

**Speech by**  
**G. M. Malenkov**

to the

**USSR SUPREME SOVIET**

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# G. M. Malenkov

## Speech in the Soviet of Nationalities

April 26th, 1954

COMRADES Deputies, the draft State Budget submitted by the government for the consideration of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. fully reflects the policy of the Communist Party, aimed at further advancing the Soviet economy and the well-being of the people, at ensuring the country's defence and strengthening the might of our motherland. (*Applause.*)

The substantial increase in the State Budget is an indication of our country's economic advance. Compared with 1950, the revenue of the 1954 State Budget will increase by 149,000 million roubles, and it will be more than three times as great as the budget revenue of the pre-war year of 1940. (*Applause.*) It should be borne in mind that the growth of the Budget is taking place in conditions in which the Party and the government are consistently pursuing a policy of reducing retail prices for foodstuffs and manufactured goods. The fall in state revenue as a result of the reduction of the prices for consumer goods is offset by the greater incomes of socialist enterprises and by increasing production, raising labour productivity and cutting production costs.

About 327,000 million roubles are earmarked for the development of the national economy this year. This

means that investments in the national economy are being increased by 57 per cent as compared with 1950. A substantial share of the allocations will go into capital investments.

Expenditures for financing the social and cultural requirements of the Soviet people are envisaged to a total of more than 141,000 million roubles for 1954, which almost equals all State Budget expenditures in 1939.

The rate of development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., as in previous years, continues to remain at a level of which even the most economically developed capitalist countries cannot dream. During the first three years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, industrial output increased by 45 per cent, with the production of the means of production rising by 46 per cent, and the production of consumer goods by 43 per cent. The number of industrial and office workers employed in the national economy has grown by about 6 million during this period; the real wages of industrial and office workers have risen by 30 per cent and the total incomes of industrial and office workers and the incomes of the peasants, in comparable prices, have increased by 34 per cent.

While extending the front of peaceful creative construction in every way, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government are at the same time showing tireless concern for the further reinforcement of the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union. The Soviet armed forces now have, and will continue to have everything necessary for carrying out their high mission—to stand on guard for the country's defence and always to be prepared to give a crushing rebuff to an aggressor who might venture to violate the peaceful labour of the peoples of our country. (*Tumultuous and prolonged applause.*)

The fulfilment of the tasks facing us this year in the sphere of production will mean a big step forward in the development of the economy of the Soviet Union. It is enough to say that in 1954 steel production will increase by 51 per cent as compared with 1950, coal by 33 per cent, electric power by 63 per cent, cement by more than 80 per cent, and machinery and equipment by 90 per cent; the output

of consumer goods will rise by more than 60 per cent and trade by 75 per cent. The Five-Year Plan targets for the production of consumer goods and trade will be reached ahead of schedule, that is to say, in four years. (*Applause.*)

You know that the Party and the government have taken important measures for the further development of agriculture. In order to increase the production of grain, the area sown to grain is being extended mainly by bringing virgin and fallow land into cultivation; the production and delivery of tractors and farm machinery to agriculture is being substantially increased, which will make it possible to mechanise agricultural production to a still greater degree; the machine and tractor stations and the collective and state farms are being reinforced with cadres of agronomists, livestock experts, agricultural machine operators and other specialists. A flexible system is being applied to encourage and stimulate to the utmost the development of agricultural production, which creates the necessary conditions for ensuring a harmonious combination of the constantly rising requirements of the population as regards agricultural products and of industry as regards agricultural raw materials, with a simultaneous growth of agricultural production on the basis of greater material incentive and economic encouragement for the working people in the countryside who produce these goods.

The successful accomplishment of the tasks facing our country demands that the unconditional achievement of targets arising from the national economic plans that have been adopted should be ensured in all branches of the national economy, in all sections of socialist construction, at every factory and every mill, on every collective and state farm, in every machine and tractor station, in all our organisations. We have many advanced industrial enterprises, collective and state farms and machine and tractor stations which year in and year out achieve good results through improved organisation of production and correct organisation of labour. At the same time we also have establishments which do not cope with their assignments, put out products of low quality and allow excessive expenditure of materials and money. We have not a few collective and state farms whose affairs are unsatisfactory. In order

to move ahead still more rapidly we must boldly bring to light and resolutely eliminate the shortcomings, backwardness and neglect which we still have in a number of sectors.

