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Seventieth Birthday of Joseph Vissarionovich STALIN

DECEMBER 21, 1949



"Pravda" Articles

by

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"Pravda" Articles

On the Occasion of the

70th Birthday of

Joseph Vissarionovich

STALIN

December 21, 1949



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COMRADE STALIN — LEADER OF PROGRESSIVE MANKIND

By G. M. Malenkov.

A QUARTER of a century ago Comrade Stalin gave an oath on behalf of the Party to fulfil with credit the behests of Lenin. Comrade Stalin's oath resounded as a fighting call to the Party, to the working class, to the Soviet people, and was a lode-star in the historic struggle to refashion social life, the struggle for the construction of Socialist society.

Comrade Stalin led our Party and the Soviet people along Lenin's road. He upheld and developed Lenin's theory on the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country. Putting Lenin's behests into practice, our Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, secured the Socialist industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, converting the Soviet Union into a great industrial and collective farm Socialist Power.

Comrade Stalin, as nobody else, profoundly understood Lenin's inspired ideas on the Marxist Party of a new type, upheld the purity of the Marx-Engels-Lenin teaching, developed the Marxist-Leninist theory, steeled the Party in the struggle against numerous enemies, and forged and trains cadres capable of furthering the cause of our Party.

The whole world saw Stalin's greatness at the sharp turning-points of history: in October, 1917, during the Civil War, in the years of the intervention, when together with Lenin, he led the Socialist Revolution and the struggle to defeat the enemies of the Soviet Power, and in the Great Patriotic War, when Comrade Stalin led the routing of the strongest enemies of our Motherland.

Together with the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin created the first Socialist State in the world. Under the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our mighty Motherland, the country of friendship among the Soviet peoples, lives, grows and becomes stronger.

During the Second World War, when the dark forces of Fascism hovered over the world and threatened to obliterate human culture, Comrade Stalin, at the head of the Soviet Union, directly led the defeat of the Hitlerite hordes, secured the

victory of the peace-loving peoples, and was the recognised leader in the hard struggle to liberate mankind from the yoke of Fascism.

After the end of the Second World War, when new claimants to world domination appeared on the political horizon, Comrade Stalin called upon the peoples for resolute struggle against the instigators of a new world war, and united the peace supporters into a mighty force. Consistently and mercilessly exposing the instigators of a new war, Comrade Stalin became the head of the great movement for peace.

Comrade Stalin is rightly regarded as the great and loyal friend of the peace-loving peoples of the countries of people's democracy, liberated from the yoke of Fascism, of the peoples of China and North Korea, who have for ever thrown off the yoke of the imperialists.

That is why the peoples of the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind see in the person of Comrade Stalin their recognised leader and teacher. That is why today they express with particular warmth their affection and devotion to Comrade Stalin, and put on record his great services in the struggle for a happy life for the people, for peace among the nations.

The name of Comrade Stalin has long become the banner of peace in the mind of the peoples of all countries. All who want to struggle against the instigators of a new war know and are convinced that they will do the right thing by rallying around Comrade Stalin, the great defender of peace. Mankind, having lived through the horrors of the last world war, craves for peace and is resolutely opposed to a new slaughter. Precisely for this reason all nations greet with gratitude the resolute, unequivocal policy of peace which Comrade Stalin pursues and upholds.

However the warmongers may try to slander our Socialist country, they will not succeed in eradicating from the minds of the common people the conviction that the Soviet Union is the true champion of peace, consistently defending peace all over the world, that our country, as Comrade Stalin says, is able to conduct and is, in fact, conducting a policy of peace, is conducting it not pharisaically, but honestly and openly, resolutely and consistently.

Exposed in their adventurist plans, the warmongers want to deceive the common people by the false assertion that the Communists allegedly consider peaceful co-existence between countries of Socialism and capitalist countries to be impossible. They want to cover up their criminal actions in preparation for

a new war by slander of the honest policy of peace conducted by the Communists. Actually Comrade Stalin has repeatedly and categorically declared that the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact of the inevitable co-existence for a prolonged period of two systems, Socialism and capitalism, and firmly adheres to the course of loyal, peace-loving relations with all those States which display a desire for friendly co-operation, on condition of observance of the principle of reciprocity and fulfilment of obligations assumed.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy, conducted under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, is aimed at securing stable peace among the peoples and the utmost strengthening of friendly co-operation among the peace-loving nations. Since the Second World War Comrade Stalin has already frequently given a precise answer on the absolute possibility of peaceful and prolonged co-operation between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries. It would suffice to recall at least the following direct and clear statements made by Comrade Stalin:

In September, 1946, the Moscow correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, Mr. Alexander Werth, asked Comrade Stalin: "Do you believe that with the further progress of the Soviet Union towards Communism the possibilities of peaceful co-operation with the outside world will not decrease as far as the Soviet Union is concerned? Is 'Communism in one country' possible?"

Comrade Stalin replied: "I do not doubt that the possibilities of peaceful co-operation, far from decreasing, may even grow. 'Communism in one country' is perfectly possible, especially in a country like the Soviet Union."

In December, 1946, Mr. Elliott Roosevelt asked Comrade Stalin: "Do you believe it is possible for a democracy such as the United States to live peaceably side by side in this world with a Communistic form of government like the Soviet Union's and with no attempt on the part of either to interfere with the internal political affairs of the other?"

Comrade Stalin replied: "Yes, of course. This is not only possible. It is wise and entirely within the bounds of realisation. In the most strenuous times during the war the differences in government did not prevent our two nations from joining together and vanquishing our foes. Even more so is it possible to continue this relationship in time of peace."

In April, 1947, Comrade Stalin in a talk with Mr. Stassen said, "... that one should not be carried away by criticising each

other's systems. Each people upheld the system it wanted and was able to uphold it. As to which system was better—history would show. One should respect the systems chosen and approved by the people. Whether the system in the U.S.A. was good or not—that was the American people's concern. Collaboration did not require that people should have one and the same system. One should respect the systems approved of by the people. Only on this condition was collaboration possible."

In May, 1948, Comrade Stalin, replying to an Open Letter by Mr. Wallace, wrote: "... the Government of the U.S.S.R. believes that despite the differences in economic systems and ideologies the co-existence of these systems and the peaceful settlement of differences between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are not only possible, but absolutely necessary, in the interests of universal peace."

In January, 1949, the European General Manager of the International News Service of America, Mr. Kingsbury Smith, asked Comrade Stalin: "Would the Government of the U.S.S.R. be prepared to consider the issuance of a joint declaration with the Government of the United States of America asserting that the respective Governments have no intention of resorting to war against one another?"—and "Would the Government of the U.S.S.R. be prepared to join with the Government of the United States of America in measures designed to implement this pact of peace, such as gradual disarmament?"

Comrade Stalin replied that "the Soviet Government would be prepared to consider the issuance of such a declaration," and further that, "naturally, the Government of the U.S.S.R. could co-operate with the Government of the United States of America in taking measures designed to implement this pact of peace and leading to gradual disarmament."

These were the words uttered by Comrade Stalin, expressing the aspirations of the Soviet people towards peaceful creative work, towards the establishment of friendly relations among the peoples of all countries.

The Soviet Union considers the road of peaceful competition with capitalism as quite acceptable. Through the words of Comrade Stalin the entire Soviet people declare unreservedly that the U.S.S.R. is against military adventures and is for firm and lasting peace all over the world, although the Soviet people are absolutely convinced of their invincible strength.

Throughout the entire history of the existence of the Soviet Union it has been proved on many occasions that the word of

our great leader has never departed from deeds. The dirty and mercenary hack-writers may yell whatever they like about the "aggressive" policy of the Soviet Union. Our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, has issued his great call for peace among the peoples. That call is penetrating deeper and deeper into the hearts of the peoples.

No bandits of the pen from the warmongers' camp will succeed in slandering Stalin's policy of friendship among the peoples. They will not succeed in blotting out the sacred word "Peace" inscribed on the banners of the peace-loving peoples. The mighty movement for peace against the instigators of a new war is developing wider and wider and continues to strengthen. The peoples of all countries see in Comrade Stalin the great defender of peace.

* * * *

THE FRIENDSHIP among peoples which has been firmly established in our country is a great achievement of the Bolshevik Party. The Bolshevik Party alone was able to forge the indestructible fraternity of peoples, the Party which is the consistent standard-bearer of the ideas of internationalism and international solidarity.

The Patriotic War of 1941-1945 was the gravest test of all the forces of the Soviet Union. It also constituted the gravest test for the Bolshevik Party. The Party emerged from that test with a great victory. Boundlessly loyal to the cause of Communism and following the wise instructions of Comrade Stalin, our Party constantly inspired the people, mobilised its forces for the struggle against the enemies.

The organisational work of the Party united the efforts of all Soviet people, of all mass organisations of Soviet society, and directed them towards the common purpose. All forces and means of the country were subordinated to the task of routing the enemy. The unsurpassed ability of the Bolshevik Party to mobilise the masses under the most complicated conditions was demonstrated once again. At all difficult stages of the struggle for the freedom and happiness of the peoples, for the independence and flourishing of our Motherland, for the construction of Communist society in our country, the Bolshevik Party achieved success because it gained the confidence of the millions of Soviet

people, constantly consolidated the links with the masses, and heeded the voice of the masses.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the Bolshevik Party is strong because, leading the movement, it constantly preserves and multiplies the links with the broad masses of the working people.

"The strength of the Bolsheviks, the strength of the Communists," Comrade Stalin says, "lies in the fact that they are able to rally millions of active non-party people around our Party. We Bolsheviks would never have achieved the successes we have now achieved had we not been able to win for the Party the confidence of millions of non-party workers and peasants. And what is needed for this? What is needed is for the members of the Party not to isolate themselves from the non-party people; for the Party members not to withdraw into their Party shell, not to get puffed up about belonging to the Party, but to heed the voice of the non-party people; not only to teach the non-party people but also to learn from them."

At all stages of the struggle and the great creative work in building Socialist society, Comrade Stalin has constantly warned our Party, and first and foremost the cadres of leaders, that they should not become self-satisfied or cease to notice shortcomings in the work. Leaders who fail to notice shortcomings or reconcile themselves to shortcomings are not able to advance the cause and are acting not to the benefit of the State, but to its detriment.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks facing the Party is indissolubly linked with the unfolding of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, which constitute the basic conditions for the development of our Party. Comrade Stalin teaches that without self-criticism we cannot advance, that we need self-criticism as we need air and water, that the strength of Bolshevism consists precisely in the fact that it is not afraid of criticism and that from criticism of its own shortcomings it draws the energy for further advance. The slogan of self-criticism, Comrade Stalin says, "lies at the very foundation of the Bolshevik Party. It lies at the foundation of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If our country is the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship is led by one party, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share power with other parties, is it not obvious that we ourselves must reveal and correct our mistakes, if we want to advance? . . ."

Comrade Stalin teaches that self-criticism is a special method,

the Bolshevik method, of educating cadres. ". . . As a result of self-criticism," Comrade Stalin says "our economic cadres begin to pull themselves together, become more vigilant, begin to approach more seriously the problems of administering the economy, while our Party, Soviet and trade union and other cadres become more responsive and sympathetic to the demands of the masses." Comrade Stalin teaches that self-criticism pursues the aim of revealing and liquidating our mistakes, our weaknesses. "Let the Party, the Bolsheviks, all honest workers and toiling elements of our country," Comrade Stalin says, "reveal shortcomings in our work, shortcomings of our construction, let them outline the ways to liquidate our shortcomings so that there is no stagnation, bogging down and delay in our work and construction, in order daily to improve our entire work and construction and move from success to success."

Comrade Stalin teaches that self-criticism is one of the important means for developing the habit of administration in the working people. "What is needed for giving full scope to the forces and abilities of the working class and of the working people generally, and for giving them the opportunity of acquiring the habit of administering the country?" Comrade Stalin says that "What is required for this purpose is first and foremost an honest and Bolshevik implementation of the slogan of self-criticism, an honest and Bolshevik implementation of the slogan of criticism from below of shortcomings and mistakes in our work."

An unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to self-criticism inevitably engenders among some workers a bureaucratic attitude towards business, conceit, haughtiness and boastfulness. An atmosphere of success is particularly favourable for the creation of a mood of complacency and an uncritical attitude towards one's own shortcomings. That is why, under the conditions of successful development of Socialist construction, many Party, Soviet, economic and trade union leaders become excessively self-confident, boastful, neglectful in their attitude towards the voice of criticism by rank-and-file Communists.

Such diseases are above all cured by the fact that the Party masses test their leaders. Comrade Stalin teaches that one must combine checking from above with checking from below. "Certain comrades think," said Comrade Stalin, "that one can check up on people only from above, when the leaders check up on those they lead by the results of their work. That is

not correct. Of course, it is necessary to check from above, as one of the effective means of checking up on people and the fulfilment of tasks; but checking from above by no means exhausts the whole matter of checking. There is another kind of check as well: the check from below, when those led check up on their leaders, note their mistakes and point the way to their correction.

"This kind of check is one of the most effective means of checking up on people. The Party masses check up on their leaders at Party meetings, conferences and congresses, by means of listening to their reports, by means of criticism of defects, finally by means of electing or not electing to leading organs one or another leading comrade.

"The accurate conduct of democratic centralism in the Party as demanded by the Constitution of our Party, the unconditional elective nature of the Party organs, the right to nominate and recall candidates, secret voting, freedom of criticism and self-criticism, all these and similar measures it is necessary to carry into practice so as, among other things, to facilitate checking and control of Party leaders by the mass of Party members.

"The non-party masses check up on their economic, trade union and other leaders at delegate meetings, at mass meetings of all kinds, where they listen to the reports of their leaders, criticise their defects and note the ways of correcting them. Finally, the people check up on the leaders of the country during the elections to the organs of power of the Soviet Union by means of universal, equal, direct and secret voting. The task is to combine the check-up from above with the check-up from below."

The consistent application of the slogan of self-criticism demands a resolute struggle against all those who put a brake on or place obstacles in the way of its unfolding, demands defence against the persecution of all those who come out actively with healthy criticism in order that those who criticise justly should feel behind them the organised force of the collective. The desire to fight against defects can grow stronger in the masses only when they are confident that indication of defects and their exposure will be effective in practice.

Comrade Stalin teaches that one must wage a merciless struggle against cases of pressure and persecution of self-criticism. To persecute self-criticism, Comrade Stalin says, means to

kill every initiative of the Party organisation, undermine the prestige of the leadership among the Party masses, disintegrate the Party and confirm the anti-Party morals of bureaucrats, the sworn enemies of the party, in the life of the Party organisation.

Comrade Stalin educates the cadres of our Party in an intolerant attitude to boastfulness and complacency. He points out that a Party leader does not dare to embellish reality, to hide from the Party the actual state of affairs. If a Bolshevik is firmly convinced that he is right he must, without fawning on anyone's opinion, act as his understanding and conscience dictate to him. If the Bolshevik is right, if his statements and actions correspond to the ideas, calls and instructions of the Party, no one and nothing can push him from the right path.

Comrade Stalin constantly warns us that not conceit but modesty distinguishes the Bolshevik, that any leader, in whatever post he may be, is the servant of the people. A tradition of Bolshevik leadership is the constant link of the leaders with the masses, the readiness to learn from the masses, to correct those defects which the working peoples point out to them.

