

L. B E R I A

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SPEECH  
AT THE NINETEENTH  
CONGRESS  
OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)



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Comrades, the report of the Central Committee made by Comrade Malenkov sums up our Party's activities in the period from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Congress. A special place in the life of our Party and of the Soviet people during this period is occupied by two events, with which I want to deal.

The first is the Great Patriotic War.

The issue in this war was the fate of our Motherland and the fate of the countries and peoples of Europe and Asia. It is obvious to everyone that the victory of the Hitlerite coalition would have led to the monstrous enslavement and extermination of the peoples of our country, and of the peoples of many other countries. Hundreds of millions of people would have been reduced to the status of slaves. The fascist barbarians would have destroyed modern civilization, and would have thrown mankind back for many decades.

This did not occur, and the reason is, primarily, that the peoples of the Soviet Union, in mortal combat with the fascist invaders, achieved complete victory. The suddenness of the treacherous attack upon the U.S.S.R. created favourable conditions for the Hitler troops in the first stage of the war. But at the cost of enormous sacrifice, by straining all their material and spiritual forces to the utmost, the people of the Soviet Union upheld their independence,

routed the enemy, who had spread terror among the armies of Europe, and saved mankind and its civilization.

The inspirer and organizer of the Soviet people's great victory was the Communist Party, led by Comrade Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the very first days of the war, when our Motherland was being particularly hard pressed, Comrade Stalin became the head of the State Committee of Defence and of the Armed Forces of the country. With immense courage, our wise and fearless leader led the Soviet Army, and the whole of the Soviet people, through the fire of battle and the hardships and trials of war, to victory over the enemy. It was the great good fortune of our Party, and of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R., that Comrade Stalin stood at the head of the Soviet state and of its army during that grave period. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

The victory of the Soviet people showed the whole world that the strength and might of our socialist state is unshakeable.

That is one of the most important lessons of the Great Patriotic War. True, not everybody has learnt the lessons of history. The American imperialists, who have grown fat out of two world wars and are intoxicated with the maniacal idea of establishing their world domination, are again pushing the peoples into the abyss of a world war.

The present bosses of the United States—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Mellons, Du Ponts and others—those who control the levers of the American state and war machine, are energetically creating new world monopolies, such as the European Coal and Steel Community and the International Petroleum Cartel, for the purpose of more rapidly gaining hold of the economies of other countries and of subordinating them to their own interests. They want to

establish their unlimited rule in all parts of the world in order, by robbing and enslaving the peoples of other countries, to ensure superprofits for themselves. That is why they need war. With the object of preparing war, American big business, in conjunction with the American militarists, are assuming all the functions of a fascist regime in order to crush the peace strivings of the people in their own country and to suppress all opposition to their adventurist policy. While pushing the country onto the path of war, they calculate that the armaments race and the war situation will enable them to avert an economic crisis. But a crisis is inexorably advancing upon the economy of the United States, and no devices or adventurist undertakings on the part of the financial bosses can avert it. Spurring on the armaments race, and turning the whole of their economy to the purpose of preparing war, they fear peace more than war, although there can be no doubt that by unleashing war they will only accelerate their own downfall. (*Applause.*)

Spreading the network of war bases over the whole world, and strenuously scraping together all sorts of aggressive military blocs, they are feverishly preparing war against the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. They are continuously smuggling into our country, and into other peaceful countries, spies and saboteurs, picked up in all parts of the world from among the depraved dregs of humanity. The vigilance of the Soviet people is the keenest weapon in the struggle against enemy spies, and there can be no doubt that, by enhancing and sharpening their vigilance, the Soviet people will succeed in rendering the agents of the imperialist warmongers harmless, no matter how many are sent among us, and no matter how they are disguised. (*Applause.*)

The blatant acts of provocation committed by the American militarists against the U.S.S.R. in the shape of innumerable manoeuvres of land, air and naval forces, of "inspection" tours by the military bosses of the Atlantic bloc in regions bordering on the Soviet Union, of the activity of American air forces on the western and eastern frontiers of the U.S.S.R., are all evidently intended to disturb the serenity of the Soviet people and to sustain war psychosis in their own country and in their vassal countries.

