their own vegetable gardens.

The cultivation of collective and individual vegetable gardens, particularly by residents in small towns, must be encouraged to the greatest possible extent. It goes without saying that farms run by industrial enterprises must become an important source of additional produce for use in factory dining-rooms, and for the workers' personal consumption. The Government not only recommends these measures; it allocates the funds necessary to put them into practice.

I am firmly convinced that our farmers will apply all their strength to secure a harvest the like of which our fields have never yielded before.

DON'T WAIT FOR WAR TO COME TO YOU

THE Soviet-German war is now in its eighth month. The world has never before witnessed so brutal, stubborn and sanguinary a conflict. The Soviet Government and people never wanted this war. It was only natural that they should abhor it, for the material and spiritual wealth wasted in it was created by our own labour and belongs to the wide masses of the people.

The Soviet country is immense. The farther people are from the front, the less they feel the pressure of war. It makes itself felt mainly in added inconveniences such as large streams of refugees, overcrowding, deficiencies in supplies, higher prices on the open market, and so on.

But is it not clear that such difficulties stand no comparison with the actual hardships suffered by the population in German-occupied regions? People living and working behind the lines bear a relatively light load as compared with the terrific burden of the war in these areas.

This must be understood and appreciated. There is no doubt that in districts which are the scene of actual warfare the people have risen more quickly to the emergency. Those who once seemed inert have become persevering fighters. A striking example of this is given in Vasilii Grossman's story, *Old Man*, recently published in our Press.

"You are a stern person," said the hero of this story, Semyon, addressing himself to a guerilla, the former chairman of the collective farm. "But in our family nobody ever shed blood. Mother was even afraid to slaughter a chicken and always asked the neighbours to do it." To this the chairman of the collective farm replied: "Look out, Semyon. Do not be too good to the Germans. You will have to answer for it before the people."

When the Germans reached the village, Grossman's story continues, they shot a wounded Red Army man and a woman who tried to help him. Semyon could not remember how he found a heavy cudgel in his hand. Never before had he experienced this feeling. It was wrath, passionate and fierce, a wrath which liberated him from the terrible humiliation of past months.

He raised his cudgel and went out to meet the Germans. He was a fine figure, a tall, proud old man with long grey hair. "Halt," shouted a German, raising his rifle. But old Semyon brought his cudgel down on him with terrific force.

This is how people who meet the Germans face to face are taught the laws of warfare. These object lessons are clear. But it would be deplorable for the country and for the future if people failed to do and to give everything for victory until they received such an object lesson from the enemy.

The war covers vast territories of the Soviet Union. Millions of people have left their homes and gone to the east. Enemy planes sometimes penetrate a considerable depth beyond the front and drop bombs on towns and cities in the rear. Everyone feels hatred for the enemy and understands the great danger threatening the country. Everyone wants victory, and a quick victory. The question is how in practice to make our efforts more effective.

It seems to me that the first thing required of every person is the realisation that victory is won not only at the front, but deep behind the lines, too. Housewives who go to work in industry, replacing men who have gone to the front, help to achieve military successes. They help when they economise in the use of electric current and fuel; when they care for wounded soldiers and war orphans.

In order to provide everything required for the front, the people in the rear must tighten their belts and use less. Many people often find it difficult to appreciate these seemingly very simple truths. But those who want to help bring about our victory must not only appreciate them, but consistently put them into practice, day by day.

A big and responsible task devolves on the farmers. Grain, meat and vegetables are just as necessary for the army as ammunition. We demand that our factories work to full capacity and we prosecute the directors of any plant which functions inefficiently. The worker has no more right to leave his factory without permission than the soldier has to leave his post.

The collective farm, too, is like a factory, a factory turning out food. Like the soldiers at the front or the workers in factories and mills, the farmers must unflinchingly fulfil all their obligations.

The Nazi bandits want to fetter our people in slavery. We have no way out except by crushing Hitlerism. And for this aim we must sacrifice everything, even life itself. The realisation of this is inspiring every Soviet man, woman and child.

WHY DID WE RETREAT?

SOME people still ask why the Red Army withdrew at the beginning of the war. Was it that our arms were fewer than those of the Germans, or of inferior quality? Was it that German industry worked better than ours?

These questions are perfectly justified, but those who ask them have not thought over the matter thoroughly. The enemy knows very well that our industry works efficiently—he now feels the weight of proof on his own back. But the Germans had accumulated enormous stocks of material in preparation for their wars of conquest. German economy was for many years wholly devoted to equipping the army.

In addition, the Germans looted most of the European countries, whose resources and industries were also used to prepare the invasion of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, while preparing for defence, did not slacken its efforts to improve the material and cultural welfare of the people.

There are also other reasons. We had to create our industry in a very short space of time. In Germany the Nazis have been in possession of a highly developed industry ever since they came to power.

But, above all, it should not be forgotten that the Nazis were the attacking side. This means that they were able to concentrate superior forces at any given sector of the front. The defence found it well-nigh impossible to man every point of the 2,000-mile front with forces sufficient to counteract the enemy's assault. In this respect the attacking side enjoyed great advantages which the Nazi command tried to exploit to the maximum, advancing along the roads of least resistance.

Our Government and High Command had reckoned with the possibility of a German attack, and were preparing for it. Yet there was a non-aggression agreement between us and Germany, and our Government did everything in its power to abide by this agreement.

One reason for the Red Army's withdrawal and for the loss of our territory—if we leave aside the factor indicated by Stalin in his speech of 6th November, namely the absence of a second front in Europe—was that a sudden attack was launched against us along a 2,000-mile front by a fully deployed army supported by thousands of tanks and aircraft.

Our army, on the other hand, had to deploy while resisting the advancing enemy. Therefore it was in the most unfavourable position. Even had all the Red Army units and commanders been fully seasoned in war, the suddenness of the attack would still have given the attackers considerable military advantages.

Even during military operations, when vigilance is particularly acute and the scouts keep a watchful eye on the enemy, the success of an attack still depends greatly on its suddenness.

The Nazis based their plan for a speedy victory largely on this tactical advantage gained at the beginning of the war. Here, in brief, is the sequence of the German plans:—

Plan No. 1.—To be in Moscow within three weeks of the outbreak of war. This was no pipe-dream of a few hot-headed Nazis; it was a scheme soberly worked out beforehand in the quiet atmosphere of German general staff headquarters. We know how this plan failed.

Plan No. 2.—To be in Moscow within six weeks. This calculation, too, emanated from military circles. It failed, as did Plan No. 1.

Plan No. 3.—To be in Moscow within three months. It should be noted that many pro-Fascist elements outside Germany believed in this plan, which collapsed as did its predecessors.

Plan No. 4.—This final plan for seizing Moscow Hitler proclaimed to the world in his well-known Order to the army and in his speech of 3rd October. He announced at that time that the offensive had begun, that all preparations that were humanly possible to make had been made, and that within a few weeks the three chief industrial areas of the Soviet Union would be in his hands.

According to Hitler, this was to be positively the last, decisive offensive, ensuring complete victory. It is now clear that Hitler did indeed count on being in Moscow by the end of October. But this offensive, the impetus of which should not be under-rated, was also repulsed.

The Germans suffered colossal losses in men and material. They had to prepare a new assault on the Soviet capital and bring up fresh reserves. The

new advance on Moscow began on 16th November. It cost the Germans a very high price. Their whole plan to surround and seize Moscow miscarried.

At the beginning of the war our army was retreating, although fighting hard and launching strong counter-attacks. Our people felt the loss of their towns and villages very keenly indeed. The feeling of hatred for the enemy swelled with every day, as did the sense of insult to our national pride and dignity.

In former wars, too, Russian armies had more than once to retreat. But ultimately they beat the enemy. The Red Army retreated several times during the Civil War—for instance when the Germans occupied the Ukraine in 1918.

The Nazis wanted to knock us out by a single stunning blow, dealt at the very start of the war. This plan failed. Our army was not strong enough to repel the first blow and oust the enemy from our territory, but it was strong enough systematically to hold back the enemy at favourable positions, and to inflict great losses on him by constantly hitting back.

Retreating, it wore down the enemy. Thanks to this, the war has become a protracted one, upsetting all the Nazis' calculations and proving more and more harassing for Germany.

VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

THE Soviet-German war has been going on now for nearly ten months. When they began this war the Nazis reckoned on an easy victory. Their insolent self-confidence was so great that even before the war they regarded Soviet fields and factories as already in their pockets, and saw the Soviet people working docilely under their knouts.

And now Hitler, in a fit of feverish cowardice, is himself shouting in the words of Tretiakovsky: "I see before me a formidable, terrible, cruel, hungry monster." The Nazi clique have to admit that they miscalculated the strength of the Soviet Union.

Our country and its army are considerably stronger than the German General Staff and many foreign experts calculated. The Red Army has already dealt many hard blows at the Nazi troops. However, all this is only the bud; the fruit has yet to come.

The enemy will be routed. Victory will be ours. The pledge of this is the entire history of our struggle against Nazi Germany and the balance of forces which exists to-day.

One of the basic elements ensuring victory is the morale of the troops. The morale of our army is high, and it rises with every day of war. This rise is based on a deep and strong foundation. The people who gathered for the struggle for their independence and honour have become terrible to the enemy.

Our war aims are as clear as day to our Red Army men, commanders and political workers. The Red soldier is enthralled by the loftiness and nobility of his task. The motherland is in danger; highwaymen are outraging our mothers, wives and children. What honest man could remain a calm observer of the atrocities that are being committed?

Our Red Army men go into action fully realising that they have no choice but to annihilate the enemy. They realise that the defence of the motherland is the highest honour that can fall to their lot; that in sacrificing their lives they become immortal through the ages, and that their heroic deaths will be

an example for many generations. The heroes of this war are extolled by the people in song.

The weakness of the Nazi army lies above all in the fact that the German soldier has no such lofty and noble war aims. He is forced to fight for plunder and the oppression of other people. No matter how corrupted the German people may be by fetid Hitlerism, they cannot suppress in themselves the comprehension of the obvious fact that they are engaged in a predatory war. Plunder, arbitrariness and violence have a fascination for people only while they are relatively easy and go unpunished.

As it becomes more difficult to perform deeds of piracy, and as the prospect of retribution becomes closer and more probable, so demoralisation grows in the ranks of the organised gangster band, and so its fighting capacity declines.

The overwhelming majority of soldiers in the German army long for the end of the war. Hitler's war machine is to a considerable extent held together by Fascist discipline, by the men's fear of their officers, and their apprehension that a refusal to fight would result in reprisals against their families in the rear.

There is no doubt that as the Germans' difficulties increase and the Red Army's onslaught is further intensified, there will be growing discontent among German soldiers and officers of medium rank, especially those from the reserve, expressing itself in open protest and efforts to escape from the bloody Nazi adventure.

What of the other factors ensuring victory? Formerly we could have only a theoretical knowledge of the volume of German armaments, based chiefly on articles by experts who, on the basis of the victorious wars waged in Europe by Nazi Germany, appraised the might of the German army very highly.

Now, after nine and a half months of struggle, our Command doubtless knows both the strong and weak points of the Wehrmacht better than anyone else. The Nazi army's advantages lie in its rich equipment, particularly in aircraft and tanks, and in its fire power.

The Germans know how to advertise their advantages. But the experience accumulated by our troops in fighting against them enables us to estimate the forces and ability of the Nazi army very soberly.

At present the German air force does not possess the mastery of the air. True, the Germans are still able to hurl a considerable number of planes against one or other sector of the front. However, their Command is now more and more often forced to resort to such measures for the protection of its own units or positions from the onslaught of our troops.

These are operations forced on the Germans and dictated by our Command. They result, for the Germans, in enormous aircraft losses. Each day's fighting confirms over and over again that our air force, especially its personnel, is superior in quality to the Luftwaffe.

Our tank forces are gradually approaching equality, for two reasons. Firstly, our air force and artillery are very efficaciously destroying the German tanks, and our infantry have accumulated adequate skill in the struggle against them. Our infantry now know that the German tanks are a by no means invincible force, that they can be fought and beaten—and we do beat them.

Secondly, the number of our own tanks has considerably increased, and the quality of our machines, as is generally admitted, is greatly superior to that of the Nazi tanks.

One of the principal factors determining the issue of the struggle, according

to Stalin, is the organisational ability of army commanders. The innumerable failures of plans evolved by the German Command in the course of the war against the U.S.S.R. convincingly demonstrate that the organisational ability of the German generals should not, in any event, be overestimated.

The myth of the planned actions, systematic organisation and "foresight" which allegedly distinguished all the operations of the German Command—this myth created by the Nazi clique has been finally dispelled by the blows of the Red Army.

It is enough to recall the failure of the German Command to prepare winter clothing for its army in time, which undoubtedly cost the Nazi troops between two and three hundred thousand men frozen to death, let alone cases of frostbite.

German Fascism possesses quite a number of weak spots which predetermine its inevitable defeat. One of its weak spots is its inability to organise production. Countries conquered by the Germans or in "alliance" with Germany are ruined to the utmost degree. It is significant that, despite horrible terror, the Nazis were unable to gather warm clothing for their army from the whole of Europe or even from Germany.

The Nazis imagine that guns will give them everything, that under the muzzles of their guns the whole world will supply them with the necessary goods. Hitherto they have partly succeeded in this plunder. But now there is nobody and nothing left to be robbed in the lands which they have captured. Europe has been fleeced.

Hitler, with his innate irresponsibility, stated that the Ukraine under German "organisational genius" would feed the whole of Europe. Now he is saying that this year the Ukraine will be unable to supply any bread.

There are no tractors or machines. Even had there been any, there would still have been no fuel; and had there been fuel there would have been no man-power. We may add—there is no cattle, no seed, no poultry. All this has been ransacked or "organised" by the Nazi army. The land seems to have been devastated by locusts.

Hitler has widely advertised his "spring offensive." However, in his last speech he mentioned that he would launch this offensive in the summer, not in spring. The spring has confronted the German army with new difficulties.

The Nazis no longer receive any goods, poultry or butter from the occupied territory. There will be no bread for them in the Ukraine or in Byelorussia. Whether the Nazi Government wishes it or not, a considerable part of its army's foodstuffs will in future have to be brought from Germany. Our peasants feel burning hatred for the armies of occupation. They give them nothing—and indeed, there is nothing the Nazis can loot.

In other words, in continuing the war the Germans, in addition to guns, must in future provide their army with much that they have been in the habit of getting on the spot by plunder. These difficulties with the food supply will prove no easier for the German army than the calamities of the winter.

Taken together, all this provides grounds for concluding that the fighting capacity of the Nazi troops has declined, and that in the course of time it will keep on weakening under the Red Army's blows. The German reinforcements are no longer as staunch as the regular troops, and even soldiers of the regular army now surrender with much more readiness.

The Nazi army has passed the zenith of its power and is now on the down-grade. It will depend on our strength and the Red Army's valour how

much time will be required for the final collapse of Hitler's war machine. We possess sufficient forces—even more than we sometimes believe.

Our collective farming system is an important component of our might. The productive forces of collective farming are tremendous. Take, for example, the districts liberated from the Nazis. How many years it would have taken to restore their economy under capitalism!

Thousands of peasants would never rise from ruin and would lose their farmsteads for ever. Kulaks would make use of the difficulties facing the poorer peasants to buy up their lands. A mass of paupers and homeless people would inevitably appear in consequence. Vast areas would remain uncultivated. State relief, if it existed, would be used to benefit the Kulaks.

But what do we see now? The Soviet State and its local organisations extensively assist the collective farms, which means all the peasants. Many collective farms from other regions send gifts of implements, seed, cattle and clothing to farms which have fallen victim to the invaders. A collective farm will render greater and more prompt assistance to another collective farm than one individual will render to another. Towns, factories and plants are also helping the collective farmers.

Lastly, it is easier for a collective farm to restore its economy under any conditions. The mobilisation of man-power affects farming less under a collective system than under a system of individual farming. The wives and children of serving men who remain on collective farms will be safe from poverty. Our agriculture preserves its high productive capacity.

In November Hitler boasted before the whole world that the German intelligence service knew exactly what was happening in our army and rear. Now German military experts are yelping that they neither knew nor foresaw that the Russians had created a war industry in the Urals and beyond the Urals. They failed to notice the elephant!

Foreseeing to-day's events, Stalin decided it was necessary to create the basis of a metal industry in the east for the defence of the country, and this was set up long before the war. Stalin unremittingly supervised its development. Now everyone clearly sees the value of this foresight, to which we owe the most important elements of our power to-day.

The German Command "planned" everything when it perfidiously attacked the U.S.S.R., but it failed to take into account one thing—the counter-action of our leadership. The Germans hoped that in the occupied towns they would be able to use the hands of our workers to manufacture munitions on our machines and lathes. This hope fell through.

German officers complained that in the town of Gomel not even a needle was left. Everything had been evacuated. In Kiev the Germans hoped to capture rich spoils, but to their disappointment had to announce that they had to bring their own power stations from Germany to light their headquarters. We had evacuated all the equipment, including that of the city power station, which is now working in a place where arms and ammunition are being manufactured for the Red Army.