The results for the first quarter of this year show that on the whole industry coped successfully with the plan for the quarter. Some Ministries, however, did not fulfil the plan for a number of important items. Among these Ministries are the Ministry of the Iron and Steel Industry, the Ministry of the Oil Industry, the Ministry of the Transport and Heavy Engineering Industry, the Ministry of the Timber Industry and some others. Many Ministries cope poorly with the plans for capital construction and do not ensure that new capacities are brought into operation in good time.

It is clear to everyone that fulfilment of the national economic plans presupposes the full utilisation of literally every day, since it is not easy to make up for lost time. Failure to carry out assignments in time, and especially a failure to fulfil state plans in one or another branch, causes interruptions in the operation of industrial enterprises and does great harm to the national economy. Unfortunately we still have quite a number of executives who have grown accustomed to the fact that state enterprises entrusted to their care work in spurts and do not carry out their plans. Many Ministries go about organising even and systematic output of goods throughout the month at industrial enterprises in too slow and unwieldy a manner. The speediest elimination of the absence of rhythmical operation of factories, mills, mines, construction sites, railways, shipping lines, and strict day-to-day observance of the output and operational schedules of enterprises is a paramount task of all workers in industry and transport.

Another big shortcoming in the work of industry is the failure at many establishments to observe technological discipline in production. This is precisely why many factories and works put out goods of low quality which do not meet the standards and requirements of the consumer. This must no longer be tolerated. The Ministries must, as quickly as possible, bring order into the working of enterprises which are guilty of breaches of technological standards in production; they must ensure the production of nothing but high quality output by every enterprise.

It is well known that the greatest possible rise in labour productivity is the main and decisive prerequisite for the further advance and development of the national economy. We have had a substantial rise in labour productivity in all branches of production ever since the socialist method of production became firmly established in our country. Big achievements have been recorded in the utilisation of the production capacities of industry as a result of the technical reconstruction of enterprises, the putting into operation of new establishments fitted out with the most efficient equipment, and also owing to improvement in labour organisation.

In recent years, however, there has been a serious lag in the rise of labour productivity in a number of branches of the national economy. In 1953, for example, many enterprises in the metallurgical industry, a large number of works of the machine-building Ministries, cotton mills and enterprises in a number of other industries did not fulfil the targets for increasing labour productivity. The situation as regards the fulfilment of the plans for raising labour productivity is unsatisfactory in the timber industry, the coal industry and especially in construction.

The directives of the XIXth Congress of the Party provided for an increase in labour productivity for 1951-55 of approximately 50 per cent in industry, 55 per cent in construction and 40 per cent in agriculture. In order to secure the fulfilment of the directives of the Congress it will be necessary to work intensively in all sections of socialist construction in the remaining two years of the current Five-Year Plan.

The national economy of the U.S.S.R. now has everything necessary for securing a more rapid rise of labour productivity. Our Party, under the leadership of the great continuer of Lenin's work, J. V. Stalin, succeeded in placing the national economy of the U.S.S.R. on a powerful technical basis. In the postwar years alone industry has received new equipment and machinery to a total value of over 150,000 million roubles; for transport the corresponding figure is 50,000 million roubles, and for agriculture, more than 60,000 million roubles. The mighty stream of equipment and machinery that make it possible to save labour,

lighten labour and raise its productivity is growing year by year.

In order to secure a further growth of heavy industry, as the backbone of the entire national economy and of the country's might, it is necessary in the future, too, to develop in every way the building of power stations so that a mighty foundation of power in the form of electricity may be laid under each branch of production, including agricultural production. V. I. Lenin pointed out that "Electrification of the entire country is the large-scale industry, conforming to the level of the latest machinery and capable of reorganising agriculture". Consequently we are confronted with the paramount national economic task of continuing to promote electrification at such a pace and on such a scale that the increase in power capacities must outstrip the other branches of the economy.

The requirements for further advancing labour productivity put us under the obligation to achieve a considerable increase in the introduction of comprehensive mechanisation, having in view that it should embrace not only the main production processes but also all kinds of intermediary and subsidiary production processes in which often more people are engaged than in the main production.