Comrade Stalin teaches that, while engaging in everyday work, one must not stay in one place, not live only by old formulas, but study everyday experience and boldly correct mistakes in order to guide the building of the new life in a creative manner. Creative leadership means that, following Marxist-Leninist teachings, we must study the present-day experience of construction and struggle, draw the scientific conclusion from that experience and reflect it in the practice of everyday leadership.

"To sit at the steering wheel," Comrade Stalin says, "and to gaze without seeing anything until circumstances land us into some accident, does not mean to lead. Bolshevism does not understand leadership like that; to lead one must look ahead."

* * * *

THE SOVIET people have boundless confidence in our Party, love the Party of Lenin and Stalin, deem it close and dear to them. Comrade Stalin values the confidence of the people highly and teaches the Party to prize this confidence. All Soviet people remember the moving words of our great leader which he spoke on May 24, 1945, at the Kremlin reception to the High Command of the Red Army when he gave a toast to the

health of our Soviet people and expressed his warm thanks to the Russian people for their confidence in the Soviet Government in the hard days of the Great Patriotic War.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our people marches confidently on the road to Communism. With a feeling of great gratitude, turning their eyes to Comrade Stalin, the peoples of the Soviet Union, hundreds of millions of people of all countries of the world, progressive mankind see in Comrade Stalin their beloved leader and teacher, believe and know that the cause of Lenin and Stalin is invincible.



STALIN AND STALINIST LEADERSHIP

By V. M. Molotov

IT IS NOW particularly clear how very fortunate it was for our Motherland and for the whole cause of Communism that, after Lenin, Comrade Stalin led the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under whose leadership the Soviet Union has for over a quarter of a century been victoriously building Communist society. During this historical period our country has strengthened and spread its wings as a Socialist country, and at the same time has become the decisive factor in the mighty upsurge of the forces of all progressive humanity.

This is the greatest service of Comrade Stalin—the service he rendered by his leadership, which ensured the ideological consolidation of our Party on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and an unswerving advance of the Soviet people along the road indicated by the great Lenin.

* * * *

AS LONG AGO as at the end of 1936, in his report “On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.,” Comrade Stalin said: “We now have a fully formed multi-national Socialist State, which has stood all tests, and whose stability might well be envied by any national State in any part of the world.”

As is known, the Stalin Constitution consolidated this general result and became the basis for the further development and still greater all-round strengthening of our State. In 1946, summing up the results of the Second World War and outlining the new tasks for Socialist construction, Comrade Stalin pointed to the world historic significance of the victory of the Soviet Army in that war.

Comrade Stalin noted at the time that “our Soviet *social* order had triumphed” in that war, having shown that “it was a better form of organisation of society than any non-Soviet social system,” and that at the same time “it was our Soviet State system that triumphed” in that war, having proved that “the Soviet *State* system was a model of the multi-national State, that it was 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."

It is perfectly clear that such a victory could not have been won had it not been preceded by the great successes of the Soviet people in the political and economical development of the Soviet State, achieved under the leadership of our Party. Without it we should not have had that economic might, that unity of the working class and all the working people around the Party and Comrade Stalin, and that supreme readiness of the people to defend the Soviet State from its external enemies, which was of decisive significance for the victorious outcome of the war.

This great victory was made possible thanks to the success of Socialism which our people achieved in the years preceding the Great Patriotic War. It was first of all necessary to have established the economic foundation of Socialism, thus placing on a sound basis the State system of the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the alliance of the working class and the mass of the working peasantry. The Socialist industrialisation of the country, which found its expression in the famous Stalin Five-Year Plans, corresponded to these tasks. During these years many thousands of factories and mills were built, and many new industrial districts and towns arose. The implementation of this policy consolidated and enhanced the leading role of the working class in the Soviet Union.

On the basis of the Stalin policy of industrialisation, which permitted the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy of our country to be carried out, we ensured an uninterrupted and constantly expanding growth of Soviet industry, especially heavy industry, the independence of our national economy from capitalist countries, and a continuous growth in the well-being and cultural level of the working class and all the working people of our country.

It was further necessary to solve the question, for the first time presented by history, of the transition of millions of small and backward peasant households to the path of large-scale collective farming armed with the latest technical equipment. The theory of collectivisation developed by Comrade Stalin, which was made the foundation of the famous Statute of the Agriculatural Artel, together with his wise principles of combining the personal interests of the collective farmer with the decisive role of the social economy of the collective farm, and Stalin's personal leadership of the unfolding mass collectivisation movement, ensured the successful solution of this historic task, which

led to the liquidation of the kulaks and all the remaining capitalist elements and the laying of the foundation for the Socialist organisation of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R.

It was only following the collectivisation of the peasant households, which permitted the application of modern technique and scientific achievements in agronomy on an unprecedented scale in the large collective farms which had been set up, that agriculture ceased to act as a brake on the national economy of the country, and collective farmers had boundless prospects of an economic and cultural development opened up to them. Only in this connection can one understand that it has now become possible for us to undertake such new plans as the gigantic plan adopted last year for ensuring high and stable yields in forest and mixed steppe regions of the European part of the country, a plan which is beyond the possibilities of any capitalist state.

The policy of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of peasant households, as well as mass shock brigade work and Socialist emulation, developed under the Stalin leadership of the Party, have transformed our Motherland. Capitalist elements have been completely eliminated. Our working class has ceased to be exploited and oppressed and has become the leading force of the Soviet State, leading the Soviet people in the construction of Socialism.

Having set up collective farms with all the advantages of modern, large-scale farming, the Soviet peasants have finally rid themselves of kulaks, speculators, money-lenders and other exploiters—the spiders of the countryside—and have embarked on a new, prosperous and cultured life.

The present-day Soviet intelligentsia is not the old, but a new, people's Socialist intelligentsia; in their mass they have come from workers' and peasants' and other working people's families, and they serve the people with eagerness and devotion.

A Socialist society has been created and has firmly established itself in our country. It is a society without capitalists, without exploitation of man by man, and at the same time all possibilities of a restoration of capitalism have been eradicated for ever.

The significance of the radical social changes in the U.S.S.R. is particularly great because our State is a multi-national State. All the peoples of the Soviet Union, with all the differences in their historical past and often in their present way of life, follow the same, common, Socialist path of development.

One of the most outstanding achievements of Stalin's leader-

ship is the great friendship of the peoples, their close collaboration and mutual assistance, which have been accomplished in our country under the banner of internationalism and which is growing in strength from day to day. These successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the great progressive significance of which is being increasingly revealed, are attracting the attention of other peoples all the more when a further deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system is taking place before the eyes of all, when more and more States are falling out of this system, capitalism has no longer any prospects of a general advance, while the stronger capitalist Powers in one way or another, are settling their affairs by means of the unrestrained robbery and weakening of other capitalist and dependent countries and, in the first place, by means of the brutal exploitation of the working people of these countries. It can no longer be concealed that in the capitalist countries both of America and Europe, a new economic crisis is maturing, and the ranks, many million strong, of unemployed and part-time workers are swelling still further, whereas the Soviet Union, where there are no crises and no unemployment, is confidently advancing along the path of economic progress and flourishing.

Despite the predictions by our enemies from the capitalist camp about the inevitability of a prolonged economic dislocation in the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War, our country is dealing successfully with the elimination of the dire consequences of the war and enemy occupation, and is raising national economy in all spheres. Our industry now works at a much higher level than before the war.

Workers, peasants and intellectuals of the Soviet Union realise that today they live better than yesterday, and they know full well that tomorrow they will live better than today. They are sure of their tomorrow, they can see with their own eyes how the U.S.S.R. is growing and strengthening from year to year. They know that they have a trusted leader—the Communist Party and the wise leader, great Stalin.

The greatest service rendered by Comrade Stalin is the fact that during all these years, whatever difficulties came our way, the Bolshevik Party always raised high the banner of struggle for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. There were not a few trotskyites, Right-wing and other traitors and alien elements in the Party who spread distrust in the possibility of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., under capitalist encirclement.

Especially since Lenin's death, all kinds of agents of the class

enemy developed their attacks against the Party and its policy of Socialist construction. Comrade Stalin defended and developed Lenin's theory of the possibility of the triumph of Socialism in one single country, the possibility of the triumph of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

It is unnecessary to argue nowadays about the scientific correctness of this theory and to prove that under conditions of the uneven development of capitalist countries in the imperialist epoch, Socialism cannot triumph in all countries simultaneously, but can only triumph at first in single countries: the possibility of the triumph of Socialism in one single country has already been transformed into the actual triumph of the Socialist regime in the U.S.S.R., where the prerequisites for the transition to Communism—its highest stage—are now being successfully created.

Thus all idle talk about the impossibility of building Socialism in such a technically and economically backward country as Russia, borrowed from the reactionary sources of bourgeois and social democratic ideology, has been refuted not only theoretically, but by the very fact of the victory of Socialism in our country.

But one must not forget that the Party could not have achieved this victory, which demanded self-sacrificing struggle, had it not been armed with profound confidence in the possibility of this victory, had the Party not defeated the doubting and vacillating elements in its ranks, had the Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin not inspired and carried with it the working class of our country towards the bold and decisive overcoming of each and all anti-Leninist vacillations, towards undeviating struggle against the class enemy and its agents among the working people and the Party itself.

This historic merit of Stalin's leadership is the more significant in that it is of the greatest international importance, having dealt a crushing blow to the social democratic disbelief in the victory of Socialism which all Communist Parties have to deal with in their own ranks. The victory of Socialism in our country has graphically demonstrated that the so-called "objective prerequisites" for the victory of Socialism have long matured in the countries of Europe, and not only in Europe, and that in view of this, the decisive overcoming of the reactionary influence of the bourgeoisified social democratic bureaucracy, and the split which it carries into the working-class movement, is at present the most important task of all honest supporters of Socialism.

Now everybody sees that our country has been transformed into a Socialist State, that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. ensures all the conditions for a further, still more powerful, economic upswing of the country, for a steady rise in the well-being of the Soviet people, and that the international situation also has already changed in many ways in favour of Socialism and people's democracy.

The multi-millioned Soviet people in the years of Soviet Power made a gigantic stride in cultural development and is taking part amicably and actively in Socialist construction in town and countryside, imbued with the great consciousness of the justice of its cause and profound confidence in the wise leadership of Stalin. We are successfully advancing in the cause of strengthening the Socialist system and the Socialist re-education of the Soviet people, and this is reflected in the moral and political growth of Soviet society and such an upsurge of Soviet patriotism that *now there is no force in the world which could turn our people back to capitalism again.* In this lies the main result of the path of Socialist development traversed by our country under the Stalin leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

* * * *

AS REGARDS the relations of the U.S.S.R. with other countries and the international situation as a whole, important changes have occurred in the past years. Until recently the Soviet Union remained the only Socialist State in a hostile capitalist encirclement. Everybody knows that many attempts were made by the imperialist Powers in order, by direct military intervention, economic blockade and all sorts of vile means including conspiracies and murders of Soviet leaders, wrecking and diversions, to put an end to the existence of the first Socialist State. To ensure the external conditions for the peaceful development of the U.S.S.R. was the basic task confronting the foreign policy of the Soviet Power.

This also demanded constant and vigilant care for the strengthening of the might of the Soviet Army and its readiness to defend the country from attack. The fact that from 1921 to 1941 our country, while pursuing an independent Soviet foreign policy, was able to ensure peaceful conditions for its development, is a tremendous achievement of the Stalinist foreign policy, the policy of peace.

Stalin's foreign policy, which relies on the achievements of

Socialist construction, and on the strengthening of the country's might, made it possible for us to transform the pre-war period of peace into a peaceful twenty years, which solved the task of transforming the U.S.S.R. into a mighty Socialist Power which passed all the tests of the last war with honour.

The Second World War ended in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. and the allied Powers over the Fascist aggressors. It called forth a tremendous intensification of all the forces of the Soviet people and at the same time demonstrated to the whole world the economic might of our country and the invincible unity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. which was created under Stalin's leadership of the Party in the years preceding the war.

In its self-sacrificing struggle the Soviet people "saved the civilisation of Europe from the Fascist pogrom-mongers." (J. Stalin). The Soviet Army covered our Motherland with glory by its unexampled exploits in that war. The outstanding role of Comrade Stalin in the organisation of the great victory is known to all.

In order to organise the cause of victory, Comrade Stalin took into his hands directly both political and economic leadership of the country and the military leadership itself, heading the armed forces of the country, which inspired the army and the entire people to self-sacrificing, heroic struggle. This ensured the rapid transformation of the economy of the country in accordance with its military needs. The gigantic Soviet Army created during the war was under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, built on the basis of the principles of Stalinist military science and became transformed into the best modern army.

All this made it possible to bring about a radical change of the course of the war and ensured the victorious implementation of Stalin's strategic plans for routing the enemy. The delay in the opening of the Second Front in Europe itself made it clear to the whole world that credit for the victory over Fascism in Europe, and later in the Far East, belongs above all to the Soviet Army and Stalin's incomparable leadership. This victory of world historic significance covered with glory our country, the Soviet Army and its great Commander, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

At the same time it is well known how important a role in defeating the armed forces of the Axis States was played by the formation of the anti-Fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and the other

Allied States. Thanks to the Stalinist foreign policy, which had succeeded in preventing the formation of a united front of the capitalist States against the U.S.S.R. in the period preceding the Second World War, the aggressive Fascist States found themselves isolated, whereas the Soviet Union took its proper place in the mighty anti-Fascist coalition.

In this also Stalin's personal role was of exceptional importance for the entire development of events. Deep knowledge in the sphere of the history of the peoples, many-sided experience as a leader of the international Communist movement, skill in seeing through and revealing in time the strategic plans and tactical moves of certain States, daring and flexibility of decisions in complex international affairs, which are so characteristic of Comrade Stalin, have ensured the decisive successes of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

To be able to create during the war the anti-Hitlerite coalition of the three Powers, it was necessary first of all to smash the anti-Soviet plans of the British and French Governments, and of the imperialist circles backing them, which aimed at pushing Germany into a war against the Soviet Union and enriching themselves at the expense of both of them, and especially of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union was even obliged to conclude a non-aggression pact with Germany when it finally became clear that all the efforts of the Soviet Union for setting up a united front with the other European States to resist the growing Fascist aggression of the Axis countries had been brought to naught by the British and French Governments because of their blind hatred of the Soviet workers' and peasants' State.

Comrade Stalin disclosed in time the insidious design of the Anglo-French intrigues at that period against the Soviet Union. This made it possible not only to check the blow at our country and delay Hitler Germany's attack of the U.S.S.R., but to guide the development of events in such a way as to place the British and United States' Governments face to face with the necessity of creating an Anglo-American-Soviet anti-Fascist coalition, which was in the interests of all the freedom-loving peoples.

The changes in the international situation as the result of the Second World War and the enhanced role of the U.S.S.R. speak for themselves. Such facts as the establishment in Europe and Asia of several countries of people's democracy, which have now confidently taken the path of Socialist construction, bear witness to this.

Only hopeless reactionaries are now capable of harbouring

illusions of returning the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania or Korea, not to speak of the Mongolian People's Republic, to their former condition of obedient slaves of the landowners and bourgeoisie.