We carried out a gigantic task of evacuation. At present we see clearly that this is one of the most important components of our strength.

Hitler set himself the aim of seizing the Donetz Basin with Rostov as its base, and of taking Moscow and Leningrad before the winter, thus reckoning to finish the war victoriously. This was a grave miscalculation on the part of the German Command. Even had their plan succeeded, the war would

not have ended but would have continued with no less violence than it does to-day.

But—and this is the main thing—it proved to be beyond the strength of the Nazis to achieve such a large aim. The back of the German aggressor has been broken, and no matter how much Hitler trumpets about his strength, it was broken while he was attempting to lift too heavy a weight. According to experienced doctors, this disease is incurable.

Hitler failed to see Leningrad and suffered a crushing defeat at Moscow. The Donetz Basin is being gradually liberated and the miners are resuming work. This is difficult, as the Fascist barbarians are past-masters of destruction. They worked hard to destroy our mines.

But it is not the first time that the Soviet people have had to repair damage. The Donetz Basin will resume supplying the country with coal even earlier than the enemy expects.

In his Order of the Day Stalin set the following tasks: "It is necessary that every new army unit should go to the front to forge victory over the infuriated enemy. It is necessary that our industry, and especially our war industry, should work with redoubled vigour. It is necessary that every day the front should receive increasing quantities of tanks, aircraft, guns, trench-mortars, machine-guns, rifles, automatic rifles and ammunition."

These demands of the People's Commissar for Defence are ensured by the material resources of our country. They can and must be fulfilled. We are led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, which makes the people spiritually rich and inspires them for great exploits.

Our people are sending their best sons to the front for the holy war against the mortal foe of mankind—Fascism. They encourage our Red Army men in the fierce battle. They help our army to beat the enemy and to wage the just war of liberation which will ensure the utter defeat of the German invader. Victory will be ours!

WHY THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT SPREADS

THE guerrilla movement is spreading like the spring floods. The animal cruelty of the Nazis towards the peaceful population of the occupied regions, which makes the stones cry out for vengeance, impels even the most peaceful people to take up arms.

Nevertheless, the violence of the invaders has merely given an additional impetus to the development of guerrilla warfare. The main source of this movement is to be found much deeper in the very heart of the people. The foundations of this form of struggle were laid nearly a quarter of a century ago by the policy of Lenin and Stalin. To-day, the seeds planted by the Bolshevik Party among the people have yielded fruit.

Stalin's appeal to the population of occupied Soviet territories was not a mere proclamation, but a guide to action. One must have tremendous confidence in the people and be supremely convinced of the force of one's appeal to make such a call effective!

Stalin's words showed working people in the occupied districts a practical outlet for their indignation, hatred and spirit of vengeance against the enslavers. Soviet people are accustomed to appeals from Party and Government. A glance

at the 25 years' history of the Soviet State shows that our people are always called upon to help solve every serious task facing the country.

The German Fascists are a gang of robbers supported by a small but influential group of big monopoly capitalists. This closely knit gang has no use for any national interests if they hold no promise of profit. Their ideology—as far as it is publicly known—is intended to delude the masses. In general, to deceive and delude the people is considered valour in the Fascist Party.

The Fascist rulers are heedless even of the suffering of their own soldiers. Soldiers and even minor officers are regarded by the Nazi clique as merely a means of achieving their predatory aims; as soon as they become useless they are thrown on the scrap-heap.

It is common knowledge that the Germans are poisoning their seriously wounded soldiers and sending the wounded back to the front line before they are fully recovered. The Nazi rulers think that the fewer soldiers returning home from the front the less trouble they will have in handling a restless, exacting and irritable people and the safer will Hitler and his clique feel in the saddle.

Such is the enemy which our guerillas are fighting. His cruelty is directed not only against our population, but also against those in his own camp who are no longer of use to him, to say nothing of those whom he distrusts and who are dangerous to him.

Of the people whom the Germans are shipping to work as slaves in Germany it can be estimated that a large percentage will die of starvation or of the hardships of chain-gang labour. They will die making shells and bullets for the Nazis to use against their own people. Only hard and repeated blows will bring such an enemy to his senses.

The guerillas have lived through a difficult winter. They did not bide their time passively, but hammered away constantly at the Germans. The Nazis themselves have been compelled to admit the strength of these blows. This will lend a new impetus to the guerilla struggle this summer.

The guerillas give invaluable help to the Red Army. Indeed, this kind of warfare claims an ever more important place in modern strategy. Closely co-operating with the army, the guerillas are not only increasing the intensity of their attacks but are also undertaking broader and strategically complex operations. They dislodge entire German garrisons from villages and district centres, liberate considerable territory and restore Soviet power in the rear of the enemy troops—not the Soviet power of peace time, but a power armed with every available weapon of aggression.

Not in vain has Stalin's May Day Order specified the battle tasks of the guerillas along with those of the regular Red Army units.

In this war, guerilla struggle has acquired far greater scope than in past wars. The partisans now have deeper roots than their historic predecessors; their forces involve broader sections of the people and include women, who are performing miracles of supreme heroism.

One must bear in mind that in the present war the guerillas are fighting an enemy armed to the teeth with first-class equipment. Hence, the technical level of their resistance must be sufficiently high to enable them to strike successfully at the German army and to make use of the complex armament captured from the enemy.

However Nazi propaganda may try to belittle the intellectual level of our peasants and townsfolk the facts completely refute such slanders. Peasants,

workers and intellectuals operating in guerilla detachments are displaying great skill in using all the means at their disposal. They take advantage of military conditions in a way which does not please the German Command.

These facts are recognised by the Nazis themselves. They mean that the people fighting in the German rear have not only high morale, but also a high level of intellectual development.

The guerilla movement is a people's movement which is connected politically with all the working people of the Soviet Union. It arises from the simple comparison of the Fascist régime with the Soviet system, in which every citizen has always felt and feels that he is master. Is it possible, then, that any free, energetic human being, man or woman, would reconcile himself to Fascist slavery without a fierce life-and-death struggle? Such a capitulation never occurred in Russia in the past, still less could it occur to-day in the free Soviet country.

The guerillas will retaliate a hundredfold for every Nazi crime. This is the only way to make the Fascist gang respect the rights of other peoples. Hatred for the Nazis is growing, and with it the partisan movement possessed by a sole idea: "Death to the German invaders."

TWELVE MONTHS OF WAR

A YEAR ago the people of the U.S.S.R. and the whole world were informed by radio of Nazi Germany's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union. Although our people had considered the possibility of a German attack, sober reason suggested that Germany had no interest in creating a new front for herself. And, in view of this, people said that only the adventurist policy of Hitler's Government could lead Germany into such an obviously hopeless undertaking.

But it appeared that precisely this adventurist policy triumphed. Germany, intoxicated by easy victories in Western Europe, but having come to a deadlock in her war against Britain, threw herself against the Soviet Union in the hope of a quick victory and in order to use the resources of the U.S.S.R. for a blow first against Britain and then against America.

A year of cruel, bloody warfare has passed and proved the German Command to be possessed of very much less judgment than they were previously credited with. According to their very minimum calculations, the Soviet Union could be defeated in three or four months, and at the worst estimate, before the winter frosts. This is evident from the fact that the German commissariat had not provided any winter clothing. Nazi propaganda, at Hitler's instigation, proclaimed that the war would last from six weeks to two months.

At first the advance of the German troops was fairly rapid. The German communiqués trumpeted their victorious news all over the world. However, even during this first period of the war, letters from German soldiers at the front, which, of course, were not published in the German Press, said that the war in the East was nothing like the war in the West, and that the quick advance of the German armoured and motorised divisions was accompanied by tremendous losses in man-power and equipment.

One is reminded of one of Leo Tolstoy's short stories: "How much land does a man need?" It relates that for a certain sum of money a man was to receive as much land as he could include in a circle by running from dawn

till sunset. Exhausting himself beyond his strength, the man tried to run as far as possible. He managed to return to his starting-point, but collapsed. All he needed was six feet of land for his grave. Yes, Hitler has given land to his crack army. Millions of his soldiers have received their portion of Soviet soil.

It took some time for the Soviet people to understand the true character and significance of the war and to adapt themselves to it. Comrade Stalin, addressing the people in a broadcast on 3rd July, 1941, called on them to realise the full extent of the danger threatening our country and to abandon all heedlessness and carelessness and the psychology of peaceful construction.

The people have responded warmly to the call of their leader and taken the path of relentless resistance to the enemy. When the Red Army had to abandon some part of our territory, our railwaymen evacuated the railway engines and wagons, the workers brought away the factory and workshop equipment, the collective farmers evacuated the cattle and burned all the property they could not take with them. Many thousands of persons capable of bearing arms joined guerilla detachments. The Soviet land burned under the feet of the Fascists.

Now, after a year of war, one can say with certainty that peace-time psychology has been overcome and that our people are meeting the enemy fully armed. Comrade Stalin, summing up the conditions created by the war, asked what Nazi Germany had gained, and what lost, by violating the Pact with the Soviet Union and treacherously attacking the U.S.S.R. He said:—

"Fascist Germany has gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a bloodthirsty aggressor. There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain for the U.S.S.R. is a serious and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for the development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with Fascist Germany."

In point of fact, the strength of the Red Army's resistance to the German aggressors grew from day to day. Battles became more and more fierce, every foot of Soviet territory occupied by the Germans cost them a dearer and dearer price and swallowed up an ever-growing amount of technical equipment, material and man-power.

True, the Germans reached the outskirts of Moscow. While Hitler was already dreaming of the capture of our capital, Stalin, in his speech at the session of the Moscow Soviet on 6th November, 1941, declared with assurance that "the rout of the German imperialists and their armies is inevitable."

But in saying this Comrade Stalin stressed that it was essential for victory "that our Army and Navy should have the active, energetic support of our whole country: that our workers and employees, men and women, should work ceaselessly in the factories and should produce ever more tanks, anti-tank guns, planes, cannon, mine-throwers, machine-guns, rifles and munitions for the front; that our collective farmers, men and women, should work tirelessly in their fields producing ever greater quantities of grain and meat for the front and the country and raw materials for industry; that our whole country and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. should organise into a single war camp which, together with our Army and Navy, will wage a great war of liberation for the honour and freedom of our country, for the routing of the German armies."

Since then the military initiative has passed increasingly into the hands of

the Red Army. Although the German Command has not renounced the idea of capturing Moscow, the blows inflicted on the Germans by the Red Army near Rostov and Tikhvin, and then near Moscow itself, broke the drive of Hitler's hordes. The German army, sustaining heavy losses in man-power and equipment, started rolling back towards the west, losing faith in victory. The Red Army passed from the defensive to the offensive, clearing the German invaders from Soviet territory.

The new situation which has arisen on the battlefield has confronted us with new tasks, vividly expressed by Comrade Stalin in his Order of the Day of 1st May. In this Order, Stalin set the Red Army and Navy and all Soviet peoples the task of making 1942 "the year of the final debacle of the German Fascist troops and the year of the liberation of the Soviet soil from the Hitlerite scoundrels."

"The Red Army," he said, "possesses everything necessary to achieve this lofty aim. Only one thing is lacking—the ability to make full use against the enemy of the first-rate armament supplied by our motherland. Therefore, the task of the Red Army, its men, its machine-gunners, its artillerymen, its mortar crews, its tankmen, its flyers and cavalymen is to study military art, to study persistently, to master their arms to perfection, to become experts at their jobs and thus learn how to inflict certain defeat on the enemy. Only in this way can one learn the art of defeating the enemy."

These words express the tremendous achievement of the Soviet people. In spite of the very difficult conditions due to the retreat of our troops during the first months of war, the difficulties besetting the advance of the Red Army in winter conditions and the evacuation of many factories, the country has been able to supply the army with excellent equipment and to produce everything necessary for modern warfare.

Now the leader of the people and of the Red Army and Navy sets them new tasks arising from the war situation. The men and commanders of the Red Army must "be able to make full use of the first-rate armament supplied to them by our motherland." There can be no doubt that our Red Army and Navy will cope with this task.

Reviewing the year's fighting on the Soviet front, some conclusions can be drawn. The Germans attacked us unexpectedly, expecting to smash our army at one blow, to capture the vital centres of our country, and by so doing to force the Soviet people to their knees. It is now obvious to everyone that this plan has suffered a complete fiasco.

Not only was the entire industry of the towns and territories occupied by the Germans evacuated to areas inaccessible to German bombing, but this industry is now working again in the rear and will increase its output from month to month.

Under the blows of our troops, the German people's belief in the invincibility of the German army became weaker and weaker, and has now begun to vanish completely. The spring offensive, so insistently proclaimed by the Nazis during the winter, has not taken place.

As for the further development of military operations, one can say with certainty that the German army is not capable of carrying out a general offensive along the entire front. It is not what it was at the beginning of the war. It has been considerably weakened physically and morally.

It is clear that, on such an extensive front as the Soviet-German battlefield, offensive operations by the German troops on individual sectors are still

possible, but I think they will be of a limited character and will cost the Germans a high price.

It is not because things are going well with them that now, after every little success on some sector of the front, the Germans exaggerate it in characteristic fashion and use it to whip up their allies, obviously attempting to fool them. In fact, if all the divisions provided by Germany's allies—the Finns, Hungarians, Rumanians and Italians—were withdrawn from the front a situation would arise most unfavourable for the Germans from a military point of view.

Their allies have become essential to the Germans not only politically, not only as sources of raw material and food, but as reserves of military man-power. The German army is becoming a motley army. It is no longer the army of 1941.

The morale of the German people has become low because of the failures of the German army, the prolonged war and the realisation of their unjust cause. This inevitably leads to a wider and wider extension of anti-war feeling.

The Nazis reckoned that their attack on the U.S.S.R. would bring about peace with Britain and gain the favour of America. This naïve hope did not come true, and Hitler's plan for deceiving Britain and America failed.

The German régime of plunder and terror in the occupied countries, the failures on the Soviet front, but most of all the blows inflicted by the Red Army on the Fascist troops, all strengthen the struggle of the patriots in the German-occupied countries, make the German rear in Europe shaky, and force the Fascists to increase their police measures and strengthen their punitive forces in the occupied countries.

The guerilla movement in German-occupied Soviet territories gains in extent and force from day to day. The Nazis are compelled to send out considerable army forces to fight it. Sometimes the Germans write of their "wonderful victories over guerilla detachments," reporting that they have captured ten or fifteen populated places in their own rear which were in the hands of guerilla detachments. But they do not mention that after a little while the guerillas inflict new blows on the German garrisons and again dislodge them from the populated places.

The Russian soil in the German rear has really become too hot for Fascist feet. With the development of the war the blows inflicted on the Germans by the guerillas gain in importance. It can be stated with certainty that every month the guerillas derail scores of trains laden with German troops and equipment and that the guerillas wipe out considerable German detachments in daily encounters.

The guerilla movement in Nazi-occupied Soviet territories has become an important front for the German armies, which doubtless has a most painful effect on their position. German reserves of man-power and material are decreasing. These reserves are being used up at the front with increasing speed.

In conclusion, it can be said that not one of the strategical tasks for the Soviet front set by the German Command at the beginning of the war has been solved. During the past year of war our army has gone through hard trials. We have learned to know our enemy, to know both his strong and weak points, and have learned not to fear his equipment and to meet him in appropriate fashion.

Our commanders have gained considerable experience during this period, and our Red Army men have developed their power of resistance in fighting

the enemy. All in all, our army has increased its power and has learned to smash the Germans, and to smash them thoroughly.

The morale of our army corresponds to the spirit of the Soviet people, and it can be said with certainty that it is very high indeed. It cannot be otherwise, because each Red Army man understands full well that he is fighting for a great cause—for the honour and independence of his motherland. This strengthens him in battle and inspires him to rout the enemy and to drive him off the Soviet soil.

Our industry increases its output of war material from month to month. It becomes better and better adapted to war conditions, and we can be proud of the fact that after a year of war the supply of the army with war materials has become not worse, but better.

In agriculture, too, we can state with joy and pride that, despite all difficulties due to war conditions, the sown area is increasing, particularly in the eastern districts. We have every reason to believe that our collective farmers will honourably fulfil the tasks which the war has imposed on them.

This year of war has vividly shown that the economy of our country is based on firm foundations. The morale of our people is extremely firm. The people are filled with relentless hatred of the enemy and the conviction that he must be routed and routed mercilessly.

Our international situation could not be more stable. Great Britain and the U.S.A., from the very first days of the war between Germany and the U.S.S.R., took the line of supporting the Soviet Union. Now our country and Great Britain have signed a Treaty of Alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe, and of collaboration and mutual help after the war.

America has become a belligerent country. An agreement has been signed between America and the U.S.S.R. on the principles of mutual help in the war. The aid given to us by America and Britain in terms of war supplies will increase to a greater and greater extent.

All these facts give full grounds for confidence that the enemy will be defeated. The Soviet people have no illusions of an easy victory over the treacherous and vile enemy, who will continue fighting with all his strength. The enemy is not yet defeated. He still possesses considerable resources. The more hopeless the position of the Hitlerite hordes the more adventurous will be the attempts they undertake. But the defeat of Hitlerism is inevitable.

