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EVERY THURSDAY

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STALIN
and MOLOTOV
address their constituents

1946

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ILLUSTRATED SOVIET BOOKLETS



Speeches by
J. V. STALIN
and
V. M. MOLOTOV
delivered at Election Meetings
in Moscow in February,
1946



APPENDIX: Results of 1946 General Elections
in the U.S.S.R.

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CONTENTS

	Page
J. V. STALIN'S Speech Delivered in the Evening of February 9, 1946, in the Grand Opera House, Moscow, at a Meeting of the Electors of the Stalin District of Moscow	3
V. M. MOLOTOV'S Speech Delivered on February 6, 1946, at a Meeting of the Electors of the Molotov District of Moscow	21
COMMUNIQUEs on the Results of the Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on February 10, 1946, issued by the Central Election Commission:	
(a) Communiqué of February 12	32
(b) Communiqué of February 14	32
TABLE: General Election Figures for Constituent Soviet Republics	35

J. V. STALIN'S SPEECH Delivered in the Evening of February 9, 1946 in the Grand Opera House, Moscow, at a Meeting of the Electors of the Stalin District of Moscow

COMRADES!

EIGHT years have elapsed since the last elections to the Supreme Soviet. This was a period rich in events of a decisive nature.

The first four years passed in the intense work of the Soviet people for carrying out the Third Five-Year Plan. The following four years comprise the events of the war against the German and Japanese aggressors—the events of the Second World War. The war undoubtedly was the principal event of the past period.

It would be wrong to believe that the Second World War broke out accidentally or as a result of the mistakes of some or other statesmen, though mistakes certainly were made. In reality, the war broke out as an inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism.

Marxists have stated more than once that the capitalist system of world economy conceals in itself the elements of general crisis and military clashes, that in view of this in our time the development of world capitalism takes place not as a smooth and even advance but through crises and war catastrophies.

The reason is that the unevenness of the development of capitalist countries usually results, as time passes, in an abrupt disruption of the equilibrium within the world system of capitalism, and that a group of capitalist countries which believes itself to be less supplied with raw materials and markets usually attempts to alter the situation and re-divide the "spheres of influence" in its own favour by means of armed force.

This results in the splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and in war between them.

Perhaps the catastrophies of war could be avoided if there existed the possibility of re-distributing periodically raw materials and markets among the countries in accordance with their economic weight—by means of adopting co-ordinated and peaceful decisions. This, however, cannot be accomplished under present capitalist conditions of the development of world economy.

Thus the first crisis of the capitalist system of world economy resulted in the First World War, and the second crisis resulted in the Second World War.

This does not mean, of course, that the Second World War was an exact replica of the first. On the contrary, the Second World War substantially differs in its nature from the first.

One should bear in mind that the principal fascist States—Germany, Japan, Italy—before attacking the Allied countries, had destroyed the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties at home, established a brutal terroristic regime within their countries, trampled underfoot the principle of the sovereignty and free development of small countries, proclaimed that their policy was one of seizure of foreign lands, and declared, for all to hear, that their aim was world domination and the extension of the fascist regime to the whole world; while by the seizure of Czechoslovakia and the central provinces of China, the axis states demonstrated that they were ready to carry out their threat concerning the enslavement of all freedom-loving nations.

In view of this, as distinct from the First World War, the Second World War against the axis states from the very outset assumed the nature of an anti-fascist war, a war of liberation, one of the tasks of which was also to re-establish democratic liberties. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the axis states could only strengthen—and actually did strengthen—the anti-fascist and liberating character of the Second World War.

It was on this basis that the anti-fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving States took shape, a coalition

which later played a decisive part in routing the armed forces of the axis states. This is how matters stand with regard to the question of the origin and nature of the Second World War.

Now probably everyone agrees that the war indeed was not, and could not have been, an accident in the life of the nations, that it actually turned into a war of the nations for their existence, and that, for this very reason, it could not be a fleeting, lightning war.

As to our country, for her the war was the severest and hardest of all the wars our Motherland has ever experienced in her history.

But the war was not only a curse. It was at the same time a great school in which all the forces of the people were tried and tested. The war laid bare all the facts and events in the rear and at the front, it mercilessly tore off all the veils and covers which had concealed the true faces of States, governments, and parties, and placed them on the stage without masks, without embellishments, with all their shortcomings and virtues.

The war set something in the nature of an examination for our Soviet system, our State, our Government, our Communist Party, and summed up the results of their work as if telling us: here they are, your people and organisations, their deeds and days—look at them closely and reward them according to their deserts. This is one of the positive aspects of the war.

For us, for electors, this circumstance is of great significance because it helps us quickly and objectively to assess the work of the Party and of its people and to draw the correct conclusions.

At another time it would have been necessary to study the speeches and reports of the Party's representatives, to analyse them, compare their words with their deeds, sum up results and so forth. This involves complex and difficult work, and there is no guarantee that no errors would be made. Matters are different now that the war is over, when the war itself has checked the work of our organisations and leaders and summed up its results. Now it is much

easier for us to get at the truth and to arrive at the correct conclusions.

And so, what are the results of the war?

There is one main result which served as a basis for all other results. This result is that at the end of the war the enemies suffered defeat and we, together with our Allies, emerged as victors. We ended the war in complete victory over the enemy--this is the principal result of the war. But this is too general a result, and we cannot stop at that.

Of course, to defeat the enemy in a war such as the Second World War, the like of which had never occurred in the history of mankind, means to attain an epoch-making victory. All this is true. Still, all this is a general result, and we cannot rest content with this. To realise the great historical significance of our victory, we must go into this matter more concretely. And so, how should we understand our victory over the enemies, what can this victory mean from the viewpoint of the condition and development of the internal forces of our country?

Our victory means, in the first place, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system successfully withstood the trial in the flames of war and proved its perfect viability.