It is impossible not to recognise the world-wide significance of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, which has undermined the foundations of imperialism in Asia. New paths to freedom and happiness have been opened to the great Chinese people and, what is particularly important, it now has its trusted leader in the Communist Party of China.

Comrade Stalin singled out the great importance of the creation of the German Democratic Republic in the following words, which rang throughout the world: "The formation of the German Democratic peace-loving Republic is a turning point in the history of Europe. There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic Germany side by side with the existence of the peace-loving Soviet Union excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe, and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists."

Under the present conditions, all the countries of people's democracy are in the same camp as the Soviet Union, defending the cause of peace and democracy. Imperialist strivings and an expansionist policy are alien to both the Soviet Union and the States of people's democracy. They are vitally interested in ensuring for their people, who have won their freedom, stable conditions of peaceful life and the establishment of friendly and equal relations with other peoples.

We must not forget, however, that there exists another camp. Despite the fact that the Second World War ended only recently, the imperialist countries, and in the first place the ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain, are again feverishly preparing for a new war.

Lacking confidence in their internal strength, they are hatching ever new aggressive plans, inflating their military budgets, establishing war bases and aggressive war alliances and blocs, thus disclosing how dangerous to the peaceful existence of the peoples is the present-day policy of the imperialist Powers, a policy which gives birth to all kinds of adventurist plans of world domination with the help of any means of aggression, including the atom bomb.

But times have changed. Of tremendous importance is the fact that among the peoples of the whole globe activity in the

struggle for the consolidation of peace is ever increasing, and that, together with this, the awareness is maturing that firm peace cannot be ensured with hollow pacifist desires. The peace movement which has spread to all the countries of the world is one of the most vivid expressions of the people's striving for peace throughout the world.

This movement unites hundreds of millions of people working by hand or by brain; it includes all democratic trade unions, as well as the organisations of women, youth and workers of culture, many millions strong, which originated after the war. It is well known that this broad movement in defence of peace, democracy and progress regards the U.S.S.R. as its main bastion and hope, and the name of Stalin is its great banner.

In the light of these facts it becomes possible to understand the enhanced role of the Communist and Workers' Parties in many countries which, despite all persecutions and election machinations on the part of reactionary Governments, are growing and becoming ideologically stronger as Parties of Marxism-Leninism. During the war the prestige of the Communists among the mass of the people rose to an unprecedented height, since the most self-sacrificing fighters against Fascism, fighters for the rights and freedom of the peoples, arose from the ranks of the Communists. Now not a single Government which is concerned to enjoy real prestige among its people, can ignore the enormous growth in the influence of Communist ideas among the mass of the people.

In order to sneak into power in Yugoslavia, the Tito clique, as is well known, also had to make themselves out to be friends of the U.S.S.R. and had to don the mask of Communists. The time, however, is not far off when the treacherous Tito clique, which has converted itself into a gang of hired assassins and spies in the service of foreign imperialist Governments, which has been exposed together with its plans that are hostile to the Soviet Union and its own people, will meet with the shameful fate of dishonourable hirelings of imperialist reaction.

All this means that after the Second World War serious changes occurred in the correlation of international forces. Instead of the previous position, when the U.S.S.R. existed as the sole Socialist State amid the capitalist encirclement, a new situation has arisen in which the Soviet Union has emerged from the position of international isolation, a situation which cannot but be recognised as an enormous achievement of Stalin's leadership. In our time the U.S.S.R. is not alone in the defence

of peace throughout the world. Together with the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracy and the entire international camp of supporters of peace, which has now been created, are defending this cause.

Two camps have been formed—the democratic camp headed by the U.S.S.R. which, in the struggle against the instigators of a new war, is defending the cause of universal lasting peace, and the imperialist camp opposed to it, headed by the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Britain, which pursues a policy of preparing a new war, but is not capable of halting the growing upsurge of the international movement of supporters of peace.

A situation has arisen in which, *should the imperialists unleash a new world war, it would inevitably evoke such a universal rebuff on the part of the peace-loving peoples and the entire democratic camp that it would lead, not just to the defeat of one or another aggressive Power as previously, but to the liquidation of the whole system of world imperialism.* In this lies the main result of all the changes in the international situation, which means that from now on the fate of the peace-loving peoples and the interests of the whole of progressive mankind are inseparably linked with the further achievements of the Soviet Union and the world democratic camp headed by its recognised leader, the *Great Stalin*.

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AT THE PRESENT TIME the works of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin are being published, including works which go back to the year 1901. It is impossible to over-estimate the theoretical and political significance of these works. Before our eyes there unfolds stage by stage the picture of the brilliant creative work of the great Stalin in all its diversity and spiritual richness. The diverse practical questions of the work of the Bolshevik Party and the international Communist movement are revealed here in the light of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, side by side with complex scientific problems of history and philosophy.

Here are elucidated the most acute questions of internal and foreign policy and, together with them, the fundamental questions of the economy of the U.S.S.R., as well as various periods in the development of the countries of the capitalist world. The essence of the great problems of Socialist culture is disclosed with its diversity of national forms. There, also, is shown the significance of the military problems that have repeatedly con-

fronted the Soviet Power. It becomes possible to understand the exceptional personal role of Comrade Stalin in the defence of our Motherland from external enemies, beginning with the first years of Soviet Power, as well as in the consistent pursuit of the Soviet policy of peace, which has always been and continues to remain the main task of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., and much else that testifies to the greatness of the historic work of our Party and its Stalinist leadership.

Comrade Stalin, as a great representative of creative Marxism, has in many ways developed Lenin's principles of the strategy and tactics of our Party, which has extraordinarily great significance for the Communist movement in all countries. Here one must speak above all of the problem of the victory of Socialism in one single country, which was first put forward by Lenin and given a profound scientific basis in the works of Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin revealed in the light of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and also developed theoretically other very big problems which confronted the Party and the Soviet State. Among them are, for example, such problems as these: the Communist Party as a Revolutionary Party of a new type, and particularly the question of its leading role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. and its decisive significance for the strengthening of the Soviet State; the collectivisation of millions of peasant farms; the liquidation of the last exploiting class, the kulaks, and the completion of the Socialist transformation of the foundations of the entire national economy of our country; the problem of the all-round strengthening of the Socialist State under conditions of capitalist encirclement and the question of the conditions for the withering away of the State; the national question in the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution and the national-colonial question under conditions of the Socialist Revolution, and particularly the question of Socialist nations; as well as many other important questions of modern times.

The working out of these and other problems in Stalin's scientific works, has under present conditions, the greatest and most vital significance, not only for the U.S.S.R., but also for other countries, particularly if one has in mind the countries which have entered the path of Socialism, or are waging the struggle for national liberation. Moreover, it must not be forgotten

that no collection of works, not even the most complete, can adequately reflect the tremendous labour, so inspiring to our Party and the Soviet people, which Comrade Stalin daily contributes in raising new problems and working out ever new and ever more grandiose plans for our Socialist construction, in formulating the most important directives of the Party and Government, including the fundamental diplomatic documents, in taking part in all manner of organisation of the practical implementation of all decisions arrived at, etc. Without this, however, it is impossible to conceive the real scope and ideological significance of Stalin's leadership.

As the great continuator of the cause of the immortal Lenin, Comrade Stalin is at the head of the whole of our Socialist construction, rallying the family of the Soviet peoples, directing the working people of town and countryside to one common, great aim, mobilising Communists and non-Party people for the fulfilment of the tasks of the building of Communism in our country, inspiring for the struggle the working class and the oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Stalin's leadership is permeated by deep consciousness of the responsible historic mission of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet State and the whole of our cause. Critical examination of work done, irrespective of personalities and former services, persistent development of Bolshevik self-criticism and relentless vigilance towards the class enemy and any intrigues of the latter's still-existing agents, development of new personnel, firm and tried in practice, and assistance to rising talent, all-round development of Socialist emulation and all other forms of active participation of the wide mass of the people in the building of Communism, side by side with ever new measures for the raising of the cultural level and Communist training of the Soviet people—these are the strongest points of Stalin's leadership of our Party.

Facts of historic significance show that the Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has solved and continues to solve with unfailing success all these vital and urgent tasks.

In a remarkable article *On the Question of the Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists*, written in 1923, Comrade Stalin clearly defined three historic turning points in the history of our Revolution and the three corresponding strategic plans of our Party. With respect to the third and last turning point, Comrade Stalin wrote:—

“The third turning point began with the October uprising

when the mortal combat of the two imperialist groups of the West had reached its zenith, when a revolutionary crisis in the West was obviously waxing, when the bankrupt bourgeois regime in Russia, tied up in its own contradictions, fell under the blows of the Proletarian Revolution, when the victorious Proletarian Revolution, having broken with imperialism and withdrawn from the war, had earned mortal enemies in the Western imperialist coalition, when the actions of the new Soviet Government with respect to peace, the confiscation of the landlords' land, the expropriation of the capitalists and the liberation of the oppressed nationalities had won the confidence of millions of working people the world over—this was a turning point on an international scale, since for the first time the international front of capital had been broken, for the first time the question of the overthrow of capitalism became practicable. This transformed the October Revolution from a national Russian force into an international force and transformed the Russian workers from a backward detachment of the international proletariat into its vanguard, leading by its selfless struggle the workers of the West and the oppressed countries of the East. This turning point has not reached its final development, since it has not yet developed on an international scale, but its content and general direction have already taken shape with sufficient clarity." (Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 178-9.)

The deep meaning and prophetic character of these words of Stalin's is understood by us. At the same time, all can now see how far our country has advanced and how greatly the international situation has changed since that time, precisely in the way Comrade Stalin predicted in his article. This is particularly clear at the present time when the U.S.S.R., as the country of victorious Socialism and great political, economic and cultural advance, is confidently going forward, together with the friendly countries of people's democracy—whereas the capitalist countries, both large and small, increasingly lose confidence in their future, being unable to find a solution to their growing economic and political contradictions and experiencing ever new economic catastrophes.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, where the blind laws of spontaneous economic development, with inevitable periodic crises and ever-increasing sharpening of social antagonisms prevail and set the general pace, the Soviet State is built on completely different foundations. In our country, thanks to the

Socialist Revolution and the liquidation of the exploiting classes which followed on it, a planned development of the entire national economy has been organised, beyond the dreams of any capitalist State.

Not only is there being carried out in the Soviet Union a development of the economic life of the country, organised according to a single plan with far-reaching perspectives, but the planning principle is being introduced into all other aspects of social life, aiming at speeding up the general and many-sided development of the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and at the flourishing of the sciences and arts. Only in this connection can one understand the growing successes of Soviet science and technology, including the known achievements in the sphere of the mastery of atomic energy development, which have so greatly astounded and perplexed all the enemies of the U.S.S.R.

The deep significance, in principle and practice, of the developing struggle against pseudo-science is becoming clearer from day to day—a struggle which the scientists of the Soviet Union, armed with the method of materialist dialectics, are now waging. Our literature and art become to an increasing degree the standard bearers of our Stalinist epoch, in many ways assisting in the achievements of the Soviet people, inspiring them in work and struggle, spreading Soviet influence far beyond the borders of our Motherland.

Such grandiose tasks have not as yet faced any other State. The understanding of problems of such scope is altogether beyond the understanding of the narrow outlook of the bourgeoisie. Only Socialist society, growing, in strength, can tackle such matters as the introduction of scientific guiding principles into all spheres of economic and cultural life of the country and in the ideological education of the people in the spirit of Communism, which so successfully multiplies our forces and places the U.S.S.R. head and shoulders above any country belonging to the camp of capitalism.

This also explains the unprecedented growth of the moral and political prestige of the U.S.S.R. among the peoples of the entire globe. It is no accident that these majestic tasks had to be achieved by the Party which gave to our people and to the whole of mankind such great leaders as Lenin and Stalin, giants of theoretical thought and revolutionary work. If, since Lenin, the Soviet people has victoriously solved its internal and external strategic and tactical problems and made its State so powerful,

and at the same time so close spiritually to the working people of the whole world, then the greatest historical merit for this belongs above all to the great leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin and to Stalin's leadership.

That is why the confidence of the working people of our country in the wise leadership of Stalin is so boundless, so strong their belief in the genius of Stalin, so great the love of the Soviet people and the working people of the whole world for Comrade Stalin.

Today, on his 70th birthday, again and again we wish the great and dear Stalin, our leader, teacher and friend, good health and many years of life to the good and glory of our people, to the happiness of all progressive mankind.



THE GREAT INSPIRER AND ORGANISER OF THE VICTORIES OF COMMUNISM

By L. P. Beria

SINCE the great Lenin, there has not been nor is there any name in the world so close to the hearts of millions of working people as the name of the great leader, Comrade Stalin. The name of Comrade Stalin is uttered with warm affection by the working peoples of all countries of the world who associate his name with the realisation of their age-old hopes and aspirations.

The name of Comrade Stalin is uttered with feelings of deep gratitude by the working people of the countries of people's democracy which have set out on the road of building Socialism. It is surrounded by the affection of the workers and peasants of China who have thrown off the yoke of colonial oppression. The name of Comrade Stalin inspires the working people of Europe and America to the struggle against capital. It inspires the peoples of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries in their just struggle for national freedom and independence.

Comrade Stalin's whole life is indissolubly linked with the struggle for the creation and consolidation of the Bolshevik Party, for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for the interests of the working people, for the victory of Communism. Comrade Stalin's work is so noble and many-sided that many years must pass before it can be properly evaluated.

Comrade Stalin's entire work is permeated with theoretical power, combined with tremendous organisational breadth, with the ability to inspire the Party and the many millions of the working masses with a united will to direct their forces towards the fulfilment of decisive tasks, to point out to the Party the correct road and to lead it to victory.

We know that the Socialist social system differs in principle in the way it has been established from every social system preceding it. Whereas previous social systems in economic content took shape spontaneously, Socialism can be built only by the conscious actions of the masses according to a plan drawn up scientifically.

Referring to the particularly complicated task of building Socialism, Lenin said: "It was not difficult to drive out the Tsar; it required but a few days. It was not very difficult to drive out the landowners; it was possible to do this in a few months. It is not very difficult to drive out the capitalists; but it is incomparably more difficult to destroy classes. There still remains the division into workers and peasants. . . . It is essential for everyone to work under one common plan on common land, at common factories and mills and on the basis of a common scheme. Is it easy to do this? You see that here the solution is not to be achieved as easily as driving out the Tsar, the landowners and capitalists." (Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 411.)

Stalin's epoch is the epoch of the building of a new Socialist society. In the conditions of the new historic situation which demanded the solution of the most complicated theoretical and practical tasks in the building of Socialism, there arose before the peoples of our country, the whole of progressive and advanced mankind, the genius of Comrade Stalin in all its grandeur.

Comrade Stalin's name is among the names of the greatest geniuses of mankind—Marx, Engels, Lenin. Mankind owes the creation of scientific Communism to Marx and Engels. Mankind owes to Lenin and to his loyal pupil, Comrade Stalin, the victory of the proletarian revolution and the creation of the Soviet social and State system. Mankind owes to Comrade Stalin the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the salvation of civilisation from Fascist barbarism.

I

WHILE LENIN was still alive, under his leadership, Comrade Stalin, beginning from the period of the preparation for the creation of the Bolshevik Party, came forward as the closest pupil of Lenin, as the most loyal follower of Lenin, as the greatest theoretician, organiser and builder of our Party, after Lenin. Among all Lenin's contemporaries no one was able as completely as Stalin to understand and to appraise Lenin's greatness, his historic role as the creator of the proletarian party of a new type.