The Soviet people are firmly convinced of their victory, and they know that this victory must be won from day to day, at the front and in the rear, in factories, mines and collective farms, in the front line positions, in the trenches and in the guerilla detachments.

No sacrifices or difficulties can halt the Soviet people in their iron determination to rout their deadly enemy. Our task is to hasten this rout.

THE BATTLE OF THE CAUCASUS

The Nazis are surging towards the Caucasus. They are pressing in two main directions: along the North Caucasian railway, skirting the great mountain chain in the area of Mozdok, and along the Maikop-Novorossisk route towards the Black Sea coast.

The German advance is steadily slowing down, while the resistance of our troops is steadily growing stronger. The enemy's losses increase with every passing day. For every mile of his advance he pays a dearer price.

The conquest of the Caucasus is an old German dream. In 1918, when Germany was already facing defeat, the chief of the Austrian General Staff, Artz, wrote to his superiors:—

"She (Germany) wants to ensure for herself for ever the safest road to Mesopotamia and Arabia, through Baku to Persia. This possibility is especially attractive to the Germans now that they have occupied the Ukraine. The road to the east passes through Kiev, Ekaterinoslav and Sevastopol, whence goes the sea route to Batum and Trebizond. In my opinion, the Germans intend to retain the Crimea for this purpose as a colony or in some other form."

Then this former chief of the Austrian General Staff launched into a long discourse to the effect that, unfortunately, Austria was too weak to prevent German aggression in the east. Herr Artz called on the Austrian Government for "sincere collaboration with Germany," in order, with the latter's permission, to wrest something from the spoils. It is characteristic that Austrian military circles failed to see disaster approaching—the total defeat which overwhelmed both the Germans and themselves.

The same document contained the following statement: "These intentions (to occupy the Ukraine) are confirmed by Lieutenant-General Groener's open declaration that since Britain restricts Germany in the west, Germany's chief interests lie in the direction of India through the Ukraine and the Crimea."

As far back as 1918 the Germans set themselves the object of seizing the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Turkish port of Trebizond and all Asia Minor, and attacking India—intending in this way to achieve world domination. To-day, the Fascist Press is recalling with relish the German invasion of the Caucasus in 1918. For instance, this is what the German newspaper, *Deutsche Ukrainer Zeitung*, wrote on 8th September this year:—

"In April, 1918, General Kress set out with his troops from Constantinople across the Black Sea for Batum, and then sent Bavarian Alpine detachments from Tiflis to the Georgian military highway, where they kept watch against the Bolsheviks. When one thinks that to-day German Alpine troops have appeared once more in those districts, in order to carry out the behest of 1918, the logic of world history must be clearly realised. To-day, Germany is materialising her victory which was postponed 25 years ago."

Many German papers are full of similar articles. Magazines and special theses seriously attempt to prove Germany's right to possess the Caucasus. This propaganda has gone on year after year. The heads of the German philistines have been stuffed with it for decades. The Nazis have added nothing to the essentials of this propaganda. They have merely freed it from all restraints.

The peoples of the Caucasus are in mortal danger. German planes are circling over the regions of which our poet Lermontov wrote with such inspired love. The implacable, ruthless and perfidious enemy is trying to break into their valleys and gorges and to the tops of the mountain peaks.

One German general, taught by bitter experience in the struggle against the guerillas in other parts of the Soviet Union, instructs his men not to plunder the Caucasian people too much, not to offend against their customs, and to be

especially careful in their approach to the women, as the outraging of women in those parts may produce an outbreak of relentless popular vengeance.

But no order can put a stop to the crimes of soldiers corrupted by the Nazis. Only guns, machine-guns and rifles can stop them. The order itself is based on deceit. The German general merely urges his men to wait, to postpone their looting and the humiliation of women until everything has been captured and they can reward themselves a hundredfold.

The Nazis seem to think that the world is peopled entirely by fools, and that the German Fascists are the only clever ones who can cheat other peoples endlessly. For instance, the German Gestapo regularly resorts to the following primitive method: out of hundreds of prisoners it selects a coward, or a person with a criminal past, isolates him for a time, feeds him well, conceals the true conditions from him, and then sends him across the front line with orders to praise life in the German rear and to paint rosy pictures of the German régime.

In doing this the Nazis count on people's stupidity. But in counting on the stupidity of others, one may find that one is fooled oneself.

The population of the Caucasus consists of many nationalities. Distrust and hostility between them had been cultivated for centuries in the interests of the exploiters. The great Socialist Revolution not only liberated the working people from capitalist rule; it also removed the veil from their eyes.

They realised that they were not enemies of one another, but that, on the contrary, by their joint efforts they could build a life worthy of mankind. The people of the Caucasus built such a life. The outward expression of this success was the rapid economic and cultural development of all the Caucasian Republics.

Countless factories were built, roads, hospitals, schools, theatres. The cultural standards of the people were raised. The growing productivity of labour ensured a considerable material improvement in the workers' living standards. This was the expression of the basic difference between the Soviet system and the capitalist system.

The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet system on the psychology and character of people. From being a retiring and suspicious people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere, the Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life.

The school, the club, the theatre and the football field have brought the people closer together mentally, while the new mountain roads and improved transport have brought them closer territorially. The peoples of the Caucasus have started living in close communion with each other. They have become more friendly and, most significant of all, they are not hindering but helping one another.

The Caucasus, that medley of nationalities, has developed a bright, colourful culture and national life. Each people shines with its own individual lustre, but these individual characteristics do not prevent the Caucasian peoples from living in one single family on Soviet soil. On the contrary, each nationality has grown wings for long-range flights.

The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. The struggle for narrow personal interests has given way to

emulation in the collective farm fields, in the factory workshops, in the spheres of science, literature and art.

And each nationality in the family strives to make the brilliant light of its culture and achievements shine in Moscow for the whole Soviet Union to see, for all the peoples of the Soviet land to enjoy, admire and emulate.

Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the 25 years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, for which Stalin fought and is fighting, to which our Party has always aspired.

All this the Fascist aggressor wants to destroy, to wipe off the face of the earth. By deceit, lies and slander he wants to sow discord among the Soviet nationalities and find traitors to do his base work. But the peoples of the North Caucasus and the Transcaucasian Republics are displaying worthy resistance to the enemy.

The Red Army is checking his advance. The mass of the people have organised themselves and are battering at the rear of the Nazi army, annihilating its man-power. The guerillas of the Northern Caucasus are derailing enemy trains, blowing up bridges, destroying ammunition and fuel depots.

In the village of Nizhny Agbash German soldiers killed a Chechen youth, Doda Aliev. His father, brother and grandfather lay in wait for four days under a bridge on the high road. A German staff car appeared. They held it up and stabbed three German officers and two drivers to death with their knives. Then they fled to the mountains to carry on the struggle.

One guerilla detachment operating in the foothills of the North Caucasus has already killed over 500 German soldiers and officers. Thus the flames of the people's war are spreading over the occupied districts of the Northern Caucasus.

The Transcaucasian Republics have also risen in defence of the Northern Caucasus. Georgian, Azerbaidjanian and Armenian units are fighting with the Red Army against the Germans. The Transcaucasian workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are toiling indefatigably to increase their aid to the front.

The Germans wish to enslave the Caucasian peoples, and to lay a road to India across the mountains. We have every opportunity to inflict on them a mortal blow. Let us turn the Caucasus into the graveyard of the invaders!

THE CREATION OF THE SOVIET STATE

TWENTY years have passed since the foundation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This is not a long term for a State, but bearing in mind that the Soviet State is a State of a new type, that a Soviet Socialist system has been brought into being for the first time in the history of mankind and, moreover, that it is surrounded by old formations, the fact that this is a brief period in the historical development of the Soviet State does not prevent it from being one of great significance.

The historical path traversed by the Soviet Union has never been an easy one, but at the present time the U.S.S.R. is being subjected to especially great trials in the ruthless and violent struggle against German Fascism. The enemy basely and treacherously attacked our frontiers. He set himself the insane

objects of liquidating the Soviet State, destroying the national culture of the Soviet peoples, enslaving and exterminating the Soviet people.

The peoples of the Soviet Union have now been waging war for eighteen months—a war without parallel in history in its scope and unprecedented in its violence. But his treachery did not provide the enemy with the opportunities on which he calculated as a result of his surprise invasion of our land.

The Germans miscalculated—our motherland has withstood all trials, and the friendship of the Soviet peoples, tested many times in difficult conditions, has now become still stronger and firmer. This is the great historical victory of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy. This is the triumph of the Soviet people in their practical efforts to create and develop the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The development of our State is marked by the ever-increasing strengthening of political, military and economic collaboration between the Soviet peoples. The liberation movement of the peoples freed by the October Revolution sweeps away all obstacles in the path to the greater fraternity and unification of the peoples.

The desire of the peoples for national liberation was expressed by the Soviet Power in the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia published on 16th November, 1917 (3rd November by the old calendar). This Declaration formulated the basic principles of Soviet national policy. The Declaration of the Soviet Government proclaimed:—

1. *The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.*
2. *The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, including the right of separation and establishment of independent States.*
3. *The abolition of all privileges of one nation over another.*
4. *The free development of national minorities and ethnographical groups populating the territory of Russia.*

With the free, honest union of the peoples of Russia as the basis of its activity, the Soviet Government enacted a number of laws directed towards giving the peoples of Russia complete freedom of national development. The Soviet Power admitted in clear and unconditional form the sovereignty of the freed peoples and the State independence of the Republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia and Georgia. It granted State independence, for instance, to Finland and Poland.

The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on 24th January, 1918, adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, which stated that the Russian Soviet Republic was established on the basis of the free union of free nations, as a Federation of Soviet National Republics.

Thus we see that the very first period of the Soviet State was marked by the liberation of oppressed nations and the proclamation of the principles underlying the foundation of the Soviet Federation. It was marked by the creation of conditions for the real self-determination of peoples.

It goes without saying that it was not possible to accomplish the State independence of the peoples straight away. The Soviet order at that time was in process of establishment, creation and strengthening. It was still fighting for its existence.

The full weight of the blow of the foreign interventionists and their White-Guard hirelings was hurled against the Soviet Republics, and each of the latter clearly saw that it was impossible for a divided Soviet order to hold out. Only Soviet Republics strongly consolidated around the R.S.F.S.R., with a

corresponding centralisation of military and material powers, could maintain and strengthen the Soviet Power.

This idea was realised comparatively speedily among the toilers of all nationalities. Two characteristic features are to be observed in this unification movement of the Soviet peoples: firstly, the desire for independence of the Soviet Republics and the leading rôle of the R.S.F.S.R. in the establishment of a united front of struggle against the common enemy; and, secondly, the decisions adopted by the Soviet Republics which already predetermined the form of their future unification, namely, the Soviet Federation based on the principles of voluntary union and equality.

In the situation that had arisen in the country the unification of the Soviet people assumed the form of a military-political alliance. This is especially clearly seen in the decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee dated 1st June, 1919, which is a reply to a number of appeals for help addressed by Soviet Republics to the R.S.F.S.R.

The decree said that it was necessary to repulse the forces of the interventionists and White Guards who were attempting, by attacks on all fronts, to overthrow the power of the workers and peasants. In order to defeat this attempt once more to reduce to slavery tens of millions of Russian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian and other workers and peasants, the decree pointed out, it was essential to achieve a further unification of the fighting forces and centralisation of leadership in the terrible life-and-death struggle.

The decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decided the practical questions involved in unifying the State efforts of the Soviet Republics and organising close military co-operation. It provided for the unification not only of military organisations and of railway transport, but also of economic activity in the fields of industry, finance and labour. This period in the life of the Soviet State was marked by the co-ordination of economic measures, expressed in concrete form in agreements and treaties between the Soviet Republics.

The realisation of the military-political alliance between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Soviet Republics enabled the Soviet peoples to emerge triumphant from the Civil War and to liquidate the foreign intervention. Thanks to the help of the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other Soviet Republics were able to defend their State independence and to stabilise the Soviet Power.

In the post-war period of the life of our State, increasing importance attached to the organisation of national economy. Economic devastation had to be repaired and the productive forces of the country restored. This determined the need to supplement the military alliance between the Soviet Republics by an economic alliance.

It became clear that the old treaty relations and conventions were outlived and no longer sufficed to solve all those political and economic questions arising before the Soviet Republics in connection with the switch-over to peaceful construction. The need had ripened for the unification of the Soviet Republics into a single State union.

The revolutionary condition of the country differs from the ordinary not only by the rapidity of social movements, but also by the accelerated process of State organisation. Already by the beginning of 1922 there arose in Azerbaidjan, Georgia and Armenia, and soon afterwards in the Ukraine and Byelorussia as well, a campaign for closer unification of the Soviet Republics.

In the middle of 1922, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, a conference was held of representatives of the Trans-Caucasian Republics which discussed the question of further relations between the Soviet Republics. The subsequent congresses of Soviets of the Trans-Caucasian Federation and the Ukrainian Republic (13th December, 1922), and of the Byelorussian Republic (16th December, 1922), adopted wide decisions on the need to set up a Union of States.

The question of the formation of the U.S.S.R. was brought up for discussion by the 10th Congress of Soviets of the R.S.F.S.R. in December, 1922. The speaker on this question was Comrade Stalin. Giving the grounds for the proposals of the Soviet Republics to form a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, he said:—

“The significance of the campaign lies in the fact that the old treaty relations and conventions between the R.S.F.S.R. and the other Soviet Republics have outlived themselves and have become insufficient. The significance of the campaign is that it is inevitable to pass from the old treaty relations to relations of closer unification: relations presupposing the establishment of a single State Union, with corresponding Union executive and legislative organs.”

On 29th December, 1922, the drafts of a Declaration and an Agreement for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were adopted. These were submitted for the consideration of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, which opened on 30th December, 1922. On both these the reporter was Comrade Stalin, who opened his Report with the following words:—

“This day is a turning-point in the history of the Soviet Power. It plants the signpost between the old period already traversed when, although the Soviet Republics acted jointly, they marched separately, being engaged primarily in questions of their existence, and the new period which has already opened.

“This new period is one in which an end is being put to the separate existence of the Soviet Republics, in which the Republics are being united into a single State Union for the successful combating of economic ruin, and in which the Soviet Power thinks not only of existence but also of developing into a serious international force, capable of influencing the international situation, capable of altering it in the interests of the toilers.”

Both documents were adopted by the Congress. This brought into effect a work of tremendous State significance. The single State Union united first of all the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Trans-Caucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The completion of the work of the First All-Union Congress of Soviets brought to a close the period of the formation of the first multi-national Soviet State in the world.

The formation of the U.S.S.R. was a new milestone in the development of Soviet Socialist State power, a higher stage in the strengthening and organisation of the whole of the Soviet order. To unite the peoples of Russia into one entity, to create a new Soviet State, was a tremendous achievement.

1943

TASKS OF YOUTH

[From an Address to young agricultural workers in the Moscow Region]

DURING the past few months the Red Army has achieved considerable successes at the front—not only because it possesses excellent armament, or because its commanders are brave and resourceful and its men fight with supreme devotion. Our Army has always possessed these qualities.

The new quality which distinguishes our Red Army during the past period is—better organisation. Its present victories are the fruits not only of courage and self-sacrifice, but of improved organisation. The men and commanders have learned how to attain great results with the smallest expenditure of material forces.

Village members of the Young Communist League, young agricultural workers, also have to learn how to achieve great results with the smallest expenditure of forces. Young Communists, of course, have the energy and enthusiasm natural to youth, inherent in youth. But there is one quality which matures more slowly—the habit of organisation, the ability to find the best organisational form for each task.

You may ask: How is this to be found? It is difficult to find the answer in books. Nor is organisational practice taught in school. Organisational habits are acquired through labour, through experience of getting things done.

We must bear in mind the defects of last year's agricultural work, when we expended more labour than was necessary. Of course, it could be said: They worked well, they carried out the task 100 per cent. Still, it was a pity that much strength was spent uselessly.

Your task, young comrades, is not only to carry out all agricultural work in the best manner possible. In addition to this, you must train from among yourselves the people who will take the place of the older generation. You must work hard, but you must also leave time for cultural development.

I am confident that the young Communists of Moscow will this year not only fulfil the plan for agricultural work, but will also accumulate considerable organising experience.

Organising capacity is one of man's finest qualities. We are faced with colossal work, both during the war and after the war is over. This work will require from us not only much effort, but also the ability to apply our forces in the most effective manner.

That is what the young Communists and all young people of the Moscow region must learn to do.

I want to wish the young Communists of Moscow and the Moscow region the acquisition of sufficient experience to enable them to gain the victory with the least expenditure of forces and energy. If you succeed in this, it means that you will carry out the task set you by the Party, by Comrade Stalin.

LENIN, STALIN AND THE RED ARMY

FOR 20 months the peoples of the Soviet Union have been waging a bloody war against the predatory gangs of Hitlerite Germany. It is only natural that their thoughts should go back to the historic past, seeking analogies bearing on present events. Their thoughts go back first of all to Lenin, whose behests they are striving to put into practice.