The question of making full and efficient use of the available equipment is very acute in all branches of the national economy—in industry, transport and agriculture. We frequently meet executives of industrial enterprises and even of certain branches of industry whose initiative is one-sided. It bubbles over when it comes to presenting to the state demands for the technical equipment of the enterprises entrusted to them, but then they display a most unorganised and unthrifty attitude to the equipment they have received. In this connection we must make serious demands on the Ministry of the Coal Industry and the Ministry of the Timber Industry. In the first quarter of this year, as was the case last year, more than 40 per cent of the coal combines and coal-cutting machines, about half of the coal-loading machines and more than 30 per cent of the rock-loading machines were idle in the coal industry. In the timber industry up to 40 per cent of the machinery and equipment is not operating because of disrepair, while

the equipment which is in good condition is not being utilised to the full. Utilisation of equipment is unsatisfactory at many engineering plants, too. We must put an end to an unthrifty attitude to equipment and machinery in industry, in transport and in agriculture. Our economic managers, engineers, technicians, foremen, all production executives, must display greater concern for a thrifty attitude to the equipment at their disposal and must improve its utilisation in every way possible.

One of the important conditions for a further rapid rise in labour productivity is the extensive application of scientific and technical achievements in industrial and agricultural production. The peoples of our country take a pride in the achievements of Soviet science, which disclose tremendous new possibilities for technical progress. The ever-growing utilisation of atomic energy, both in the interests of safeguarding the security of our motherland and for peaceful industrial purposes, is a great service rendered by Soviet scientists. (*Tumultuous applause.*) It is necessary to raise still higher the degree of practical utilisation of the achievements of science and engineering, to strengthen the bonds of scientists and scientific organisations with production. There can be no doubt that Soviet scientists will make their new and important contribution to strengthening the might of our motherland, to accomplishing the task of further advancing the productivity of social labour. (*Applause.*)

Thus the task is to perfect production technique in every way possible on the basis of electrification, to apply in production on a still wider scale the achievements of science and engineering, to introduce on a broader scale comprehensive mechanisation in all spheres of production, to make fuller use of available machinery and equipment, strictly to observe at each enterprise discipline in the technological process of production and to improve in every way the quality of output.

The rise in the technical facilities of our national economy is inseparably bound up with the technical and cultural advance of the working people. The time is not far off when the entire younger generation, both in town and countryside, will enter production equipped with complete

secondary education. (*Applause.*) More than 9 million workers and collective farmers are studying every year in different sections of the advanced training system. But in the professional training of the working people there is still much that is primitive as regards methods, while the huge funds assigned by the state for these purposes are far from being used always in a rational way. The executives of Ministries and departments must take this great and important job into their own hands and show daily concern for the further cultural and technical advancement of the working people.

It is impossible to achieve an important rise in labour productivity in industry, transport and agriculture without a further improvement in the organisation of production. We have had certain successes in this sphere. Nevertheless, in a number of branches of the economy and at many establishments there are not a few bottlenecks the elimination of which would make it possible to expand production considerably, and to raise labour productivity.

Proper distribution of labour resources is acquiring great importance. As we know, the only permissible principle for organising any apparatus in our Soviet society is the principle of the thrifty, businesslike and economical use of social labour. Yet Ministries and departments frequently violate this principle, and allow the inflation of the administrative and managerial apparatus; and this interferes with the development of production. Notwithstanding the work done to cut the administrative and managerial apparatus, it is still very big. The existing proportion between the number of workers engaged directly in production and the number of people engaged in management and service requires further rectification in favour of the sphere of production.

Together with the growth in the material and technical facilities of the national economy, the well-being of the working people and the advance in their political, cultural and production level, the requirements of labour discipline are also rising. The main thing here is that socialist labour discipline imperatively pre-supposes emulation of the foremost examples of productive labour, of a high level of labour productivity and high quality of output. Having princi-

pally in view the new essence of labour discipline in Soviet society, Lenin spoke of the discipline of "independent action and initiative". Lenin's remarkable ideas find their vivid expression in the movements of innovators and foremost workers in production. There is no doubt that thousands upon thousands of new people will learn from the achievements of our glorious initiators in the utmost raising of labour productivity, and that the ranks of the innovators and foremost workers will be multiplied daily. Herein is one of the mighty, powerful well-springs for a further advance of our entire economy. (*Applause.*)

A big advantage of our socialist system is that we have all the possibilities for developing the national economy on a strictly scientific basis. The tremendous achievements of the Soviet system of planning are generally known. All the greater must be our determination in eliminating existing shortcomings in planning, which hamper the full utilisation of all the advantages of the planned system.

Our planning bodies, as well as working out the main tasks, often try to determine from the centre a multitude of detailed indices of the economic operation of industrial enterprises, construction sites, railways, state and collective farms, trading establishments and other organisations. This is being done without the required knowledge of the diverse local conditions and possibilities, and consequently most inadequately. It is perfectly obvious that such planning creates difficulties in the work on the spot, and fetters the initiative of the local organs.

The government has taken measures to cut the list of assignments approved in the annual plan, both in industrial and agricultural production. This has already given positive results. But the requirements of the national economy as regards planning are growing and becoming more complex. Therefore our central planning bodies, and the State Planning Committee in the first place, must concentrate their attention first and foremost on the cardinal questions of the national economy—the establishment of the proper proportions in the development of the individual branches, the elimination of bottlenecks, the maximum utilisation of the reserves available in the national economy, so as to achieve bigger results with less capital investments.

Improving in every way the operation of industrial enterprises, construction sites, collective and state farms, machine and tractor stations, railways and shipping lines, and of all sections of socialist construction, we must wage still more energetically the struggle to raise labour productivity and to cut production costs, for the exercise of strict economy, for the elimination of all extravagance, for genuine financial control. It is the duty of all our economic cadres, and production executives, to find reserves in all branches of the national economy, to tap these reserves and attain maximum results with smaller outlays.

To make fuller use of the tremendous potentialities our socialist economy possesses, the work of government and economic bodies, of all links of the state apparatus, must be constantly improved. The demands made on the Soviet state apparatus are increasing all the time; in conformity with these demands, we must constantly improve the state apparatus and introduce in a more thorough way the principles which great Lenin regarded as the ones constituting the foundation for the Soviet state apparatus—ties with the broad masses of the people, economical operation, the encouragement of creative initiative and a struggle against bureaucracy in all its forms and manifestations.

In the present situation, when the Party has set the task of ensuring, in a short period of time—two to three years—a rapid advance in the output of foodstuffs and consumer goods, on the basis of the further growth of the country's economy, the question of seriously increasing the responsibility of every worker in the government and economic apparatus for the job entrusted to him acquires especial significance.

Today, when we are waging a struggle for the swift accomplishment of truly history-making tasks, when each day must be a day of truly fruitful work, a great exertion of effort is required of our leading cadres, Soviet and economic workers. We must, in a real and resolute way, do away with a lackadaisical attitude, with all breaches of state discipline, and we must do away with irresponsible, formal attitudes to the fulfilment of state assignments. The sense of duty to the Party and the state must be constantly enhanced among all our workers.

Our Party is conducting a determined drive against backwardness and neglect, which exist in a number of sections of socialist construction, and we cannot tolerate a situation in which an irresponsible and bureaucratic attitude on the part of certain workers to their duties should hold up the advance of the people's well-being.

To raise the responsibility of Ministries, to obtain greater efficiency in their work and to ensure the timely solution of economic problems, the government has substantially extended the rights of Ministers, of heads of departments and chiefs of the central boards of Ministries. This measure has undoubtedly already given, and must give still more positive results. It should be noted, however, that there are not a few instances in which certain executives of Ministries and departments, instead of taking measures and deciding questions that arise, start unnecessary correspondence seeking to relieve themselves of responsibility and to shift it on to others. It is clear that such abnormalities must be swiftly eliminated and a situation achieved in which Ministries give better and more concrete guidance to enterprises and organisations, settle the questions that arise on time, ensure the elimination of existing shortcomings, overcome lags, and direct, in a real way, the application in production and the popularisation of the foremost experience and scientific and technical achievements.

With reference to the activities of Ministries in this connection, the following must be said. It is a matter of record that, a year ago, we merged a number of Ministries. But then we became convinced that the merger created certain difficulties in the operative direction of enterprises, especially when Ministries had to tackle in earnest the accomplishment of the big new tasks set by our Party. That is why we arrived at the conclusion that, in the interests of the work, certain necessary changes should be introduced in the organisation of Ministries, providing, however, that strict adherence to the policy of further cutting the costs of maintaining the state apparatus was continued.

The Central Committee of the Party and the government demand that all links of the Soviet state apparatus, all officials, must carry on their activities on the basis of the



strictest observance of the law and that they protect the rights of the Soviet people. As for those officials who permit arbitrary and lawless actions against Soviet citizens, in the future, too, they will be strictly punished, irrespective of person or rank. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the home policy of our Party and government unchangingly consists in further strengthening the might of the socialist state, the great friendship of the peoples of our country, the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the collective farm peasantry, in developing economy and culture in every way, tirelessly reinforcing the defences of the Soviet Union and ensuring a further rapid advance in the people's living standards. (*Tumultuous applause.*)

Under the leadership of our glorious Communist Party, the Soviet people will achieve decisive new successes in building communist society. (*Tumultuous applause.*)

Comrades Deputies, in international affairs mention should be made first of all of the fact that a certain relaxation of tension has occurred recently. This relaxation is undoubtedly the result of the active struggle waged by the peace-loving forces against the aggressive policy of influential elements in the United States and their accomplices.

The striving of the peoples for peace has truly become a powerful motive force of our time. It constitutes the foundation of that important process which today stamps the life of many countries in Europe and Asia. It is the process of the unification of the healthy forces of the nations, in order to defend the peace and the security of the peoples.

Progressive mankind sees and knows that the efforts of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the people's democracies have played an important part in easing international tension. (*Applause.*) The policy of the Soviet Union, designed to strengthen peace, has won for it the great trust of the peace-loving peoples. We cherish this trust sacredly. We know that it constitutes our most precious moral capital. (*Applause.*)

A great influence is exerted on the present international situation by the fact that the unbreakable friendship of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the

people's democracies has become firmly established over a huge area of the globe. (*Prolonged applause.*)

A new page in the history of the great Chinese people was turned in 1953. The People's Republic of China has undertaken to carry out its first five-year plan for the advancement and reconstruction of the country's economy. The heroic efforts of the Chinese people, under the guidance of their glorious Communist Party, are a sure guarantee that the plan for the industrialisation of China will be successfully accomplished. The Soviet people are proud in the knowledge that they are making a definite contribution to the accomplishment of this task. (*Tumultuous applause.*)

The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the European people's democracies are giving energetic support to the fraternal people of Korea in the rehabilitation of their war-wrecked economy. (*Tumultuous applause.*)

The friendship of the Soviet people with the German Democratic Republic has become still deeper and stronger. The international significance of the German Democratic Republic as an important factor in the re-establishment of the national unity of the German people, and the transformation of Germany into a peaceful state is growing with every day that goes by. (*Tumultuous applause.*) The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of foreign trade and economic relations. Last year our country traded with more than 50 countries, and with 25 of them on the basis of annual or long-term trade agreements. The volume of the Soviet Union's foreign trade increased by almost 125 per cent between 1948 and 1953. Our trade with the people's democracies rose considerably. As for trade with the capitalist countries, its development is being hampered by the policy of discrimination pursued under pressure from the American ruling circles. Experience has shown that the policy of discrimination is unreasonable and shortsighted and that it has done considerable harm to those states that have submitted to American dictation. The failure of the policy of discrimination is obvious. And if, in spite of this, certain American quarters still cling to the policy of discrimination,

ignoring the convincing lessons of history, the United States of America alone stands to lose as a result. The Soviet Union intends to go on extending on a vast scale its foreign trade with all countries which show a reciprocal interest.

As you know, the Soviet government has undertaken a series of steps to ensure friendly relations with all neighbouring countries. These efforts have shown certain positive results, although they have not met with a proper response in official quarters in some countries. Turkish circles, for instance, are acting as though Turkey were not as interested as the Soviet Union in establishing good neighbourly relations. The principle of reciprocity is the basis of good neighbourly friendship. The Soviet Union has been and will be guided by this principle.

A distinguishing feature of the Soviet people is their sober approach to appraising the international situation. And today they utter a warning against overstating the significance of the relaxation of world tension so far achieved, since the opponents of peace being strengthened have not given up their aggressive intentions, but are continuing the arms drive, provoking an extension of the war in Indo-China, setting up new military bases and military blocs. The West German militarists are beginning to feel themselves back in the saddle and are increasingly appearing, not only as a potentially aggressive force, but as a real threat to European security. In the meantime, Japan is being energetically prepared as a shock force of renewed imperialist aggression in Asia.

