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THIRTY YEARS of the SOVIET REGIME



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THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE MEETING THE THIRTIETH anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with a tremendous outburst of labour enthusiasm and with feelings of profound gratitude towards the organizer of the revolution—the Bolshevik Communist Party, and towards their leader and teacher—Comrade Stalin.

The Great October Socialist Revolution abolished the rule of the landlords and capitalists in our country, and for the first time in history established the rule of the workers and peasants—the Soviet regime.

By putting an end to capitalism on one-sixth of the globe, the October Revolution marked the beginning of the collapse of the entire system of imperialism. The Great Soviet Revolution ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind—the epoch of socialist society; it was the beginning of the complete emancipation of all working people from exploitation, from oppression of every kind.

During the thirty years it has been in existence, the Soviet state that was established as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution has steadily grown, has gained strength, and has risen in prestige. During this period the capitalist world has been as steadily sinking into decline and decay. All this incontrovertibly proves the superiority of the new socialist

system over the decrepit system of capitalism, which is heading towards its doom.

The Great October Socialist Revolution saved our country from being enslaved by foreign imperialists, from being transformed into a colony. It released the constructive energy of our people and created all the conditions necessary for transforming our formerly backward and feeble country into a progressive, powerful, socialist state.

The working people of our country were able to achieve victory in October 1917, to establish socialism and repel the onslaughts of the predatory imperialists upon our motherland, because the new type of party, the Bolshevik Party, which Lenin and Stalin created, educated the working class and all toilers and guided them in the struggle against tsarism and capitalism and for the establishment of a new, socialist system.

The Bolshevik Party has been and is the banner and the leader of the working class in the struggle to establish the Soviet regime and to build up socialism. There has not been a single event in the history of our revolution that has not been connected with the Bolshevik Party and its organizers—Lenin and Stalin. Having achieved the establishment of socialism in our country, the Party of Lenin-Stalin is now leading the Soviet people in the building of communist society. Entering the fourth decade of its existence, the Soviet state, guided by the Bolshevik Party, is advancing firmly and confidently towards new and more glorious victories.

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The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country brought about extremely profound changes. Under the Soviet regime—which is the highest form of democracy, democracy for the majority of the people—the land of the landlords was confiscated and over 150 million dessiatins* of land were turned over to the peasantry, large-scale industry was nationalized, and the Soviet government set itself the fundamental task of transforming our feeble and backward country into a progressive and powerful socialist state.

The formation of the Soviet state roused universal enthusiasm among the working people all over the world and imbued them with confidence that they too could achieve their emancipation. On the other hand, the October Socialist Revolution roused the burning hatred of the capitalists and landlords of all countries.

From the very outset, the Soviet state had to wage a bitter struggle against the domestic and foreign enemies of the revolution, who strove to stifle the young, still feeble, workers' and peasants' state. The struggle had to be waged under exceptionally difficult conditions, for at that time the Soviet state was short of bread, of arms and lacked the necessary military equipment. In spite of all this, however, it routed the forces of the counter-revolution and of the foreign interventionists, thus proving the might and invincibility of the Soviet system.

After the foreign military intervention and the internal counter-revolution were defeated, the working class was faced with the task of restoring the country's industry and agriculture which had been wrecked during the imperialist and civil wars, of strengthening the Soviet state, and of creating the conditions for developing socialist construction.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state were created by Lenin and Stalin. The grand route our people were to traverse

^{*} Over 400.000.000 acres.

in building socialism in our country was mapped out by our great leader Lenin.

After Lenin's death, Comrade Stalin, speaking at the Second Congress of Soviets took in the name of the Bolshevik Party a sacred vow of fidelity to Lenin's behests, namely, to increase the might of the Soviet state and to consolidate and extend the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Bolshevik Party, guided by Comrade Stalin, and armed with Lenin's theory that socialism could be built up in a single country, waged a bitter struggle against the domestic and foreign enemies of our people, and in the course of this struggle it rallied the working people around itself and the Soviet government, strengthened their unity and embarked on a vast project of socialist construction. Stalin's wise foresight was brilliantly revealed in the Five-Year Plans for the development of our national economy, which laid down the Bolshevik Party's general line in the building of socialism in our country. Comrade Stalin set the Soviet people the task of building up and developing heavy industry, for this ensured that the U.S.S.R. would be transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country, capable, by its own efforts, of supplying all branches of our national economy with the necessary equipment.