On the establishment of Soviet power, Lenin indefatigably prepared the Soviet people for the defence of their country. His attention was first and foremost directed to the creation of armed forces for the Soviet State.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin a regular Red Army was formed on the basis of universal compulsory military service. In the very earliest stages of its existence that army was faced by a ruthless enemy. German troops had advanced to Pskov and Narva in an effort to seize Petrograd. Lenin placed before the Soviet people their main task—to learn to fight.

The young workers and peasants vindicated Lenin's faith in them. By 23rd February, 1918, the Red Army had checked the advance of the German troops at Pskov and Narva. Ever since, that day has been regarded as the birthday of the Red Army.

In a letter to the workers and peasants on the occasion of the victory over Kolchak, Lenin wrote: "He who does not support the Red Army completely and entirely, who does not do everything to maintain good order and discipline in the army, is a traitor . . . he must be mercilessly destroyed."

Lenin taught the Soviet people how essential a strongly organised rear is in war-time. The finest army, people most loyal to the cause of the revolution, would be wiped out at once if they were not well enough armed, supplied with rations, and properly trained. And Lenin insisted that the man-power of the country should be wholly at the service of the front.

For, he said, the right to live in the Soviet country could be given only to those who actively participated in its defence.

Lenin made severe demands of the Soviet people. *Greater labour discipline! Let us pull ourselves together! Work with war-time determination, firmness and self-sacrifice! Abandon the interests of the group or workshop! Sacrifice all private interests. Unless we do this, we cannot gain victory.*

Lenin considered it extremely important to establish a new social discipline. He demanded the severest measures not only against traitors and saboteurs, but also against cowards, careerists and anyone who connived at or covered up treachery and sabotage. He would not permit any crime against discipline or the revolutionary military spirit to go unpunished.

The bestial character of German imperialism is well known to us from the last war. Its aims—the enslavement of our peoples—remain exactly what they were in 1918-19.

The Germans are old and hardened criminals. The brutality and greed of the German soldier, however, came as a surprise to most Soviet people, many of whom could not be made to realise that the passage of the German army over any territory is equivalent to a plague of locusts. It was difficult for the Soviet citizen to believe that the German soldier could cold-bloodedly remove a shirt from a child he had shot and send it to his wife.

For such a scoundrel Soviet justice has but one punishment—death. But

in Hitler's army, plunder, rapine and murder are encouraged by the Command and are considered normal behaviour in occupied districts.

But whatever crimes the Germans may perpetrate, however they may taunt the peoples they have humbled, and whatever efforts they may make, nothing can alter the fact that the situation in Hitler Germany in the fourth year of the war is in many ways similar to that of Kaiser Germany in 1918. This remains so, in spite of their vast territories.

At the fourth conference of the factory committees and Moscow trade unions, Lenin gave the following estimate of the military position of German imperialism:—

“The more victories Germany gains, the clearer it becomes to all, even to many representatives of the big bourgeoisie of Germany, that the war is futile, that even if the Germans can put up a resistance on the western front, this still does not bring the end of the war any nearer, but merely creates a new enslaved country which must be occupied by German troops, and which will prolong the war, and cause the corruption of the German army, an army that is changing and will change into a gang of plunderers, people employing violence against unarmed peoples, draining their country of the remaining reserves of food and raw materials in the face of the tremendous resistance of the population.”

Lenin's estimate of the successes of the Germans in those days can equally well be applied to Hitler Germany. Early military successes and territorial gains have not brought Fascist Germany any nearer to the end of the war. On the contrary, they have postponed it ever further. The present war is becoming hopeless for Germany just like the last war. It is clear that the rout of Hitlerism is inevitable.

Discussing the significance of the moral factor in an army, Lenin said:—

“In every war, victory in the final analysis is determined by the spiritual standard of those masses that spill their blood on the battlefield. Conviction of the justice of the war, knowledge of the necessity to sacrifice your life for the benefit of your brothers, raises the spirits of the soldier and enables him to bear untold privations. The Tsarist generals say that our Red Army men are enduring privations such as the Tsarist army could never have endured. That is to be explained by the fact that every armed worker and peasant knows what he is fighting for, and consciously spills his blood that justice and socialism may triumph.”

During the period of Soviet power, the workers and peasants have seen a direct, material improvement in their standard of living, and in the present war they stand like a solid wall for Soviet power. The Hitlerite rulers, like the White Guard leaders in the past, are astonished at the unparalleled determination and bravery of the Soviet troops. They try to hide, or maliciously distort, the reasons for this heroism. But the whole world knows that the Red Army man fights for his Soviet country, and at the same time for progressive mankind.

During the Civil War a number of talented leaders came forward. The closest permanent comrade-in-arms of Lenin in the organisation of the armed forces of the Soviet State, and in working out and putting into operation the plans for the rout of the enemy forces, was Stalin. It was Stalin whom the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Government sent to the fronts where the threat was greatest. The Supreme High Command of the

armed forces of the Soviet Union in this war, and the strategical and tactical plans for the conduct of the war, are Comrade Stalin's.

The great heritage of Lenin includes writings on the organisation of war, and on strategy and tactics. Lenin was the greatest leader in the history of the toiling people's struggle for their emancipation from oppression.

It is absolutely necessary for all army commanders and political workers to study Lenin, in order that they may better understand present events and perfect their knowledge of warfare.

The 25th anniversary of our Red Army is a great national holiday. The Red Army is indeed the offspring of the Soviet people, who begrudge it nothing. The fighting ability of the Red Army is now being tested in battle against the strongest army in the world.

The German military caste is haughty and supercilious: the German generals consider themselves superlative masters of the art of war. Their victories in Europe completely turned their heads.

The Red Army, created and fostered in many years of labour by Stalin, was the first, and so far the only army that has not only stood up to, but is delivering blow after blow at the Italo-German coalition.

Comrade Stalin, directing the military operations, sees with satisfaction that his labour has not been in vain, that Lenin's heritage has not only been preserved, but has been enriched.

PATRIOTIC WAR AND TOTAL WAR

In the dead of night the German army suddenly invaded our country. The Soviet Government realised at once the full meaning of this event, and summoned the peoples of the Soviet Union to patriotic war against the aggressor.

Hitlerite Germany has forced on the world something which she calls “total war,” and upon which German generals and führers, big and little, expound at length in military publications.

But what is the essence of Fascist total war? The idea sprang out of the rapacious appetites of German imperialism. Hitlerite Fascism provided the German imperialists with political support, and, in the person of Hitler, with a chieftain.

The German imperialists believed that the old means were inadequate to consummate their aggressive designs, and that only the sanguinary road of “total war” could bring them world supremacy.

In the present war, Hitlerite Germany has set herself more far-reaching and aggressive aims than the Kaiser's Germany ever attempted to achieve. In the last war, certainly, the German imperialists tried to seize and subjugate foreign territories and to grab advantageous positions in the world markets. The Hitlerite Government is attempting all this, and, in addition, the physical extermination of whole nations, the destruction of their State systems and their national cultures.

The German military believe that total war, from its very outset, implies the most thorough use of all the material and man-power resources of the country. It implies the use of the most diverse means of routing the enemy—blackmail in international relations; the lulling of the military vigilance of neighbouring nations by assurances of peaceable intentions and friendship,

followed by sudden attacks on them; lies, deceit and slander; deafening propaganda about the allegedly exceptional might of the German army and the superiority of its arms; hints at the possession of some special "secret weapons"; diverse means of intimidation, the destruction of towns, the mass murder of the civil population, the abduction of multitudes of men, women and adolescents to penal servitude in Germany; attempts to terrorise the people of occupied territories and paralyse their will to resist.

The Fascist theory of "total war" lays down that armed invasion must be carried out in conditions most favourable to the attacking party, so as not to give the adversary time to muster and bring up his reserves. The idea is to crush suddenly the adversary's armed forces, to shatter his morale and will to resist, to destroy his material base.

The peoples of Poland, Holland, Belgium and France already have some conception of what "total war" means. But against the Soviet Union the Hitlerite cannibals carry out their programme with particular thoroughness. They kill hundreds of thousands of defenceless Soviet people and destroy their material and cultural possessions. And this is done not in the heat of an orgy of Fascist brigandage, but to a strict plan worked out long before the outbreak of war.

Hitlerite methods of total war invite historic comparisons with the wars of Jenghiz Khan in Asia, and of Batu in Russia. It might seem that the Germans were applying the same methods as Jenghiz Khan and Batu, under changed conditions with the aid of highly developed tools of war.

But the resemblance is purely superficial. Batu's invasion took place 700 years ago. True, it was barbarous, but it was not marked by such refined brutality as the total war preached and carried out by the Germans.

Science has made great strides in recent centuries, and the Germans make full use of it to refine the tortures they inflict on the people. In our land, they wage war not only against the Red Army, but against the whole Soviet people. In the occupied Soviet districts, the Fascist Command applies a broadly planned programme for the physical extermination of a considerable part of the peaceful population.

Abundant documentary evidence captured from the Hitlerite military and civilian authorities fully reveals the methods used by the cannibals of our times for the systematic extermination of peoples, the eradication of their national cultures and educational institutions, the destruction of their historic memorials, the plunder of their museums and libraries—in short, for the destruction of everything that constitutes the spiritual riches of an historically established nation.

Every day the war lasts they inflict humiliations, tortures and massacres on an ever greater scale. All this is directed to demoralising and killing the will to struggle in the enslaved peoples, so that they may be able, on cleared ground, to perpetrate their felonies without hindrance.

The German Fascists call this "total war." It is plain brigandage on the European highway. They do not propose that their policy in the other occupied European countries shall be on a more moderate scale than in the Soviet Union. There is only one thing which has so far prevented them from putting that policy fully into effect—and that is the Soviet-German front. However, they are being as thorough as they dare. They are pursuing a consistent policy for the extermination of the Polish nation, in order to make room for a mass of German landowners and rich farmers.

Holland is an irritation to Germany. It has what could be a useful sea-coast against Britain. So the Dutch are "advised" to move to the Ukraine, so that their own ancestral lands may be settled by picked Germans, and so serve as an advanced bastion against Britain. And Hitler would of course prefer that Dutchmen, instead of Germans, should be targets for Ukrainian guerillas' bullets.

German-Fascist actions are the logical consequence of their plan, which is simple in essence: to exterminate the active part of the workers and peasants, to massacre the intelligentsia of the European countries, to Germanise the susceptible part of the population, and to turn the conquered peoples into slaves. If the Germans won, it is indisputable that they would apply this plan universally, as thoroughly as they do in the occupied areas of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet peoples' answer to Hitler's "total war" was a great patriotic war, a just war in defence of the homeland from the bloody aggressor. Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. is deeply aware of the danger threatening him personally, his family and his whole mode of life.

The leader of the Soviet people, Stalin, summoned all the citizens of our country to a patriotic war, i.e. to a war of the whole people, with all the means at their disposal. He called on them to form guerilla detachments and sabotage groups in districts occupied by the enemy.

This direct participation by the people, fighting the enemy directly as in the guerilla movement, reveals the character of the patriotic war. Only people who hold the freedom and independence of their country as the most precious thing in life could display so much selfless heroism. To their cost, the Fascist chieftains have learned the national staunchness and lofty patriotism of the Soviet people in towns and country-side.

The ever developing guerilla struggle allows the enemy no freedom of manoeuvre on occupied territory and is an insurmountable obstacle to its economic exploitation. The absence of a submissive population places the occupation army in grave difficulties. The Germans are suffering ever greater losses in their struggle to convert the people of the occupied districts into mute slaves.

The Soviet people regard the war against the German invaders as a popular war because the German Fascist wages war not only against the Red Army, but against the entire people. This war has aroused the Soviet people to an unparalleled degree. It has awakened in them forces which had not been fully displayed before.

No matter what tricks the German Command may play at the front, no matter how the Hitlerite Government may exert itself, the German Fascist armies will be smashed and ousted ignominiously from our country.

The patriotic war has become the main, if not the sole concern of the whole Soviet people, and the Soviet people will win.

SOVIET TENACITY WILL WIN

For the 22nd month the Soviet peoples are conducting against the German Fascists a war the like of which this world has never seen before. Hitler and his military clique confidently thought that they could carry out a blitzkrieg against the Soviet Union, that is, finish the war in a very short time, by a lightning blow. The Soviet peoples and the Red Army showed the boastful enemy his error.

Twice already Hitler has been forced to admit that the German Fascist army was within a hair's breadth of catastrophe; the first time near Moscow, the second time near Stalingrad. *I think that the hair which saved the Hitlerite army after its defeat near Stalingrad was considerably thinner than after the defeat near Moscow. It will not stand the strain a third time.*

The lightning war did not come off. It was transformed into a lengthy, exhausting struggle. Hitler now hopes to win the war by a process of attrition, i.e. thinks to win the sort of war which the German Command previously considered most disadvantageous for Germany.

On what does Hitler reckon now? He reckons that total mobilisation will draw man-power from the whole of occupied Europe and thus replace his battered army units: that German nerves will turn out stronger than those of his enemy: that Soviet economy will not hold out under heavy, prolonged strain.

Hitler is a gambler. At first he was a lucky gambler, but since he attacked the Soviet Union, luck has deserted him. Ever more often the German army finds itself in difficult and even catastrophic situations. In their search for a way out, the Hitlerite leaders reveal their adventurism. We must see that they do not find a way out.

Fighting has gone on incessantly for nearly two years. The Red Army is being regularly and satisfactorily supplied with all it requires. But the Germans are trying to get materials necessary for waging the war by looting the occupied countries. There were reserves of materials in Europe, but already the Germans have largely exhausted them.

Hitler wanted to crush Leningrad by hunger, but failed. He trampled the fine wheat of the Don and the Kuban, thinking that he would starve out the Soviet people. But this cost him dear. Hundreds of thousands of German soldiers are buried in the cornfields.

Soviet citizens, men, women and children, have shown by their deeds that they can work selflessly for their motherland. The main and fundamental thing is that the people should understand, understand decisively and without reservations, that we must launch our whole might upon the Germans, smite them not only at the front and with guerilla bullets, but also on the collective farm fields by increasing the harvest of grain and vegetables, by improving stock-breeding, especially of pigs. That is the most productive type of stock-raising.

I want to underline especially the great importance of allotments. Everyone who has any opportunity to cultivate even a small plot of land must take it and make the land fruitful.

Fascism is attempting to bind the workers to slave labour and to create a master caste of idlers and exploiters of the people. The workers understand what a Fascist victory would bring them and are therefore working selflessly. But we cannot stop at this or be satisfied with the results achieved.

The enemy has overrun the boundaries of our country and thirstily drinks our people's blood. The task of smashing him can only be achieved with shells, guns, bombs and bullets. It is essential to show the robbers that our land is not a place where international bandits can rob and plunder at will.

The German Fascists want to compete in endurance, steadfastness and tenacity of purpose with three countries: the Soviet Union, Britain and America. They hurl their main forces against us, intending to disorganise

our economy, paralyse the initiative of our army and the determination of our people to fight.

Hitler miscalculated in his lightning war, and he will miscalculate more bitterly still in the long-term war. The Soviet people have set themselves the aim of driving the German Fascists out of their country, and despite all the difficulties of the struggle the Germans will be defeated and expelled from the Soviet country. There is sufficient tenacity among our people in producing supplies, sufficient tenacity in battle among our fighters, and sufficient ability among our military leaders.

The national slogan—"Death to the Fascist invaders"—will be realised.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

FOR the Soviet people it has become an intellectual requirement to hear or read the periodic appraisal of current events by the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, Stalin. That is natural and perfectly legitimate, because Stalin's voice is the collective voice of the entire Soviet people.

As usual, *Stalin's May Day Order* is sparing of words, but has a marvellous quality. It strengthens the Red Army's conviction of superiority over the enemy. It multiplies the energy of Soviet people in the rear, establishing in their consciousness full confidence in the victory which they are achieving by their own efforts.

In the first part of his Order Stalin analyses the Red Army's winter campaign. That analysis means a great deal to us when we recall that in their summer plan the Germans set themselves the aim of outflanking Moscow from the east, cutting it off from the eastern regions and then striking at Moscow. Having ensured Moscow's communications with the east, the Soviet Command decided to strike at the Stalingrad group of the German army—the world knows with what result.

The Nazi Government proclaimed three days' mourning for its 6th Army, annihilated at Stalingrad, trying by this swindler's trick to hide from the German people the rout of their troops in the Stavropol territory, the North Caucasus, at Voronezh and north of Kursk. These defeats cured the Germans of their old disease—coveting the Caucasus. We may take it that they will long remember this lesson, taught them by the Red Army.

Our offensive of last winter dispelled a number of other aggressive illusions of German Imperialism. Hitler spared neither men nor material in his effort to retain the Vyazma-Rzhev-Gzhatsk springboard. After his defeat before Moscow in the winter of 1942, although he dared not admit it openly, Hitler nurtured a deep-laid plan to repeat the march on Moscow under favourable conditions. Otherwise, why did he state that the loss of Rzhev would be tantamount to the loss of half Berlin? However that may be, the Soviet forces dealt a hard blow at German conceit and adventurism.