Only hopeless idiots can believe that acts of provocation can frighten the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Soviet people know the real worth of all the acts of provocation and threats of the warmongers. With imperturbable serenity, the Soviet people are continuing their creative, peaceful labours. They have firm confidence in the strength and might of their state and their army, which is capable of inflicting a crushing blow upon those who dare to attack our country and of killing all desire to encroach upon the frontiers of the Soviet Union. (*Loud applause.*)

The other great event in the life of the Party and the Soviet people is the new mighty upswing of our national economy, which has made it possible to raise the level of our industry 130 per cent above the prewar level and to take a big step forward in the transition from socialism to communism. The war that was forced upon us by Hitler fascism, the fiercest and most arduous war our Motherland has ever had to wage, interrupted our peaceful development. The Hitlerite monsters pursued their barbarous "scorched earth" tactics in the districts they occupied, and thereby inflicted severe wounds upon our Soviet national economy.

Owing to this, on the termination of the war we were faced with the extremely complicated task of reviving life in the districts which had suffered from German occupation, of raising industry and agriculture to the prewar level and then of exceeding that level to a more or less considerable extent.

In that difficult period, Comrade Stalin gave us a comprehensive program for the rehabilitation of the national economy and showed us how it was to be carried out. With his characteristic inflexible will and energy, Comrade Stalin himself directed all the work of the Party and the state in organizing the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia for the purpose of fulfilling the Postwar Five-Year Plan. As is known, the Postwar Five-Year Plan was successfully fulfilled. (*Applause.*)

At the present time the industry, agriculture and transport system of our country are developing on the most advanced technical basis and are ensuring an unprecedented increase of total social production.

To illustrate the dimensions of our industrial production I shall quote a few examples.

If we compare the volume of industrial production for the past two years with that of the period covering the first and second five-year plans, we shall find that industrial production in 1951 and 1952 is 22 per cent above that of the two five-year plan periods taken together. (*Applause.*) In 1952 alone, the output of extremely important types of industrial production, such as electric power, iron and steel, coal, oil products, cement, and consumer goods, will be far larger than that in the whole of the first five-year plan period.

Machine building, which is the basis of the technical progress of national economy as a whole, is developing at a still faster rate. This year alone, we are producing far more machines and equipment than we produced in the whole of the first and second five-year plan periods taken together.

With the growth of socialist production there is a continuous improvement, year after year, in the well-being of the whole of the Soviet people.

In economic and political respects, and also in respect to its defence capacity, the Soviet Union is now stronger and more capable than ever it was before of standing the severest trials. (*Prolonged applause.*)

If the enemy dares to go to war against us, the Soviet Union, standing at the head of the camp of peace and democracy, will be able to offer annihilating resistance to any group of aggressive imperialist states; it will be able to rout and punish the arrogant aggressors and war-mongers. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, one of the decisive factors in the victories the Soviet people have achieved in war and in peaceful economic and cultural development has been our Party's wise and far-sighted national policy. In the Soviet multinational state there are living and working over 60 nations, national groups and nationalities. Under these circumstances, the implementation of a correct national policy is of exceptional importance for the success of our common cause—enhancement of the might of the U.S.S.R. and the building of communist society.

Our Party's national policy is based on a harmonious, scientifically substantiated theory of the national question, forming part of the Leninist teaching concerning proletarian revolution. The creators of the Communist Party's

program and policy on the national question are Lenin and Stalin. That is why our national policy is called the Lenin-Stalin policy. Our Party's national policy is heartily approved of and unanimously supported by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Lenin and Stalin themselves directed the creation of the Soviet multinational state. After great Lenin passed away, Comrade Stalin guided the entire work of the Party in establishing fraternal cooperation between the peoples of our country, in strengthening the Union of Republics, and in developing the economy and culture of our peoples. Comrade Stalin played an exceptional role in elaborating the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national question. He enriched Marxism-Leninism with the theory of the nation, he developed Lenin's teaching concerning the unity of the national and international tasks of the working class and the strategy and tactics of the national-liberation movement in the epoch of imperialism, he worked out the theoretical principles of the Communist Party's national policy as applied to the Soviet multinational state, and created the teaching concerning socialist nations and their development in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The Great October Revolution, which swept away capitalism, thereby liberated the peoples of Russia, abolished national oppression and led to the regeneration of the peoples. After the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were abolished, after the Soviet system was established in our country, new socialist nations developed and took shape on the basis of the old bourgeois nations.

The consistent application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy in our country resulted in the abolition of the inequality that was inherited from tsarism, the actual ine-

quality in economic and cultural development between the peoples of Central Russia, who had gone on ahead, and the peoples of the border regions who had lagged behind them. We no longer have any backward peoples in our country. In the period of the building of socialism, the new socialist nations in our country underwent a fundamental change and developed into advanced modern nations.