Aggressive circles are artificially maintaining an atmosphere of war hysteria, menacing the world with the hydrogen bomb, openly proclaiming the employment of the policy of strength, and prolonged "cold war", daring to resort to methods of threats and intimidation.

What can be said in this connection?

First of all, this. It is well known that an atmosphere of optimism, confidence and peaceful creative labour reigns in the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the United States, on the other hand, as official American quarters themselves admit, the social atmosphere is poisoned

by a feeling of fear, dread and despondency. This is consequently a result of the policy of threats and intimidation.

To continue. The Soviet government has stood, and continues to stand, by the view that it is fully possible for the capitalist and socialist systems to co-exist peacefully, engaging in economic competition with each other. Guided by this contention, we are consistently pursuing a policy of peace and of strengthening international co-operation. However, should the aggressive circles, with their hopes set on atomic weapons, be mad enough to want to test the strength and might of the Soviet Union, there need be no doubt that the aggressors would be suppressed by the same weapon, and that such a venture would inevitably result in the disintegration of the capitalist social system. (*Tumultuous, prolonged applause.*) Indeed, this is exactly what has been patently proved by the lessons of the history of the First and Second World Wars, which left capitalism with a substantially reduced sphere of domination. It is common knowledge that, as a result of two world wars, more than one-third of mankind have already broken with capitalism for good and all. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The question that arises in the present circumstances is: What is the main task of the peace-loving forces? The great mission of all workers for peace is one of foiling the plans of the aggressive circles, is one of striving for the further reduction of international tension, and promoting to the utmost peaceful co-operation among the nations.

The vital interests of mankind require a solution to the problem of banning atomic weapons. The task is to make it impossible to use atomic energy—a great discovery of human genius—for the purposes of the wholesale annihilation of the civilian population and the destruction of great cities and centres of industry, culture and science. The Soviet government is striving to find an effective solution to this problem. At the same time, the Soviet government has stood, and continues to stand for a universal and substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces.

It is clear to everyone that no further relaxation of international tension can be achieved unless the relations among the Great Powers are brought to normal. This implies, first and foremost, the abandonment of the policy

of discrimination with regard to the People's Republic of China. The policy pursued by the aggressive circles in relation to the great Chinese people is a challenge to all the peoples of Asia. This policy is linked up with the intention of the aggressive circles to suppress the powerful national liberation movement of the eastern peoples. Is it not time, however, to understand that a great solidarity is increasingly gaining ground in the East among the freedom-loving peoples who are fighting against the attempts of the aggressive forces to convert Asia into a zone of everlasting colonial oppression and slavery? Facts have convinced progressive mankind that the People's Republic of China is headed by champions of national progress, of world-wide peace and friendship of the peoples. The restoration of all the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is an urgent world problem at this juncture. (Applause.)

The most important conditions for strengthening peace is the creation of durable and firm guarantees of security in Europe. It is a question precisely of firm and lasting guarantees of security, for throughout the first half of the twentieth century the soil of Europe has been drenched much too abundantly with the blood of the sons of the European peoples. The European peoples do not want, they cannot and will not permit Europe to continue to be turned into an arena of bloodshed and destruction every 20 years.

In certain quarters overseas it is now considered good form to slight Europe; she is, don't you see, mortally sick and on the wane, and allegedly the only means for bringing about her recovery is for many European states to give up their national sovereignty. The greatest perversion of the truth is the fashionable—save the mark—theory which says that the age of sovereign states has gone. No, the age of sovereign states has not gone. It is flourishing. And everyone lifting his hand against the national sovereignty of the European countries and seeking to refashion according to his own lights the historically developed and historically justified system of European nations is thereby creating a danger to the vital interests of European security.

The Soviet Union attaches paramount importance to the strengthening of European security. Any European nation that is pursuing the same goal can count on the firm friendship of the Soviet Union and on a sincere understanding of its national requirements.