Of very great importance was the Red Army's capture of Schluselburg and the clearing of the land route to Leningrad. Hitler sacrificed great forces for the maintenance of the Leningrad blockade. Demented by his urge to seize the city and quench his thirst with its blood, after his failure to capture Leningrad he tried to starve its people to death—he cynically boasted of this.

The defeat of the Germans at Leningrad was a great achievement for the Red Army and a slap in the face for the Nazi chieftains.

Such are the facts of the winter campaign on the Soviet-German front.

In October, 1942, the 8th British Army under General Montgomery's command inflicted a heavy defeat on Rommel's German-Italian troops at El Alamein. Rommel needed considerable reinforcements to enable him to retain some line of defence. But at that time fighting was in progress on the Soviet front, and the German Command was unable to send Rommel sufficient forces. At the beginning of November, 1942, Anglo-American troops landed in North Africa, which further restricted the flow of reinforcements in man-power and material to Rommel's army.

Then the new front was opened, unexpectedly for the Germans, in North Africa, close to the Italian coast. In order to retain Tunis and Bizerta, and so to protect southern Italy from the danger of Allied attack from the African coast, the Fascist Command was forced hastily to transfer troops to Tunisia and to form an army there under von Arnim.

But von Arnim's army has met the same fate as Rommel's. Military operations in the African theatre have ended in the utter defeat of the Axis troops. Having driven the enemy from Libya and Tripolitania, our Allies have liberated Bizerta and Tunis. Pressed to the sea, the remnants of the enemy's armed forces have been compelled to lay down their arms. This brilliant victory was a worthy consummation of the efforts of the valiant Anglo-American troops.

The Anglo-American air forces are systematically bombing industrial centres, railway communications, ports and important military objectives in Germany, Italy and the occupied countries. These attacks become more violent every month. They are inflicting great damage on the German war industries and are disorganising life in the large industrial cities.

Of course, the war will not be won by the air force alone. But within the framework of almost unceasing struggle on the fronts, blows from the air are an important factor, and one can only desire that these blows become ever more vigorous and weighty.

Summing up the results of joint military operations during the winter period on all fronts of the war with Germany, Stalin says: "All these circumstances, taken together, have shaken the Hitlerite war machine to its foundations, have changed the course of the world war and created the necessary prerequisites for victory over Hitlerite Germany."

Nazi propaganda is like the advertising put out by a swindling firm to fool gullible minds. Unscrupulousness, shrillness, hysteria and deception in everything everywhere, deception elevated to a principle—such is the nature of the propaganda in which the Fascists have engaged from the very first day of their appearance in the political arena.

This swindling is characteristic of the entire German Press. Shrill talk about blitzkrieg has now been replaced by lamentations about protracted war. Fanfares about lightning offensives have yielded place to miserable bragging about success in dodging a blow or escaping from encirclement.

This is evidence of the grave crisis in the Fascist camp. The enemy is forced to admit the aggravation of his situation, and in his propaganda he rushes from one extreme to the other. Howls about the possibility of Germany's collapse, when the Red Army was battering the German armies in winter, have now been replaced by a noisy racket about "total" mobilisation, which is supposed to bring a German victory.

To justify their plunder of Europe, the Fascists have substituted for the slogan "Great Germany" the slogan "Great Europe," of which they claim to be

the builders. History has known other hangmen of nations—but none like the Nazis.

The difficulties of their situation, and the absence of any prospect of a victory, have forced the Germans to talk more and more often about peace, and to play a complicated game with the aim of concluding peace with one of the belligerent countries. Stalin has given them a curt reply. It is clear that only the complete defeat of the Hitlerite army and the unconditional surrender of Germany will bring peace to Europe.

Indeed, even the conclusion of a general peace more or less in the nature of a compromise would be a great boon for the Fascist ringleaders. It would mean an amnesty for all their crimes and iniquities, and a premium for the German imperialists, as it would give them the chance to retain the loot from plundered Europe and to renew their struggle for the enslavement of the world. Under these conditions, even their gigantic losses in man-power on the Soviet front would worry them little.

Of course, the bombing of German cities has a considerable effect on the pockets of the owners of factories and other large enterprises, and on all who strive to rule the world. But in plundering the occupied countries these gentry gained much more than they lost.

The Germans' peace talk has yet another aim—to divert public attention in Allied countries from the front, to weaken the resolution and onslaught of the Allied armies in their struggle to defeat the Hitlerite coalition.

All this twaddle about peace, like the Germans' open admission of the failure of their blitzkrieg plans, proves that the Fascist camp is experiencing a grave crisis, indeed, that it is facing catastrophe.

Stalin warns, however, that catastrophe has not yet overtaken Hitlerite Germany. It will not come of itself. Two or three more blows are needed from west and east, such as those dealt to the German army during the past five or six months. A stubborn struggle still confronts the Soviet people, the Red Army, our Allies and their armies in order to achieve victory.

Stalin appraises highly the work of Soviet people in the rear. This is understandable, for our people give literally all their strength and make every sacrifice to help the Red Army rout the invaders as quickly as possible. Stalin ardently calls on them to work with redoubled energy.

And the Red Army must strike the German invaders even harder, and drive them relentlessly from Soviet soil. It has gained rich experience. Nevertheless, Stalin's injunction that the Red Army must ceaselessly improve its mastery of the art of war—that to stand still is to lag behind, and that those who lag behind are beaten—should be especially borne in mind.

What can be added to these expressive words? Everyone understands how great is the importance of Stalin's Order, how it enriches the intellectual life of the Soviet people. So let us exert all our efforts to fulfil all the demands of the Order of the Day, in order at any price to put them into practice and to reap the results in the coming battles against the hated enemy.

JOBS FOR LOCAL SOVIETS

THE local organs of Soviet Power bear a great responsibility for the successful working of industry, municipal services, transport, agriculture, military mobilisation, supply services, hospitals for the wounded, care for servicemen's

families and war invalids. The district is the most important link. It is to the district, as Stalin says, that the threads run from the collective farms and from all other economic institutions.

The war has increased the importance of the district organisations, for they are directly responsible for the success of agriculture, which feeds the army and the home front, and for the local industries that cater for defence production.

In most regions there are certain predominant branches of industry on which the administrations naturally focus their main attention. Moscow farmers are most concerned with vegetables, Uzbek farmers with cotton, Kalinin farmers with flax, farmers of the eastern regions with grain.

But since the war many regions have had to master new industries. Industry is now predominant in many areas that were mainly agricultural. Many industrial areas are becoming equally concerned with farming.

The call-up of so many leading workers has complicated matters. It has become an imperative necessity to train new leaders for industry and agriculture from among those who are not liable for mobilisation. It is no easy matter to make experts out of people who have never been in industry before, particularly in war conditions, when incompetent work cannot be tolerated. People responsible for selecting cadres need an extremely keen eye to judge a person's suitability for a particular job.

Our eastern regions, Union and Autonomous Republics have experienced what is literally an industrial revolution. From the outbreak of war loads of evacuated factory equipment, and thousands of workers and their families have been pouring east from the front line zones. We had to find space for the machinery and get it going. We had to provide the essential living conditions for the evacuated workers, technical experts and their families.

Gigantic work was done, and in the main it was done satisfactorily. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet and technical cadres demonstrated their great organising ability to the whole world. They passed through a practical test unparalleled in world history.

But we cannot be satisfied. Our industry is waging a war to the death against German industry. The Germans, who boast so much about their organisation and technical superiority, are using the penal servitude of enslaved people to attempt to beat the U.S.S.R. in the production of arms and ammunition. We must be the victors in this struggle. To win this battle we must do even the impossible.

I want to stress the importance of the local industries. They are of no small significance to our entire economy. As well as catering directly for defence production, they supply semi-manufactured goods for the major enterprises. The Soviets are responsible for seeing that the local industries fulfil production plans; this fulfilment depends on the provision of good living conditions, public services, transport. All these factors have a direct influence on the productivity of labour.

The Urals and Western Siberia are to-day the most highly industrialised areas of the Soviet Union. But in districts liberated from the Germans industry is being restored, labour power is being found, equipment and tools are being got together, and production is rising rapidly.

In these liberated areas it is hard to say which aspect of reconstruction is most important. Everything is important, everything is essential, everything

is urgent. The main question is how quickly these areas can join in working for the front, how to put to the most effective use all the existing resources—including the accumulated hatred in the hearts of the people who have known invasion.

In these areas the material basis has been largely destroyed by the Germans. The populations have dwindled—those who remain are physically exhausted. All this makes the restoration process difficult, but it is progressing.

Soviets are democratic organs of power. Since they are democratically elected by the local population, it is part of their job to draw the local people into their work. It is the direct responsibility of the leaders to see that average people, whether they are workers, collective farmers, engineers or office employees, are drawn into the common politics of the State.

THE DAY AFTER LIBERATION—BACK INTO THE PRODUCTION FRONT!

EVERY day more Soviet towns and districts are liberated from German occupation. Their restoration is a task of great national importance, particularly since they include the great industrial centre of the Donbas, and cities like Kharkov, Kiev, Dnepropetrovsk, Gomel, Stalingrad and Voronezh. The restoration of the freed rural areas is no less important.

In spite of the all-absorbing concern for the front, the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 22nd August, 1943, passed a decision on practical measures for the economic rehabilitation of areas freed from German occupation.

The first step in the work of restoration should be the launching of enterprises which directly or indirectly serve the front. In Stalingrad big plants are being restored, alongside the tramway service and the tremendous housing construction. That is an expression of the special, Socialist nature of our reconstruction—not to leave the enterprises bare, but to surround them from the very outset with the transport facilities, dwellings and cultural institutions catering for the industrial and office workers.

Some cities, like Stalingrad, were totally destroyed. How are we to rebuild them? Are we merely to proceed on the basis of the old plan, or to replan?

This work requires all the creative capacity of our architects and builders. In the first place, we must learn from our experience of the old plan. And if in temporary dwellings we may omit some or other amenities, they must not be omitted from permanent buildings. Despite war-time conditions, permanent structures must be built along truly cultured lines.

It may be argued that to replan towns would greatly complicate and even delay reconstruction, and be rather costly. I quite agree. Yet I think we must do it. After all, towns are built to stand for centuries, and therefore it is particularly important that they should be planned rationally. We have enough architects, and we must not stint money for this work.

The essence of the restoration process is that the liberated town or village shall join in the common work for the front as soon as possible, and increase by its labour the total volume of war production. Again, let us consider Stalingrad.

It is scarcely a year since the city was freed, yet a number of shops at the tractor works, the "Red October" and "Barricades" plants are already in operation. For every Soviet citizen the name Stalingrad is a reminder that the Germans will never be able to carry out their fiendish plan to destroy the material bases of our people.

Everywhere the fundamental motive power of the restorative process is the people, whose patriotism accomplishes the seemingly impossible.

1944

HAPPY NEW YEAR !

*[From a speech broadcast by Moscow Radio at midnight on
New Year's Eve, 1943-44]*

DEAR Comrades! Citizens of the Soviet Union! Men and women workers! Men and women collective farmers! Soviet intellectuals! Red Army men and Navy men, commanders and political workers! Men and women guerillas! People of the Soviet districts temporarily captured by the German Fascist invaders! I congratulate you on the coming new year.

Comrades, for the third time our country meets the new year in conditions of hard struggle against German Fascism. All the interests and thoughts of our people are bound up with the war, while the people's energies and aspirations are directed towards the single great patriotic aim—the earliest possible expulsion of the enemy from the Soviet Union, victory over the German invaders.

It is quite natural that to-day, on the eve of the new year, every Soviet citizen should ask himself—what have we accomplished during the past year, in the first place at the front of the struggle against the German invaders?

It must be said that much has been accomplished. It certainly falls short of our desire—completely to clear Soviet territory of the Fascist brigands; but, all the same, our military achievements are enormous.

The past year was a year of a radical turn in the course of the war. Its beginning was marked by the historic victory of our troops at Stalingrad, and the summer by another important victory at Kursk and Byelgorod. As a result of the Red Army's offensive operations, two-thirds of the territory temporarily occupied by the Germans has been liberated from the enemy.

The Red Army has completely liberated from the Germans the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, Kalmykia and Kabardino-Balkaria, the Voronezh, Kursk, Rostov, Smolensk and Stalingrad Regions. The Ukraine east of the Dnieper has been delivered from German bondage with its regions of Stalino, Voroshilovgrad, Kharkov, Poltava, Sumy and Chernigov, so important as regards population and industry.

Large parts of the Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye Regions, with their regional centres of Dniepropetrovsk and Zaporozhye, have been cleared of the Germans. Parts of the Kiev, Kirovograd, Zhitomir and Nikolayev Regions have also been liberated. More than 30 districts of the Gomel, Mogilev, Vitebsk and Polesye Regions of Byelorussia and the regional centre, Gomel, have been cleared of the German invaders.

This is evidence of the grave situation of the German army on the Soviet front in 1943.

One of the important successes of our Red Army during the past year was, undoubtedly, the forcing of the Dnieper, the liberation of Kiev, and the establishment and expansion of the *place d'armes* in the Ukraine west of the Dnieper.

The Germans cling frantically to the Dnieper as a most important defensive line. But the Red Army is dislodging them from these positions and is tirelessly driving them back to the west, towards the Soviet frontiers, driving deep wedges into the German defences.

The blows dealt by the Red Army at the Fascist invaders are gradually sobering not only the German Command but the entire leading gang of Hitlerites. The Urals, the oil of Baku have been forgotten; the Germans have lost their desire to encircle Moscow and, what is especially significant, they have begun to regard "elastic retreat," "shortening the front line" as their best strategy.

To explain the failure of the German war plans in terms of "elastic retreat" is laughable: but evidently the German Command has no better explanation. As the saying goes, "nothing can be made out of nothing."

As to the so-called German "elastic retreat," the Red Army is well aware that the Germans do not voluntarily abandon a single yard of Soviet soil: they have to be driven out of Soviet territory in stiff battles which our army is waging day in and day out.

Our valiant men and women guerillas are true helpers of our Red Army. They are doing great work by ruthlessly annihilating the enemy. In justice it must be said that the Red Army's successes at the front are largely made possible by the self-sacrificing labour of Soviet men and women at factories and plants, in pits and mines, on transport and in agriculture.

The workers, collective farmers, intellectuals, all the peoples of the Soviet Union have worked this year with still greater success, supplying their army with everything it needs. And the best reward for the energy, enthusiasm and high sense of patriotic duty displayed by the Soviet people in their labour is the appraisal of the work of the Soviet rear by the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin.

This year, parallel to the Red Army's blows, our Allies have also waged incessant struggle against the German Fascist troops. The Anglo-American troops have ousted the Germans from North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica. Now the scene of the struggle has shifted to southern Italy, where the Allied troops are steadily forging ahead towards Rome—the capital of Italy.

The Anglo-American Air Force has operated effectively, destroying the military and industrial objectives of Germany. Germany's strongest ally in Europe, Italy, has surrendered, while the Italian people are joining the struggle against the Germans on an ever-growing scale.

The joint struggle against German Fascism has brought about close political *rapprochement* between the Allies. The Moscow Conference held at the end of October this year with the participation of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.A., Great Britain and the Soviet Union, ensured further businesslike *rapprochement* between the Allies and paved the way for the meeting of the leaders of the Allied countries.

From 28th November to 1st December was held the Conference of the leaders of the Three Allied Powers—the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin, the President of the U.S.A., Mr. Roosevelt, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill—in Teheran. This Conference has gone down in history as the Teheran Conference of the Three Great Powers of the world.

Indeed, the Teheran Conference is the greatest event of our days, an historic milestone in the struggle against the German aggressor. All the Germans'

efforts to cause disunity among the freedom-loving peoples were blasted. The leaders of the Three Great Powers reached full accord in matters of war and peace. They arrived at the very thing which is craved by the masses of the peoples in the occupied countries, worn out with suffering under the German jackboot.

The recently concluded Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Republic is a great contribution in the cause of the struggle against German aggression.

As you see, Comrades, our successes in 1943 are enormous. However, for complete victory over the enemy, all of us, at the front as well as in the rear, following the call of our leader, must exert all our strength, energy and will to achieve this aim.

Comrades! Men and women citizens of the Soviet Union! Red Army men, commanders and political workers! On behalf of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of our Party, I congratulate you on the new year. Comrades, to-day troops of the First Ukrainian Front captured the town of Zhitomir.

Long live our Red Army, which, under the leadership of Marshal of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin, will in the new year of 1944 deal the final blow at the Fascist invaders and will clear them completely from the territory of the Soviet Union.

Happy New Year, Comrades!

SLAVS AND THE WAR

THE present war, more than any in the past, has required the full concentration of all human forces, physical, intellectual and moral—in other words, the maximum consolidation of all State resources. This has sharpened national sentiment among all sections of the people, in particular among national minorities within the belligerent countries.

A just solution of the national question is most difficult, for certain social groups ruling the nationalities are striving to retain the privileges they have acquired. The struggle of the national minorities for equality therefore comes up against obstacles which are difficult to overcome, particularly as regards the privileges of classes and groups.