"My knowledge of Lenin's revolutionary activities since the end of the 'nineties, and especially after 1901, after the appearance of *Iskra*," Stalin says, "had convinced me that in

Lenin we had a man of extraordinary calibre. I did not regard him as a mere leader of the Party, but as its actual founder, for he alone understood the inner essence and urgent needs of our Party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that he was head and shoulders above his colleagues—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and the others; that, compared with them, Lenin was not just one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest rank, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement." (Collected Works, Vol. 6, pp. 52-3.)

From the very first steps in his revolutionary work, Comrade Stalin steadfastly took his place under the banner of Lenin, as his loyal and devoted follower in the great work of all-round preparations for the creation of a true revolutionary Marxist party in Russia.

He made his most valuable contribution to Lenin's elaboration of the ideological, organisational, political and theoretical foundations of the Marxist party. In the struggle for the organisation of victory in the October Revolution, in the struggle against capitulators and traitors of every description, Comrade Stalin stood unswervingly shoulder to shoulder with his great teacher, Lenin, at the head of the militant headquarters of the Bolsheviks—the Central Committee of the Party.

In the difficult years of Civil War, Lenin and Stalin led the Party, the State, the Red Army and the country's entire defence. In the transition to peaceful work, the restoration of national economy after the Civil War, a fresh effort was required by all the forces of the Bolshevik Party to overcome the tremendous difficulties under conditions of fierce and malicious attacks against Lenin's policy from the trotskyist, kamenevist, zinovievist and bukharinist pack.

Together with Lenin, Stalin acted at that time as the organiser of the Party's forces for the struggle on behalf of Lenin's Party line, and defended the unity of the Party. One of the great services rendered by Stalin was the tremendous work he did under Lenin's guidance to create and consolidate the Soviet National Republics and to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin put a proposal before the Party Central Committee: to elect Comrade Stalin, General Secretary of the Central Committee. From April 3, 1922, Comrade Stalin worked

permanently in this post, the highest in the Party. And when, in January, 1924, the Bolshevik Party, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the working people of the world, sustained a heavy loss when the founder, leader and teacher of the Party, Lenin, died, the Party rallied its ranks round Comrade Stalin and followed him along the Leninist path, crushing the enemies of Leninism.

On the difficult and complicated path leading to the victory of Socialism, in conditions of fierce class struggle, the Party led by Comrade Stalin repelled numerous attacks by enemies of Leninism, routed each and every opportunist grouping and drove from its ranks all those with little faith, all opportunists, capitulators and traitors. In this struggle our Party used all the weapons of Leninism. Comrade Stalin armed the Party with the sharpest weapon of Leninism.

II

COMRADE STALIN defended Leninism against its enemies. He summed up the experiences of the class struggle of the proletariat in the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, the experience of the epoch of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., developed and advanced Marxist-Leninist theory in all its branches.

Comrade Stalin's classic work, *The Foundations of Leninism*, armed Communists with the weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory on questions of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the victory of Socialism in one country, the national liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonial countries, etc.

Substantiating and developing Leninism, relying on Lenin's directives, Stalin elaborated the provisions for the Socialist industrialisation of the country, on the basis of the fulfilment of which was solved the historic task of collectivising agriculture which, in its results, became a victory on a par with the Revolution in October, 1917.

Comrade Stalin provided a profound theoretical basis for the need to strengthen the State under the dictatorship of the proletariat; he created the theory of the Socialist State, thus filling a gap in the Marxist theory of the State; he provided the theoretical basis for and developed Lenin's theory of the advantages of the Soviet social and State system over any social

systems of a non-Soviet type; he revealed the sources of the strength of the Soviet State, worked out the question of the laws governing the co-existence and struggle of the two systems—the Socialist and the capitalist systems—in the international arena.

Comrade Stalin developed Lenin's theory of the Party, gave a profound and well-developed characterisation of the specific features of the Bolshevik Party as a party of a new type, defined the decisive role of the Party in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship and the building of Socialism, the means of developing, ideologically training and politically tempering the Party cadres; he worked out the question of the relation between the political line and the organisational work of the Party, of the importance of educating the masses in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, and of the role of self-criticism in the life of the Party. Self-criticism is a weapon of Bolshevism which is permanently in use and indissolubly linked with its very nature and its revolutionary spirit.

"I think, comrades," said Comrade Stalin, "that self-criticism is as necessary to us as air and water. I think that without it, without self-criticism, our Party could not advance, could not reveal our sores, it could not eliminate our shortcomings—and we have many shortcomings, this has to be admitted frankly and honestly. The slogan of self-criticism should not be regarded as a new slogan; it lies in the very basis of the Bolshevik Party; it lies in the basis of the regime of proletarian dictatorship.

"If our country is a country of proletarian dictatorship, and this dictatorship is led by one Party—the Communist Party—which does not share and cannot share power with other parties, then is it not clear that we ourselves must reveal and correct our mistakes, if we want to advance? Is it not clear that there is no one else to reveal them and correct them? Is it not clear, comrades, that self-criticism must be one of the most important forces furthering our development?" (Collected Works, Vol. II, p. 29.)

In the *Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*, Comrade Stalin summed up the development and the entire experience of the Bolshevik Party, summed up the results of its glorious historic path. The conclusions Stalin gives at the end of the *Short History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)* are a further development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the party of the working class, a

militant guide to action for our Party, for Communist and genuine Marxist parties, in their struggle for the victory of Communism.

Comrade Stalin developed Lenin's directives on the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the victory of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.; he showed the unity between the national and international tasks in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin exposed contemporary social-democracy as the ideological support of capitalism. He showed that "*an end cannot be put to capitalism without putting an end to social-democracy in the working-class movement.*" (Collected Works, Vol. 10, p. 250.)

Stalin's definition of the tasks of the Communist Parties, given in his article *On the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist Parties*, is still a programme of action for Communists today. Comrade Stalin pointed out that it is the task of Communist Parties:

"(1). To make the fullest use of each and every contradiction in the camp of the bourgeoisie with a view to disintegrating and weakening the latter's forces, with a view to strengthening the position of the proletariat.

"(2). To outline concrete forms and means of bringing the working class in the advanced countries closer to the national revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries, with a view to giving this movement the utmost support against the common enemy—against imperialism.

"(3). To push forward and bring to its conclusion the work of struggling for unity of the trade union movement, remembering that this work is the surest means of winning over the millions of the working-class masses. . . .

"(4). To outline concrete forms and means of bringing the working class closer to the small peasants, ground down by the bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois State and the extortionate prices of the all-powerful trusts, remembering that the struggle for the small peasant is an immediate task of the Party, advancing towards proletarian dictatorship.

"(5). To support the power of the Soviets and to foil the interventionist machinations of imperialism against the Soviet Union, bearing in mind that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the revolutionary movement of all countries, that to safeguard and strengthen the Soviet Union means to accelerate the victory

of the working class over the world bourgeoisie." (Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 57-8.)

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the international Communist movement grew up and became stronger, the young Communist Parties became the mass parties of the working class, steadfast fighters for Communism grew up who, in the years of war against the Hitlerite invaders, were the consistent defenders of the national interests of their countries and the vital interests of the working masses, and who have headed the defence of peace and the independence of peoples in the post-war period.

The historic service rendered by Comrade Stalin as the leader of the Party to the peoples of our country and mankind as a whole, was his wise leadership which ensured the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the victory of the Soviet people in the Patriotic War. These victories were historic milestones which determined the whole further development of human society.

III

IN LESS than a quarter of a century of peaceful Socialist construction, the U.S.S.R., from being a backward agrarian country, has become a powerful industrial and collective-farming Socialist Power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, and through the heroic work of the working class and the working people as a whole.

Over the vast open spaces of the Soviet Union there have grown up large new towns, factories and mills, power stations, State farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms. The whole country is covered with schools, technical schools, universities, institutes, theatres, clubs and libraries. After the Patriotic War the Soviet State in a short space of time restored its industry and agriculture to the pre-war level and achieved a position where the national economy of the Soviet Union, already in the year 1948, surpassed the pre-war level, and where total industrial output increased 18 per cent., while the national income rose 16 per cent. as compared with 1940.

The tasks of the post-war Five-Year Plan are being successfully fulfilled both in the sphere of industry, rail and water transport, and also in the sphere of agriculture, culture, public health and improvements in the material welfare of the working people.

The rapid growth in the national economy has considerably raised the relative position of the U.S.S.R. in world industrial production, as a result of which, for gross output from industry and for industry's most important branches — such as iron-smelting, steel-smelting, coal-mining, electricity production, output of tractors, combine-harvesters, lorries and cement—the Soviet Union today holds the second place in the world.

Our Soviet industry is capable of producing any of the most complex machines, machine tools and instruments, and all types of industrial production necessary for the national economy and for the population, which is the firm guarantee of the U.S.S.R. being economically independent of the countries of capitalism.

Thanks only to Stalin's wise policy of industrialising the country, and the creation and development on this basis of such branches of industry as iron and steel, chemical, precision engineering, instrument-making and others, was the Soviet Union in a position to solve the problem of extracting atomic energy successfully and within a short period of time.

Our Socialist agriculture, which includes more than 246,000 collective farms and 4,540 State farms, is the largest mechanised agriculture in the world, equipped with up-to-date machinery and superior to the agriculture of any other country.

Equipping and supplying the whole of the Socialist national economy of the U.S.S.R. with up-to-date machinery is one of the most important victories of Socialist construction. An achievement of Socialism which is no less important is the creation and training of cadres who have mastered technique and are capable of using this technique to the full and developing it still further.

In order to create and educate large numbers of Soviet intellectuals to achieve a vast improvement in the level of efficiency among the working class and the peasantry, it was necessary to carry out a cultural revolution. The Bolshevik Party carried out this cultural revolution under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

The victory of the Socialist system in all branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. made it possible to build in our country the first, new Socialist economy in the history of mankind—"an economy which knows no crises or unemployment, no poverty and ruin, and which gives all citizens every

opportunity to live prosperous and cultured lives." (J. Stalin: *Problems of Leninism*.)

The U.S.S.R. is the first, and so far the only, country in the world where all exploiting classes have been liquidated. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. inspires the working class in the capitalist countries and strengthens their belief in their own powers, their belief in the victory of Socialism all over the world.

One of the greatest achievements of Socialism is the creation of a fraternal commonwealth of peoples in a multi-national Socialist State, unprecedented in the history of mankind. In the fraternal family of equal peoples of the U.S.S.R., the Russian people are the most outstanding nation. The Russian working class, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, endured the main weight of the struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the struggle for the victory of Socialist construction, the Russian people, among the peoples of the U.S.S.R., was the advanced detachment, an example to be equalled by all the other peoples, when the industrialisation of the country, the collectivisation of agriculture and the building of a Socialist life were made a reality.

In the years of the Great Patriotic War, the Russian people with their clear vision, their steadfast character and intelligent patience, earned universal recognition as the leading force in the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country. Comrade Stalin pointed out in particular that "the Russian people's confidence in the Soviet Government was the decisive force which guaranteed the historic victory over the enemy of mankind, Fascism." (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, 5th edition, p. 197.)

The fraternal co-operation of the peoples of our country in the conditions of the Socialist system and on the basis of economic, political and military mutual assistance within the system of a single Union State, which Comrade Stalin organised, radically changed the appearance of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. On the ruins of the old bourgeois nations, there grew up and took shape in the U.S.S.R. new, Socialist nations. The mighty creative forces of the Russian people, the inexhaustible creative forces of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., developed in the new Socialist nations.

Powerful centres of Socialist industry, State and collective farms equipped with the most up-to-date machinery have been

set up in the national Republics of the Soviet Union, as well as 78,000 elementary and secondary schools (not including those in the R.S.F.S.R.) where teaching is given in the native language, hundreds of schools for higher education and scientific research institutions, hundreds of national theatres.

The blossoming of the national Republics in the Soviet Union is particularly striking when compared with the position in certain States which border on the Soviet Union. Take, for example, the Uzbek and Azerbaijan Soviet Republics and Iran and Turkey, countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. Obviously, in these particular cases, we are obliged to limit ourselves to comparing only a few of the indications of the state of economy and culture there. We know that the Uzbek and Azerbaijan peoples long ago threw out their former exploiters, the khans, beks and beys, merchants and capitalists.

The finest sons and daughters of the working people of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan now manage the affairs of State, the factories, collective farms, schools and institutes of their Republics. The working people of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, like all the Soviet people, long ago ceased to experience the oppression of exploiters, the horrors of poverty, starvation and unemployment, while year by year the material and cultural level of these peoples is improving.

The peoples of Iran and Turkey continue to languish under the power of landlords, khans, capitalists and foreign enslavers. During the years of Soviet power, the Azerbaijan S.S.R. and the Uzbek S.S.R., from being backward, agrarian countries, have become industrial Republics, with highly developed industries occupying a predominant part in the national economy. Iran and Turkey have remained backward agrarian countries where agriculture with primitive technique form the basis of the countries' economy. In Iran, two-thirds of the peasants have no land and 62% of the country's land is held by landlords. In Turkey, the overwhelming majority of the peasants have no land and work on the land of the landlords.

In Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, 90% of the population were illiterate before the establishment of Soviet power, but already in 1946 illiteracy was completely stamped out. Today, in Iran, some 85% of the population are illiterate, and in Turkey about 66% are illiterate. About 70% of the Turkish villages have no schools.

In the Azerbaijan S.S.R. there are 19 schools of higher

learning attended by 29,000 students, or one school of higher education for every 163,000 of the population.

In Iran there are only five schools of higher education attended by about 4,500 students, or one school of higher learning per 3,400,000 of the population.

In the Uzbek S.S.R. there are 36 schools of higher education attended by 38,000 students, or one school of higher learning per 175,000 of the population.

In Turkey there are ten schools of higher learning attended by about 11,000 students, or one school of higher learning per 1,950,000 of the population.

There are 13 theatres, 2,100 palaces of culture and clubs in the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In the Uzbek S.S.R. there are 23 theatres, 3,011 palaces of culture and clubs. In each of these Republics its own film industry has been created. There are only a few privately owned theatres eking out a miserable existence in Iran and Turkey. These States have no film industry of their own and it is mainly Hollywood rubbish which is shown on the screens of their cinemas.

In the Azerbaijan S.S.R. there are 5,902 practising doctors, or one doctor per 525 of the population. In Iran there are 1,500 doctors, or one doctor per 11,333 of the population. In the Uzbek S.S.R. there are 6,612 doctors, or one per 953 persons. In Turkey there are 2,181 doctors, or one doctor per 8,941 of the population.

In the Azerbaijan S.S.R. there is one hospital bed per 183 of the population. In Iran—one bed per 3,400 of the population. In the Uzbek S.S.R. there is one bed per 186 persons and in Turkey one bed per 1,466 persons.

In the Azerbaijan Republic there are 48 towns and urban settlements which have water laid on. There is not a single town in Iran that has water laid on, and even the capital, Teheran, has no sewage system.

More than 5,000 tractors, 600 combine-harvesters, 77,000 trailer implements and other agricultural machinery are used in the agriculture of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In Iran the wooden plough remains the chief agricultural implement. In the agriculture of the Uzbek S.S.R. there are more than 24,000 tractors, 1,500 combine-harvesters, 280,000 trailer machines and other agricultural machinery working in the fields.

The chief implement for cultivating the land in the Turkish countryside is a wooden plough, the "karaspan." There is one

"karaspan" for every two farms, and one ordinary plough per 16 farms, and one agricultural machine for every 220 farms.

These few comparisons reflect the economic and cultural growth of the national Republics in the U.S.S.R., achieved as a result of carrying out the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, as a result of the paternal care of Comrade Stalin for the prosperity of the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, our Soviet social and State system, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. won under the leadership of Comrade Stalin—this is what constitutes the basis of the unprecedented advance and prosperity of the economy and culture of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the working class and Bolshevik Party which are paving the way to Communism.

IV

IN THE PERIOD of the cruellest and hardest of all wars ever experienced in the history of our Motherland, the entire Soviet people again saw how wise and far-sighted was the policy of the Bolshevik Party, pursued under the leadership of the continuator of the cause of Lenin, Comrade Stalin—the policy of industrialising the country and collectivising agriculture, the care taken to strengthen the armed forces of the Socialist State, to increase the vigilance of the Party and the people against the intrigues of each and every enemy of the Soviet State.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, the greatness of Comrade Stalin stood out with new force. In the first days of the war, when deadly danger threatened our country, when before the monstrous onslaught of Hitler's hordes the Red Army evacuated our towns and villages, Comrade Stalin took over the leadership of the State Defence Committee, of the armed forces of the country. He inspired the peoples of the Soviet Union to have faith in the victory of our just cause, and rallied them under the banner of Lenin to rout the enemy and to win victory.

Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin and with his personal participation, plans were drawn up for all the most important military operations of the Red Army, questions were decided concerning troop reinforcements for the front, the supply of armaments, ammunition and food, the question of aid to Leningrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, the Caucasus and Stalingrad, besieged by the enemy. Measures on a huge scale were worked out

to transfer military and civilian industries to the Eastern parts of the country and to begin work in them in fresh places, together with measures to evacuate and house workers for these transferred plants, to ensure rail transport, to enlarge the area under crops in the East, to strengthen labour discipline in the factories and on State and collective farms, to supply the working people with food and consumer goods.

The whole of the work of our Party and the Soviet State was directed by Comrade Stalin. His brilliant insight, his ability quickly to grasp and discover the meaning of approaching events and the peculiarities of each stage of the war, his ability to aim and direct the forces of the Party and the people for the fulfilment of the principal and decisive tasks, his indomitable will, firmness and persistency in carrying out decisions adopted, ensured victory over the enemy for our State.

In the battles of the Great Patriotic War, the genius of generalship of the creator of Soviet military science, Comrade Stalin, directed our Soviet Army to victory over the enemy. The rout of the German troops at Moscow, Stalingrad, in the Caucasus, at Orel, Kursk and Leningrad, the unprecedentedly heavy blow which broke through the German defences, over a distance of 1,200 kilometres from the Baltic to the Carpathians in January, 1945, the capture of Berlin by the Soviet troops, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, were all examples of the superiority of Stalin's strategy and tactics and military operational skill in modern warfare.

In the years of severe war trials, the Soviet people drew closer still to their beloved leader, Comrade Stalin.

The Soviet people saw even more clearly and distinctly in Comrade Stalin the features of his great teacher, Lenin. They saw that our Army and our people in the struggle against a ferocious enemy, were being led by a tried leader—as fearless as Lenin in battle and merciless towards enemies of the people; as free as Lenin was from anything resembling panic; as wise and as bold as Lenin was in deciding complicated questions; as clear and definite, just and honest, as Lenin was; and loving his people as Lenin loved them.

The Soviet people, by their selfless struggle, not only defended their own freedom and independence, but saved European civilisation from the Fascist barbarians.

Progressive people the world over know and understand the great part the Soviet Union played in the rout of Hitler Germany.

They know full well the fate that would have befallen the peoples of Europe in the event of the victory of Fascist Germany.

Quite recently a prominent British scientist, Professor Bernal, expelled from membership of the Council of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for criticising the policy of the British Government, declared in a letter to the press: "The Soviet people a few years back were our allies and but for their sacrifices, which were far heavier than ours, all decent scientists here (in Britain) would now be in concentration camps or dead."

In securing the victory of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, the wise Stalinist foreign policy of the Soviet Government played a considerable part. From the very first days of the existence of Soviet power it has been, and still remains, a persistent policy of peace, a policy directed towards exposing the aggressors and warmongers, towards securing peaceful, Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, towards the struggle to maintain peace throughout the world, to support peoples who have become the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their native lands.

Now, when the American and British imperialists are preparing for another world war when the freedom-loving peoples, civilisation and culture are again threatened, the eyes of all progressive mankind, the eyes of hundreds of millions of ordinary people in all countries of the world, are turned toward Comrade Stalin, the inspirer and organiser of the countless forces of the camp of peace, the camp of democracy.

In the struggle for peace, the forces of the anti-imperialist camp, the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism, have grown and developed. The further growth of the might of the Soviet Union, the political and economic strengthening of the countries of people's democracy—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Albania—and their successes in the building of Socialism, the creation of the German Democratic Republic, all point to this. The historic victory of the Chinese People's Republic, won by the people of China under the leadership of their glorious leader, Mao Tse-tung, points to this as well.

The strengthening and growth of the influence of the Communist Parties of France and Italy, of the Communist Parties of other countries, the growth of the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, the huge scope of the movement for

peace—all this testifies to the growing strength of the democratic camp.

No terrorist actions against democratic organisations, no persecution of the supporters of peace by the Anglo-American imperialists, can halt the nation-wide movement for peace which is growing in all countries of the world.

The treachery of the Anglo-American hireling Tito, and his Fascist gang, who have sold their country into slavery to the Anglo-American imperialists, cannot disrupt the ranks of the democratic camp.

The Soviet people are advancing firmly and confidently to Communism. In our day a new and powerful advance is taking place in all branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., and there is no power on earth capable of forcing the Soviet people from the road set them by Lenin and Stalin.

* * * *

COMRADE STALIN holds firmly in his hands the helm of leadership of the struggle for the victory of Communism. The genius of our leader blends with his simplicity and modesty, with his special personal charm, with his irreconcilability towards the enemies of Communism, with his understanding of and paternal concern for the people. Complete clarity of thought, calm nobility of character, contempt and intolerance for all fuss and outward show, are all part of him.

The whole of Comrade Stalin's life and work is a great, inspiring example of loyalty to Leninism, boundless love for Lenin, an example of devoted service to the working class and the working people as a whole, to the cause of emancipating mankind from oppression and exploitation.

Comrade Stalin's glorious 70th birthday has been a significant event in the life of the Soviet people. The working people of our country express their profound gratitude and boundless love for the great leader and teacher, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, in a new and mighty nation-wide burst of patriotic enthusiasm. In fresh achievements in free and joyful Socialist labour on all sectors of Socialist construction, the people greet the inspirer and creator of their victories.

With fresh enthusiasm for labour, by rallying their ranks for

the struggle for Socialism, the working people of all countries of people's democracy meet Stalin's 70th birthday.

Millions of fighters for peace and democracy in all countries of the world are closing their ranks still firmer around Comrade Stalin as their fighting banner. In all languages of the peoples of the world, the words of greetings to our leader: "Glory to Comrade Stalin! Forward to new victories under the leadership of great Stalin!" ring out with greater force on this memorable day.



MILITARY COMMANDER OF GENIUS OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

By K. E. Voroshilov

ON December 21, 1949, the Soviet people, together with all progressive mankind, is celebrating the 70th birthday of the greatest man of our planet—J. V. Stalin—their wise leader, teacher, indefatigable champion of peace and the independence of peoples, the builder of a new human society and the commander of genius.

Hundreds of millions of people of labour by hand and by brain all over the world, of all races and nationalities are in these days looking with hope and fraternal trust to the Soviet Union—to the country of victorious Socialism—to Stalin, the wise and great friend of all the oppressed.

They know that the Soviet Union, headed by the great Stalin, is the mighty champion of peace, of Socialism, against reaction and the organisers of a new world war, the bulwark of the struggle of the supporters of people's democracy against the frenzied dictatorship of Anglo-American imperialism. During the years of heroic struggle and labour, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the guidance of the great leaders Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people attained world historic victories.

Having overthrown the power of the capitalists and landowners, having eliminated for all time the exploitation of man by man, and having upheld their Socialist Motherland, its State and political independence, in the struggle against enemies at home and abroad, our peoples have created enormous material and spiritual values, have built Socialism and are effecting the successful transition to Communist society.

Proud in the knowledge of victories achieved the Soviet people can declare on this day of celebration of the 70th birthday of their leader of genius, the great Stalin: There have never been nor can there ever be, obstacles and difficulties which cannot be

overcome by the Soviet people led along the road to victories by the great Stalin. Forward to the summit of human happiness, to Communism!

In these memorable days all progressive mankind beyond the boundaries of our Motherland are with deep appreciation and affection addressing words of gratitude to the great leader and commander of genius, Generalissimo of the Soviet Union, Stalin, who at the head of the Soviet people and its glorious victorious Army, secured for hundreds of millions of people freedom, independence and conditions for Socialist transformations, and for mankind as a whole, deliverance from Fascist slavery.

I

ON JUNE 22, 1941, the German-Fascist Army treacherously violated the non-aggression pact and invaded the territory of the U.S.S.R. One hundred and seventy well-trained and technically equipped German divisions concentrated on our frontiers, and relying upon vast resources and the rich industrial base appropriated by the Fascists in Europe, the intoxication caused by easy victories in the West—all this fired the fantastic calculations of the Fascist militarists to culminate victoriously a "lightning war" against the Soviet Union.

On June 30, 1941, the State Defence Committee was formed, headed by Comrade Stalin.

At the end of the first month of the war—on July 19, 1941—when the enemy launched a terrific onslaught and broke through into the depths of our Motherland, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet appointed Comrade Stalin, People's Commissar for Defence of the U.S.S.R., and in August, 1941, by decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Stalin accepted the post of Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R.

By the will of the Party and the Government, expressing the aspirations of the entire Soviet people, in the gravest moment for the Socialist State when real danger threatened the life of our Motherland, Stalin took over the leadership of the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

The entire history of the Soviet State was shaped in such a

way that Stalin's name has always been associated in the minds of the Soviet people with the concept of victory, whether in the sphere of Socialist construction or in war against the enemies of the Soviet people. Stalin's appointments to the most responsible posts were therefore accepted by the Soviet public with a feeling of relief and hope, and filled the Soviet people with firm faith in victory even in that gravest trial of history.

The Soviet people were not mistaken. At the end of the fourth year of the Great Patriotic War, the well-trained Hitlerite Army, many millions strong, equipped with the latest military technique, headed by experienced military experts, and spoiled by easy victories in Europe—this army, which seemed to many in the old war and the new, to be invincible, sustained a catastrophic defeat in single combat with the Soviet Army, led by the Communist commander of genius, Stalin.

We have no opportunity of giving here an exhaustive analysis of the treasure house of Stalin's strategic plans and of those brilliant operations organised and carried out by our heroic armed forces under the leadership of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. However, it is necessary to give at least a brief account of the basic stages of this greatest military campaign.

A study and investigation of the Great Patriotic War as regards the nature and results of the most decisive operations makes it possible to divide the course of military events roughly into approximately four periods, each of which reflects the peculiarity and invariable progress of the development of the Stalinist military art.

The first period covers the operations from June, 1941, to approximately the autumn of 1942, i.e., up to our counter-offensive at Stalingrad.

The Soviet Supreme Command, by means of active defence correlated with counter-attacks and a counter-offensive in the most important strategic directions, undermined, in that period, the shock forces of the Fascist army and buried the German strategy of a "lightning war."

Stalin's leadership of genius and the unprecedented valour of our troops at that time changed the relation of forces in our favour, and, despite the absence of the Second Front, created a favourable situation for going over to a decisive offensive on the part of our troops.

Leningrad; Moscow, Tikhvin, Rostov were the historic fronts

where crushing blows were inflicted upon the German military forces.

At that period the myth of the invincibility of the German Army was dispelled. The indefatigable, truly heroic labour of the Soviet people in all spheres of the national economy for the needs of the front, the prowess of Soviet Army men at the front, the glorious military operations of Soviet partisans in the rear of the enemy, hitherto unheard of on such a scale, the efforts of the whole country for the sake of victory, have nothing to equal them in the history of mankind.

The second period, approximately from the end of 1942, i.e., from the battle of Stalingrad, to the end of 1943, was a period of a radical turning point in the course of the Great Patriotic War.

The Soviet Army in brilliant and numerous battles finally wrested the strategic initiative from the enemy, consolidated its superiority over the enemy's forces, went over to a decisive offensive along a vast front, and liberated two-thirds of occupied Soviet territory. Sustaining vast losses, the armed forces of Fascist Germany were forced on all fronts to go over to the defensive.

The encirclement and pinning-down of two German Fascist armies in the battle of Stalingrad, which for the Germans turned into an unprecedented slaughter, from which the Hitlerite Army was unable to recover right up to the end of the war, the rout of the South-German Front, the breaking of the Leningrad blockade, the rout of the German groupings in the Kursk battle, Hitler's last attempt to turn the course of the war in his own favour, the liberation of the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper and the battle for the Dnieper—these are the most glorious historic landmarks on the road of the victorious armed forces of the Soviet Union during that period.

The third period, covering operations in 1944, was the period of decisive victories of the Soviet Army, known as the period of Stalin's 10 blows. At this stage the vast scale and devastating character of the offensive operations of the Soviet armed forces reached their culminating point.

As a result of these operations, Germany's Balkan allies, Royalist Rumania, Tsarist Bulgaria, and later on Fascist Finland and Horthy's Hungary were put out of action; all the Fascist invaders to the last man were hurled over the borders of the

Soviet country, while military operations were completely transferred to enemy territory.

The rout of the Germans at Leningrad and of the Finns in Karelia, and in the extreme North, the liberation of the Crimea and Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper, the rout of the centre of the German Front in Byelorussia, the liberation of the Western Ukraine and the Baltic States, the occupation of Rumania and Bulgaria and the deep penetration into Hungary—all these operations were conducted in the classic style of Stalinist offensive strategy on a gigantic scale.

In these operations the Soviet Army, applying the Stalinist skill of operational manoeuvre, brilliantly effected a breakthrough of the enemy front simultaneously on several sectors, thus depriving the enemy of an opportunity of knocking together reserves to meet our powerful sudden blows.

The most perfect form of manoeuvre for encircling and wiping out the main enemy groupings constituted the basis of the military operations of the Soviet armed forces in that period.

The fourth and last period, from the end of 1944 to the end of the Second World War, can be characterised as the period of the culminating victories of the Soviet Union over Hitlerite Germany.

Enriched by three years of war experience, with a perfect mastery of all complex forms of operational manoeuvre and tactical methods of general troop battles, and by means of colossal and skilful massing of war material in the necessary directions, the Soviet Army during that period in a short time overcame all the permanent fortifications in Eastern Prussia and in the central direction from the Vistula to Berlin.

The strength of these fortifications was as great as that of the notorious "Siegfried Line," which Hitler's Command regarded as an impenetrable wall, but it could neither halt nor even hold up the headlong offensive of the Soviet troops.