European security can become a reality only as the collective security of sovereign European states. But attempts are being made to make us believe that there is some other way of safeguarding European security. What is it? It appears that it is the restoration of German militarism and the formation of a military bloc of Western Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Can one imagine a more blasphemous attitude to the vital interests of European people? Indeed, what is to prevent German interests from laying hold of the whole of Western Europe if, in addition to being given vast subsidies to develop their armed forces, they will also, in actual fact, dispose of the armed forces of France, Italy and other countries belonging to this military bloc? Can this be prevented by promissory notes handed out by Bonn politicians who are now appearing in the role of supporters of a "united Europe"? But is there anyone who does not know that Hitler's plans for enslaving the European peoples also envisaged the "unification" of Europe around the "steel core of the German Empire"?

It is deliberate deception to say that under cover of the "European Defence Community" German militarism can live in peace with a France who is to be deprived of her national armed forces. In practice the intention is to hand over France to the West German revenge-seekers lock, stock and barrel. What did the German fascists start off with when they unleashed the Second World War in the West? They launched themselves into Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France. And it is along this route that the sponsors of the "European Defence Community" are leading West German militarism. German militarism failed to consolidate the enslavement of France by force of arms. Today the builders of the "European Defence Community" intend to bring victory over France to the German revenge-mongers without war.

The cornerstone of postwar European security was laid by concluding the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 1942 and the Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944. These documents have been sealed with the blood of the finest sons of the Soviet, British and French peoples. Now the sponsors of the "European Defence Community" are out to undermine the real significance of the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties.

Would it not be a tissue of hypocrisy to say that the "European Defence Community" is being set up for peaceful rather than aggressive aims? Those who are reviving German militarism are not concerned with strengthening peace but, on the contrary, with undermining European security and preparing another war.

The Soviet government are profoundly convinced that the proposal they made at the Berlin Conference for concluding a General European Treaty of Collective Security in Europe can serve as a basis for an effective solution of the question of a programme for European security. The adoption of the Soviet proposal would accord with the fundamental interests of strengthening peace in Europe and with the national interests of the European peoples. It concerns the German people to the same extent. The General European Treaty of Collective Security would also prove a reliable guarantee of Germany's safety. At a time when the aggressive circles are seeking to maintain the division of Germany and to convert Western Germany into another hotbed of war, the General European Treaty of Collective Security would be conducive to the restoration of the national unity of the German people and the transformation of Germany into a peaceful democratic nation.

We have no intention of isolating the United States of America from Europe. We see no obstacle preventing the government of the United States from signing the General European Treaty of Collective Security in Europe. For their part, the Soviet government have expressed readiness to negotiate the question of joining the "North Atlantic Treaty Organisation" under proper conditions.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is consistent and firm. Before the whole of mankind, the Soviet government

has put forward and is upholding proposals which, once implemented, could create guarantees for lasting peace and the security of the peoples.

The Soviet policy of strengthening peace stems from the belief that in the present conditions it is peaceful co-operation among the nations, irrespective of their social structure, that can and must determine the development of international relations, that can and must assure the continued and progressive relaxation of international tension.

What, then, is necessary for the achievement of peaceful co-operation? It is necessary, first of all, for the nations concerned to display a mutual desire for co-operation by observing the principles of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations and by carrying out unreservedly the commitments they have assumed.

We stand by the belief that under present circumstances, given the good will of the parties concerned and readiness on their part to take into consideration one another's interests, controversial and outstanding international issues can and must be settled in the interests of strengthening peace.

All friends and champions of peace can rest assured that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue the policy of strengthening peace and friendship among the nations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrades, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have been yet another splendid manifestation of the strength and vitality of our multi-national Soviet socialist state, of the genuinely brotherly friendship of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the indestructible alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The elections have shown once again that our Party enjoys the undivided trust of all the Soviet peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*) The experiences of the past 50 years have convinced the people that their beloved Communist Party, which has grown up and has become steeled in battle under the leadership of the immortal Lenin, the genius who led and taught the working people, and great Stalin, his comrade-in-arms, serves the people steadfastly and faithfully. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Communist Party, equipped with a clear under-

standing of the tasks that face the country in the field of domestic and foreign policy, and inspiring the great creative endeavours of the Soviet people, is leading the country from victory to victory, to the triumph of communism. (*Tumultuous and prolonged applause becoming an ovation. All rise.*)