The forms of national relations within different states naturally differ considerably. They vary from liberal forms, verging on equality, to reactionary forms, in which suppression of the aspirations of the national minorities has become a State system. Germany has always been the extreme exponent of such a system of suppression, particularly where the Slav peoples are concerned. Suffice it to recall the cruel German terror against the Poles, the massacre and partial Germanisation of the Slav population of the north-eastern parts of Germany, Pomerania and Silesia, which had not ceased up to the last days of the existence of the Second Reich.

The present rulers of Germany, the Hitlerite bandits, have introduced still crueller oppression of other nationalities. They annihilate whole peoples. Their bloody crimes in all the European countries have nailed Germany in an historical pillory for all eternity as the most savage enslaver of other nations.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national State. A just solution of the national question which would fully satisfy the national interests of all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union was undoubtedly very difficult to achieve. Possibly mistakes would have occurred had not Lenin, and more particularly Stalin, made a serious study of the national question and formulated its underlying principles long before the October Revolution.

The theory of the national question outlined by Stalin became the basis of all our practical work. Soviet power put these principles into operation by acts of legislation from its very inception. To-day, after 26 years of the practical application of the Soviet national policy and its severe testing in the present war, the whole world can see its correctness and its justice. The whole world can see that all the peoples of the Soviet Union are satisfied with the results of this policy.

When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union he hoped to find in the Soviet national policy a fissure for his propaganda. The German Fascist bandits used every available means, supported by arms, threats and indulgences, floggings and flattery, bribery and the gallows, to arouse national hatred among the peoples of the Soviet Union, and to exploit this hatred for their own predatory interests. Their efforts were utterly defeated. More—the Fascist attack, to use Stalin's expression, served to consolidate the peoples of the Soviet Union still more closely and turned their family into a united, indestructible camp.

In our country of fraternal collaboration of peoples, the Slav problem does not exist as a striving for special Slav unification and exclusiveness, still less as a counterposing of the Slav peoples to the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

There is friendly competition among our national republics, and a striving to take first place in economic development in science, technology and art, and now in the war-time heroism of its sons in the battlefield, and self-sacrificing labour in the rear.

The struggle against Fascism, for national honour, is being defended by our younger Soviet republics, who have sent their national army formations to the front. Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians are fighting staunchly for the liberation of their Republics. One Latvian division which has won special distinction in battle has been awarded the title of Guards.

It will readily be understood that the people of the Soviet Union are not indifferent to the position of the Slavs in Europe. Kinship, and political relations between Kiev Rus and the western Slavs have not failed to leave their traces. It is true that more than 200 years of Mongol rule in Russia long separated the west and east Slavs, and weakened the Slav position in relation to their western neighbours. It was only in modern times that Russia began to re-establish connections with the western Slavs. The creation of several independent Slav States took place with the support of Russia, a fact which no doubt brought the Slav peoples closer together; the Russians appeared as kith and kin in their eyes. Contact between the Russian intelligentsia and the progressive elements among the Slav peoples, Russian *belles lettres*, close and understandable and dear to all Slav peoples, plus the influence of Slav literature on the Russians and the historic past of the Slavs—all this makes them friends in the struggle against German aggression.

To-day Germany is our worst enemy, as she is the worst enemy of the western and southern Slavs. She is an old enemy, one well known to the

Slavs. Prussia, one of the Germanic States, pursuing an extremely reactionary internal policy and a most aggressive foreign policy, created a united Germany which imbibed all the characteristics of the Prussian militarists, of the reactionary Prussian ruling circles, and their aggressiveness, particularly towards the Slav peoples.

Who does not remember the words of Frederick II: "If you like a foreign province, and you've strength enough, take it immediately. Once you have done so, you'll always find lawyers enough to prove that you've every right to occupy the territory."

This predatory striving of the Prussian militarists characterised Germany's entire future policy. It has become part of the flesh and blood of the Germans, their ruling ideology. "*Drang Nach Osten*" has always been the dream of the German imperialists; the activities of the Pan-German alliance at the end of the last century speak eloquently of this. The Germans saw the subjugation of Russia, and then of the whole of Europe, as a springboard to world domination. Germany's defeat in the first World War, far from sobering them, apparently strengthened their conviction that Germany could fight the whole of Europe, and that all they had to do was to choose the right moment.

Hitler's coming to power was the signal for Germany's open preparation for war against Europe. It must be admitted that indecision and tolerance on the part of the great European Powers helped, and even encouraged Hitler to put his predatory plans into operation. The Hitlerites called openly for a campaign in the east, and even gave it a "scientific form." The race theory, geo-politics, untrammelled falsification of history—all these were employed to justify their predatory plans in the east.

The democratic European countries were not united in the face of Fascist aggression. This absence of unity among the great Powers was clearly seen in France's refusal to support Czechoslovakia together with the U.S.S.R. The ease with which Czechoslovakia was overrun whetted the aggressors' appetites. There is every reason to suppose that Hitler's attack on Poland was dictated by the assumption, on the basis of previous experience gained during the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia, that he would not meet with armed resistance from Great Britain and France. The opposite happened—something Hitler did not want at that moment, and which was very unfavourable to him. Great Britain and France declared war on Germany.

However, the war developed in a way which made it possible for the German High Command to smash Poland and then to choose a suitable moment for striking at France. The inactivity of the French High Command at the beginning of the war, during the autumn and winter of 1939-40, and the rapid defeat of the French army in May and June of 1940 cannot be explained in purely military terms, or simply as the result of direct treachery. The cause of France's defeat was mainly that the French reactionaries who controlled the policy of the State and the Army never thought of fighting Germany. They didn't want to fight her. Their aim, their main idea was to direct the German blow against Russia.

When he attacked the Soviet Union, Hitler had hopes of inveigling Great Britain, if not into alliance, at least into neutrality. This was the object of Hess's arrival in Britain.

At the beginning of the war, German propaganda emphasised that Germany did not want to fight Great Britain, and was not against a compromise, i.e. an agreement which would be acceptable to the British public. At the outset,

therefore, Germany pursued her war against Great Britain with an eye on the possibility of making peace.

Germany, of course, had an opportunity of placing Great Britain in a very difficult position. When German troops occupied the whole of the Balkan peninsula, a move against Egypt through Turkey was quite within the power of the German army. There is no reason to suppose that the German Command did not realise this, and did not plan accordingly.

Apparently the fact that the Soviet Union took a definite stand on the Yugoslav question and then warned the Germans, in a statement to the Turkish Government in March, 1941, that "if Turkey really was attacked and forced to embark on a war in defence of her territory, then Turkey, on the basis of the non-aggression pact existing between her and the Soviet Union, may count on the complete understanding and neutrality of the U.S.S.R." played quite an important part in causing the Germans to reject this path. This circumstance passed completely unnoticed by the military specialists.

Apparently the Germans, by attacking the Soviet Union, hoped that victory would cover their flanks for a further advance eastwards, to India. The war against the British Isles was therefore considered of secondary importance. Such was the general situation before Fascist Germany's assault on the Soviet Union.

The Hitlerites, lured by easy victories, hoped to tempt Great Britain and America by their "crusade" against the Bolsheviks. Hitler Germany had easily overrun nearly the whole of western Europe. Poland and France fell before her, Bulgaria submitted, Hungary, Rumania, Finland and Italy became her faithful satellites. After such victories, Hitler went confidently to war against the Soviet Union, believing himself certain of success in the shortest space of time.

Now, for the fifth year, the Fascist cut-throats are ravaging the conquered countries of Europe. The Germans have not only deprived the countries they have seized, especially the Slav countries, of their political independence. They have brought terrible misfortune on the peoples. They regard the Slavs as a lower race, subject them to cruel national oppression, Germanisation and massacres. "In Europe," announced Hitler, "there will no longer be five, six or eight great Powers. There will be one omnipotent Germany."

Again: "I will forge the steel nucleus of a new empire, one that will be indestructible. Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, the Polish west! Around this bloc there will be, above all, a confederation of east Europe, Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary, the Balkan States, the Ukraine, the Volga Basin and Georgia. There can of course be no doubt that the members of this federation will not possess rights equal to the Germans. That federation will be an alliance of secondary peoples having no armies, not pursuing an independent policy, not possessing their own economy."

We see that the policy which the Germans are at present pursuing not only agrees with this statement of Hitler's, but goes much further. The Fascist barbarians have announced, for example, that the Poles are "inferior," and are forbidden to work at all, except as unskilled labourers. It is forbidden to publish books in Polish. Poland's cultural treasures have been looted and her universities destroyed. According to far from complete data, over three million people have died in concentration camps, have been tortured to death or murdered in Poland, and over two million more in Czechoslovakia. All European politicians and publicists who were upholders of "Munich" have

a great moral responsibility to bear before the Slavs and other peoples who have been subjected to Fascist aggression.

The oppressed peoples of the German-occupied countries have not laid down their arms, have not been subdued. They are conducting a constant struggle for their national liberation. The sharpest form of protest is the people's partisan warfare; in this struggle man finds satisfaction for the humiliation and insults to his finer feelings, in vengeance on the invaders. In it he sees a way to the liberation of his people.

At the same time "cautious" voices are raised, advising the husbanding of forces (they don't say for how long), recommending outward loyalty to the invaders in order not to give cause for repression. A particular warning was given concerning the "untimely" development of the partisan movement. All this advice, which might seem reasonable from the point of view of a sober man, in reality eases the position of the Germans in the occupied countries, and objectively assists them.

Is it, however, really reasonable from the political and military viewpoint, and finally, simply from the point of view of saving human lives?

The experience of the occupied countries, including the non-Slav countries, shows clearly that the less resistance the people offer, the more insolent the Germans become. Not to mention the small countries, even France, a great Power not long ago, is, with the help of the Petain-Laval Government, being stripped month by month of her people, and becoming economically powerless, while the Germans are suffering insignificant losses. To call on the French for "loyalty" is clearly to play into the hands of the Germans.

It may be said that the partisan movement cannot be launched artificially, that the necessary conditions must exist. That is quite correct. But we have in mind not artificially aroused phenomena and putsches, but the struggle of the people against the invaders in its most effective form. The spontaneous arising of the partisan movement must be fostered in every way. Its development, its planning and organisation, the centralisation of its leadership must be aided. A Government which stands aside from the partisans gnaws away its own roots deep down among the people, and does not fulfil its sacred duties to the nation.

What results accrue from the partisan movement in the present war against Germany?

In this we have considerable experience. The Germans boasted of their seizure of Soviet territory, their plundering of property of the Soviet people and their seizure of human reserves, but they did not admit to the losses they suffered in the struggle against the partisans in Soviet territory. The German authorities will, for obvious reasons, never publish these figures, for the very good reason that they have lost a minimum of 500,000 men killed—Germans, Magyars, Rumanians and others.

The Yugoslav people are carrying on a wonderful struggle. The partisan movement has already grown into a war of the whole people, headed by the People's Army of Liberation. The size of the German force in Yugoslavia is now almost equal to that of the former Italian army of occupation. Nevertheless, the Germans have had no more success than the Italians, and their losses are no smaller. Yugoslavia has been transformed from an occupied country to a belligerent which is engaging quite a considerable body of enemy forces.

Despite all obstacles, the external and internal character of the partisan

movement is steadily developing in all the occupied countries, especially in the Slav countries—the countries where the Germans have perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The present war of the freedom-loving peoples of the world against Fascism is first and foremost a war for national independence. In this respect one cannot but agree with Dr. Edouard Benes, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, who wrote in his very interesting article (published in *Slavyane*, Nos. 5, 6 and 7, 1942): "The Slav peoples will emerge from this free once more, with their own States. With the exception of Bulgaria, they are all following one Allied line: the Bulgarian people will follow this line as soon as Hitler and Italy fall.

"This will only happen, however, if all the Slav peoples establish popular, democratic régimes after the war, having drawn the necessary conclusions from the struggle against Fascism in their own countries and in Germany, if they are prepared to find a sufficiently radical solution to their inner political, social and economic problems, if their international *rapprochement* is sufficient for disputes between them to be settled smoothly, independently of memories of the past, independently of national prestige and national ambitions, and independently of past national rivalry."

The justice of Dr. Benes' statement is obvious if we look not only at the present policy of some of the Slav States, but also at that which preceded the present war.

The fierce war which the Soviet people are prosecuting against the German invaders, and the victories of the Red Army naturally draw to our side all the freedom-loving peoples, especially the Slav peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence. It is to be hoped that after victory over the Hitlerite bandits the Slav countries and their Governments will establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the Russian people. This, as Dr. Benes rightly says, will be to the benefit of all Slav peoples.

Slavs must never for one minute forget that it is their lands that the Germans hope first and foremost to seize, and that they aim at driving the Slav population from its lands and annihilating those who do not submit. The first peoples to fall under this Fascist pressure were the Czechs, Poles, the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Bulgarians.

Naturally, the Germans' proselytes will find some favour with their masters. But even if the ruling circles are at first acceptable to the Germans as lackeys, the German fetters are not thereby removed from the people. Far from it—the oppression is increased. For the Slav peoples this is a question of national life or death.

German Fascism is choking the Slavs to death in Western Europe. The Slav peoples cannot compromise with the Germans. Only the defeat of the German troops on the Soviet front, only the fact that the Germans are losing all hope in victory causes them to slacken the Fascist grip.

Those who think they can wage war with the Germans coolly, without hating them thoroughly, are sadly mistaken. Only people who are filled with hatred, who are filled with an implacable passion for vengeance, are capable not only of countering the enemy but also of dealing him crushing blows. The western European Slavs must force the haughty Prussians to respect them; in this lies the future of the Slavs.

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET STATE

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

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

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

The victories won by our soldiers over the German Fascist armies have aroused great interest among people all over the world who had not been quite in a position to form a correct estimate of the qualities of the Red Army. Since the beginning of the war, the foreign Press has never ceased to inquire: Wherein consists the strength of the Soviet Union? But no really comprehensive answer has yet been given to this question. No serious work has as yet appeared on this subject. The majority of foreign writers, in dealing with this question, confine themselves to certain isolated considerations or assumptions. Sometimes these assumptions are of an original character; sometimes they are attempts subjectively to explain our successes simply by the numerical superiority of our troops or by the historical traditions of steadfast endurance of the Russian soldier; while sometimes they boil down to a general statement that the resources of the U.S.S.R. in man-power and material are inexhaustible.

Of course, to sum up the strength of one country in relation to another, especially its military strength, in terms of only one of these factors, is to limit the understanding of the problem and to place it in an incorrect light. But how can one properly determine the strength of a whole country or State—in this case, the Soviet Union? It seems to me that this can only be done in representing the strength of that State in the entirety of its material and spiritual values, its natural resources, economic development, political structure and state of morale, all of which determine the spiritual condition of its people.

In the first place, let us consider the vastness of our country. The Soviet Union is the largest country in the world with a continuous territory. From north to south the U.S.S.R. stretches over more than 2,800 miles and from

west to east over 6,900 miles. The whole area of the U.S.S.R. amounts to over 8½ million square miles or one-sixth of the inhabitable surface of the earth. In terms of population, the U.S.S.R. occupies the third place in the world after China and India. This alone indicates the enormous possibilities of our country.

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

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

The further east one goes in our country, the richer and more abundant is the earth. Oil from Syzran and Ishimbai, bauxite from Bashkiria, salt from Elton and Baskuntchak; the Urals with their inexhaustible resources of ore, coal, rich fields of oil, deposits of nickel, copper, potash, asbestos, platinum, precious stones; the riches of Kazakhstan with its coal, gold, lead, wolfram, molybdenum and mercury mines; Western and Eastern Siberia with their abundant resources of coal, iron ore and gold. And, finally, the riches of Yakutia, the Far East, Sakhalin and Kamchatka.

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

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

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

In the most southern areas of our country there are sub-tropical zones, where tea plantations and citrus groves—first planted under the Soviet Government—are being cultivated. Here also grow trees which are valuable for production: the box, bamboo and others. The dry stretches of our Central Asiatic republics—Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan—owing to an extensive system of irrigation, now produce cotton, which supplies our

entire textile industry. Even the desert zone is increasingly shrinking under the attack of Soviet humanity, and as a result of irrigation is yielding valuable agricultural products.

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

The variety of climatic conditions alone, and the corresponding variety of branches of economic life in one country, broaden man's horizon. The multiplicity of nationalities represented by our population (193 million inhabitants) strengthens the ties between the various peoples and their mutual understanding. And I would here add that this condition, of peoples of diverse nationalities living in one brotherhood, is in itself a complete impeachment of the so-called racial theory of Fascism.

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

Of course, the vastness of the territory, the size of the population, the riches in the bowels of the earth and upon its surface—all these do not yet constitute the strength of a country in the full sense of the term, but only its potentialities. We all know of a number of countries which possess very extensive territory and a numerous population, but are weak in comparison with neighbours possessing smaller populations and lesser potentialities. Not so many years ago, Tsarist Russia suffered a military defeat at the hands of Japan, who enjoys far less real or potential resources.

Nevertheless, the factors above referred to are the indispensable prerequisites for the development of the power of a country, because a small country with a limited territory and population must necessarily be limited in its possibilities.