The working people of our country, guided by the Bolshevik Party, carried out this task in a short space of time. In the years preceding the First Five-Year Plan, we succeeded in completely rehabilitating our industry which had been reduced to ruin during the imperialist and civil wars; but during the period of the First Stalin Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union succeeded in carrying out a program of new industrial construction, the magnitude and boldness of which amazed the whole world. At a time when the entire capitalist world was in the throes of

a most severe economic crisis, which threw back the industrial output of the bourgeois countries several decades, the Soviet Union was engaged in socialist construction such as had never been witnessed in the world before. In an exceptionally short space of time, the working people of our country, led by the Bolshevik Party, established socialist industry—the economic foundation of socialism, the basis of our country's power of defence. In this struggle to carry out the Five-Year Plan, the working class displayed real heroism. Millions of workers entered into the socialist emulation and shock-brigade work drive. The First Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years. The heavy industry base was created in the U.S.S.R., the conditions were created for the complete technical re-equipment of agriculture, and the country's technical and economic backwardness was eliminated. The Soviet Union was transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country.

During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, huge, now world-famous plants were reconstructed or newly built and equipped with up-to-date technique. These are the Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and Zaporozhye metallurgical plants, the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Plant, the Kramatorsk Machine-Building Works, the Stalingrad and Chelyabinsk Tractor Plants, the Bobriki, Berezniki and Voskressensk chemical plants, and numerous others.

Socialist industrialization fundamentally changed the face of our country and created all the conditions necessary for transferring the scattered peasant farms to the socialist, collective line of development.

Comrade Stalin pointed to the urgent need of raising agriculture to the level of socialist industry. The great leader of the Soviet people led the Party, the working class and the peasantry forward to the fulfilment of the task of transferring the small scattered peasant farms to the path of collective land cultivation based on the employment of modern machines. He said that we must unite the small and "dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the soil, with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture."*

In the course of developing the mass collective-farm movement, the Bolshevik Party constantly explained to the peasants the superiority of collective over individual peasant farming, and combated the enemies of the Soviet government and people—the Trotskyites and Bukharinites—who did all in their power to prevent the collectivization of agriculture. The peasants appreciated the advantages of collectivization and joined the collective farms. This enabled the Party to proceed to put into operation the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class on the basis of solid collectivization. The means of production that were the private property of the kulaks now passed to the collective farms.

On Comrade Stalin's proposal, the Central Committee of the Party adopted a decision which defined the speed at which collectivization was to be effected, and the measures the state was to take to promote the building of collective farms. This historic decision was an exceptionally important factor in the collective-farm movement. During the period of the First Five-Year Plan, over 200,000 collective farms were organized. To

The victory of the collective-farm system as the predominant form of economy in the countryside, far from causing a relaxation of attention to agriculture, actually heightened it. The task of strengthening the collective farms and of increasing the intensity of cultivation became the daily concern of all Soviet and Party bodies.

After the collective farms were formed the door to the old system of individual peasant farming was closed once and for all. The next task was to strengthen the collective farms organizationally, politically and economically, to rid them of the hostile elements who had wormed their way into them during the period of solid collectivization, and to select such genuine, reliable Bolshevik cadres as could lead the work of building up the new collective-farm way of life.

In the speech he delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers in February 1933, Comrade Stalin said: "In order to advance further and finally to consolidate the collective farms, we must take the *next* step, we must secure a *new* achievement. What is this next step? It is to raise the collective farmers, both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants, to a still higher level. It is to make all the collective farmers prosperous."*

This task was carried out successfully during the period of

^{*} Report to the Fifteenth Party Congress, December 1927. See History of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Short Course, p. 288, Moscow, 1945.

^{*} J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Moscow, 1947, pp. 447-448.

the Second Stalin Five-Year Plan, when the magnitude of socialist construction far exceeded that of the period of the First Five-Year Plan. As a result of the general socialist offensive that was conducted along the whole front, the period covered by the Second Stalin Five-Year Plan saw the completion of the technical reconstruction of industry and agriculture; and the socialist system of production, which knows no crises or unemployment, poverty or ruin—a system which provides the working people with every opportunity to lead a fully developed life of culture and prosperity—became fully established The fulfilment of the first two Stalin Five-Year Plans resulted in the establishment, in the main, of the first phase of communismsocialism.

By the end of the Second Five-Year-Plan period, socialist property—that is, state and co-operative-collective-farm property-had eliminated private property, and accounted for 98.7 per cent of the country's functioning means of production. Heavy industry underwent a particularly intense development. In 1937, the output of the new and fully reconstructed plants amounted to over 80 per cent of the output of industry as a whole, while in such important branches of industry as iron and steel, machine-building, chemicals, etc., the output was considerably higher. Tremendous were the successes achieved during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan by the Soviet machinebuilding industry, which supplied agriculture with tractors, combine-harvesters, and other machinery.

Bearing in mind the need for the further rapid development of all branches of the national economy, and for strengthening the country's defences, particularly amidst the growing danger of an imperialist attack on our country, the Bolshevik Party called upon the working people to exert every effort to carry

out the Third Stalin Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people ardently responded to the Party's call and laboured unstintingly still further to increase the might of the Soviet state.

By carrying out the directives of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik Party achieved an unexampled development of the economic, cultural and social life of the working people of our country, the land of victorious socialism. Thanks to the Party's unceasing attention to and daily guidance of the work of socialist construction and of strengthening our country's power of defence, the Soviet Union covered as much ground in its economic development in the historically short period of the three Five-Year Plans, as the most highly-developed and advanced capitalist countries covered in many decades.

The Soviet Union was transformed into a powerful industrial state, a land of socialist agriculture, agriculture conducted on a scale unequalled elsewhere, and capable of producing all that was required for the national economy and for the country's defence. This was not the ordinary, simple development of a country from backwardness to progress. "It was a leap by which our Motherland became transformed from a backward country into a progressive country, from an agrarian into an industrial country."*

This was the effect of the tremendous superiority of the Soviet, socialist system over capitalism. The planned, socialist, economic system, which does not suffer from the crises that periodically shake capitalist economy, is an immeasurably higher type of economic organization of society than the capitalist economic system.

^{*} J. Stalin, Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, Moscow, 1946, p. 14.

By building up socialism, the Soviet people have shown all other peoples the path of progressive socialist development.

The victory of socialism in our country has resulted in the elimination of the exploiting classes, in the abolition of the exploitation of man by man.

This has been accompanied by fundamental changes in the conditions of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

Decisive changes have taken place in the class structure of Soviet society. Under the Soviet regime the proletariat, which was subjected to exploitation under capitalism, has been transformed into an entirely new working class of the U.S.S.R., a class that is directing our Soviet society along the path of communism indicated by the Party of Lenin-Stalin. The peasant class, formerly a class of small producers who were ruthlessly exploited by the landlords and the capitalists, has been transformed into our collective-farm peasantry who are free from all exploitation whatsoever, and whose lives are based on collective socialist labour and collective socialist property. As a result of the enormous amount of cultural work that has been done in our country, a new, Soviet intelligentsia has arisen from the ranks of the working class and the peasants, and this new intelligentsia is serving not landlords and capitalists, but the people.

In Soviet society the lines of demarcation that formerly existed between the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia are fading away, and with this, the class exclusiveness of former days disappears.

Whereas in capitalist countries, the private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of man by man lead to the division of society into classes, and, as a consequence, to bitter class struggle and competition, in the Soviet Union, the absence of exploitation and the socialist ownership of the means of production make our Soviet socialist society a morally and politically united whole.

The moral and political unity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. enhances the strength of socialist society and accelerates its advance to communism. The moral and political unity of Soviet society is one of the most important advantages the Soviet system possesses over the capitalist system.

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The Soviet state took shape, developed and gained strength on the basis of the amity of its peoples and the free development of its various nationalities. The Bolshevik Party constantly imbued the working class with the spirit of internationalism and impressed on it the necessity of strengthening friendly ties between the peoples. It raised the class consciousness of the workers of the various nations to the level required by their common political tasks, indicated the ways and means of solving the national problem, and united the working people in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. An exceptionally important part in this was played by Comrade Stalin, who, in his classic work Marxism and the National Question, published in 1913, and in other of his works, laid down our Party's guiding principles on the national question.

The Soviet regime alone fully applied the principle of the self-determination of peoples and nations. The working people, who for centuries had suffered oppression under tsardom, breathed the breath of freemen for the first time. The persecution, massacres and pogroms of bygone days have descended into the limbo of the past. The Soviet regime destroyed the very roots

of national oppression, and inviolable friendship, based on mutual respect, has been established among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Never before in human history have oppressed nations received such extensive rights as they have received under the Soviet regime. In fulfilment of the great principles of Lenin and Stalin, it abolished inequality between nationalities, and guaranteed all peoples complete equality in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

On November 16, 1917, at the very outset of our revolution, the Soviet government published "A Declaration of the Rights of the Nations of Russia," which proclaimed the equality and sovereignty of nations, the rights of nations to free self-determination, including the right to secede, the abolition of all privileges as well as restrictions, and the free development of national minorities.

While strengthening friendship among the peoples and uniting them in a single fraternal family, the Bolshevik Party never for one moment forgot Comrade Stalin's exhortation that the chief means of tightening the bonds between the peoples is to abolish all the remnants of national inequality, chauvinism and nationalism. Comrade Stalin said that it was necessary "to adopt every possible measure to make the Soviet government understood and loved in the republics, to make the Soviet government not merely Russian but inter-national. This requires that not only the schools, but all institutions and all bodies, both Party and Soviet, should increasingly become national in character, that they should employ the language understood by the masses and function under conditions answering to the habits of the given people."*

This exhortation of Comrade Stalin's became a force of immense creative power in the political, economic and cultural development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The existence of the Soviet regime which rules out all inequality, the abolition of the capitalist classes which fomented enmity between nations, the absence of the exploitation which constantly gave rise to distrust and conflict between the peoples, and the blossoming forth of a culture that is socialist in content and national in form—all served to create that splendid organization of the collaboration between nations that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is today.

Long years of joint effort have brought the peoples of the U.S.S.R. closer to each other, have strengthened the ties of friendship between them, and have developed a feeling of mutual respect. This friendship of the Soviet peoples finds exceptionally vivid expression in the great movement of socialist emulation, in which they vie with each other in their efforts to make the best possible contribution to the building of the new way of life. Every success that any one nation achieves enhances the might of our country as a whole and is a source of joy to all Soviet people. The Soviet people have become the masters of their country, they themselves are forging their prosperity and their happiness.

The Soviet Union has set the world an unprecedented example of how numerous nations can be united in a single state.

The Soviet people was the first in human history to shatter and repudiate the abominable assertion that the working people cannot do without capitalists and landlords. It has given practical proof that the masses of the people, after overthrowing their oppressors, can manage public affairs far better than the ruling classes of the capitalist countries. Our people have shat-

^{*} J. Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, Moscow, 1940, p. 144.

tered and repudiated the prejudices fostered by the exploiting classes that backward peoples are inferior peoples. This view found its most extreme and revolting expression in the misanthropic race theories of the fascists. Today, following in the footsteps of the Hitlerites, the American aspirers to world domination are propounding racial theories anew and are trying to prove that the Anglo-Saxons are superior to all other nations.

The Soviet Union, where complete national equality and friendship between peoples have become an accomplished fact, is, by its very existence and by the historic successes it has achieved in solving the national problem, utterly discrediting the present-day Anglo-American theories which proclaim the freedom, independence and sovereignty of small nations to be "obsolete concepts."

Under the Soviet regime, the formerly backward peoples received the opportunity to raise their political, economic and cultural development to the level of that of the advanced nations. The consistent operation of genuine democracy in the Soviet Union has still further strengthened the ties of friendship between the now equal peoples and has consolidated their moral and political unity. The level of cultural development reached by the peoples of the Soviet Union is without parallel in human history.

Whereas in former Russia, culture, particularly the education of the working people, was at an extremely low level, today, under the Soviet system, no bounds are set to the cultural development of the people.

In pre-revolutionary Russia the overwhelming majority of the working people were illiterate. The secondary schools, not to mention universities, were filled with the children of the capitalists and landlords, of the kulaks and government officials, in short, of the well-to-do sections of the population. The Soviet regime put an end to this state of affairs and introduced compulsory elementary education for the children of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of all nationalities. All the Union and Autonomous Republics, National Areas and Regions now have their own written language. The development of higher education has been exceptionally rapid.

The Great October Socialist Revolution led the vast masses of the people out of the gloom of landlord and capitalist slavery on to the path of light and knowledge, into the arena of the political struggle, and awakened the numerous nationalities that were doomed to extinction under capitalism, to a new social life. Thanks to the Soviet regime, the formerly oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia developed as independent nations possessed of full rights. In the Union and Autonomous Republics there have developed an extensive art and literature which truthfully reflects the social relations, the habits and customs, the character and the family life of the Soviet people, of the builders of socialist society. A veritable cultural revolution has taken place in the country, a revolution that has opened up enormous possibilities for the further development of science, technology, art and literature.

During the past thirty years, bourgeois culture has sunk deeper and deeper into decline and decay. A characteristic manifestation of this is the glorification of misanthropy and pessimism, the advocacy of reactionary, obscurantist ideas.

All the more striking, therefore, against the background of decadent bourgeois culture, is the great progressive significance of our genuinely socialist culture.

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The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union as the culmination of the long road traversed and of the stupendous success achieved, is inscribed in the Constitution, the Stalin Constitution, as the Soviet people call it after its founder. The Stalin Constitution opened for the working people of our country the high road to a life of happiness, prosperity and culture.

The working people in town and country are active builders of the new, socialist society, they are themselves administering the affairs of state. Vast numbers of workers and collective farmers—men and women—office workers and intellectuals are taking part in the work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies. Soviet government is truly government by the people—and herein lies the might and majesty of the Soviet state. The strength of the Soviet regime and the law of development of our state is the Stalin Constitution, which tells us that socialism and democracy are invincible.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the organs of the most democratic form of government in the world, are elected by all the working people on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot, regardless of race or nationality, sex, social origin, education, or property qualifications. No capitalist country in the world provides the people with such electoral rights; on the contrary, the ruling classes in those countries resort to every means in their power to whittle down the electoral rights of the people, so as the more effectively to ensure their own overwhelming preponderance in the seats of government.

The superiority of socialist to bourgeois democracy is reflected in the Stalin Constitution, which grants every citizen, and guarantees with all the resources of the socialist state, the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education and to security in old age, which no constitution of any capitalist state grants even formally.

The great rights and liberties that are proclaimed in the Stalin Constitution clearly demonstrate that the Soviet socialist system is based on the principles of true democracy. This makes it the most advanced and progressive social system in the world.

The significance of the consistent socialist democracy that is practised in the U.S.S.R. stands out still more vividly at the present time, when the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie everywhere is striving to launch an offensive even against those restricted democratic rights which the working people in capitalist countries have won by hard fighting against their bourgeoisie.

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The strength and virility of the Soviet socialist system was revealed with exceptional force during the Great Patriotic War against German fascism and Japanese imperialism. The socialist system successfully came through severe trials of war such as no capitalist country could have borne. Far from breaking the will of the Soviet people, as the imperialists of all countries greatly hoped, the difficulties that were created by the war actually enhanced their vital strength.

The working class, the Soviet peasantry and our socialist intelligentsia fought self-sacrificingly at the front and in the rear to achieve victory over the enemy. Day in and day out they worked to increase productivity of labour, to improve the process of production, to increase the output of munitions and to obtain larger crops from the collective and state farm fields.

The history of the heroic struggle the Soviet people waged for the freedom, honour and independence of their country will record the magnificent feats of valour that were performed by our Soviet women and our young folk in the sphere of production—feats that won the high praise of Comrade Stalin. In field, factory and workshop these women and young folk took the places of their husbands, fathers and brothers who had enrolled in the Soviet Army to defend the socialist state. They it was who bore the main burden of the work of keeping the front supplied with arms, fighting equipment, munitions and provisions.

The war welded the peoples of the U.S.S.R. still closer together, strengthened the bonds of friendship between them and demonstrated the indomitable might of the Soviet state. An exceptionally important part in strengthening the Soviet state on the basis of the friendship among the peoples was played by the great Russian people—which had borne all the hardships that had been encountered on the road of the socialist revolution—by its revolutionary traditions and by the ardent patriotism with which it had been imbued by the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

During the Great Patriotic War, as in their peacetime labours, the Russian people set unexcelled examples of courage and heroism, of devotion to the socialist cause and of loyalty to the Soviet government and the Bolshevik Party. "And this confidence which the Russian people displayed in the Soviet Government proved to be the decisive factor which ensured our historic victory over the enemy of mankind—over fascism."

Comrade Stalin's foresight was fully confirmed. The unity of front and rear in the Soviet state proved to be an insurmountable force for our enemies. That is why the designs of the German fascists and the Japanese imperialists to overthrow the Soviet government and to destroy the Soviet state, ended in such ignominious failure.

The Soviet Army was able successfully to fulfil its historic mission of liberating the peoples of Europe from the yoke of fascism because it was backed by the whole of our country and by all the peace-loving peoples in the world. Strong, because of its inner unity and its bonds with the people, the great Soviet Army, led by that wise strategist Comrade Stalin, routed the enemy and won a world-historic victory.

During the Great Patriotic War against fascist Germany and imperialist Japan the absolute superiority of the socialist to the bourgeois system, of Soviet to capitalist economy, of progressive Soviet ideology to reactionary bourgeois ideology, of the military organization of the socialist state to that of bourgeois states, was convincingly revealed-

^{*} J. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, Moscow, 1946, p. 201.

^{*} J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Moscow, 1947, p. 621.

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When peace came, the Soviet people, inspired by the victory they had achieved in the Patriotic War, enthusiastically set to work to restore and further develop our national economy with the view to fulfilling the task set by the Bolshevik Party of completing the building of socialism and of passing gradually to communism.

The program of the further economic development of our country was outlined by Comrade Stalin in his speech to the voters in the Stalin Electoral Area of Moscow, when he said:

"As regards long-term plans, our Party intends to organize another powerful uplift of our national economy that will enable us to raise our industry to a level, say, three times as high as that of pre-war industry. We must see to it that our industry shall be able to produce annually up to 50,000,000 tons of pig iron, up to 60,000,000 tons of steel, up to 500,000,000 tons of coal and up to 60,000,000 tons of oil. Only when we succeed in doing that can we be sure that our Motherland will be insured against all contingencies. This will need, perhaps, another three Five-Year Plans, if not more. But it can be done, and we must do it."*

Parallel with these long-term tasks, the Party and the government outlined the prospects for the next five years, during which our country is not only to reach the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, but exceed it considerably with the view to increasing the country's economic strength still further so as to enable us to ensure the material welfare of the people and improve the country's power of defence.

The first thing that must be done to ensure that this program is carried out is to achieve the complete rehabilitation and development of the heavy industries and the railroads—the key positions upon which the successful development of the whole of our national economy depends. The iron and steel industry must be developed so as to raise the output of pig iron, steel and rolled metals above the pre-war level by 35 per cent, while the output of coal must be increased so as to reach the 250 million tons per annum level by the end of the Five-Year-Plan period.

The machine-building industry must be developed to an extent that will ensure that all branches of our national economy are supplied with the equipment they need.

We have a program for increasing the output capacity of the textile and other consumers' goods industries and for expanding the food industry by putting new factories into operation. This program must be carried out.

Scientific workers have a special part to play in securing the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. Comrade Stalin has set them the task of outstripping foreign science in the very near future. It is the duty of our scientific and technical workers to ensure technical progress in all branches of our national economy.

We have to achieve such progress in agriculture and stockraising as will ensure an abundance of food products for the population and of raw materials for industry at the shortest date.

^{*} J. Stalin, Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, Moscow, 1946, p. 20.

Increased industrial output and progress in agriculture will ensure a rise in the standard of living of the people. The next five years will see an increase in government expenditure on social insurance, education, public health, the training of young workers in industrial and factory-apprentice schools, on family and unmarried mothers' allowances, pensions for servicemen's families and for men disabled in the Patriotic War, and also on improving cultural and other services for the working people. There will be more elementary and secondary schools, universities and scientific research institutes in the country, and also more dwelling houses, built both by the state and by the collective farms. The national income of the Soviet Union will grow to 30 per cent above the pre-war figure.

Our success depends upon ourselves, upon the quality of the work that is performed by our working men and working women, by our engineers and technicians, and by the people engaged in agriculture. Hence, to ensure the fulfilment of the Stalin Post-War Five-Year Plan, our workers, peasants and intelligentsia will have to work hard, constantly increase output, improve quality and reduce cost of production. The entire Soviet people must take part in the effort to increase labour productivity, to utilize all the available resources in industry, agriculture and transport, to secure that production is run on the basis of cost accounting, economy and rationalization. Only by fulfilling and over-fulfilling the Stalin Post-War Five-Year Plan will our country be able still further to augment the might of the Soviet state.

The experience of the preceding Five-Year Plans has convinced the Soviet people of the exceptional importance of these plans for our country. This explains why the entire Soviet people accepted the Post-War Five-Year Plan with such unpre-

cedented eagerness and enthusiasm as a fighting program of tremendous building projects. All the working people—industrial and collective-farm workers, engineers, technicians and scientists—have entered the socialist emulation drive in order to fulfil and over-fulfil the Five-Year Plan.

Whereas bourgeois countries, like England, France, Italy and others, are experiencing a severe post-war crisis, cannot extricate themselves from their post-war difficulties and are basing all their hopes on receiving American aid which makes these countries dependent upon the United States, the Soviet Union, which suffered far more from the war than any capitalist country, finds resources at home with which to rehabilitate and expand its national economy and to improve the standard of living of the people. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working people of the U.S.S.R. have already achieved important successes in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan; and these successes are striking proof of the superiority of socialism to capitalism. The post-war reorganization of industry in our country has been, in the main, accomplished. Output is rapidly increasing, agriculture is being successfully restored and expanded, the yields on collective-farm fields are growing, stock-raising is on the upgrade.

In 1946, about 800 state-owned plants were restored or newly built and put into operation. These include coal and ore mines, and metallurgical, machine-building, chemical and other plants which the German fascist invaders wrecked during the war. The output of consumers' goods showed an increase of 20 per cent over that of 1945.

Despite the severe drought that afflicted a considerable part of the European territory of the U.S.S.R. in 1946, our socialist agriculture, aided by the Soviet state, succeeded in coping with these exceptional difficulties, thus providing still further proof of the superiority of socialist collective farming to small, individual peasant farming.

Our country achieved these successes thanks to the high public spirit that was displayed by millions of Soviet working people. With the victory of socialism there came forward among us, in increasing numbers, advanced men and women, innovators and rationalizers, who improved methods of production on the basis of the most up-to-date technique.

In the second year of the Post-War Five-Year Plan the output targets are considerably higher than those of last year. To raise the general level of industrial and agricultural output, the output of pig iron and steel, coal and oil, machine tools, tractors and agricultural implements must be increased. The area under cultivation must be enlarged and the yield increased.

In the struggle to reach and exceed the target figures of the second year of the Five-Year Plan, Soviet working people have entered into the socialist emulation drive on a wider scale than ever before. Tireless work is going on in every factory and on every collective farm, and, as a result, output is growing and new achievements are being recorded.

The Leningrad workers undertook to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by fulfilling the year's plan ahead of time, and they issued a call to the workers, foremen, technical staffs and office workers of other cities to follow their example.

This call met with a hearty response among the workers all over the Soviet Union. The workers in the mining, oil, iron and steel, engineering, chemical, textile, boot and shoe, food and other industries took up the challenge, and the manual, technical and office staffs of whole enterprises pledged their word to

Comrade Stalin to fulfil their output plans for 1947 ahead of schedule. And what Soviet people say, they do.

The industrial output plan of the Soviet Union for the third quarter of 1947 has been fulfilled 104 per cent, and the total volume of production for the first nine months of this year is 18 per cent above that planned for last year. In the course of fulfilling the plan for the year the rate of increase of industrial output grew from quarter to quarter and magnificent results were achieved, so that the plan for the year is well on the road to fulfilment. Thus, in the first quarter, industrial output showed an increase of 12 per cent over the corresponding period of 1946, that of the second quarter showed an increase of 18 per cent, while the output of the third quarter was no less than 25 per cent above that of the third quarter of 1946.

The socialist emulation drive on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary brought to the forefront large numbers of splendid workers who set magnificent examples of labour heroism and supreme devotion to country. Of such people—true Soviet patriots—we have no mean number, and they act as the leaders of millions of Soviet people. Foreman Nikolai Rossiisky, garment cutter Vassili Matrosov, technologist Alexander Ivanov, pneumatic drill operator Zaporozhets (a Stalin Prize winner), mine section superintendent Brydko, and many other innovators in industry, are men with advanced ideas who do not hesitate to scrap the old and less efficient methods of production. These advanced men in our country have mastered the technique of production; they approach their work in a new, socialist fashion, being fully conscious of the great part it must play in the building of socialism.

The initiative displayed by these front-rank people in in-

dustry, agriculture, and the transport system, led to a tremendous country-wide development of the Stakhanov movement. The workers in numerous plants are making every effort to introduce the most up-to-date processes of production, to improve organization, and to see that all the workers in the respective plants keep up to the output rates. In the machine-building industry up-to-date methods of high-speed metal-cutting, high-frequency tempering of parts, automatic welding, and many other improvements which increase the productivity of labour, are being successfully introduced.

On the railroads an extensive socialist emulation drive was started to fulfil and over-fulfil the plan for transporting grain, manufactured goods, coal and metals on the dates laid down by the government, and also the plan for reducing transportation costs.

The Party and the government attach exceptional importance to the coal-mining industry, upon the success of which the development of all the other branches of our national economy depends. Hence, to encourage the underground workers, mine managers and engineering and technical staffs, the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has granted these categories certain privileges in respect of pensions, temporary disablement allowances, the payment of annual long-service bonuses, and in a number of other respects. In response to these measures which the government has taken to improve the material conditions of the workers in the coal industry, the miners of the Donbas, Kuzbas, Karaganda, the Urals and other coal fields launched a special socialist emulation drive to fulfil and over-fulfil the output plan of every seam, pit section and colliery, with the view to raising the coal output in 1947 to 22,500,000 tons above that of 1946.

Great changes have also taken place in our collective-farm countryside in the post-war period. The collective farmers—men and women—are successfully restoring the collective farms that were devastated by the German invaders and are developing their production still further. The resolution that was adopted by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) at its plenary session held in February 1947 on "Measures for Developing Agriculture in the Post-War Period" gave a powerful impetus to the drive to raise agriculture to a higher level.

This resolution is of exceptional importance for the further development of production in the collective and state farms. The execution of the proposals contained in it will ensure such progress in socialist agriculture as will enable us to create an abundance of food products for the people and of raw materials for industry, and also enable us to accumulate the necessary state reserves of foodstuffs and raw materials.

To stimulate the fulfilment of these tasks—which is of enormous importance for the state—the collective farmers of the Altai and Krasnodar Regions initiated a socialist emulation drive; and in letters addressed to Comrade Stalin, collective farmers and state farm employees all over the country pledged themselves to the following: to achieve in 1947 record harvests of grain, beets, cotton, potatoes and other crops; to gather in the harvest efficiently, without waste; to fulfil their deliveries to the state ahead of schedule; to improve the state of stockraising; to make the best possible preparations for the 1948 agricultural season.

We are all witnesses to the fact that the collective farmers and state farm employees are honourably keeping their pledges.

In 1947, socialist agriculture obtained a splendid harvest. The collective and state farms have successfully gathered in

their crops and are now fulfilling their state deliveries plans before the scheduled time, are meeting their liabilities to the state for grain loaned for seed or food, and setting aside grain for seed, insurance, fodder and other purposes, and are settling accounts with their members for work done. The collective and state farms are reporting to Comrade Stalin on the successes they have achieved in the fight for a good harvest and on the fulfilment of their state deliveries plans.

In the front ranks of those that have fulfilled their state grain deliveries plans are the collective and state farms of the Union Republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, etc., of the Tatar and Udmurt Autonomous Republics, of the Moscow, Voronezh, Leningrad, Orel, Kursk, Gorky and numerous other Regions and Autonomous Republics of the R.S.F.S.R.

Of great importance in stimulating the further development of agriculture and stock-raising are the decrees that were recently issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which provide that the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and other U.S.S.R. decorations are to be awarded to collective farmers, machine and tractor station workers, and state farm employees who achieve outstanding yields of wheat, rye, maize, sugar beet, cotton, potatoes, fibre and seed of long-fibre flax and hemp, and also outstanding results in stock-raising. These decrees inspired all those engaged in collective and state farming to redouble their efforts to achieve record harvests, for they gave every rank-and-file collective farmer, every team leader and farm manager an incentive to carry out the task set by the state to increase yields in the collective and state farms and to develop stock-raising.

The excellent harvest achieved in 1947 is proof of the prog-

ress that has been made in agriculture as a result of the efforts of collective farmers and others engaged in agriculture. But even this harvest is not the maximum that can be achieved. We must aim at still higher and steadier yields. To achieve this it will be necessary to extend the employment in collective and state farms of agricultural processes based on the achievements of modern agricultural science, to keep all agricultural implements and machines in perfect condition, to equip collective and state farms with new combine-harvesters, seeders and other machines; to keep to a proper system of crop rotation with the sowing of grass, and thoroughly to plough fallow land in proper season. We must do all we can to make our harvests as little dependent as possible upon the caprices of nature. I have no doubt that we shall achieve this.

We are also able to show enormous progress in the sphere of Soviet culture. Inspired by the decisions on questions concerning ideological activity that were adopted by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) those active in the field of science, technology and art—all those engaged in the sphere of culture—are doing their very utmost to increase the might of our Soviet state, to raise the working people to a higher level of socialist consciousness.

The second year of the Post-War Five-Year Plan will be recorded in the history of our country's economic development as one of extraordinary achievement in the field of labour, achievement that testifies to the power of socialist planning, to the heroic labours of the Soviet people in making the Stalin Five-Year Plan a reality. We can now say with the fullest confidence that the fulfilment of the 1947 plan by industry ahead of time and the achievement of the tasks set for agriculture are matters that can be taken as settled.

The fulfilment of the 1947 plan, ahead of time, imbues the Soviet people with greater confidence than ever that we shall successfully carry out the entire Five-Year Plan of the rehabilitation and development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. in the period of 1946-1950.

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For thirty years the Soviet people, ardent patriots and lovers of their socialist motherland, have confidently and steadily marched forward in spite of enormous difficulties. In this victorious march their ranks were consolidated by the Bolshevik Party, which instilled in them a spirit of patriotism that made them ready to rise at any moment in defence of their socialist state.

Bound together by ties of friendship that were strengthened in the battles that were fought during the late war, the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are able on this thirtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution to report exceptional progress in all spheres of activity.

The defeat of those worst enemies of democracy, fascist Germany and imperialist Japan, has resulted in a further and unprecedented weakening of the capitalist system, and in the strengthening of the forces of democracy and socialism in a number of countries. The people have come into power in some of the countries in Central and Southeastern Europe. They have set up people's republics, and, having entered the path of progressive development, they are preparing the ground for the transition to socialism. The prestige of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which has consistently upheld the cause of peace throughout the world, has grown immensely.

In view of these circumstances, the forces of imperialist

reaction are resorting to every means in their power to check the development of democracy and socialism. Following in the footsteps of Hitler, the imperialists of the U.S.A. have proclaimed a program of struggle to establish American world domination. Advanced, progressive people everywhere must join forces to combat the imperialist camp which has set itself the reactionary objective of crushing the rising forces of democracy. The most important task that now faces progressive people is to strengthen the anti-imperialist camp. The growing might of the Soviet state, which is the chief and leading force in the democratic camp, strengthens the progressive, anti-imperialist forces all over the world.

Fully confident of their strength, of the righteousness of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin, all Soviet people are striving with tremendous zeal and unprecedented enthusiasm to increase still further the might and defence power of the U.S.S.R., are striving for a lasting peace that will ensure the development and consolidation of democracy, for the destruction of fascism all over the world.

Undeviatingly pursuing a policy of peace, famous as the liberator people, the people that fight for peace and true democracy, the Soviet people, led by their great leader Comrade Stalin, are resolutely and determinedly marching forward to their glorious future—to the triumph of Communism.