The most glorious victories of that period were the rout of the southern flank of the German Front and the occupation of Budapest and Vienna, the defeat of the Germans in Eastern Prussia, the smashing of the enemy's central grouping in the Warsaw - Berlin direction, in Czechoslovakia, Silesia and Pomerania, and finally the utter rout and capitulation of the Nazi-German Army and the capture of Berlin by our troops.

As a result of four years of war the Soviet people and its

victorious Army, headed by the strategist and commander of genius, Stalin, won complete victory over Hitlerite Germany.

The "prophecies" of the enemy camp and of some of the "allies" in the British Isles and across the ocean, who from the first months of the war impatiently awaited the defeat of the Soviet Army, did not come true. The covert and overt sabotage of the creation of a Second Front in the West and the strategy of minor operations of the Anglo-American Command resulted in the entire might of the German Army being concentrated against the Soviet Union.

By their unworthy provocative game, the Anglo-American "allies," who wanted the greatest possible exhaustion and weakening of the Soviet Union and consequently the dragging out of the war, enabled Hitler for three years to conduct the war on the Soviet front alone, to concentrate there vast masses of troops and war materials, without casting a glance behind or being apprehensive concerning the rear.

And only when it became obvious that the shattering blows of the Soviet Army were deadly and could not be repulsed and that the Soviet Union would independently and single-handed put an end to Nazi Germany and her satellites, were the Messrs. Churchills and Marshalls forced to hasten with the opening of a Second Front after a delay . . . of two years.

II

THROUGHOUT THE COURSE of the Second World War the military mind of the Fascist generals, the basis of which was the reactionary and idealistic outlook, added nothing new, nor could it add anything new, to the general principles of warfare of the bourgeois States.

The most the Fascist militarists were capable of was to resort once again to the adventurous idea of a "blitzkrieg"—which had been proved worthless during the First World War—in which was expressed the organic incapability of German militarists to rise to the level of a scientific conception of contemporary war.

The result of the war between Hitlerite Germany and the U.S.S.R. showed the absolute worthlessness of the calculation that victory could be won by "blitzkrieg" methods. What was effective and real for Hitlerism in respect of the capitalist

countries of Western Europe proved illusory and fatal in the war against the Soviet Union.

In the U.S.S.R. alone, in conditions of a Socialist system, in conditions of a predominance of Marxist-Leninist ideology and Socialist practice, is true military science possible. Soviet military science was born and perfected simultaneously with the foundation and development of the Soviet country's armed forces.

Military science is rightly called in our country Stalinist military science. From the very first days of the creation of the Soviet Armed Forces, Stalin accorded much attention and devoted a great deal of work to the scientific elaboration and theoretical basis of the principles of Soviet military science. Stalinist military science, based on a correct understanding of the laws of social development, was born simultaneously with the advent to power of the working class, and was developed and strengthened on the basis of the Soviet State system.

Decisive elements such as the new Socialist system of social order and planned economy, new production forces and production relations among people, the new ideology and morale constitute the basis on which rests the entire edifice of Stalinist military science.

Being an orderly system of truly scientific knowledge of the entire complex of problems of contemporary war, Stalinist military science, side by side with the purely military elements like strategy, operational skill, tactics, organisation and training of troops, covers the sum total of social-political, economic and moral factors in their entirety, the interrelation and the decisive influence upon military affairs as a whole.

Soviet military art, as a component part of military science, which has mastered and correspondingly re-formed the experiences of former wars to make them applicable to the Socialist nature of the State, armed our commanding cadres with theoretical and practical knowledge in the sphere of strategy, operational skill, tactics, organisation and training of troops, and so enabled them to understand correctly the nature of war, to reveal the nature of contemporary combat operations, as well as the role of various types of troops, their significance and practical utilisation.

In this connection it is essential to emphasise in particular Stalin's formulation of the question of the permanently operating factors, among which the significance of the economic

and moral potential of the country is accorded a decisive place in the organisation and attainment of victory in contemporary war.

Stalin strictly divided these factors into two groups: the temporary or transient, and the permanently operating. He determined the appropriate place, role and significance of each of them and the relations between them.

Of the temporary and transient factors on which the strategic calculations of the German Command were based when planning war against the U.S.S.R., Stalin points to the "factor of surprise" as the most effective military factor.

Among the second group of factors determining the course and outcome of the war, Stalin puts stability of the rear, the morale of the Army, the quantity and quality of divisions, the armaments of the Army, the organisational abilities of the command.

The deep scientific analysis of these factors given by Stalin is not only of great theoretical, but also practical importance under conditions of fiercest war. The Soviet people were given the key to understanding the perspectives of the war and the inevitability of victory for the Soviet Union.

It is not accidental that in his speeches, Stalin frequently refers either to all these factors as a whole, or to one of them, in accordance with the conditions under which the events took place.

Stalin's thesis on the superiority and significance of prolonged permanently operating factors and the limitations of the temporary, transient factors gave the Soviet people and its Army firm conviction concerning our superiority over the enemy, affirmed their firm confidence in victory, mobilised them for heroic deeds at the front and for the greatest feats of labour in the rear. Faith in their own strength, firm conviction of victory were the powerful factors and natural prerequisites of victory.

The conception of stability of the rear includes everything which is included in the life and work of the State—social structure, policy, economy, industrial apparatus, organisational character of the working people, ideology, science, art, morale of the people, and so forth.

The scale of contemporary military operations, the vast numbers of people taking part in them, the huge amount of war material, put extremely high demands on the rear and the

whole country, and on the timely satisfaction of these demands depends the outcome of the military activities of the troops and, in the long run, of the war as a whole.

Stalin's brilliant foresight already at the beginning of the war concerning the inevitable defeat of the Hitlerite Army was based on the knowledge of the relative political-economic and social weakness of Hitlerite Germany, i.e., the instability of the German rear, and confidence in the stability of the Soviet rear, i.e., of our State as a whole.

Enumerating the miscalculations of the German Command in the strategic planning of the war, Stalin put in the first place their miscalculations concerning the appraisal of the state of the rear of their own country and in that of the enemy.

"The enemy sadly miscalculated," says Stalin. "He failed to take account of the strength of the Red Army, the stability of the Soviet rear, he failed to take into account the will to victory of the peoples of our country, he did not take into account the unreliability of the European rear of Fascist Germany, and finally he failed to reckon with the internal weaknesses of Fascist Germany and her Army."

In his speeches and Orders of the Day concerning questions of the organisation and work of the Soviet rear, to which he frequently returned at all stages of the war, Stalin emphasised the exceptional and decisive importance of the rear in guaranteeing military operations and the rout of the enemy.

"If the Red Army," said Stalin in his report of November 6, 1944, "was able successfully to fulfil its duty to its country and drive the Germans from the Soviet land, it was because of the unreserved support it received in the rear from our whole country, all the peoples of our country."

Next among the permanently operating factors comes the morale of the Army. This factor follows organically from the moral and political state of the rear, which feeds the Army not only with all kinds of supplies, ammunition, armaments, equipment, food and manpower—but also ideologically, setting the ideology, the mood and the morale.

In all wars of the past, the moral staunchness of the fighting armies always played the primary role. But in contemporary wars—when not only the Army but the entire country and the entire people are fighting, when armies of many millions participate in military operations on both sides, when extremely

tense and prolonged battles are being conducted, the moral staunchness, endurance, heroism of the combating troops acquire exceptional importance.

This is why Stalin picks out this factor in particular as one of the decisive factors in the Great Patriotic War. All military leaders and theoreticians of military affairs in the past also attached considerable importance to the factor of morale, but they regarded it in isolation, out of relation to the nature of the war, the social, political, economic and moral-ideological principles of the belligerent State, and in isolation from the masses of the people which are the chief source of strength determining, in the long run, the victory over the enemy.

Bourgeois military writers have written a great deal about the factor of morale among the troops and its importance; but their treatment of the question of the moral qualities of armies has nothing in common with Stalin's formulation of this question. The factor of morale, the spirit of the Army, according to Stalin, depends above all on the nature of the political aims of the war and, consequently, the nature of the social system, the character of the home and foreign policy of the State in question, the degree of knowledge and culture of the broad masses of the people, the predominant ideology, and so on.

Stalin teaches that the morale of the Army is determined above all and primarily by the character of the political aim of the war, that is, what the State is fighting for, the degree of political understanding of the Army's men and commanders, the depth of their understanding of the just nature of the war that is taking place, the need to conduct it to save their country from an aggressive enemy, the depth of affection for their Motherland and belief in the justice of their cause, faith in victory, faith in the leadership of the country and the armed forces in action.

"The morale of our Army is higher than that of the Germans, because it is defending its native land from alien invaders and believes in the justice of its cause, whereas the German Army is waging an aggressive war and is plundering a foreign country, having no possibility of believing even for a moment in the justice of its vile cause." (J. Stalin.)

Noble and lofty war aims, such as were the aims of the Patriotic War of the Soviet people and the Army, defending their Socialist Motherland from the encroachments of frenzied

Fascism, are the guarantee of the unshakable morale of a patriotic people and their Army.

Other permanently operating factors—quality and quantity of divisions, the armaments of the Army, the organising ability of the commanding personnel which condition the framework of the strategic planning of the war and its implementation—are indisputably obvious, particularly since they have as their basis the same economic and moral-political might of the country.

Another aspect of this same question of the long-term permanently operating factors amounts to this: That in the course of the war it was essential to guarantee an advantage in our favour, since the permanently operating factors are not a magnitude which remains constant all the time.

This advantage is created not casually, not mechanically, but through the exertion and labour of the people and through correct leadership. The accumulation of this advantage in all the decisive long-term permanently operating factors, which in the long run ensured the victory of Soviet arms, is one of the greatest services rendered by the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

Besides the provision regarding permanently operating factors making for victory, the strategic planning of the war, its decisive campaigns and individual operations, there is yet another no less important provision concerning reserves. Stalin has always attached very special importance to reserves. We know his appraisal of the role of reserves in the period of civil war and intervention. That is why in the first stage of the Great Patriotic War, besides organising active defence, the accumulation of strategic and operational reserves for conducting a long-term, victorious war, occupied a good share of Stalin's attention.

We know that the Supreme Commander-in-Chief at all stages of the war insisted that every operation must be guaranteed the reserves it required. Herein lay one of the peculiarities of Stalin's strategic leadership of the military operations of the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War. The Supreme Commander-in-Chief brilliantly solved one of the most important tasks—that of creating cadres of commanders. In the course of the war new Soviet Army leaders, generals and officers were developed, who by their military deeds demonstrated their loyalty to their Motherland and the Bolshevik Party and were able in the

greatest battles to put Stalin's strategic and operational-tactical designs into effect.

III

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR, with a total length of front amounting to thousands of kilometres, demanded that the Soviet Army leadership should decide most complex problems, should organise strategic co-ordination on several fronts. The organisation of uninterrupted supplies and direction of operations of that kind, directed according to a single plan for the achievement of a single strategic aim, is a matter that is extremely complicated and difficult. Only the military genius of Stalin was capable of tackling such a problem, and he solved it completely.

The offensive of the Soviet Armies in the winter of 1942-43, and particularly the liberation of the Ukraine to the left bank of the Dnieper in 1943, after the victory of our Army in the Kursk Salient, was accomplished with magnificent singleness of purpose through co-ordinated operations on several fronts, united in a theatre of military operations a thousand kilometres long through one strategic plan and the single guiding will of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief, the will of the great Stalin.

Even more striking in its exceptional scale, and in the brilliant results achieved from the point of view of the co-ordination of fronts, were the offensive operations of the Soviet Armed Forces in 1944-45, when over a tremendous expanse of land from the Barents Sea to the Black Sea, the Soviet troops, with successive and simultaneous devastating blows, completely finished off the Armies of Fascist Germany and her allies.

In all these brilliant Stalinist operations both the co-ordination of groups and fronts in a single strategic direction, and the co-ordination of fronts operating in separate strategic directions, integrated by the unity of Stalin's strategic plan, found their full expression. Stalin's genius inspired the commanders of fronts and armies, officers and rank-and-file personnel of the mighty Soviet Army to heroic deeds for the sake of their Socialist Motherland.

In the Great Patriotic War under Stalin's leadership one of the most difficult and complicated problems of military art—the manoeuvre of surrounding and annihilating large enemy army groups—was fully solved in practice. The German Fascist

Command in the last war repeatedly tried to carry out a strategic manoeuvre of this type against the Soviet troops, but without success. In the Red Army's offensive, this strategic manoeuvre of encirclement became a principal form of its military operations.

Commander-in-Chief Stalin's instructions "to cut the enemy communications by skilful and bold manoeuvres, to surround and scatter his troops, to annihilate and capture his men and equipment," were fully realised in many types of encirclement applied by the Soviet Army under difficult operational conditions. Thus the theory of bourgeois military experts, in vogue throughout the world, that such encircling operations are extremely rare and fortuitous, was refuted in practice. That which was beyond the possibilities of bourgeois armies and of the German Fascist imitators and their military theory and military practice, became possible and practicable for the armed forces of the Soviet State.

The outstanding operations for the encirclement and complete annihilation of the enemy—those of Stalingrad, Korsun-Shevchenkovo, Minsk, Jassy-Kishinev, Berlin, and many others—were a brilliant demonstration of the development and maturity of Soviet soldiers, officers and generals of the Stalin school, who during the Great Patriotic War gradually mastered, and mastered to perfection, this most complex form of strategic and operational tactical manoeuvre and creatively applied it under the most diverse military operational conditions.

After the historic Kursk battle which finally buried the Hitlerite offensive strategy, the Fascist Army right up to its capitulation at Berlin was subjected to a series of shattering defeats which, to a greater or smaller degree, reproduced the Stalingrad carnage. From now on historians of war and military science will no longer deal with "Cannae" and "Sedan" alone. In the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Army put into practice Stalin's strategic ideas, and gave history examples, remarkable in their execution and results, of large-scale operations for encircling and annihilating main enemy groupings. Many of these operations will go down in the history of war as classic examples.

We know that modern offensive operations in the overwhelming majority of cases come up against powerful enemy defences deployed in depth, and that the decisive role is played by the frontal attack, as a radical method of breaking through the defences and developing the success in depth behind the enemy

lines. The Soviet Supreme Command, faced during the war with the necessity of breaking through German Fascist defences which were organised to perfection, found the power, means and tactical-operational methods to solve with great effectiveness this most difficult problem as well.

Moreover, in numerous offensive operations for breaking through the defence front the Soviet Supreme Command applied the frontal blow in divers and original ways, following up the cracking of the enemy defences with a swift transition to other types of manoeuvre with the help of powerful mobile arms, tanks, motorised infantry, self-propelled artillery and cavalry, in co-operation with the air force which inevitably led either to the encirclement and annihilation of the enemy troops or to their rout and pursuit to a depth of strategic importance.

A powerful frontal attack in one direction or a series of scattered blows in several other directions which break up the enemy defences on a wide front, or a blow cleaving the front to a great depth—all these Stalinist forms of manoeuvre, highly integrated in their operational and operational-strategic co-operation, found wide application in the offensive operations of the Soviet Army. The military operations of our troops in 1943-45 assumed an especially devastating character when, thanks to the heroic work of the Soviet people at home, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief obtained the opportunity of concentrating the necessary striking forces and fire-power—tanks, aircraft, self-propelled and other types of artillery—in the main directions of the break-through. Under such conditions the German Fascist defence front was infallibly broken up to the entire tactical depth either on the day of the operation or the following day. As a result of this the offensive as a rule developed with great impetus.

Such a decisive type of action as the strategic counter-offensive should be especially mentioned. With its help the Soviet Armed Forces in the first stage of the war under conditions of overwhelming superiority of the enemy's forces and equipment, bled him white in active defence, seized the operational and strategic initiative and created conditions for subsequent counter-offensive operations on a gigantic scale along the whole length of the German front.

What has been outlined above by no means exhausts all the wealth of operational-tactical and strategic problems so successfully solved under the Supreme Command of the great Stalin, by the excellent Soviet generalship, the officer corps and all the

mighty and gallant Soviet Army and Navy during the Great Patriotic War. The great scope of the successive and simultaneous operations along the front and in great depth, with their crushing and impetuous character, skilful tactical and operational co-ordination of all arms, combined with flexible and bold manoeuvre under any battle conditions, active defence organised to perfection and capable of holding blows of any power and ensuring conditions for the transition to a decisive counter-offensive, concentrated and effective use of tank troops and aircraft on the main directions of the offensive, striking at the entire operational-strategic depth of the enemy, an artillery offensive as the most expedient form of application of all types of artillery, and a number of other most important questions found their correct and most complete solution in the military actions of the Soviet Armed Forces during the Great Patriotic War.

The victorious Great Patriotic War will go down in history as a triumph of the Soviet Socialist system, as proof of the superiority of the armed forces of Socialism over the Fascist armies and of the unquestionable superiority of the Soviet Stalinist military science over the reactionary doctrine of German imperialism, as a triumph of Stalin's military strategic genius and generalship.

* * * *

THE GREATEST historic victory of the land of Socialism over Fascist Germany and imperialist Japan, a victory won by the Soviet people under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin under the Supreme Command of the genius Stalin, dealt a great blow to the world capitalist system and helped hundreds of millions of people to rid themselves of the yoke of the old world. The mighty front of peace, democracy and Socialism has grown up, uniting the freedom-loving peoples around the Soviet Union into a harmonious, brotherly democratic family. Anglo-American imperialism, blinded by savage class-hatred, powerless to stop the inexorable march of history, is openly threatening the free peoples with a new world war.

But times have changed. The correlation of actual forces has also changed. Socialism has become the basis of the life of many countries and peoples. The camp of the fighters for peace has grown into a gigantic force. The mighty voice of the great Stalin defending the peace of the world has penetrated into all corners of the globe, into the hearts and minds of the working and pro-

gressive people of the entire world. They, the ordinary and honest people, know that every word of the great Stalin sounds the tocsin calling to vigilance, active resistance to the instigators of a new world war; and in answer to Stalin's appeal they are forming mighty columns of fighters for peace, for the liberty and happiness of the peoples.

Glory to the wise leader of genius and teacher of working and progressive mankind! Long and glorious years may he live and prosper for the happiness and triumph of the working people of the entire world—this remarkable man, great friend of all the progressive people of the world, Stalin!



THE GREAT ARCHITECT OF COMMUNISM

By A. I. Mikoyan

ON December 21, 1949, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the working people of the world, the whole of progressive mankind, celebrate Comrade Stalin's 70th birthday. Comrade Stalin has devoted more than 50 years to the service of the working class, the achievements of proletarian dictatorship, the intense, tireless work of building Socialism in the Soviet Union, the international Communist movement.

From the years of his youth, plunged in stormy revolutionary work in underground conditions under tsarism, Comrade Stalin immediately showed himself to be a professional revolutionary, an outstanding organiser and leader of the Leninist type. As Lenin's closest pupil and assistant, shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, Stalin reared and strengthened the Party of Bolsheviks, the Party of a new type, developing and enriching Marxist-Leninist theory, elaborating the ideology and policy of Leninism.

Together with great Lenin, Comrade Stalin led the working class of Russia to the October storm. After the victory of the Socialist Revolution, Comrade Stalin together with Lenin, was the creator and organiser of the first Soviet State in the world. On the direct assignment from Lenin, Comrade Stalin worked out the principles of a new military science and military art and headed the armed struggle of the young Soviet Republic against the horde of interventionists and the forces of counter-revolution at home, on all the fronts of the Civil War where the fate of the October conquests was being decided.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin directed the work of the Party and the Soviet Government in restoring the war-ruined economy. After the death of Lenin, in fierce struggle against numerous enemies of the Party and of the people at home and abroad, Stalin brought our Motherland to the world historic

victory of Socialism. Stalin is the great successor and continuator of the work of Lenin.

* * * *

MARX AND ENGELS had to create the theory of scientific Socialism without themselves having any opportunity of carrying out the principles of Socialism in practice. Lenin and Stalin, the great continuators of the work of Marx and Engels, in the new historical epoch are the creators of the new theory of scientific Socialism enriched by them, and it was they who put it into practice. They are the ideal theoreticians and commanders of the revolutionary army in the battles of proletarian revolution, and the builders in practice of the first Socialist State in the world.

Stalin not only had a perfect mastery of the scientific heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he not only defended Marxist-Leninist theory in fierce struggle against opportunists of all kinds, he was not only the brilliant interpreter of the scientific heritage of his teachers—but he enriched Marxism-Leninism with a number of great discoveries and further developed the Marxist-Leninist theory.

In Comrade Stalin's works, Leninism is raised to a new, higher historical level, and is now the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, of the victorious building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, and of the historic turn to the road of people's democracy and Socialism in the countries of Central and South-East Europe and the people of great China, and of the unprecedented anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy which transforms the world, reached its peak in the works of Comrade Stalin. The brilliant works of Comrade Stalin, which in view of the publication of his collected works have become accessible to all working people, are imbued with the spirit of revolutionary dialectics. Characteristic of all Comrade Stalin's works—from the first articles of the young Marxist-Leninist in the beginning of our century up to the classic creations of the great coryphaeus of science, at the time of the blossoming of Stalin's genius, in the period of the victorious consolidation of Socialism—is unsurpassed clarity of thought, simplicity of expression, truly steel-like logical consistency and permanency of basic principles and views.

The strength of Stalin's foresight as regards revolutionary events is extraordinary, and this is one of the fundamental qualities of our great leader. Already in August, 1917, before the victory of the October Revolution, Comrade Stalin prophetically foretold that our country would be the first to lay down the road to Socialism. "The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the very country that will lay the road to Socialism . . . We must abandon the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way. There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism. I stand by the latter." Such foresight and insight on the part of Stalin, combined with a powerful and incomparable will and genuinely Bolshevik firmness, secured the great victory of our Party and our people and the ignominious defeat of all enemies at home and abroad.

The leadership of Comrade Stalin secured for the peoples of our country the achievement of great victories with the smallest sacrifices and in the shortest time. Comrade Stalin developed and perfected the Leninist theory of the State and revolution, elaborated the theory of the Socialist State. He gave a complete theoretical substantiation to Lenin's thesis of the possibility of Socialism being victorious in one country, and proved the correctness of this theory by the practical achievements of Socialism in the Soviet Union. He created the theory of the building of Socialist society and the transition to Communism.

A decisive role in the destiny of our country was played by Stalin's theory of Socialist industrialisation and, on its basis, the collectivisation of agriculture. Comrade Stalin solved theoretically and in practice the problem of the transfer of millions of isolated and puny peasant farms to the road of collective farming. Comrade Stalin developed Lenin's co-operative plan with the systematic teaching of the collectivisation of agriculture, and found the best possible organisational form of a collective farm—the form of the agricultural *artel*. This form has been completely assimilated by the millions of the masses of the peasantry and has fully justified itself in practice.

Its strongest aspect is the skilful combination of social interests, as the main factor, with the personal interests of the peasants, as an auxiliary factor. This organisational form alone was capable of ensuring all-round collectivisation in the shortest time, of bringing millions upon millions of peasant masses irrevocably to Socialism and eliminating the most numerous and tenacious exploiting class—the kulaks. The *artel* form of agriculture secures a steady and constant strengthening of the

socialised economy of the collective farms, as compared with the personal holdings of the collective farmers. It is precisely on this principle that the Statute of the Agricultural Artels is built, the fundamental law, the true constitution of the collective farm system, the creator of which was Comrade Stalin.

As the wise and far-seeing creator of the fundamental theoretical works of Marxism-Leninism on the national question, Comrade Stalin carried on his shoulders the entire burden of forming and strengthening our national Republics and Regions, of rallying the peoples of the Soviet Union into one single fraternal family around the Russian working class. Instead of the former distrust among peoples, in the Soviet Union there arose inviolable friendship which made it possible to unite all the peoples of our Motherland into a united multi-national State—the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stalin crowned the great edifice of Socialism, when it had been built and firmly established, with the creation of the fundamental law of life of the Soviet people: the Constitution which rightly bears his name, and is an ideal model for all peoples who have taken the road of building Socialism on the model and following the example of the Soviet Union.

Socialism, established in the Soviet Union, has withstood the most severe trials. The Soviet social and State system has demonstrated its incomparable superiority over all other systems. In the years of the Great Patriotic War the Soviet peoples displayed a gigantic will to victory, inexhaustible strength and solidarity, faith in their Socialist State and in their leader Comrade Stalin, the creator and maker of the new Soviet military science and military art, who gave the world an incomparable "science of how to conquer," the organiser and commander of the Soviet Army which played a historic liberating role for many peoples of Europe and Asia.

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THE PRINCIPLES of the strategy and tactics of class struggle, for the first time elaborated in such fullness in the works of Comrade Stalin, enriched by the experience of the Great October Revolution and the victorious Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, are a guide to action for the proletarian revolutionaries of all countries.

Marxism broke its way through to great China after the October Revolution through the Russian Bolsheviks. It penetrated there as Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian

revolutions, enriched and developed by Lenin and Stalin. In Stalin's works, the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolution are elaborated in detail. What he said a quarter of a century ago about the roads of development of the Chinese revolution is still the guiding principle of the Chinese Communists. That is why the Chinese Communist Party, wreathed in glorious victories, with full right and just pride recognises Comrade Stalin as its great teacher.

The strategy and tactics of the Socialist transformations in the countries of people's democracy in Central and South-East Europe, in North Korea and China, as also the strategy and tactics of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, are entirely based on the Leninist-Stalinist science of class struggle.

Only on the basis of the strict, scientific, Leninist-Stalinist ideological and theoretical principles was it possible in a number of countries to secure the elimination so quickly of the old, anti-popular regimes, to bring about the stable alliance of the working class and peasantry. The Leninist-Stalinist teaching of revolutionary vigilance alone helped the Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries of people's democracy to divine in time the disruptive activities of the arch-enemies of democracy and their Anglo-American masters, to expose the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, the espionage-diversionist clique of Tito-Rankovic, and to render the despicable Rajks and Kostovs harmless in good time.

Leninist-Stalinist science and Stalin's leadership are the decisive conditions for the advance of the countries of people's democracy to Socialism. Leninist-Stalinist science and Stalin's leadership are the decisive conditions for rallying all the ordinary people of the world in the struggle for peace, for democracy, for Socialism.

One cannot fail to be struck by the sagacious unhurriedness, judiciousness, inimitable endurance and boldness of Comrade Stalin in appraising facts and events, even in particularly difficult moments, in the steepest and sharpest turns in history.

In 1942—when the Hitlerite hordes occupied many regions of the Soviet Union, when mortal danger threatened our country—Comrade Stalin said of Germany and the German people the same as in the days of victory on May 9, 1945, when the Soviet Army had already entered Berlin and brought Hitlerite Germany to its knees, the same as in the year 1949, in the message to the leaders of the newly born German Democratic Republic, Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl. On February 23, 1942, Comrade Stalin wrote: "The experience of history indicates that Hitlers

come and go, but the German people and the German State remain." On the day of victory, May 9, 1945, Comrade Stalin said in his historic appeal to the people: "The Soviet Union is celebrating victory, although it does not intend either to dismember or to destroy Germany."

And now, when the German people have taken the road of democratic regeneration, Comrade Stalin points to the great future of the German people in the cause of safeguarding peace, putting them side by side with the victor-people. In all Comrade Stalin's statements about Germany and the German people we see the far-sighted political leader, the wise strategist, who recognises the laws of historic development and builds the policy, strategy and tactics of our Party only on the basis of the objective laws of history and a sober estimate of real forces. And the progressive people of Germany justly regard Comrade Stalin as their great and magnanimous friend.

* * * *

THE TIME has passed when the Soviet Union stood like an isolated Socialist island squeezed by a "cordon sanitaire" of capitalist encirclement. As a result of the wise and consistent Stalinist international peace policy and the brilliant successes of the Soviet armed forces won under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, the mighty Socialist Power destroyed the hostile "cordon sanitaire," on the ruins of which there have arisen countries of people's democracy which are friendly to us and which are marching towards Socialism. A radical turn has taken place in the relation of forces between Socialism and capitalism all over the world. Socialism has won victories in some countries and has immeasurably strengthened its positions in other countries, where the class-consciousness and organisation of the working class have risen high. Gigantic reserves of the proletarian revolution—the colonial peoples—are on the move, and the greatest of them, the Chinese people, have won a historic victory over the dark forces of imperialism and the reactionary bourgeois-landlord Kuomintang clique.

The camp of Socialism has become wider and the camp of capitalism narrower. Our country and Comrade Stalin are the head and inspiration of the movement of hundreds of millions of working people throughout the world against the warmongers, for peace and progress.

Foreign political relations are as inseparable from foreign trade

relations as economy is inseparable from politics. In this respect Comrade Stalin said a decisive word. The decree on the nationalisation of foreign trade was signed by Comrades Lenin and Stalin on April 22, 1918. The monopoly of foreign trade provided for by this decree was a very important measure in protecting our economic independence and the construction of Socialism under the conditions of capitalist environment. It has become the steel shield of the planned Soviet economy. Introducing the monopoly of foreign trade, Lenin asserted that "without such a monopoly we should be unable . . . to protect our internal economic independence." Defending the monopoly of foreign trade in the struggle against the enemies of Socialism, Comrade Stalin said: ". . . As long as the Soviet system exists, the monopoly of foreign trade will live and prosper regardless of everything."

The idea of the monopoly of foreign trade is fixed by Comrade Stalin in the Constitution of the Soviet Union. As is known, our country even before the Second World War had got rid of economic dependence on capitalism and was producing itself everything or nearly everything necessary for its normal development.

Foreign trade is a derivative factor of the economy of the Soviet Union, and reflects it. When our country was still poor and industrialisation had not yet been completed, we were a country exporting raw materials and food-stuffs. Now, despite the enormous destruction inflicted by the war, by successfully fulfilling the tasks of the post-war Five-Year Plan we have speedily raised our economy. We are already exporting not only raw materials and food-stuffs, but also an impressive volume of various industrial equipment.

Comrade Stalin has worked out the principles of foreign trade relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world—relations based on a correct appraisal and understanding of two tendencies characteristic of the capitalist encirclement in its attitude to the Soviet Union. On the one hand there is the tendency to unleash aggression against the Soviet Union and on the other to use the Soviet Union as a sales market and as a supplier of certain goods necessary for the economy of capitalist countries. The capitalist countries have striven to disrupt Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, to destroy the proletarian dictatorship not only by means of armed struggle. After the end of military intervention, in peace conditions, the imperialists were already trying by means of economic intervention to undermine

the Socialist economy, still young at that time, and, in particular, industry, which was still weak.

The anarchy of the capitalist market, its currency and stock exchange machinations, sharp changes of prices and various disruptive plans of the capitalists, would undoubtedly have been able to inflict serious damage on the Soviet economy and to hamper the development of Socialism had it not been for Lenin's and Stalin's implementation of the monopoly of foreign trade. Like a protective wall, the monopoly of foreign trade received and absorbed the shock of all economic blows of the capitalist encirclement, protected the Socialist economy against the corrupting influence of imperialist capital, and assisted the development of the second tendency, which corresponds with the interests of the Soviet Union and which is based on the Leninist-Stalinist teaching of the possibility of peaceful co-existence of two systems.

Foreign trade brings additional material resources to accelerate the tempo of development of the Soviet economy. The character of foreign trade, the forms of its implementation and its volume reflect the level of economic development of the Soviet Union and its political relations with foreign States. During the period of struggle for the country's rehabilitation and during the period of the first Stalin Five-Year Plans, foreign trade played its role in the matter of supplying equipment of which we were then short for the purpose of accelerating industrialisation. During the period of the Great Patriotic War, foreign trade was entirely at the service of the front, and since its end it has served the cause of healing the wounds inflicted by the war and of fulfilling the post-war Stalin Five-Year Plans.

In the new international situation, after the victory of the Soviet Union in the Patriotic War, the character of our foreign trade has also changed. The physical volume of the foreign trade turnover of the Soviet Union in 1949 was more than double that of pre-war.

It is characteristic that the volume and proportion of goods turnover of the Soviet foreign trade with the capitalist countries have decreased, and in 1949 amounted only to one-third of the total turnover. On the other hand, the foreign trade with our friends, the countries of people's democracy, has grown on a scale hitherto unprecedented, the volume of the Soviet trade turnover in 1949 amounting to two-thirds of the total.

Hence the change in the function of the monopoly of foreign trade with the countries of people's democracy. In the given

case it no longer fulfils the function of protection of Soviet economy, but is the means of a planned linking-up of Soviet economy with the economy of the countries of people's democracy, aimed at mutual co-operation in economic development.

Unlike the trade treaties concluded by the Anglo-American imperialists with the Marshallised countries, the Soviet Union's trade treaties with the countries of people's democracy are based on equality of rights and ensure the Soviet Union's disinterested assistance to the independent and free development of the economy of these countries, which have embarked on the road of expediting industrialisation and the construction of Socialism.

On Comrade Stalin's initiative, a system of economic mutual relations with the countries of people's democracy has been created which ensures fraternal co-operation, comradely co-ordination of economic plans. A goods turnover is arranged which is free from the influence of capitalist crises and spontaneous market fluctuations, a goods turnover which permits the countries of people's democracy to acquire in the Soviet Union equipment and raw materials which they are unable to obtain from the capitalist countries, and to find a market for their goods in the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that the curtailment of trade between the Soviet Union and the United States and capitalist countries of Western Europe is not caused by the existence of different economic systems. It has been proved theoretically and practically that, even with the existing difference, a wide-scale development of trade relations is wholly possible. The whole matter lies in the fact that the American aggressive politicians are applying discrimination and are deliberately disrupting trade with the Soviet Union. Contrary to their economic interests, they are compelling their West European satellites not to develop their trade relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

Now, when our country has risen to the heights of gigantic economic might, such a policy on the part of Anglo-American imperialism is unable to influence our economic development, but this policy may sharpen the economic crisis which has developed in the capitalist countries. By refusing to trade with us, on the instructions of the American imperialists, the Marshallised countries of Western Europe are cutting off the branch on which they are sitting. It is known that they need a market for selling surplus goods and reducing unemployment. They need raw

materials and foodstuffs in order to supply their industry and population.

Numerous bourgeois economists themselves admit that the direct economic interests of the West European States dictate the necessity of extending trade with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, because there is no dollar problem here and there is an opportunity to obtain necessary raw materials and foodstuffs in exchange for their goods. However, as a result of the suicidal policy of the Governments of these countries—the American satellites—their trade relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy are not developing.

Meanwhile, thanks to Stalin's concern for the countries of people's democracy, which are friendly towards us, the trade turnover between them and the Soviet Union is growing rapidly. The scientific and technical assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the countries of people's democracy gives them the opportunity in the shortest possible time to reach the level of modern advanced science, technique and culture.

Whereas the Soviet Union in its very difficult struggle for the construction of Socialism, had to rely solely on its own forces and resources, the countries of people's democracy have the support of the disinterested assistance of the first Socialist State in the world, created by the genius of Lenin and Stalin.

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OUR COUNTRY lost Lenin when we were still very poor, when our industry had only begun to be restored, when there was a shortage of food, and the scars of ruin were still fresh in the country after the four years of imperialist and three years of Civil War. Comrade Stalin has been leading us forward for 26 years without Lenin, uniting the multi-millioned peoples of the Soviet Union around the Bolshevik Party and the working class. Other countries would have required centuries to make such a gigantic cultural and economic leap. For this reason these years will go down in the history of mankind as the years of the Stalin epoch.

The whole work of transforming our country has been going forward under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin. Beginning with the first Soviet economic plan, worked out in Lenin's time—the GOELRO Plan—and ending with the Five-Year Plan for the post-war rehabilitation and development of our economy,

Comrade Stalin has been improving Soviet science and planning, and has proved that planning is an objective law of the development of Soviet society, whereas anarchy and absence of planning are an immutable law of capitalism.

A characteristic peculiarity of the plans which have gone down in history under the name of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, is their strictly scientific realism, emanating from a creative understanding of the nature of the Soviet system and from the understanding that a plan is not simply a summary of possibilities, not only a directive and forecast, but also the taking into account of the activity of the Soviet people, the builders of Socialism. A plan is the living people, teaches Comrade Stalin, it is you and me.

Hence the intense nature of Soviet plans and their adjustment to what is progressive and growing. It is not without reason that Lenin called the GOELRO Plan the second programme of the Party. And this is indeed so, because Stalin's plans, the same as the Party's programme, beckon forward and show the ways and means for overcoming difficulties and achieving victory.

The question of tempo played a particular role in the realisation of Socialist industrialisation the collectivisation of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks, and in the construction of Socialist society. It is not without reason that the question of the tempo of our development was one of the main questions which was subjected to the fiercest attacks by the trotskyite-bukharinite-zinovievite enemies of the people and their hangers-on.

And it is just the accelerated tempo of our development, provided by the Stalin plans, that made it possible during the brief period of respite prior to the beginning of the Second World War to transform the Soviet Union from an agrarian into an industrial country, to create new centres of heavy industry in the East of the country, to transform the Soviet Union from a country of small-scale agriculture into a country of large-scale and most advanced agriculture, based on all-round collectivisation.

In all spheres of the national economy science and culture, our own, new, highly educated, politically and technically well-trained cadres have been created. Had Comrade Stalin not displayed persistency in achieving an accelerated tempo of industrialisation and collectivisation, had the Party permitted itself to be influenced by the "advice" of the Right-wing restorationists and thus not ensured that the country, which had lagged behind in the past, press forward to the utmost, the Second World War would have found us with a weak industry, with no mechanised agriculture, with no advanced agriculture, with no industrial

potential, and consequently without a well-armed and equipped army.

Today our country is well on the upgrade again. Its road towards Communism has been mapped out by the hand of Comrade Stalin, the architect of genius of Communist society. In his speech to the electors in 1946, when we had hardly begun to heal the gaping wounds inflicted on the country by an extremely hard war, Comrade Stalin spoke of our coming tasks and pointed to the further perspective, which is now taking full shape. Comrade Stalin laid down the task of organising a new and tremendous leap forward of the whole of our economy in the coming 15-20 years—which is to treble the volume of output, achieve an annual output of 50 million tons of pig iron, 60 million tons of steel, 500 million tons of coal, 60 million tons of oil, a corresponding growth in all the other branches of industry, and, most important of all, the organisation of a mighty unprecedented leap forward in our science and technique.

These are the principles of Stalin's assignment, the contours of the material basis which forms the foundation of Communist society and serves as the condition for the creation of a real abundance in the all-round material and spiritual well-being for the working people in Communist society.

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CONCERN for the people, for millions of ordinary people, runs through all the work of Comrade Stalin. From the first workers' study circles in the Tiflis railway workshops up to the October storm, up to leadership in the work of building Socialist society, all is filled with love for the people, care for their well-being and cultural development. "There was no point in overthrowing capitalism in October, 1917, and spending several years building Socialism," said Stalin, "if we are not going to ensure that people live in prosperity in our country."

Comrade Stalin speaks to the masses in a language that can be understood by every simple person. He does not like embellishments. He, as the people say, calls a spade a spade, however unpleasant the truth may be.

Thus, speaking at the first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Stalin said: "It is a good thing, of course, to drive out the capitalists, to drive out the landlords, to drive out the tsarist henchmen, to seize power and achieve freedom. That is very good. But, unfortunately, freedom alone is not enough, by far.

If there is a shortage of bread, a shortage of butter and fats, a shortage of textiles, and if housing conditions are bad, freedom will not carry you very far. It is very difficult, comrades, to live on freedom alone. In order to live well and joyously, the benefits of political freedom must be supplemented by material benefits."

Our Revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, won in the historic October fighting, gave the people not only freedom but material benefits and the possibility of enjoying prosperous and cultured lives.

No matter what economic and political tasks were being tackled, Comrade Stalin never lost sight of the needs of the people, the needs of ordinary people. Hence his especial care, in particular, for the development of the production of consumer goods, for the utmost development of the food industry, the production of high-quality foodstuffs and the creation of a real abundance of them, for the systematic lowering of prices, for the utmost development of Soviet trading in the towns and countryside.

Without Comrade Stalin's especial care, we would never have had a network of meat-combinats equipped with the latest machinery, canneries and sugar refineries, a fishing industry and everything that has been created and is still being created in our country in the sphere of the food industry.

"Socialism," Comrade Stalin teaches us, "can be built only on the basis of a vigorous growth of the productive forces of society, on the basis of an abundance of foodstuffs and commodities, on the basis of prosperous lives for the working people, on the basis of a vigorous growth of the cultural side of life; for Socialism—Marxist Socialism—means, not a curtailment of personal requirements, but their utmost expansion and development; not restricting or rejecting the need to satisfy these requirements, but the fullest, most comprehensive, satisfaction of all the requirements of culturally-developed working people."

The extensive development of the food industry, brought about under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, became possible thanks to the victory of Socialism in agriculture, which established a stable and ever-expanding source of raw materials for industry. New, stable relations, organised on a planned basis, grew up between the Socialist food industry and Socialist agriculture, thus ensuring an uninterrupted growth of those branches of economy and their continuous technical and organisational improvement,

as well as their expansion as regards quantity and their improvement as regards quality.

In the coming two or three years, the industry producing high-quality butter, cheese, tinned dairy products and meat products will assume a particularly powerful development. The vast scope of this production depends upon the plan for accelerating the development of livestock breeding, adopted on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, which relies on the already achieved successes of Socialist agriculture and the creation of fodder bases. The plan envisages more than doubling the socially-owned herd of livestock and the amount of produce from livestock breeding, and lays down that tremendous quantities of cattle and milk shall go to industry for processing purposes.

It is the duty of all workers in the food industry, from the worker to the engineer and director, to obtain still greater efficiency in the food industry, to raise the demand for better-quality foodstuffs, for foodstuffs that are tastier and of greater food value, for better packing of food, to ensure immaculate hygienic conditions in production and processing, to adhere strictly to the technological plan of production, and in accordance with the requirements of science, to maintain strict adherence to the established recipes for foodstuffs.

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IN STALIN'S TEACHING about Socialist society and the laws governing our development, the question of criticism and self-criticism occupies a special place. At every stage of the struggle for Socialism, Comrade Stalin called on the Party and the people to develop criticism and self-criticism, regarding this as a powerful driving force of our advancement, a means of releasing the creative initiative of the masses, a means of combating bureaucracy and all the shortcomings in our life.

In a recently published letter to Maxim Gorky, Comrade Stalin wrote in 1930: "We cannot manage without self-criticism, we really cannot, Alexei Maximovich. Without it stagnation, decay of the apparatus, an increase in bureaucracy, frustration of the creative initiative of the working class are inevitable."

Comrade Stalin regards criticism and self-criticism as the corner-stone of the successful building of the Bolshevik Party

and the Socialist State. Criticism and self-criticism are essential for the acceleration of the tempo of scientific and technical progress in the country, for the growth of productive forces, for the economic and cultural prospering of the Soviet State.

More than once did Stalin stress that Soviet Bolshevik organisers must clear the way for everything that is new and progressive in social life, in science, technique and art, must know how to throw aside everything that is obsolete and decayed. Comrade Stalin teaches that in our lives something is always dying, something new is always being born. But the old will never willingly give way to the new, while what is new springs up not simply, not at once, but fights for its right to existence through stubborn struggle.

"The struggle between the old and the new," says Comrade Stalin, "between what is dying and what is being born—this is the basis of our development. If we do not point out and expose frankly and honestly, as becomes a Bolshevik, the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, we close against ourselves the road to advancement. But we want to advance and just for this reason that we want to advance we must make honest, revolutionary self-criticism one of our most important tasks. Without this there is no advancement; without this there is no development."

According to Comrade Stalin's teaching, directly connected with criticism and self-criticism is Socialist emulation, "that *lever* with the aid of which the working class is destined to lift the whole economic and cultural life of the country on to the basis of Socialism." Socialist emulation has become part of the daily life of Soviet people, it covers all branches of work, it has become the most invincible movement of our time, and, according to Comrade Stalin's definition, is the Communist method of building Socialism.

The Soviet people, after victoriously accomplishing the building of Socialist society, will arrive at Communism, in Stalin fashion, combining criticism and self-criticism with Socialist emulation for, as Comrade Stalin says, "Socialist emulation is an expression of the business-like revolutionary *self-criticism* of the masses, relying on the creative *initiative* of millions of working people." That is why the utmost development of criticism and self-criticism, the inclusion of all working people in Socialist emulation, is an essential condition for our advancement, a decisive means of overcoming what is old and has been

left behind by the triumph of all that is new and Communist. That is why Comrade Stalin regards Socialist emulation, criticism and self-criticism, as a special law of development, as the principal driving force in the development of Socialist society.

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COMRADE STALIN developed Marxist-Leninist theory and elevated it to unprecedented heights, armed the Bolshevik Party with it, elaborated the theory of the building of Socialist society, substantiated the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country and ensured in practice the victory of the Socialist system on one-sixth of the globe.

In the life-and-death struggle against the dark forces of imperialism, Comrade Stalin defended the first great Socialist State in the world, strengthened and augmented its forces.

Comrade Stalin is the great continuator of the work of Lenin. Comrade Stalin is the Lenin of today. Comrade Stalin is the genius of Socialism. Comrade Stalin is the great architect of Communism.

We wish Comrade Stalin on his 70th birthday long years of life that he may lead us from Socialism to the victory of Communism.