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

The Soviet State was founded as a result of the victory of the working class and the peasantry over the exploiting classes. It grew and became consolidated in the struggle for the socialist transformation of our country. Prior to the passing of power into the hands of the Soviets, Russia was standing on the brink of catastrophe. The ruling classes—the capitalists, the landlords, and their lackeys, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries—were unable to save Russia from complete economic collapse and ruin. Only our Bolshevik Party, the advance guard of the working class, found the right way out of the extremely difficult position which had been created.

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

Lenin wrote of the Soviets: "What has been won by the Russian Revolution is inalienable. No power on earth can deprive us of that, any more than any power on earth can deprive us of what the Soviet State has already created. This is a world-historic victory. For hundreds of years States have been built according to the bourgeois model, and for the first time a non-bourgeois form of State has been discovered. Our apparatus may be a bad one, but it is said that the first steam engine to be invented was also a bad one, and it is not even known whether it worked or not. That is not the point; the point is that it was invented. Even assuming that the form of the first steam engine was unsuitable, the point is that we now have steam engines. Even if our State apparatus is very bad, it has been created, the great historical invention has been made, a proletarian type of State has been created."¹

The path of Soviet rule is the path of struggle for the people's interests. Its achievements in this direction are common knowledge. To demonstrate the essence of Soviet rule, and the superiority of its form of government over all other existing ones, one would need to write a huge work. Therefore I will only deal with two aspects which, from my point of view, are the most essential.

These two aspects are the complete democracy of the Soviet State; and the full equality existing between the various peoples of the Soviet Union. The Stalin Constitution reflected the social and economic changes which had taken place in the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1936. The structure of the Soviet State is now based on this Constitution which in its essence marks the completion of the democratization of our country. The Soviets—whether local, regional, national or All-Union—are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, by secret ballot.

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

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

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

¹ *Selected Works* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1938), Vol. IX, p. 361.

Moreover, the Soviets represent an inexhaustible source for the training of men and women in the public services.

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

Sometimes, perhaps, someone will grumble at some unsatisfactory act of one or other of the Soviet State's representatives; but everyone understands that this State is his own, and if a person is dissatisfied with anything in this State, he expresses his dissatisfaction as a matter of personal concern, wishing to remove any defects in his State, thus making it still better. The criticism of deficiencies in the work of the organs of the Soviet State goes on incessantly; and, the further we descend the ladder of government, the more directly this criticism concerns the leadership of the various departments of the Soviet apparatus. Criticism appears not only in newspaper articles, but is expressed verbally in meetings and conferences and in private statements made directly to the deputies.

In order to illustrate the closeness of the Soviet power to the people, I would like to relate one incident in my personal experience. One summer I was at home in my native village. Everyone was in the fields gathering flax. I made for the fields, together with six or seven leading workers of the village. When we reached the harvesters, one of the women called out, pointing to the men accompanying me: "Mikhail Ivanovich, look how many people you are taking with you for a walk in the fields, while we women are working!"

"But all these people are your own," I replied. "This is your son-in-law. There is your son. And there is your husband!"

"We know they are our own," insisted the woman, "but the Soviet system has sorely spoiled them."

"But why don't you compel them to work?" I asked.

"One can't compel such loafers!" answered the woman.

So I turned round to my companions—the president and secretary of the village soviet, the president of the collective farm, the person in charge of the Young Communist League, the teacher, and so on—and told them that, as everybody else was in the fields and there was nothing to do in the village, they also should clear five acres of flax. This decision caused a storm of delight among the working women. And in fact, as I learned later, the village leaders acquitted themselves of the allotted task in two days, which is quite natural, as they were all people perfectly able to do agricultural work. This incident clearly indicates the close relationship and contact between the Soviet State and the people.

People may object that this can only happen in the lower organs of power, composed of local people whom one knows (where could one find outsiders for every village!). To this I would reply that this very same village has produced one general, several officers, several secretaries of district party committees, not to mention myself. And I dare say that now you will not find a single fair-sized village which has not its representatives in the leadership of some branch of party or soviet work, in positions of command in the army, or among men of science.

"Soviet power," says Comrade Stalin, "is not a power divorced from the people; on the contrary, it is a power unique in its kind, emanating from the popular masses and near and dear to them. Thereby is explained the indivisible

force and adaptability which the Soviet State usually reveals in critical moments."

The Leninist-Stalinist national policy has made the Soviet State united. But this has been achieved not by force, not by blood and iron, but by providing all the peoples with the fullest opportunities for the establishment of their national States. "The task of the party," said Stalin, "is to help the toiling masses of the non-Great-Russian peoples to catch up with Central Russia, which is ahead of them, and to help them: (a) to develop and consolidate their own Soviet State system in forms consistent with the national character of these peoples; (b) to organise 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."¹

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

It was only natural that at the beginning of the tremendous revolutionary movement which took place in our country, every national group, even the smallest, should have striven to express its distinct characteristics, and thought that this could be primarily achieved by administrative separation. But once this was realised, these peoples aspired to unite with kindred national groups. In such manner this perhaps rather difficult process ultimately led to a strengthening of the ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union, thus greatly increasing the strength of the Soviet State.

Comrade Stalin has drawn attention to the special feature of our Constitution which concerns the relationship between nationalities. It consists in the fact that all nations and races possess equal rights; that differences in colour and language, in cultural level or governmental development, together with any other differences between nations and races, cannot serve as a justification of national inequality. The Constitution lays down, says Comrade Stalin, that "all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of the community."²

The national policy of the Soviet State is called the Lenin-Stalinist National Policy with perfect justification. It renders possible the fullest development of national self-government and national culture. It is precisely this policy which has strengthened the Soviet Union, as is clearly shown by the conspicuous solidarity of all our nationalities in the hardest days of our Patriotic War against Hitlerite Germany.

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

¹ *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1935), pp. 94-5.

² *Leninism* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1940), pp. 571-2.

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

"The salvation of Russia," says Lenin, "does not lie only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough—and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumers' goods—this, too, is not enough—we also need *heavy* industry. . . . Unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without that we shall be doomed as an independent country. . . . Heavy industry needs State subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then, as a civilised State—let alone as a socialist State—we are doomed."¹

It is common knowledge that Tsarist Russia was essentially an agricultural country, with a poorly developed industry, and that the fundamental and decisive branches of national economy—oil, railways, coal—were predominantly in the hands of foreigners. The industries providing means of production were especially weak, as a result of which huge resources were wasted on importing from abroad materials, machines, tools, etc. Pre-revolutionary Russia, in spite of all its vast resources of peat, coal and hydraulic power, had an exceedingly under-developed power industry. The provision of this essential foundation for all industry was the task of the Soviet Government. From the very first days of the Revolution, Lenin was faced with the question of the electrification of the country, and accordingly a plan was prepared known as G.O.E.L.R.O.² The far-reaching measures of the Soviet Government in the electrification of industry have promoted our country to second place in the world, after the U.S.A.

In the years of the Five-Year Plans we built such industrial giants as Dnieproghes, Kanakirghes, Riorghe, Dzoraghes, the electric power stations of Shatursky, Gorky, Byelorussia, Klasson, Kashiry, Stalinogorsk, Baku, Chelyabinsk, Beresenikov, Shterov, Stalingrad. These and many other electric power stations cover our country with their network and form complete power systems, such as those of Moscow, Leningrad, Gorky, the Urals and others.

During the years of peaceful construction, the Soviet people created, in addition to the coal and metallurgical bases in the south, a second coal and metallurgical base in the east, which has become the industrial backbone of the Urals and Siberia. Between the Volga and the Urals a second oil base has been developed—the "Second Baku." As a result of this, the production of coal, petrol and metal has increased by many times.

The course adopted by the Party and the Soviet State for the transformation of our country from an agricultural into an industrial one has led us from the initial stages of reconstruction and the readaptation of old factories to the erection of a very substantial number of new and powerful metallurgical and machine-building enterprises. This process is still continuing. Even at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union held first place in the world as a producer of agricultural machinery. A number of branches of industry, completely unknown to Tsarist Russia—such as the production of harvester-combines and steam turbines for instance—have been widely developed in the U.S.S.R., thus freeing the country from the necessity of purchasing abroad these important means of production.

Under the Soviet régime were built such giants of industry as the Electro-combinat and the machine-tool factory in Moscow, the Gorky Freser Lathe

¹ *Selected Works* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1938), Vol. X, p. 328.

² Russian abbreviation for "State Plan for the Electrification of Russia."

Plant, the factory for heavy machine-building in Kramatorsk, the Ural Machine-Building Plant, the tractor factories of Kharkov, Chelyabinsk and Stalingrad, the agricultural machinery works in Rostov-on-Don and others.

As a result of the enormous extension of the railway system, which now connects the remotest parts of our country with the principal lines and with widely ramified branch lines, and of the development of rail transport within the factories and works themselves, a pressing demand has arisen for an increased production of engines and coaches. A specially remarkable development has taken place in locomotive building, in which the U.S.S.R. now holds the leading place in the world. A number of new works for the production of rolling-stock have come into being; the Voroshilovgrad Locomotive Works, the wagon-building factories in Nizhni-Tagil, Dneprodzerzhinsk and others. Many older factories, after being thoroughly overhauled, have begun to turn out electric locomotives—hitherto unknown—coaches for electric trains, coaches for the underground railway, powerful new types of locomotives—the J.S., F.D. and others.

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

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

The chemical industry, insignificant under Tsarism, has also grown greatly in the Soviet Union. Factories and combines for the manufacture of agricultural fertilizers have sprung up, such as the chemical combines at Voskresensk, Aktubinsk and Tashkent. The rubber-asbestos industry, the potash fertilizer industry and the apatite and synthetic rubber industries were set up by the Soviet Government. The pharmaceutical drugs industry has been almost entirely a new creation.

The timber, paper and building industries have also made great strides since the establishment of Soviet rule. Our light industry has also been considerably developed. Supplied with new machinery and tools, thoroughly overhauled, and reinforced by a number of huge new enterprises, it has considerably increased its output.

Rapid progress has been made also by the food industry, which has replaced old semi-handicraft methods by new and mechanised means of production. A number of large-scale meat storage and packing plants, canning and fruit-preserving plants, as well as concerns producing semi-prepared foodstuffs, have come into being.

It should be stated that the growth and development of all branches of our industry are largely due to their being equipped with machinery of the newest and modern types, which, moreover, is continuously being improved as a result of the inventiveness and creative labour of our engineers and technicians.

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

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

As a result of the extension of the zones for the working up of technical crops, a large number of new concerns have appeared where none previously existed. There are, for example, the sugar refineries of Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and other areas of the Soviet Union.

The above remarks in no way constitute a full survey of our industrial development, but merely indicate its general trend, indicating the hugeness of the task carried out by the Soviet people in creating an industrial basis for its existence, and showing the extent and potential of this basis.

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

The enterprises to which I have referred are by no means all those erected under Soviet rule. But even those I have enumerated reveal the great physical and creative effort of our working class in the past, and—even more so—in the present. The factories which it has set up are now manufacturing and turning out millions of roubles' worth of goods essential to the State, and especially for the front.

In the course of the construction and utilisation of these plants, the workers and the engineering and technical personnel have themselves made great organisational and professional advances. To them these enterprises are not merely factories and works turning out this or that product, for they see in them their own efforts converted into concrete reality on a gigantic scale; they look upon them as upon their own creations, their own property, which in their turn yet further strengthen the Soviet State.

Of course, in addition to all that has been said already, reference must again be made to the productive effort of the working class, since all these things are the most graphic demonstration of its heroic labour. After all, the sum total of production is but the result of the effort of the working class, applied to the material resources of our industry. The machines are only the means, but the producer is the working class, using the machines which it has itself created. Since we deal with this aspect daily in speech and in print, and it is everywhere concretely apparent, it seems unnecessary here again to stress it.

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

In the sphere of agriculture we have made great strides. Soviet agriculture is among the most advanced of its kind in Europe. This successful development is undeniably due to the Soviet system. This statement may not seem very convincing to some people in other countries, but it does represent the real position.

In our agricultural areas you will not find individual, scattered, haphazardly located private holdings, but large, all-round collective farms with their fields measured and correctly laid out by experienced surveyors. By means of planning, economic expediency is taken into account, introducing the appropriate rotation of crops, and at the same time abolishing small fields and fields separated from each other by land belonging to other owners.

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

Remarkable achievements have been attained in the cultivation of cereals. Cereals like wheat, which were always considered to be suitable only to the south, are now being grown in central and even northern regions. Other products, usually grown in the central and northern zones, have moved down south—for example, potatoes.

The collectivisation of agriculture has given a stimulus to the increasing of the areas cultivated. Our collective and State farms have ploughed up vast stretches of fallow land, and especially has there been an extension of the cultivation of crops requiring greater attention, such as technical crops, vegetables and fodder.

It is significant that a rapid process of intensification of agriculture has gone hand in hand with its collectivisation. This is particularly noticeable as regards vegetables. It is quite possible to prove by figures the colossal increase in our sowing of many vegetables. These now form a substantial part of the daily household consumption of the rural and urban population, which has undoubtedly improved the diet of the people.

One may assume that, with the further increase of the growing of vegetables in the central and northern regions of the Soviet Union, the demand for bread will decrease. A great development in fruit farming is also envisaged, which will also help to vary and improve the diet of our people.

In order to estimate the achievements of a collective economy, it should be pointed out that before the war the Soviet Government had set the collective and State farms the task of producing a yearly harvest of eight thousand million poods of grain (roughly 120 million tons), and in the years immediately preceding the war this task had been almost fulfilled.

The introduction of mechanisation in the collective and State farms has increased the productivity of agricultural labour and led to its specialisation. I shall not resort to the tiresome enumeration of figures, but will merely mention that, in pre-revolutionary Russia, every year, at harvest time, two million agricultural labourers migrated to the Southern Ukraine alone. These came mostly from the districts of Orlov, Tula, Ryazan, Kaluga, and other of the central provinces of Russia. Under the Soviet régime, the cultivated land of the Ukraine has considerably increased in area as compared with Tsarist days; a greater variety of farming has been introduced and the crops have become

more abundant. Yet the collective farms can handle all this with their own labour forces, and at the same time are continually intensifying production. This process is taking place, not only in the Ukraine, but throughout our vast country.

A great rôle is played by our State farms, not only in the working up of agricultural products, but also in the improvement of agricultural methods. There is no doubt that their importance will increase every year, as powerful mechanised and specialised undertakings, while their experience will be utilised to an ever greater degree on our collective farms.

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

It can truly be said that the war has strikingly demonstrated the great advantages of the collective farm system. "If in the third year of war," said Comrade Stalin, "our army experiences no shortage of food, and if the population is supplied with food and industry with raw materials, this is evidence of the strength and vitality of the collective farm system, of the patriotism of the collective farm peasantry."

It must here be stated that we have also received assistance from the U.S.A. Such assistance, of course, has been for us a very valuable contribution, but no more than a contribution.

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

One of the most difficult problems—the increase of livestock and the improvement in the quality of cattle—has been tackled by the collective and State farms with growing success. There has been a general increase in the number of stock, but chiefly in blood-stock.

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

However great may be the material resources of a State, it is admitted—even by many military experts, including the Germans—that the war potential of a country in arms is decisively affected by the morale and the political outlook of its people. The German Fascist robbers, in their arsenal of weapons, have allotted an important rôle to propaganda calculated to undermine and demoralise the people of the countries with which they have been at war. They quite seriously expected that they would also achieve in the Soviet Union successes similar to, or even greater than, those gained in Western Europe. But, on the contrary, the war with the Soviet Union has proved that the Hitlerites have suffered a complete defeat in this respect as well.

The morale and the political outlook of our nation, as well as the degree of its unity, have proved better than our enemies assumed, or even than some friends of the U.S.S.R. abroad thought possible. No one doubts the unity and the steadfastness of our people, their boundless devotion to the Fatherland and readiness to defend the country's independence and freedom. It is indeed

difficult to doubt this, because our people—workers, peasants, intellectuals—are solidly united, Soviet in their spirit; every part of this single whole emulates the other in patriotism, work, and struggle against the enemy. The nation in its entirety represents a formidable source of spiritual and political power and morale.

Beyond our frontiers, little is known of our working class. The general opinion is—or, at any rate, was, before the Revolution—that our working class was backward as compared with the rest of Europe. In actual fact, this is far from being the case. It is sufficient to point out that, from the nineties of the last century, the influence of the Bolshevik Party considerably affected the Russian working class. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Party propagated the ideas of revolutionary Marxism among the working class, in the course of a hard struggle against all brands of opportunism—such as the Narodniki, the Economists, and later the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. Notwithstanding the fact that our party was illegal, its influence upon the working class was enormous, as was clearly shown in the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the proletariat gave decisive support to the Party in its struggle for a Soviet Government.

The working class of Tsarist Russia followed the hard but glorious road of the struggle against Tsarism. The workers and peasants made many sacrifices in the struggle for the seizure of power and in its subsequent defence. The best sons of the working class and the peasantry laid down their lives in their thousands for the Soviet State during the Civil War and foreign intervention. In the years of peaceful construction tens of thousands of workers not only worked tirelessly for the establishment of industry, but also gave every possible effort to the cause of strengthening the Soviet State. Everywhere, in towns and villages, workers were to be seen tirelessly exerting themselves in the Soviet organisations, in order to put into working order and to strengthen the Soviet State apparatus. Their efforts for the consolidation and strengthening of the Soviet State were not in vain. And every year, in step with the growth of industry, the standard of living of the workers improved, their material comforts increased, their cultural levels rose.