It is well known that the foreign press more than once asserted that the Soviet social system is a "risky experiment" doomed to failure, that the Soviet system is a "house of cards," without any roots in life, imposed upon the people by the organs of the "Cheka," that a slight push from outside would be enough to blow this "house of cards" to smithereens.

Now we can say that the war swept away all these assertions of the foreign press as groundless. The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, which has grown from the people and enjoys its powerful support, that the Soviet social system is a perfectly viable and stable form of organisation of society.

More than that, the point is now not whether the Soviet social system is viable or not, since after the objective lessons of the war no single sceptic now ventures to come out with doubts concerning the viability of the Soviet social

system. The point now is that the Soviet social system has proved more viable and stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organisation of society than any non-Soviet social system.

Secondly, our victory means that our Soviet State system has won, that our multi-national Soviet State withstood all the trials of war and proved its viability.

It is well known that prominent foreign journalists more than once made statements to the effect that the Soviet multi-national State is an "artificial and non-viable structure," that in the event of any complications collapse of the Soviet Union would be inevitable, that the Soviet Union would share the fate of Austro-Hungary.

Now we can say that the war refuted these statements of the foreign press as being utterly groundless. The war has shown that the Soviet multi-national State system successfully passed the test, grew even stronger during the war, and proved to be a perfectly viable State system.

Those gentlemen failed to understand that the comparison with Austro-Hungary is fallacious because our multi-national State has grown not on a bourgeois foundation which stimulates feelings of national distrust and national enmity, but on a Soviet foundation which, on the contrary, cultivates feelings of friendship and fraternal co-operation among the peoples of our State.

However, after the lessons of the war, those gentlemen no longer venture to deny the viability of the Soviet State system. The point now is not whether the Soviet State system is viable, for its viability is not to be doubted.

The point now is that the Soviet State system proved to be a model of the multi-national State, that the Soviet State system is such a system of State organisation in which the national problem and the problem of co-operation among nations have been solved better than in any other multi-national State.

Thirdly, our victory means that the Soviet armed forces have won, that our Red Army has won, that the Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of war, utterly routed the armies of our enemies and emerged from the war as victor.

On the right: Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on February 10, 1946, in Moscow. Anatoly Bochvar, Honoured Worker of Science, and his wife, Olga, leave the polling station after voting.

Below: Workers of the Moscow Electrical Equipment Plant cheer as J. V. Stalin is nominated candidate for Deputy to the Supreme Soviet.



(Shout from the audience: "Under Comrade Stalin's leadership!" All rise. Stormy, continuous applause turning into an ovation).

Now everyone, both friends and enemies, admit that the Red Army was equal to its great tasks. But the situation was different some six years ago, in the pre-war period.

It is well known that prominent representatives of the foreign press and many recognised military authorities abroad repeatedly stated that the condition of the Red Army inspired grave doubts, that the Red Army was poorly armed and had no real commanding personnel, that its morale was beneath criticism, that it might perhaps prove useful in defence but was not fit for an offensive, that in the event of a blow by German troops the Red Army must fall apart like a "colossus with feet of clay."

Such assertions were made not in Germany alone but also in France, Britain and America.

Now we can say that the war swept away all these assertions as being groundless and laughable. The war has demonstrated that the Red Army is no "colossus with feet of clay" but a first-rate Army of our times, possessing quite modern armament, a most experienced commanding personnel and high moral and fighting qualities. One should not forget that the Red Army is that very army which utterly routed the German Army that but yesterday struck terror into the armies of European states.

It should be noted that the number of "critics" of the Red Army keeps dwindling. More than that, the foreign press ever more frequently carries reports noting the high qualities of the Red Army, the skill of its commanders and men, its faultless strategy and tactics. This is quite natural. After the Red Army's brilliant victories at Moscow and Stalingrad, at Kursk and Byelgorod, at Kiev and Kirovograd, at Minsk and Bobruisk, at Leningrad and Tallinn, at Jassy and Lvov, on the Vistula and the Niemen, on the Danube and the Oder, at Vienna and Berlin—after all this one cannot help but admit that the Red Army is a first-rate Army from which one could learn a great deal. *(Stormy applause).* This is how we understand concretely the victory of our country over her enemies.

These are the main results of the war.

It would be erroneous to think that such an historic victory could have been achieved without preliminary preparation of the entire country for active defence. It would be no less erroneous to believe that such preparations could have been carried out within a short time, within some three or four years. Still more erroneous would it be to assert that we achieved victory owing solely to the gallantry of our troops.

Naturally, without gallantry, it is impossible to achieve victory. But gallantry alone is not sufficient to overpower an enemy possessing a big army, first-rate armament, a well-trained officer corps and a fairly well-organised supply. To meet the blow of such an enemy, to rebuff him and then utterly to defeat him, it was necessary to have, besides the unexampled gallantry of our troops, quite modern armament, and in sufficient quantity at that, and a well-organised supply, also in sufficient quantity.

But for this purpose it was necessary to have, and in sufficient quantities at that, such elementary things as metal for the production of armaments, equipment, industrial machinery; fuel for the maintenance of the work of factories and transport; cotton for the production of army clothing; bread to supply the army.

Is it possible to assert that before joining the Second World War our country already had at its disposal the necessary minimum of material possibilities in order to satisfy these needs in the main? I believe that we can assert this.

To prepare this colossal accomplishment it was necessary to carry out the three Five-Year Plans of development of the national economy. It was these three Five-Year Plans that helped us to create these material possibilities. In any case, the position of our country in this respect before the Second World War in 1940 was several times better than it had been before the First World War in 1913.

What material possibilities were at the disposal of our country before the Second World War?

To help you to get at the truth in this matter, I shall have to give here a short account of the activities of the

Communist Party in preparing our country for active defence.

If we take the figures for 1940—the eve of the Second World War—and compare them with the figures for 1913—the eve of the First World War—we get the following picture:

In 1913 our country produced 4,220,000 tons of pig iron, 4,230,000 tons of steel, 29,000,000 tons of coal, 9,000,000 tons of oil, 21,600,000 tons of marketable grain, 740,000 tons of raw cotton.

Such were the material potentialities with which our country entered the First World War. This was the economic basis of the old Russia which could be used for waging war.

As to 1940, in that year our country produced: 15,000,000 tons of pig iron, that is, nearly four times as much as in 1913; 18,300,000 tons of steel, that is, four and a-half times as much as in 1913; 166,000,000 tons of coal, that is, five and a-half times as much as in 1913; 31,000,000 tons of oil, that is, three and a-half times as much as in 1913; 38,300,000 tons of marketable grain, that is, 17,000,000 tons more than in 1913; 2,700,000 tons of raw cotton, that is, three and a-half times as much as in 1913.

Such were the material potentialities with which our country entered the Second World War. Such was the economic basis of the Soviet Union which could be used for waging the war.

The difference is tremendous, as you see. Such an unexampled growth of production cannot be regarded as a simple and ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress. This was a leap by means of which our Motherland turned from a backward into an advanced country, from an agrarian into an industrial country.

This historic transformation was carried out within the three Five Year Plans beginning with 1928—the first year of the First Five-Year Plan. Until that time we had had to engage in the restoration of destroyed industry and in healing the wounds received as a result of the First World War and the Civil War. If we consider besides, that the First Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years, and that

the work on the Third Five-Year Plan was interrupted by the war in the fourth year of its execution, we shall see that it took only about 13 years to convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country.

One cannot help admitting that 13 years is an unbelievably short time for accomplishing such a tremendous task.

It is this that essentially explains why the publication of these figures at the time evoked a storm of contradictory comment in the foreign press. Friends decided that a "miracle" had taken place. As to ill-wishers, they declared that the Five-Year Plans were "Bolshevik propaganda" and "tricks of the Cheka." But since miracles do not happen and the Cheka is not strong enough to abolish the laws of the development of society, "public opinion" abroad had to reconcile itself to the facts.

What was the policy which enabled the Communist Party to secure these material possibilities in the country within such a short time?

In the first place, it was the Soviet policy of industrialisation of the country. The Soviet method of industrialisation of the country differs radically from the capitalist method of industrialisation. In capitalist countries, industrialisation usually begins with light industry. Since light industry requires smaller investments, since the turnover of capital is quicker and the profits are made more easily than in heavy industry, it is light industry that becomes there the first object of industrialisation.

Only after a long period during which light industry accumulates profits and concentrates them in banks, only then comes the turn of heavy industry and there begins a gradual transfer of accumulated profits into heavy industry in order to create the conditions for its development. But this is a lengthy process, requiring a long period of several decades, during which it is necessary to wait until light industry develops and to vegetate without heavy industry.

Naturally, the Communist Party could not adopt this path. The Party knew that the war was coming, that it was impossible to defend the country without heavy industry, that it was necessary as quickly as possible to tackle the dev-

elopment of heavy industry, that to be late in this matter meant to lose. The Party remembered Lenin's words that without heavy industry it is impossible to uphold the country's independence, that without it the Soviet system may fall.

Therefore, the Communist Party of our country rejected the "usual" way of industrialisation and began the industrialisation of the country with the development of heavy industry. This was very difficult but feasible. Of great help in this matter was the nationalisation of industry and the banks which permitted the quick gathering and transfer of funds into heavy industry.

It is beyond doubt that without this it would have been impossible to achieve the transformation of our country into an industrial country within such a short time.

Secondly, it was the policy of collectivisation of agriculture.

In order to put an end to the backwardness of our agriculture and give the country more marketable grain, more cotton, etc., it was necessary to pass from small peasant farming to large-scale farming, because only a large farm is able to use new machinery, to take advantage of all the achievements of agronomic science and to yield more marketable produce.

There are, however, two kinds of large-scale farming—capitalist and collective. The Communist Party could not adopt the capitalist path of development of agriculture, and not as a matter of principle alone but also because it implies too prolonged a development and involves preliminary ruination of the peasants and their transformation into farm hands. Therefore, the Communist Party took the path of the collectivisation of agriculture, the path of creating large-scale farming by uniting peasant farms into collective farms.

The method of collectivisation proved a highly progressive method not only because it did not involve the ruination of the peasants but especially because it permitted, within a few years, the covering of the entire country with large collective farms which are able to use new machinery, take advantage of all the achievements of agronomic

science and give the country greater quantities of marketable produce.

There is no doubt that without the policy of collectivisation we would not have been able to put an end to the age-old backwardness of our agriculture within such a short time.

One cannot say that the Party's policy did not encounter resistance. Not only backward people, who always shun everything new, but also many prominent Party members systematically pulled the Party back and in every way tried to drag it on to the "usual" capitalist path of development. All the anti-Party machinations of Trotskyites and the Right, all their "work" in sabotaging the measures of our Government pursued a single aim: to thwart the Party's policy and to retard the cause of industrialisation and collectivisation.

But the Party did not succumb either to the threats of some or to the howling of others, and confidently marched forward despite everything. It is to the Party's credit that it did not adapt itself to the backward elements, was not afraid of swimming against the stream and always preserved its position of the leading force. There can be no doubt that without this staunchness and perseverance the Communist Party would not have been able to uphold the policy of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture.

Did the Communist Party succeed in utilising correctly the material possibilities thus created in order to develop war production and supply the Red Army with the necessary armament?

I believe it succeeded in accomplishing that, and accomplished it with the utmost success.

Leaving out of account the first year of the war when the evacuation of industry to the East retarded the development of war production, in the remaining three years of the war the Party succeeded in rising to such achievements as enabled it not only to supply the front with sufficient quantities of ordnance, machine-guns, rifles, aircraft, tanks, ammunition, but also to build up reserves.

And it is known that our armaments, far from being

inferior to German arms, even surpassed them in quality. It is known that during the last three years of the war our tank-building industry annually built on an average more than 30,000 tanks, self-propelled guns and armoured cars (*stormy applause*).

It is also known that our aircraft industry in the same period produced annually up to 40,000 planes (*stormy applause*).

It is also known that in the same period our ordnance industry built annually up to 120,000 guns of all calibres (*stormy applause*), up to 450,000 light and heavy machine-guns (*stormy applause*), more than 3,000,000 rifles (*applause*) and nearly 2,000,000 tommy-guns (*applause*).

Lastly, it is known that in the period 1942-44 our mortar industry manufactured annually on an average up to 100,000 mortars (*stormy applause*).

Naturally, corresponding quantities of artillery shells, mines of various kinds, aircraft bombs, rifle and machine-gun cartridges were produced simultaneously.

It is known, for instance, that in 1944 alone more than 240,000,000 shells, bombs and mines, and 7,400,000,000 cartridges were manufactured (*thunderous applause*).

Such is the general picture of the supply of the Red Army with arms and ammunition.

As you see, it does not resemble the picture of the supply of our Army during the First World War when the front experienced a chronic shortage of artillery and shells, when the Army fought without tanks and aircraft, when one rifle was issued for every three soldiers.

As to the supply of the Red Army with provisions and clothing, it is universally known that, far from suffering any shortages in this respect, the front even had the necessary reserves on the spot.

This is how matters stand as regards the work of the Communist Party of our country in the period before the war and during the war.

Now a few words concerning the plans for the work of the Communist Party in the near future. As is well known, these plans are set forth in the new Five-Year Plan, which is to be approved shortly. The main tasks of the new Five-



Above: Maria Semiradskaya, collective farmer, receives her ballot papers at polling station No. 133, Mytishchi electoral area, Moscow region.

Below: Preparations for elections—checking the voters' list at polling station No. 36 in the Frunze district of Moscow.



Year Plan are to restore the afflicted districts of the country, to restore industry and agriculture to their pre-war level and then to exceed this level to a more or less considerable degree. Not to mention the fact that the ration card system will be abolished in the near future (*stormy, prolonged applause*), special attention will be given to the extension of production of consumer goods, to raising the standard of living of the working people by means of the steady reduction of the prices of all commodities (*stormy, prolonged applause*) and to extensive construction of scientific research institutions of all kinds (*applause*) which will enable science to deploy its forces (*stormy applause*).

I do not doubt that if we render proper assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to come level with, but even to surpass, in the near future, the achievements of science beyond the boundaries of our country (*prolonged applause*).

As to plans for a longer period, our Party intends to organise a new powerful upsurge of the national economy which would enable us, for instance, to raise the level of our industry three-fold as compared with the pre-war level. We must achieve a situation wherein our industry is able to produce annually up to 50,000,000 tons of pig iron (*prolonged applause*), up to 60,000,000 tons of steel (*prolonged applause*), up to 500,000,000 tons of coal (*prolonged applause*), up to 60,000,000 tons of oil (*prolonged applause*).

Only under such conditions can we regard our country as guaranteed against any accidents (*stormy applause*). This will require perhaps three new Five-Year Plans, if not more. But this task can be accomplished, and we must accomplish it (*stormy applause*).

Such is my brief account of the activities of the Communist Party in the recent past and of its plans for work in the future (*stormy, prolonged applause*). It is for you to judge how correctly the Party worked, and is working now (*applause*), and whether it could not have worked better (*laughter, applause*).

They say that victors may not be judged (*laughter, applause*), that they should not be criticised or controlled.

This is wrong. Victors may and must be judged (*applause*), they may and must be criticised and controlled. This is useful not only for the work but for the victors themselves (*applause*); there will be less presumption, there will be more modesty (*laughter, applause*).

I consider that in the election campaign, the electors are sitting in judgment on the Communist Party as the ruling party. And the result of the elections will signify the verdict returned by the electors (*applause*). The Communist Party of our country would be worth little were it afraid of criticism, of a check-up. The Communist Party is ready to accept the electors' verdict (*stormy applause*).

The Communist Party does not march alone in the election struggle. It goes to the elections in a bloc with the non-Party people. In past times the Communists treated non-Party people and being non-Party with a certain distrust. This was due to the fact that the non-Party banner was not infrequently used as a cover by various bourgeois groups which found it to their disadvantage to appear before the electors without a mask.

Thus it was in the past. But now we are living in different times. Non-Party people are now separated from the bourgeoisie by a barrier called the Soviet social system. The same barrier has united non-Party people with Communists in one common team of Soviet citizens.

Living in a common team, they struggled together to enhance the might of our country, they fought and shed blood together at the fronts in the name of the freedom and greatness of our country, they were forging and forged together victory over the enemies of our country.

The only difference between them is that some belong to the Party while others do not. But this is a formal difference. What is important is that both are working for the same common cause. Therefore, the bloc of Communists and non-Party people is a natural and vital thing (*stormy, prolonged applause*).

In conclusion, allow me to thank you for the trust you have extended to me (*prolonged, unabating applause. Shout from the audience: "Hurrah for the great captain of all victories, Comrade Stalin!"*), by nominating me a candidate

to the Supreme Soviet. You need not doubt that I shall try to justify your trust.

(*All rise. Prolonged, unabating applause turning into an ovation. From all parts of the hall come cheers: "Long live our great Stalin! Hurrah!" "Hurrah for the great leader of the peoples!" "Glory to the great Stalin!" "Long live Comrade Stalin, the candidate of the entire nation!" "Glory to Comrade Stalin, the creator of all our victories!"*)



V. M. Molotov addressing a meeting of electors of the Molotov district of Moscow who have nominated him as their candidate for Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
(Radio picture)

V. M. MOLOTOV'S SPEECH

Delivered at a Meeting of the Electors of the Molotov District of Moscow on February 6, 1946

COMRADES!

YOU and the electors represented by you have nominated me as a candidate to the Supreme Soviet, and the Election Commission of the Molotov electoral area of Moscow has registered me as a candidate.

Permit me to express my deep gratitude for the confidence you have accorded thereby to the Communist Party, for the confidence and honour you have accorded me personally as a representative of the Party. (*Stormy applause*). Thanks to you for your kind words said here about me and my work. (*All rise. Applause*).

On my part I wish to assure you and all electors that I remember well what Comrade Stalin said about the basic duty of a Deputy: To have the great image of the great Lenin before him and to emulate Lenin in everything. (*Prolonged applause*).

To emulate Lenin means at the same time to emulate the great Stalin, continuer of Lenin's cause. (*Prolonged applause*). There can be no nobler task for a Deputy than to emulate Lenin and Stalin and to be worthy of this in fact. Rest assured, comrades electors, that I shall always and with all my heart strive towards this end.

We are on the eve of new general elections. All the adult population of the country takes part in these elections. The attitude of all the many millions of Soviet people towards the leadership of the Communist Party and towards the policy of the Soviet Government is now undergoing a test. Well, we have grounds to look forward with confidence. Proof of this is also supplied by the fact that the bloc of Communists and non-Party people has gained still greater strength and pursues its work in harmony.

Perhaps some people abroad still dream that it would

be nice if some other Party—not the Communist Party—assumed the leadership of our country. To these people one could reply with the simple proverb: “If ‘ifs’ and ‘ands’ were pots and pans . . .” (*Laughter. Applause*). There is no need to say much about such people—people, so to speak, “of the other world.” (*Laughter. Applause*).

As to our people, they have an opinion of their own on this subject. How can it be helped if the Soviet people have become akin and grown together with their Communist Party? (*Stormy, prolonged applause*). And if some people abroad still do not like it, we can offer them this consolation: nowadays one can see not infrequently in other countries too, that Communists as leaders enjoy the confidence of the broad masses of the people. (*Applause*).

This only goes to prove that the lessons taught by life are not in vain. This means not only that the earth is revolving but, one may say, that it is not revolving for nothing (*laughter, applause*), and that it moves along its road towards its better future. (*Applause*).

The four-year war with Germany and then the war with Japan was a supreme test for the young Soviet State. The war, which put a strain on all the spiritual and material forces of the nation, was an exceptionally serious test of the Bolshevik Party's policy and, more than that, a test of the reliability of the very system of Government of the Soviet Republic. Now no one can deny that the Soviet State has passed this test with flying colours.

Compare Russia before the October Revolution with what she has now become. It is well known that the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 caused an upheaval in Tsarist Russia. Everyone remembers the first Russian revolution when the first thunderbolt burst over Tsarism.

The war with Germany in 1914-17 shattered the very foundations of Tsarism and ended in the liquidation of the bourgeois-landowners' regime in Russia.

The Tsarist Government hastened to bring the war with Japan to an end, acknowledging defeat. Tsarist Russia proved unable to live through the war with Germany and

thus demonstrated how the old regime had decayed and outlived itself.

Compare this with the present position of our country, which has now emerged from the most strenuous war with Germany, and then from war with Japan. Both aggressors, together with their satellites, have been routed chiefly owing to our Red Army. (*Applause*). The Soviet Union attained victory in the West and then also in the East, which, as you see, is quite unlike the old pre-Soviet times.

Having passed these supreme tests, the Soviet Union has made a still greater advance in her role as a most important factor in international life. The U.S.S.R. now ranks among the world powers enjoying the highest prestige. (*Applause*). Important problems of international relations cannot now be settled without the participation of the Soviet Union or without listening to the voice of our Motherland.

Comrade Stalin's participation is regarded as the best guarantee of the successful solution of complicated international problems. (*Prolonged applause*).

Without indulging in self-complacency, and always remembering how stubbornly the reactionary forces in the capitalist countries still cling to life, we must, however, recognise that the new position which the Soviet Union now occupies in international affairs has not arisen as a result of fortuitous circumstances, that it meets the interests of all peace-loving nations, and also of all countries marching along the path of democratic development and of asserting their national independence.

Credit for all this goes in the first place to the heroic Red Army, to our Red Army and Red Navy men, officers and commanders of all arms who self-sacrificingly devoted themselves to the glory of our Motherland. Our generals and marshals, with Generalissimo Stalin at their head, have brought glory and renown to the Soviet Union and raised high its prestige.

The enemy was checked at the gates of Moscow, and this was the beginning of the turn on the Soviet-German front. The enemy surrounded Leningrad but was powerless to carry out his plan of seizing that city. The enemy was

routed at Stalingrad, and from then on the utter rout of the German Army began on our front.

These tasks were accomplished in accordance with the strategic plan, and under the immediate guidance of the great leader of armies, Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy, prolonged applause*).

The rout of the enemy came as a result of the efforts of the entire Soviet people. They ensured victory. It proved necessary to lengthen the working day. Millions of women replaced men on collective farms, at factories and plants. Youths self-sacrificingly did the work of adults. We had to reconcile ourselves to serious restrictions in the supply of most necessary things, to a grave housing shortage, to evacuation to remote places, and to other wartime hardships.

And despite this, our national economy coped with its basic tasks. The needs of the front were satisfied invariably and without delay. The urgent needs of the rear were also satisfied, although with great restrictions. Comrade Stalin's call "everything for the front" was unanimously taken up by the entire Soviet people, and this ensured victory. (*Applause*). We achieved victory having overcome all difficulties at the front and in the rear.

We proved able to achieve this because not only during the war but also in the preceding years, too, we trod a correct path. We swept from our road the internal enemies, all those saboteurs and wreckers who in the end turned into a gang of spies and diversionists in the service of foreign masters.

It is also known that the Soviet people had long before killed the taste for direct foreign intervention in our internal affairs. In spite of all those who tried to check our progress, our people transformed its country and created a mighty Socialist State. (*Applause*).

The creation of the Red Army, the industrialisation of our country, the reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collective farming, the strenuous work for raising the cultural level of the population and the persistent training of engineering and other skilled personnel laid the foundations of our victory.

And now we are able to sum up the splendid results.

We have routed the most dangerous enemy, scored a glorious victory, rallied the family of Soviet peoples still closer, and raised the international prestige of the Soviet Union to an unprecedented height.

Is a better test of the correctness of the Bolshevik Party's policy necessary? (*Applause*).

After this, it is not difficult to understand why the confidence in our Party has grown so much, why the confidence in Comrade Stalin's leadership is so unshakeable. (*Prolonged applause*).

The termination of the war confronted us with new tasks, which also place upon us new obligations. The time has come to get down to the work which was interrupted by the war. We shall need a certain time to raise our Socialist industry to the level it had reached before the war. But a couple of years will pass and we shall achieve this, which would be beyond the strength of any capitalist country. (*Applause*).

The task will form a component part of the new Five-Year Plan, which we are launching this year, and which will enable us to advance beyond the pre-war level of our economic development in many respects. (*Applause*).

We are again developing industries which will supply agriculture with the required quantities of tractors, agricultural machines and fertilisers, as well as industries which will supply locomotives, wagons and everything necessary for railway transport and other important means of transportation—marine, river and automobile transport.

Improvement of the entire supply of consumer goods to the population of town and country is on the order of the day. For this purpose a number of our industries must be developed.

To overcome the housing shortage has now become an especially urgent task, in view of the destruction left behind by the war against the German invaders. The construction of schools and hospitals, institutes and laboratories, cinemas and theatres, and many other cultural and social institutions, is to be raised to the proper level, taking full account of the shortcomings of our work in the past and the need for wider utilisation of the experience of other countries.

Muscovites will again develop their plans for the reconstruction of the capital, and we shall all take an active part in this major State affair.

You will remember that shortly before the war the Party and the Government recognised that the time had come to tackle and solve the main economic task of the U.S.S.R. This main task was formulated as follows: To overtake and surpass economically the most developed capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America, and to accomplish this task finally within the shortest possible time. Our country must produce no fewer industrial goods per head of the population than the most developed capitalist country—such is the task. (*Applause*).

We successfully commenced this work. But Germany's attack interrupted the great work we had launched. Now we shall again get down to this work, with a still deeper understanding of its importance, and we shall try to make the pace of our work worthy of the great task.

We have not had and shall not have crises during which industry falls into a pit, as is characteristic of capitalist countries. We have not had nor will we have unemployment, since we long ago discarded the fetters of capitalism and the rule of private property.

Conscious labour and socialist emulation at our factories and plants, on collective and State farms, on the railways and in institutions, advance our economy. (*Applause*). We must especially strive to render the labour of everyone more productive, since this is not only in the private interest of every worker but also in the general interest of the State.

The time is past when our people worked to the tune of "Dubinushka." Certainly "Dubinushka" is a good song. "Volga Boatmen" is also a good song. But everything in its proper time. In our age, the age of machines and a high level of technique—and besides, when we are out "to overtake and surpass"—we must inculcate the even wider and more effective use of new technique in all branches of our national economy, so that the modern achievements of technology and science may play an increasing part in the development of our industry and entire national economy.

Then we shall accomplish the task—the task of overtaking and surpassing economically the most developed capitalist countries—with that success which the interests of our country and the interests of Communism require. (*Applause*).

Certainly in order finally to accomplish this major task we need a lengthy period of peace and of ensured security for our country. The peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union is not some transient phenomenon: it follows from the fundamental interests and essential needs of our people—their desire as quickly as possible to raise their material standards, their tremendous urge to create their own new, cultured Socialist life, and their deep confidence that the Soviet Union will successfully accomplish all these tasks, provided the gang of aggressors is chained up.

This is why the Soviet people displays such vigilance when possible sources of violation of peace and international security, or intrigues towards that end, are in question. Now, too, our people becomes alert, when necessary.

Should we, for instance, pass by such facts for example, as that hundreds of thousands of German troops of the routed Hitlerite Army are preserved in some shape or another in the area administered by our Ally? One cannot fail to acknowledge the positive significance of the fact that the Ally has admitted the need to put an end to such a situation.

Or, take another fact. Even now in Italy, there are preserved, at the expense of the Allies, tens of thousands of troops of the Polish Fascist General Anders, notorious for his hatred of the Soviet Union and ready for all kinds of adventurous undertakings against the new democratic Poland.

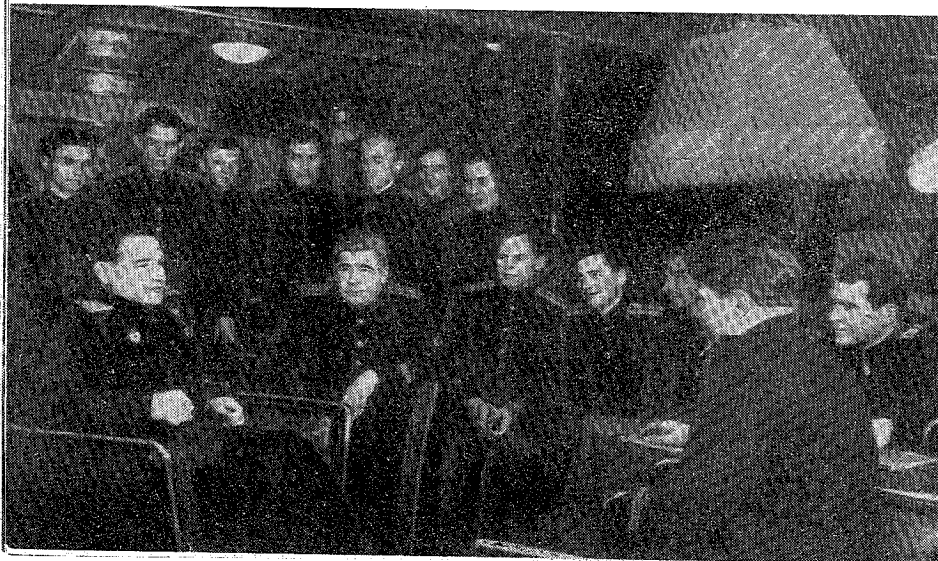
Such facts can by no means be explained by the interests of the peace and security of nations.

Or, for instance, take the following case. A Russian White Guard infantry corps under Colonel Rogozhin, who during the war was Hitler's hired servant, still exists on Austrian territory outside the Soviet zone. Of course, we demanded the liquidation of this gang of degenerates, again



Above: Meeting of Marshal Zhukov with his electorate.

Below: Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Guards Colonel Nikolai Chelnokov (left), Candidate for Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., meets a group of his electors on board the cruiser "Maxim Gorky."



in the interests of peace and friendly relations among the Allies.

The Soviet Union has done a great deal to create a new and more effective organisation for the protection of the peace and security of nations. The United Nations Organisation has already set to work, and we wish it success in carrying out its important tasks.

Our participation in this Organisation is aimed at ensuring its effective part in preventing new wars and in curbing all and every imperialist aggressor and violator of the will of other nations.

In the interests of universal peace, the Soviet Union is always prepared to work in concord and harmony with the big and the small peace-loving nations.

In the Soviet Union there are no militant adventurous groups as is the case among the ruling classes in some other countries, in which insatiable imperialists now, already, encourage rather dangerous chatter about a "third world war."

It is true that the adherents of the peace and security of nations will also in the future find a loyal ally and reliable bulwark in the Soviet Union. *(Prolonged applause)*. But this does not mean that we are heedless in regard to the might of our Red Army and our Navy. No, we do not relax our concern for our armed forces.

Our Army has accumulated battle experience and grown strong and tempered as never before. During the war it underwent extensive reorganisation and reorganised itself in accordance with the modern requirements of the art of war. The fighting spirit and Soviet patriotism of our troops are well known. The Government and the leaders of the Red Army do everything to ensure that as regards the latest types of armament, too, our Army shall be second to the army of no other country.

It is sufficient to mention that through all these years the armed forces of the Soviet Union have been headed by the great strategist and far-sighted leader of our country, Generalissimo Stalin *(Stormy ovation from the entire audience)*.

All this determines our new post-war tasks. This refers

both to the big internal and external problems which determine the future of our country and of our cause, as well as to the immediate problems which require an urgent solution. The Bolshevik Party teaches us to be able to combine these tasks.

Without concentrating the necessary forces and means on the solution of fundamental State problems, we cannot look confidently ahead; not to mention the fact that the war has demonstrated with exceptional force the perfect correctness of this policy of the Bolsheviks throughout the past period of the construction of our State. (*Applause*).

The irrefutable fact that our people long ago understood the profound meaning of this general line of Bolshevik policy can be regarded as one of the main achievements of our Party. (*Applause*). But the Party has always demanded that available possibilities—and we have quite a few of them—be used more extensively and persistently in order to satisfy the urgent need for improvements in the life of the people.

The Party has always fought ruthlessly against bureaucratic neglect of so-called “petty” questions, urging not only Bolshevik self-criticism but also active public criticism of the work of inefficient leaders. Right now, when the war has left behind many tasks of this kind, it would be proper to remind the leaders of our organisations and institutions about this.

Naturally, much depends on the ability to work and, still more, on the actual desire to learn how to work. It is well known that it is never too late to learn. This is true both of local and central leading workers. Comrade Stalin told us more than once how useful it is for leading workers to sum up their work every day, to inquire more frequently and more seriously into the results of their own activities.

In our times, in any matter, very much depends on the leaders. The same factory, the same collective farm, the same organisation or institution, yields certain results in the hands of one leader and much better results in the hands of another leader, if that leader is better.

It is well known that the working man or woman sums up his or her work every day. They want to know, and they

do know, what quantity of industrial goods they have produced during the day, what is the result of their labour. The same must be said about the peasant men and women. The result of their work is expressed in the collective farm work-day units, and we know how our collective farmers, men and women, strive to produce more work-day units and how deeply this has already taken root in the life of the collective farm village.

It is necessary for leading workers, too, to form the habit of summing up their work every day and treating the results of their activities with due self-criticism. Then there will be fewer gaps in the work of many of our esteemed comrades, and we shall achieve the modern Bolshevik pace we need in solving all urgent problems.

By its policy the Party sets a correct course for our work. It is necessary for us, leading workers of local and central organisations, to demonstrate by deeds our ability to work and our Bolshevik effort to work better, more productively, for the utmost benefit of the people. You will probably agree that this is what all our electors desire.

We have every reason to expect that at the elections to the Supreme Soviet our people will again show confidence in the Bolshevik Party and unanimously support the candidates of the Stalin bloc of Communists and non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals. This only serves to enhance the responsibility of Deputies. They must be worthy of the confidence of our great people and justify the trust of their electors. (*Applause*).

So let the new elections serve to rally our people still closer and to contribute to our further progress under the tried leadership of the Bolshevik Party and our great beloved Stalin! (*Stormy, prolonged ovation and cheers. All rise, exclamations of “Long live the great Stalin!” and “Long live Comrade Molotov, loyal comrade-in-arms of the great Stalin!”*)

*COMMUNIQUEs on the Results of the Elections to the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on February 10, 1946,
issued by the Central Election Commission*

(a) Communiqué of February 12, 1946

FOR the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 1,339 electoral areas were formed. Of these, 682 electoral areas were for the elections to the Soviet of the Union and 657 electoral areas were for the elections to the Soviet of Nationalities: 149,798 election wards were set up within the electoral areas.

By 8 p.m. on February 11, full reports were received from all area election commissions on the number of registered electors and on the participation of the electors in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

According to these data, 99,550,225 electors were registered in all electoral areas. Of these, 99,076,353 electors, or 99.5 per cent. of the total number of registered electors, took part in the elections of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

During February 11 the ward election commissions counted the votes cast for the candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. According to the reports from the area election commissions, Deputies of the Supreme Soviet have been elected in all 1,339 electoral areas. All the Deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet are candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people.

The Central Election Commission will be able to announce on February 14, 1946, the general returns and the list of Deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

(b) Communiqué of February 14, 1946

BY noon, February 13, the Central Election Commission had received from all Area Election Commissions the final data on the results of the elections to the Supreme

Soviet of the U.S.S.R., compiled on the basis of the protocols of the ward election commissions.

These figures fully take into account all electors who came to the polls on February 10 but had not been entered in the list of electors before election day, demobilised citizens returning by election day from the Red Army and repatriated Soviet citizens, persons travelling on commissions and other electors who for various reasons had been unable to return in time.

In addition, during February 12-13 there were fully taken into account electors and election results from a number of remote election wards, also from wards set up at railway stations, on long distance trains and on ships which were sailing on election day.

On the basis of the above data the total number of registered electors in all electoral areas has reached 101,717,686 persons. Of this number 101,450,936 persons, or 99.7 per cent. of the total number of registered electors, took part in the election of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In all the 682 constituencies for elections to the Soviet of the Union, 100,621,225 persons, or 99.18 per cent. of the total number of electors who came to the polls, voted for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people; 819,699 persons, or 0.81 per cent. of the total number of electors who came to the polls, voted against the candidates to the Soviet of the Union.

Under Article 88 of "Regulations on Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.," 10,012 ballots have been found invalid.

In all the 657 electoral areas for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities, 100,603,567 persons, or 99.16 per cent. of the total number of electors who came to the polls voted for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people; 818,955 persons, or 0.81 per cent. of the total number of electors who came to the polls, voted against the candidates to the Soviet of Nationalities.

Under Article 88 of "Regulations on Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." 28,414 ballots have been found invalid.

(The results of the elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in the various Union Republics are shown in the table on page 35).

In all electoral areas for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities from Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas, the number of voters was 7,854,730. Of these, 7,844,983 persons, i.e., 99.88 per cent. of the total number of electors, came to the polls.

In these areas, 7,781,411, i.e., 99.19 per cent. persons of the total number of those who came to the polls voted for the candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people; 63,410 voted against the candidates to the Soviet of Nationalities from Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas; and 162 ballots were found non-valid under Article 88 of the "Regulations on Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."

In the special electoral areas, the results of the voting for candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people were as follows:

In areas for elections to the Soviet of the Union—99.34 per cent. of the total number of voters who came to the polls; in areas for elections to the Soviet of Nationalities—99.17 per cent. of the total number of voters who came to the polls.

Having considered the materials for each electoral area separately, the Central Election Commission on the basis of Article 38 of "Regulations on Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." has registered the Deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in all 1,339 electoral areas. All the elected Deputies are candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people.

A complete list of the Deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is published by the Central Election Commission.

GENERAL ELECTION FIGURES FOR CONSTITUENT SOVIET REPUBLICS

SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS	No. of Registered Voters	No. of Voters who Polled	Percent- age	No. of Votes for Candidates to Soviet of the Union	Percent- age of total who voted	No. of Votes for Candidates to Soviet of Nationalities	Percent- age of total who voted
Russian S.F.S.R. ...	56,851,348	56,773,337	99.86	56,331,954	99.22	56,349,246	99.25
Ukraine ...	20,613,669	20,581,354	99.84	20,392,737	99.08	20,382,214	99.03
Byelorussia ...	4,043,284	4,036,592	99.83	4,011,161	99.37	4,011,081	99.37
Azerbaijan ...	1,420,360	1,419,535	99.94	1,415,493	99.72	1,411,414	99.43
Georgia ...	1,941,151	1,939,789	99.93	1,937,780	99.90	1,936,261	99.82
Armenia ...	643,733	643,113	99.90	641,254	99.71	641,051	99.68
Turkmenia ...	622,843	621,809	99.83	620,207	99.74	618,768	99.51
Uzbekistan ...	3,106,589	3,103,498	99.90	3,096,932	99.79	3,096,058	99.76
Tajikistan ...	725,536	725,310	99.97	723,889	99.80	722,545	99.62
Kazakhstan ...	3,302,139	3,298,932	99.90	3,284,296	99.56	3,285,836	99.60
Kirghizia ...	778,951	777,460	99.81	773,891	99.54	770,585	99.12
Karelo-Finnish S.S.R. ...	210,011	209,858	99.93	208,654	99.43	207,398	98.83
Moldavia ...	1,294,667	1,291,582	99.76	1,286,652	99.62	1,284,614	99.46
Lithuania ...	1,378,951	1,265,638	91.78	1,207,200	95.38	1,208,234	95.46
Latvia ...	1,248,411	1,237,982	99.16	1,223,310	98.81	1,224,743	98.93
Estonia ...	770,899	760,981	98.71	719,803	94.59	718,068	94.36

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