What does advanced socialist nation mean?

Proceeding from Comrade Stalin's classical definition of a nation, from his teachings concerning new socialist nations, and from the historic experience of our Soviet multinational state, we can say that the chief features that are characteristic of an advanced socialist nation are the following:

First, the existence of the most advanced social and political system in the world, a system in which there are no exploiting classes, and in which the power of the people holds undivided sway.

Second, the existence of a highly-developed socialist industry and large-scale socialist agriculture.

Third, universal literacy, compulsory education of children, an extensive system of higher education that makes it possible to train national cadres of specialists for all spheres of economy and culture, the efflorescence of science and art.

Fourth, systematic rise of the living standard of the entire population due to the growth of the real wages of workers and employees and of the incomes of the peasants, to the expansion of trade, to the growth and improvement of cities and improvement of housing conditions, to the existence of an extensive medical service that ensures the protection of the people's health.

Fifth, the triumph of the ideology of equal rights for all races and nations, the ideology of friendship among the peoples.

Do the nations of our Soviet republics possess these features of an advanced socialist nation? They do.

Let us turn to the facts.

It is common knowledge that tsarism was the oppressor and hangman of the peoples of Russia. The numerous non-Russian nations were totally bereft of rights. They had no statehood, they were governed by tsarist bureaucrats, in all government offices business was conducted in Russian, which the local nationalities did not understand.

Under the Soviet system, all the peoples in our country have acquired and developed their own statehood. Under the Soviet regime, the regions that were non-Russian borderlands in tsarist Russia have been transformed from colonies and semicolonies into real independent states, into Soviet republics, having their own territory, national autonomy, their own Constitutions and their own legislations. In the organs of government, administration and business management and the judiciary in the Union and Autonomous Republics, in the national regions, areas, districts and villages, state affairs are conducted by men and women who are elected by the people, who know the life, customs and mentality of the local people; and they conduct them in the native languages, the languages understood by the people.

Such genuine equal rights of nations are not to be found in any bourgeois state. That is understandable, for national oppression cannot be abolished under the capitalist system. As is known, the entire system of state administration in bourgeois countries is based on the inequality of races and nations, on race discrimination,



on the playing on nationalist prejudices for the purpose of fomenting inter-national strife and enmity. At the present time, race and national discrimination is particularly rife in two countries—the United States of America and the Union of South Africa.

Consistently pursuing the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, in addition to raising the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R. to a high level, ensured the more rapid development of the economically backward national republics. This has resulted in the abolition of the economic and cultural inequality among peoples of the U.S.S.R. that was inherited from the past, and this is undoubtedly one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet national policy.

I could quote numerous convincing facts to illustrate the successes achieved in the development of the Soviet national republics, but I will confine myself to only a few examples.

During the fulfilment of the Stalin five-year plans the metallurgical, oil and chemical industries were newly established in the Soviet republics, big electric power stations were built, and also plants for the manufacture of agricultural machines, tractors and automobiles, cement works, large textile mills and food factories, and numerous other industrial enterprises.

It is a fact that industry in the national republics, and particularly large-scale industry, developed faster than in the U.S.S.R. as a whole. This can be illustrated by the example of the Soviet Republics in the East—the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Tajik Soviet Republics. From 1928 to 1951, the output of large-scale industry in these republics increased 22-fold, whereas in

the U.S.S.R. as a whole it increased 16-fold in the same period.

As is known, not so long ago, in level of industrial development, the eastern borderlands of tsarist Russia scarcely differed from such of their neighbours as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. During the period the Soviet regime has been in existence the Central Asian republics quickly ran ahead of the eastern countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. and have now left them far behind. If we compare the Soviet Republics I have mentioned with a number of eastern countries in such an important index of industrial development as the production of electric power, we shall find that the five Soviet Republics—Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Tajik—which have a combined population of about seventeen million, produce three times as much electric power as is produced in Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan put together, making a total population of 156 million. (*Applause.*) And if we compare the production of electric power of one Soviet Republic, say Azerbaijan, with Turkey, we shall find that Soviet Azerbaijan, whose population is only about one seventh of that of Turkey, produces four times as much electric power as Turkey, which has put its neck in the noose of American “aid.” (*Laughter.*)

Our Soviet republics have even far outstripped old industrial countries in Western Europe.

Let us, for example, compare one Soviet Republic—the Ukraine—with two big European bourgeois countries—France and Italy. In this case, of course, not everything is comparable. As is well known, in the Ukrainian S.S.R. the exploiting classes were abolished long ago, the factories, mills, land and all the products of labour

belong to the people, unemployment has been abolished forever, all power is wielded entirely by the people. In this respect, both France and Italy, where the capitalists are in power, were far outstripped by Soviet Ukraine more than thirty years ago. (*Applause.*) Therefore, we shall compare only some of the major items, in the economy of these countries.

Soviet Ukraine, which has been twice compelled, during the period of its existence, to rise from ruins and ashes after the invasion of foreign aggressors, now produces much more pig iron than France and Italy put together (*applause*); it produces more steel and rolled metals than France, and over three times as much as Italy; it produces 50 per cent more coal than France and Italy put together; the total h.p. capacity of the tractors the Ukraine produces is nearly three times as much as of those produced in France and Italy put together; and it produces far more cereals, potatoes, sugar beets and sugar than France and Italy put together.

Thanks to the advance made by socialist industry and collective agriculture, the Ukrainian people are living in prosperity and enjoy all the benefits of culture. This cannot be said of the toiling masses of France and Italy.

A no less striking example is the rapid economic development of the Baltic Soviet republics after they established the Soviet system. If we compare the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Union Republics with Norway, Holland and Belgium, we shall find that the tempo of industrial development in the Soviet republics is far higher than in the European capitalist countries I have mentioned.

At the beginning of 1952, industrial output in the Lithuanian S.S.R. was 140 per cent, that of the Latvian

S.S.R.—260 per cent, and of the Estonian S.S.R.—310 per cent above the prewar level, whereas on that date industrial output in Norway, Holland and Belgium was only slightly above the prewar level, although the Soviet republics had suffered far more war damage than they did.

It will be of interest to note that in old capitalist Latvia, even according to the exaggerated statistics of its rulers, from 1913 to 1939, that is, in the course of 26 years, industrial output increased 50 per cent, whereas in new, Soviet Latvia, in eleven years—from 1940 to 1951—despite the destruction caused by the war and enemy occupation, industrial output increased 260 per cent.

Similar successes have been achieved in the development of agriculture.

With the triumph of the collective-farm system in the U.S.S.R., agriculture in the Soviet republics has made continuous progress. The collective-farm system is one of the greatest gains of the Soviet regime, for it drew the peasant masses into the work of building socialism, created new, unprecedented possibilities of developing all branches of agriculture, and also created the conditions for constantly improving the material and cultural standards of millions of peasants.

As a result, we now have in all the Soviet republics large-scale, socialist agriculture with a high market output, employing the latest achievements of agronomic science, and better supplied with up-to-date machines than agriculture in any other country.

This can be seen in every republic in the Soviet Union, but I will deal again with the Soviet republics in the East, where, as is known, before the Soviet regime was established, agriculture was most backward, where agri-

cultural machines, even of the simplest types, were not even thought of.

At the present time there are working in the fields of the collective and state farms in the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics 121,000 tractors (counting an average of 15 h.p.), 23,000 harvester combines, 102,000 machines for sowing, cultivating and picking cotton, and hundreds of thousands of other agricultural machines and implements. As regards technical equipment, agriculture in the Eastern Soviet republics stands far above that in the most developed capitalist countries in Europe. (*Applause.*)

Take, for example, the supply of tractors. In Soviet Uzbekistan there are 14 tractors for every thousand hectares of crop area, whereas in France there are only seven tractors and in Italy only four tractors for such an area, and then of much smaller power. Needless to say, the number of tractors employed in foreign Eastern countries is insignificant. In the Uzbek S.S.R. there is one tractor for about 70 hectares of crop area, but in Pakistan there is one tractor for every 9,000 hectares, in India one for every 13,000 hectares, and in Iran one for every 18,000 hectares.

The machines with which socialist agriculture is abundantly supplied greatly ease the work of the peasants and, combined with modern agricultural techniques and the extensive development of irrigation, ensure high yields per hectare.

Take cotton for example, one of the leading industrial crops in the highly-developed, diversified agriculture of the Eastern Soviet republics. In 1951, the average cotton yield in these republics was 21 centners per hectare.

No other cotton-growing country in the world obtains

such yields as are obtained by our Soviet cotton growers. In that same year, 1951, the cotton yield in Egypt was 11.5 centners per hectare, in the United States 8.3 centners, in India 3.4 centners, in Pakistan 5.2 centners, in Turkey 7.2 centners, and in Iran 4.5 centners.

It must be borne in mind that the high cotton yields are obtained in the Eastern Soviet republics on large areas, which is proved by the fact that the Soviet republics I mentioned produce as much cotton as India, Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan put together. (*Applause.*)

Such are a few facts concerning the economic development of the national republics in the Soviet Union. They show that the economy of these republics is continuously growing and developing, without crises or depressions. Finally, these facts show what can be achieved by peoples who have broken away from imperialism and have liberated themselves from the rule of landlords and capitalists. (*Applause.*)

To build up a developed socialist economy in the Soviet national republics it was necessary to put an end to the cultural backwardness of most of these republics, to stimulate cultural development to the utmost, to create a wide network of primary and secondary schools functioning in the native languages, to build up a system of higher education and to organize on a wide scale the training of skilled workers, engineers, technicians, agronomists, zootechnicians, schoolteachers and doctors from among the native populations.

As a result of the implementation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy, the peoples of the Soviet Union brought about a virtual cultural revolution.

At the present time there are working in the industry, building industry and transport system in the Soviet re-

publics over two million engineers and technicians; in agriculture there are about 400,000 agronomists, zoo-technicians, forestry experts and other specialists; nearly two million teachers and lecturers are employed in the schools, technical schools and colleges; about 300,000 doctors and 900,000 assistant doctors, nurses and other medical personnel are working in the health services in town and country. Every Soviet republic now has tens of thousands of its own college-trained specialists.

For the purpose of training cadres of the Soviet intelligentsia from among the native population a large network of colleges and technical schools has been set up in the Soviet republics. At the time the Soviet regime was set up in our country we had 96 higher educational establishments, which, with a few exceptions, were situated in the most important centres of Russia. These were attended by 117,000 students.

At present we have in the U.S.S.R. 887 higher educational establishments attended by 1,400,000 students. In the Ukraine there are 216,000 students, in the Central Asian Soviet republics 104,000, in the Transcaucasian republics 80,000, in Byelorussia 35,000 and in the Baltic Soviet republics 37,000.

In degree of development of higher education the Soviet republics have far outstripped the foreign countries not only in the East, but also in Western Europe.

For example, in the Tajik S.S.R. for every ten thousand of the population there are 58 students attending higher-educational establishments; in the Turkmen S.S.R. the proportion is 60 per ten thousand, in the Kirghiz S.S.R.—64, in the Uzbek S.S.R.—71, and in the Azerbaijan S.S.R.—93. In Iran, however, the proportion is 3 per ten

thousand, in India 9, in Egypt and Turkey 12, in Sweden 21, in Italy 32, in Denmark 34, in France 36.

Since the Soviet regime has been in existence, 48 nationalities have created their system of writing which they did not have before, and they are now publishing textbooks, other books of all kinds, and newspapers in their own languages. During the past thirty years about 90,000 well-arranged and well-equipped schools have been built in the republics of the Soviet Union. Nearly two thirds of this number were built in the non-Russian Union and Autonomous Republics.

With the further development of the socialist system of economy the well-being of the people of the Soviet Union is improving year after year. In all the Soviet republics, the real wages of workers and employees and the incomes of the peasants have risen considerably. From 1940 to 1951, the total income of factory and office workers and the peasants rose 78 per cent.

The Soviet state devotes great attention to the health of the peoples of our country. This is indicated by the medical service provided for the people. I shall quote a few examples, taken from individual Soviet republics.

In Uzbekistan, before the Soviet regime was established, there was only one doctor for every 31,000 of the population. This is approximately the proportion that now exists in Pakistan. At the present time, the proportion in the Uzbek S.S.R. is one doctor per 895 of the population. The Uzbek S.S.R. is far better supplied with doctors than, for example, Egypt, where there is one doctor per 4,350 of the population, and better supplied than West-European countries like France, where the proportion is one per 1,000 of the population, or Holland, where the proportion is one per 1,160 of the population.

In the Azerbaijan S.S.R. there is one doctor per 490 of the population. The inhabitants of Soviet Azerbaijan have a medical service that is eight and a half times better-staffed than that provided for the inhabitants of Turkey, and 23 times better-staffed than that provided for the inhabitants of Iran. As regards the Georgian S.S.R., where there is one doctor for every 373 of the population, and the Armenian S.S.R., where there is one doctor per 483 of the population, the inhabitants of these republics have a far better medical service than that provided for the inhabitants of any other country in the world. But the point is not only that the Soviet republics are supplied with a large number of doctors. To make the picture complete it must be borne in mind that in the Soviet Union all forms of medical service are free of charge, and that millions of working people go to excellent sanatoriums and rest homes every year, whereas in bourgeois countries medical service has mostly to be paid for, and the fees are extremely high and beyond the reach of the broad masses of the working people. As for health resorts and sanatoriums, they are the exclusive privilege of the idle exploiters.

The development of socialist nations under the Soviet social and political system, the removal of the actual economic and cultural inequality between nations, the long-standing cooperation of nations both in protecting the Soviet state from external enemies and in building socialist society, led to the establishment and complete triumph in our country of the ideology of equal rights of nations, the ideology of friendship among the peoples.

The friendship among the peoples of our country has been subjected to numerous tests. The war against the Hitlerite coalition was one of the severest tests of the firmness of the friendship of the peoples.

After the Great Patriotic War, the friendship among the peoples of our country manifested itself with fresh force in the period of the rehabilitation of socialist economy in the territory which had been occupied by the enemy. All the peoples of the Soviet Union ardently took part in this work of rehabilitation, for they regarded it as a vital matter to themselves, and as an urgent task of our state as a whole. Where, in what bourgeois state, can you see the peoples rendering each other such assistance?

Now that we in the U.S.S.R. are gradually passing from socialism to communism, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is developing further and acquiring a new content. The high level of economic and cultural development achieved by the Soviet republics has opened for them possibilities for still more active participation in the solution of major problems concerning the whole Union.

The force that cements the friendship of the peoples of our country is the Russian people, the Russian nation, the most outstanding of the nations in the Soviet Union. (*Loud applause.*)

In October 1917, the Russian working class, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, performed a great historic feat; it pierced the world front of imperialism, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and smashed the chains of national-colonial oppression in one sixth of the globe. There can be no doubt that, had it not been for the Russian working class, the peoples of our country would not have been able to protect themselves from the whiteguards and foreign interventionists and build socialism. As regards the peoples who had not passed through the stage of capitalist development, they would not have been able, without the prolonged and systematic assistance of the Rus-

sian working class, to pass from the precapitalist forms of economy to socialism.

As Comrade Stalin has said, during the Great Patriotic War the characteristic features of the Russian people—a clear mind, a staunch character and patience—manifested themselves with exceptional force. In that war the Russian people, by their heroism, staunchness and courage, won universal recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union among the peoples of our country. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Following the example of the Russian people, shoulder to shoulder with them, all the peoples in our country heroically fought the enemy, and jointly with the Russian people forged our victory over Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan. The peoples of our country showed the whole world how mighty and invincible is the Soviet socialist multinational state which is based on the Stalin friendship of the peoples.

The friendship of the peoples of our country is based upon the community of their vital interests. The peoples of the Soviet Union are united by their striving and determination to uphold against all enemies the freedom, independence and happiness they have acquired under the Soviet regime; they are united by their common efforts to build communist society. The peoples of our country know very well that, united by unshakeable Stalin friendship in a single Soviet state—the Union of Republics—they are invincible, that they can successfully build communism and protect their gains from all enemies.

Our Party, and Comrade Stalin himself, take constant care that the Soviet national policy is properly applied. In the struggle against the enemies of Leninism the Party upheld the Lenin-Stalin national policy and thus made

possible the complete and final defeat of dominant-nation chauvinism, of bourgeois nationalism and of bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

The great service the leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin, rendered is that, by his wise leadership, he made possible the regeneration and unprecedented growth of the physical and spiritual forces of all the peoples of our country (*applause*), that he united them with unbreakable ties of fraternal friendship and guided their efforts towards a single great goal—the strengthening of the might of our Country and the victory of communism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The successful development of socialist nations within our single multinational Soviet state is of enormous international importance.

From the example we have set, the working class in the capitalist countries can see the way to their own emancipation from exploitation, poverty and unemployment, from the growing danger of the establishment of fascism.

From our example the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries can see the way from oppression and lack of rights to freedom and independence, from international strife and enmity to fraternal friendship among the peoples, from hunger and poverty to prosperity, from illiteracy and cultural backwardness to the efflorescence of culture, of science and art.

The whole course of history more and more confirms the correctness of the words uttered by the leader of our Party Comrade Stalin: “We are now reaching the point where socialism may serve (in fact, it is already beginning to serve!) as the banner of liberation for the millions who inhabit the vast colonial states of imperialism.”

The ideas of freedom and national independence, the ideas of socialism, have penetrated the most remote corners of the enslaved countries.

The peoples who are fighting for their emancipation know that standing on their side is the great camp of peace and democracy, that the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies are championing peace, freedom, independence and genuine equal rights for all races and nations, and that the very existence of these states puts a curb on the dark forces of reaction and helps the oppressed peoples in their struggle.

In their impotence against the growing national-liberation movement, the ruling circles of the United States and of other bourgeois countries are howling to all the world that the struggle the oppressed nations are waging against their oppressors is the result of Soviet propaganda in the East.

These luckless bourgeois politicians received an answer to this from Comrade Stalin many years ago. Comrade Stalin said:

"We are accused of conducting propaganda in the East. . . . There is no need for us to conduct propaganda in the East. Any citizen of a dependency or colony has only to come to the Soviet Union and see how we run the country, how black and white, Russians and non-Russians, people of every colour of skin, and of every nationality, have joined together in the work of running a great country, to convince himself that ours is the only land where the brotherhood of nations is a reality, not merely a phrase. With such effective propaganda as the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we require no printed or oral propaganda."

*(Prolonged applause.)*

In building their new life, the People's Democracies are utilizing the wealth of experience gained in the building and strengthening of the Soviet multinational state.

Among the democratic states relations of a new type have been established, such as the history of mankind has never seen. The chief feature of these relations is that they are based:

on complete and real equal rights of all peoples, big and small, on the retention of all sovereign rights and the independence of every state, on noninterference in the internal affairs of one state by another, in contradistinction to the imperialist policy of dictating to and enslaving peoples;

on mutual respect for national interests, confidence and friendship between peoples, in contradistinction to the policy of secret compacts, intrigue and open or concealed enmity pursued by the imperialist states;

on close economic cooperation and mutual assistance, which create the most favourable conditions for economic development in complete harmony with the national interests of each country, in contradistinction to the fierce competitive struggle for sources of raw materials and markets that is raging in the camp of imperialism;

on the common striving of the democratic states to maintain peace, to restore and further develop economic and cultural relations between all countries irrespective of their economic and social systems, with the view to improving the conditions of life of the millions in all countries of the world, in contradistinction to the imperialist policy of militarizing economy, of preparing and unleashing a new world war, and of attacking the living standards of the working people.

The characteristic feature of the relations between the nations and states in the imperialist camp is the insatiate striving of American capital for world domination. American imperialism, which has woven its webs in all parts of the world, is like an insatiable spider, sucking the vitality of many nations and states and resorting to the most unscrupulous means of enslaving them. The most widespread method is to enslave them on the pretext of rendering them so-called American "aid." The country which receives this American "aid" very soon loses its sovereign rights and independence and is reduced to the status of a vassal. The most that such a country can count on is the position of a junior partner.

Such a junior partner of the United States today is Great Britain, once famed as the "Mistress of the Seas" and the "workshop of the world." Day after day, American imperialism is pushing Great Britain more and more away from the sources of raw materials and markets, is by every means in its power ousting her from Europe and Asia and winning from her one position after another. Things have reached such a pitch that the Americans unceremoniously rejected the British government's humble request to be allowed to have its observer at the negotiations between the United States and the British dominions—New Zealand and Australia—concerning questions connected with the so-called Pacific pact. In this connection, even the British Conservative press recently complained bitterly that Great Britain is being treated like a poor relation (*laughter*), who is admonished, bullied, or ignored. And one Conservative newspaper—the *Daily Mail*—bluntly stated: "if we lose a position here and a right there we shall soon have nothing more to lose." (*Laughter.*) It is hard to believe that British ruling cir-

cles do not understand this. Nevertheless they continue to submit to American dictatorship and try to keep smiling. (*Laughter.*)

The imperialist bosses of the United States are converting the countries they have enslaved into bases for an aggressive war, and they are assigning to the youth of those countries the role of cannon fodder. And so, step by step, the countries which have become dependent upon the United States are moving down the fatal path of war.

Striving to save capitalism wherever it is in peril, fighting to preserve colonial rule and the most reactionary regimes wherever they are threatened by the national-liberation movement and the democratic revolution, American imperialism has become the bulwark and citadel of world reaction. It is recklessly following in the footsteps of German fascism, reducing its troops to the position of gendarmes and hangmen of the freedom-loving peoples. Quite naturally, the peoples of the countries which have become dependent upon the United States are organizing on a nation-wide scale to resist American intervention in their lives, to expel these uninvited gentlemen from their countries, and they are filled with burning hatred towards those who are trampling upon their national honour and dignity.

On the other hand, the American people who, day after day, are having it dinned into their minds that they are threatened with danger from without, are beginning to understand the utter absurdity of this propaganda. The heavy burden of ever-growing war expenditure is making them express more and more their discontent with the policy at present pursued by the ruling circles of the United States.

Comrades, the chief thing our Party places on record



at the Nineteenth Congress is that the Soviet Union has acquired unprecedented might and international prestige. We achieved this by the policy of industrialization, which transformed our country from an agrarian into an advanced industrial power; by the policy of collectivization, which transformed our agriculture into large-scale mechanized agriculture, the most advanced in the world; by consistently applying the Lenin-Stalin national policy, which created the unshakeable unity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; by the undeviating application of the Stalin foreign policy, which pursues the aim of maintaining peace among the peoples.

The well-being and culture of the peoples of our country have risen to a high level.

History shows that during the thirty-five years the Soviet regime has been in existence, our country made such industrial progress as took the capitalist countries centuries to achieve. Since the Soviet regime was established the U.S.S.R. increased its industrial production 3,800 per cent. It took Great Britain 162 years (from 1790 to 1951) to achieve such an increase, and France, during the past 90 years, increased her industrial production only 450 per cent. As regards the United States, during the past thirty-five years it increased its industrial output only 160 per cent.

The socialist state was able to achieve its successes in a historically short space of time because the Soviet system created unprecedented possibilities for the rapid economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R., because the struggle our people waged for socialism was led by the Communist Party, which knows in what direction to lead and fears no difficulties. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The road to the victory of socialism in our country was not an easy one. On it we encountered no few difficulties and obstacles of an internal and external character. But, our Party was always in a state of preparedness and successfully surmounted these obstacles. Now that we are faced with the great and complicated tasks connected with the building of communism, our Party, the Party which is guiding the Soviet state, must foresee difficulties and be fully equipped for the purpose of leading the people to overcome them. We are convinced that our Party, created and trained by Lenin and Stalin, will, as before, be equal to the great tasks that face it. (*Applause.*)

Together with great Lenin, Comrade Stalin built and strengthened our Party, led the working class of Russia to storm capitalism in October 1917 and built up the first Soviet state in the world. More than a quarter of a century after the death of great Lenin, Comrade Stalin is leading our Party and the Soviet people along the unexplored road of building a new, communist life. At every new stage of this road Comrade Stalin arms our Party with theory, teaches it to foresee the future course of events, and directs it towards the fulfilment of the chief tasks.

A tremendous event in the ideological life of the Party is Comrade Stalin's further development of Marxist-Leninist theory in his work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

The propositions and conclusions that Comrade Stalin gives in this work are of special importance because they open a new chapter in the development of Marxist-Leninist science and are inseverably connected with the chief practical tasks connected with the building of communism in the U.S.S.R. As we know, Marx and Engels transformed socialism from a utopia into a science. De-

veloping Marxism, great Lenin created the theory of the socialist state and of the ways of building classless socialist society in our country. Putting this theory into practice, our Party, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, achieved a world-historic victory: socialism was transformed from the dream of the best human minds into reality. The Soviet people built socialism, and our country has entered the stage of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

This has raised before our Party new problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. What preliminary conditions must be created for the transition from socialism to communism? What must be done for this? What are the fundamental laws of this important historical period? Well, Comrade Stalin has given us clear and distinct answers to these urgent and vitally important problems of the movement of our Soviet society, answers that light up the road which our Party and the Soviet people will have to travel.

It is beyond doubt that our congress, and our Party as a whole, will accept Comrade Stalin's teachings concerning the conditions and ways of bringing about the gradual transition from socialism to communism as their program of struggle for the building of communism. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Our Party, and the entire Soviet people, welcomed this Stalin program with tremendous enthusiasm. It lends wings to the imaginations of the Soviet people and inspires them to perform new heroic deeds for the sake of the triumph of the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin. (*Applause.*)

Our victorious advance along the road to communism will be an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the working class, and toilers generally, of all countries in

their revolutionary struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

In these historic days of the Nineteenth Congress, the Soviet people, strong in their unity, are united as never before around their beloved Communist Party and are ready to perform new feats of labour heroism for the glory of their Motherland. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of our country may rest assured that the Communist Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and led by Comrade Stalin, will lead our country to the cherished goal—to communism. (*Loud and long continuing applause. All rise.*)