This is quite understandable, since the Soviet State was established in order to realise in actual living the ideals of the working class. In working-class districts new houses were built; parks of culture, theatres, kindergartens, crèches and schools multiplied—the latter so rapidly that the Soviet Government was able to issue a decree introducing general and compulsory secondary education.

The Trade Unions, which have the important function of organising the social activities of the workers and of controlling the expenditure of their own ample funds and of the workers' insurance funds, have built numerous rest homes, sports grounds, and so on. It can be stated without hesitation that the level of the social and cultural life of our working class is high, its material conditions are constantly improving; and it can look forward to a further continuous improvement in economic and cultural standards.

The working class has already tasted the results of its arduous struggles, as its own position has so greatly improved. It realises that the Soviet Socialist State is indeed its real fatherland, and therefore it is defending it now with such boundless devotion. The heroism shown by our workers in the course of the evacuation of industry, their heroic battles at the front and their arduous work in the factories prove that our working class considers the Soviet

régime to be its own régime, on behalf of which it is prepared to exert all its strength. It can see no other kind of régime which could be nearer and more vitally related to it. That is the reason why its spirit is so steadfast and formidable.

Commentators abroad, particularly in the camp of our enemies, think of the Soviet peasantry with the usual pre-revolutionary notions of the "experts" on Russia, regarding them merely as "duil cattle" for use in war. To them, the Russian *mouzhik* has remained the same as under Tsarism. But these "expert" commentators know neither old nor modern Russian history. They do not know that the peasantry cruelly disillusioned the Tsar and the landlords when they counted on the support of the peasant deputies in their Tsarist Duma, hoping to find in the peasant masses defenders of reaction. Even less do these "experts on Russia" understand the history of the development of the peasant masses under Soviet power. To them, the process which has taken place in our rural areas during the last 20 years is utterly incomprehensible.

Our village is now no longer a collection of primitive, isolated holdings, as it used to be in the past, but, on the contrary, the contemporary collective farm village is a united whole and intellectually many-sided. There exists now a considerable rural intelligentsia. Every collective farm has its own highly qualified agronomist, the skilled manager of the co-operative, the collective farm president, who must possess great organising ability to direct the large and complex farm. On the farms there are supervisory and technical staffs; then there is the brigade leader, who must not only be a first-class worker, but must also possess considerable organising ability. Men and women work as tractor and combine drivers, fitters, mechanics, dairy workers, and at other responsible jobs, according to the type of production with which the collective is concerned. It is obvious that the very size of the collective farm, its mechanisation and the intensification of its production, must make greater intellectual demands upon the collective farmers than did the individual peasant holding. Even in the smallest collective farm there are nursery schools and kindergartens where children are brought up in a proper and tasteful environment. The postal services have been greatly expanded, the quality of the schools improved and the study of foreign languages introduced into their curriculum. From this it becomes apparent that there has been a substantial increase in the number of teachers in the villages.

Our village now engages in amateur art—the production of plays, play reading, choirs, dancing and the playing of a variety of musical instruments, and so on. From year to year there is an increase in the number of mobile cinemas, of collective and individual wireless sets. All this has radically changed our rural population and its psychology. In every collective farm there is a branch of the Young Communist League, which is always the pioneer of all social and cultural undertakings. Youth, having completed its secondary education, is the predominant element in these educational and recreational activities of the country-side.

With the attainment by the rural population of higher material and cultural standards, the bonds between our collective farm population and our intelligentsia have been strengthened. The collective farms have produced many administrators occupying high positions—Party workers, scientists, artists, doctors, Red Army officers. The standard of living in the village has considerably risen in recent years, and the collective farmers have stated with

justification that they have now secured a comfortable and cultured level of existence.

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

Correspondents by virtue of their profession are supposed to have sharp eyes, but in this case they failed for some reason to notice that they were travelling in the Ukraine in the wake of the German looters who had carried off into Germany whole train-loads of effects stolen from the peasants, and from the women in particular. So it would have been surprising if the Ukrainian peasant women had anything but rags to wear during the German occupation. If any of the peasants succeeded in hiding anything from the Germans, they saw to it that it remained well hidden until the return of the Red Army.

The fact that our collective farm peasantry is now endowed with considerable intellectual powers is evidenced by the scale of the partisan movement, among other things. The partisan movement would never have attained such scope or been led so skilfully had the collective peasantry not possessed its intelligentsia. Among the partisans we find not only collective farmers, but also farm presidents, leading members of the soviets, Party organisers, teachers, scientific workers, artists and military specialists. For that reason the partisan movement makes use, not only of rank-and-file citizens ready to lay down their lives for the defence of their country, but also of highly-qualified people, capable of organising the partisan movement on the basis of high efficiency, thus being able to deal the enemy the most effective blows with the least possible losses to themselves.

The collectivisation of agriculture has not only brought about an improvement in the soil and its products; a transformation of the means of cultivating the land; it has also changed the peasant himself, broadened his outlook and made him more public-minded.

This is why our village is to-day sending to the Red Army, not only brave fighters, but also technically trained and expert people: tractor, combine and lorry drivers and technicians. In a word, the village, like the Soviet town, provides conscientious fighters for the fatherland, fighters whose efficiency gets home to the enemy increasingly every day on the enemy's own hide.

It is no accident that, whenever the commander of a company or a detachment is put out of action in battle, a fighter always emerges from the ranks of the Red Army, a native of some town or village, to take up the leadership and carry on with the operation. This is yet another proof that the peasantry of our collective farms stands far higher in the consciousness of its patriotic duty, and in intellectual development, than was the case under Tsarism. The collective farmers, like townspeople, become intelligent fighters in our army, fully aware of what they are fighting for.

Our Soviet intelligentsia has won an honourable and glorious place in the building up and strengthening of the Soviet State. In the beginning the bulk of the old intelligentsia confronted the Soviet authority with a somewhat hostile attitude. It seems to me that, in this instance, in addition to immediate material considerations—a decrease of physical comfort—a part was played

by the fact that many of them thought that culture was at an end; although even then the more enlightened minds identified themselves with the Soviet State from the first days of the Revolution. It must be said, to the credit of the Russian intelligentsia, that the discord between the old-time intellectuals and the Soviet power did not last long. As a whole, the intellectuals soon began to take part in Soviet life. Of course, their most valuable contribution to our common cause consists in having brought up a large number of young Soviet intellectuals, with whom they now work in a most friendly spirit.

The close relationship of the intelligentsia to the Soviet State is altogether natural. Our Soviet intelligentsia is close to the people, not only in the social sense—by a constant influx into its ranks of reinforcements from among the workers and collective farmers—but also in the conditions of its work. To illustrate this, let us remember that Darwin based his laborious studies on the origin of species by exchanging letters with hundreds of voluntary correspondents, scattered all over the world, who, at his request, observed and reported on the life of animals and birds. But even such a method of collective work appears quite immature when compared with the co-operation achieved in the work of the Soviet intelligentsia.

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

In the Soviet scientific world we find that scientists of all degrees of attainment are closely associated with the people in a thousand different ways. Our agronomists and scientific workers engaged in the study of plant biology have at their disposal not only research institutes, but also an incalculable number of "hut-laboratories,"¹ prepared to assist them. And our greatest scientists know how to make good use of this type of help, as in the instance of Academician Lysenko.

Workers in the physico-chemical sciences, particularly those engaged in experimental work, have at their disposal a large number of research institutes, factory laboratories and inventors' clubs. Our great scientists can always avail themselves of the assistance of numerous workers in these branches.

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

The importance of science in the U.S.S.R. is growing all the time, and the influence of the intelligentsia increases accordingly, permeating the entire

¹ "Hut-laboratories," occupying a hut on the territory of the collective farm, where local research is carried out.

fabric of our life. Our intelligentsia realises this, and its patriotism has burned clear during the hard struggles the Soviet State has been through.

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

I shall not tarry to speak of the heroism of the Young Communists, of youth at the front, in the partisan detachments and at their arduous tasks behind our armies. In the factories and works, and in agriculture, their patriotism and devotion to their country is known to all. The Young Communist League, like the flame of some vast furnace, is forging the new Soviet man. The Young Communist League is the first step for our youth, a step leading to a rich social and political life, leading the youth to the Party. The Young Communist League is the most important social factor in the life of the young workers, and of the collective farm youth in particular. The Young Communist League is the source of comradeship and of widespread social activity on the part of our youth; its influence in shaping the Soviet citizen and broadening his social and political outlook is of the utmost importance.

The sources of the spiritual strength of our State, the basis of its organisation and leadership, is the Communist Party, with its millions of members. These are the finest people in our country. The Bolshevik Party has rallied all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. around the banner of Lenin and Stalin and has inspired millions of Soviet citizens at the front and behind the lines. It rightly enjoys the deepest popular confidence, and great authority. The fact that our people, sensing the danger which hung over the country, rallied more closely to the Party and entered its ranks in numbers, testifies to its very great authority.

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

The Party organisations in the Soviet territories invaded by the enemy held high the banner of Lenin and Stalin. Even those Communists who fell into the hands of the Gestapo—where the Fascist executioners employed every means, from unbearable torture to alluring promises, in order to corrupt them or break their spirit—remained true to their Soviet land. The enemy had been grossly mistaken. Under the most difficult conditions, behind the enemy lines, Communists led an unrelenting struggle against the Germans, with the willing co-operation of the non-Party masses.

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

The Communist Party makes stern demands of its members. It does not give them any privileged position, but on the contrary requires that every

Communist should be a model of discipline in affairs of labour and of State, that his ideological and moral standing should be above reproach and that he place the interests of the Soviet society before his personal interests.

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

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

The influence of our Party is by no means confined to the limits of its own organisation. It leads the way for the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, whose full confidence it enjoys. However numerous its membership, it can never be a real political party unless it has the following of the people. The people trust our Party and follow its lead. This was clearly shown during the hardest days in the history of the Soviet power—in the period of the Civil War, when it seemed that victory hung in the balance. At that time there was a great influx into the ranks of the Party. During this war, also, recruitment to the Party goes on incessantly; and it is significant that the men and women of the Red Army are now the main source of this recruitment. The non-party Red Army men, before going into the attack and knowing that they may die at any moment, apply for admission into the Party, thereby indicating their desire, if they are killed, to die as Communists. This widespread sentiment, most clearly of all, reveals the fact that our Party is indeed leading the people.

In analysing the material, moral and political elements which go to make up the power of the Soviet Union, I would say that one of the most important factors is Stalin's leadership. It is now over 20 years that Comrade Stalin has been leading our Party and our country. It is significant that workers, peasants or intellectuals will often declare at their meetings: "We shall win because we are led by Comrade Stalin." From the outside this may seem an ordinary, oratorical tag, but it is in fact a conclusion reached by the people as the result of their daily experience of the actual leadership.

Death robbed our country of Lenin's leadership at a time when the Soviet State was barely set on its feet, when not a single task of the socialist reconstruction of our country had been fulfilled in its entirety. Opportunist and hostile elements sought to utilise Lenin's death in order to disorganise and destroy the Party, thereby destroying the Soviet State. But the Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, defeated these elements, and was forged into a single force capable of implementing the testament of Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin.

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

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

Here is a detail characteristic of Comrade Stalin's approach to the development of production. In the initial stages of industrialisation, complaints were made to Comrade Stalin by industrial experts who said that our inexperienced workers were ruining the new machines imported from abroad. But Comrade Stalin always replied that it is impossible to teach workers methods of work with new equipment without incurring loss. At first they might damage the machines, but they would learn to operate them, and then we should have well-qualified working staffs.

As a kind of final note to the conclusion of the country's industrialisation, when our entire production, agriculture and transport had been established on a firm basis, Comrade Stalin made known his slogan on the training of cadres: "It is time to realise that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realised that, under our present conditions, 'cadres decide everything.' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport, and in the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres—we shall be lame on both legs."¹

The sum total of all these measures, carried through by our Party under Comrade Stalin's leadership, has rendered our industry, agriculture and transport capable of standing up to the most powerful enemy in the world.

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

Comrade Stalin, whose own effort in establishing the strength of the Soviet Union has been so great in itself, was also able to fuse into one all the forces of the community, to inspire them and direct them towards the main and most essential task of the moment: the defence of the Soviet State against the German Fascist bandits.

The Red Army, the most vital section of the population of the U.S.S.R., is fighting German Fascism directly on the battlefield. Comrade Stalin devoted much energy to the foundation of the Red Army. And now, when the Red Army, having passed over to the offensive, is beating the German Fascist troops and driving them off our territory, the German generals and the Fascist military observers explain it by saying that for decades we have been preparing reserve war stocks, and secretly maintaining a huge army. The lying statements of

¹ *Leninism* (1940), p. 544.

these "experts" are apparently an attempt to extenuate the military defeat of the German army and to disparage Soviet generalship.

Until the advent of Fascism to power in Germany, our army had a very modest numerical strength, and only after the appearance of the threat of Fascist aggression did it begin gradually to grow. It can be said with certitude that the whole course of military events shows that our army has grown in the course of the war, not only numerically, but also in the perfecting of its quality. Our generals have not descended from the clouds—they were commanders of various units—but their fighting qualities, their military ability, have been brought to the fore by the war. Now the whole world can realise that the ability of our generals, officers and soldiers surpasses by far that of the much-advertised German generals, officers and men. The victories of our army over the most powerful enemy in the world are the result of many years of work by Comrade Stalin in the perfection of the fighting qualities of the Red Army. This has resulted in the superiority of the Soviet armies over the Fascist armies, which can no longer be denied even by the enemy. All attempts of German propaganda to explain the defeat of their army by the mere numerical superiority of the Soviet troops are ridiculous. There is indeed a superiority—but also a superiority of military skill and ability. It is quite understandable, that this is not an easy admission to make for an enemy who bawls right and left that he is fighting "oriental barbarism." But there is no getting away from facts.

The army in the Soviet Union is inseparable from the rest of the country. Everything that we have discussed here before—the development of the material and spiritual power of the Soviet people, of its morale and its political condition—all this is transmuted into the military valour and skill of our army. Before the entire world, our army concentrates in itself the material and spiritual strength of the Soviet people and clearly reveals the full extent of this power, which comes from the people. Comrade Stalin, in his capacity as Supreme Commander-in-Chief, is directing this force with the skill of a great military leader towards the final destruction of the German Fascist aggressors, and their expulsion from Soviet soil.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR

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

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

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

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

The idea expounded by Comrade Stalin in this Order was also expressed by him in previous orders, which shows the tremendous importance which he attributed to manoeuvres. And these ideas became the property of our officers and generals, under whose leadership the Red Army troops turned them into magnificent military deeds. Thanks to the brilliantly executed manoeuvres of our troops, the Germans frequently got into critical situations—they were surrounded.

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

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

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

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

In the summer of 1944, in close collaboration, the troops of four fronts—the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Byelorussian and the 1st Baltic—carried out in Byelorussia

outstanding operations which shook the very foundations of the German Front. As a result, the entire Central Grouping of the enemy armies was routed, and the capital of Soviet Byelorussia, Minsk, and the capital of Soviet Lithuania, Vilnius, were set free. Developing the success of their offensive, troops of the 1st Byelorussian Front entered Poland and reached the Vistula.

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

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

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

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

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

The magnificent operations of the Red Army will be thoroughly studied by Supreme Commands and military academies. Already the victories of the Red Army have aroused deep interest and created a wide literature outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union, where people try to understand where the strength of the Red Army lies.

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

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

But facts are stubborn, and they cannot be dimmed by any verbal cunning. When the German hordes were entering Soviet territory, the Fascist leaders said they had 250,000,000 people to back them. And true, apart from direct

participants in the war and the German vassals—Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Finland—the Germans brutally exploited the whole of continental Europe.

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

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

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

If our Supreme Command is able, under the very nose of the German Command, to concentrate an overwhelming number of its troops on some sector of the front and thus to overthrow the vaunted German troops—well, one cannot think of a greater blow to the German Command, as the skill of command consists precisely in creating a superiority of forces secretly, in the main direction of the blow. Precisely in the immense military skill of our Supreme Command, now already obvious to the whole world, lies one of the main reasons for the victories scored by the Red Army.

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

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

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

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

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

In the autumn of 1941 the 1st Guards Tank Brigade, under the name of

the 4th Tank Brigade, repelled brilliantly at Orel the onslaught of Guderian's tank hordes, which were trying to break through to Moscow. In the battles near Moscow this brigade earned the title of Guards Brigade. Its glorious military path covers the approaches to Moscow, the Kursk salient, the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Pruth, the Carpathians. On this path the brigade has never known defeat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the eastern front the Germans are considerably "facilitated" in yet another way, of which the German publicists are speaking: they have in their rear no more guerillas—that terror to their armies. And so at long last the Germans have admitted the force of the guerilla detachments, and the losses which these inflicted on their armies. They have got rid of the guerillas and, incidentally, of the territories on which the guerillas operated!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE END