

REPORTS TO THE XIX CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

***SOVIET
LEADERS
SPEAK FOR***

COMMUNISM AND PEACE

V. M. MOLOTOV
L. P. BERIA
N. A. BULGANIN
L. M. KAGANOVICH
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THE GRANDEUR OF THE SOVIET PROGRAM
FOR BUILDING A NEW COMMUNIST SOCIETY
GIVES WINGS TO MANKIND'S FINEST DREAMS

25¢

For COMMUNISM and PEACE

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Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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Speech by V. M. Molotov

Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Party I greet the delegates to the XIX Party Congress, and also our dear guests representing the foreign Communist Parties and other fraternal parties of the working class.

Our first word today must be dedicated to those who in the years of the war against the German and other aggressors, heroically defended our Soviet homeland and gave their lives for our just cause. Let us, by rising, pay tribute to the glorious memory of those who fell in this war, who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism, for the cause of the freedom and independence of the Soviet Union. (*All rise.*)

A number of outstanding leaders of the Party are not among us today. No longer with us is Alexander Sergeyeovich Shcherbakov who had charge of political work in the army during the difficult years of the war and who was specially known to the Party as outstanding leader of the Moscow Party organization. No longer among us is Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin who was so well known throughout the country and beloved by our Party. Death deprived us of Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov, one of the most talented representatives of the Stalinist leading core of the Party. We remember also the names of other departed friends and comrades, whose lives were indissolubly linked with the Party. As a token of profound respect let us honor their memory. (*All rise.*)

The previous Congress of our Party was held in 1939. Events of great historical significance have occurred in the intervening period.

As is known, the peaceful labor of our people was interrupted by the perfidious attack of German fascism against the Soviet Union. We were forced to postpone work on fulfillment of the third Five-Year Plan. We had to switch completely to a war footing, subordinating everything to the interests of smashing the enemy who had invaded our Soviet territory.

The second world war was a severe trial for the young multinational Soviet state. At the same time it was an all-round verification of the correctness of the policy of our Party. During the war years the Soviet people experienced not a few difficult days and made heavy sacrifice. But in the crucible of these events the Soviet Union never faltered or hesitated, but, under the leadership of our Party it became still more tempered and stronger as a socialist state, became still more confident in its strength, in the invincibility of its noble cause.

The second world war ended in defeat of the fascist aggressors which, in many respects, unleashed the forces of the people's liberation movement in Europe and in Asia. The new conditions created, and especially in view of the decisive role played in this war by the Soviet Union, made possible the switch which took place in the postwar period of a whole series of countries from the capitalist way of development to the new way, the way of founding and developing people's democratic states. In this way the beginning of a new phase in the development of international Socialism set in.

All this explains why, in our days, the leading ideological influence of our Party on all aspects of life in the country has grown so much, explains the depth of the love which our people have for their Party—the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

This explains also why its international prestige today is so high and why the confidence and respect of the working people in other countries for our Party, for its Stalinist leadership is so great.

In the conditions of the postwar the Soviet Union concentrated its forces on the tasks of restoring and further developing the national economy, and on the tasks of preserving and consolidating peace among the peoples.

At this Congress we shall discuss the directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the U.S.S.R. The results of the past year as well as the economic achievements of the current year testify that the working people of our country have already achieved significant success in carrying out the grand assignments of the fifth Five-Year Plan. In order to go ahead confidently, we must fight even more resolutely against the shortcomings in our work, overcome moods of complacency and bureaucratic smugness wherever they appear, remembering that criticism and self-criticism are the militant and indispensable weapon of the Communist, that this is our Soviet method of calling forth the self-activity of the masses.

The decisions of the Congress will inspire the Party and all Soviet people not only for fulfillment but for overfulfillment of the new Five-Year Plan. This will signify a further and all-round consolidation of the might of the Soviet state and a further significant rise of the material and cultural level of the people: the working class, collective-farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia. In carrying out the Five-Year Plan the Soviet people will win new and important successes along the pathway of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

It goes without saying that we are not unmindful that the Soviet Union lives "in a system of states," that there exists the imperialist camp which entertains venturesome aggressive designs, which is building more and more armaments, whipping up war hysteria

in every way and conducting preparations for unleashing a new world war. This aggressive, anti-democratic camp is headed by the ruling reactionary circles of the United States and is carrying out the will of the capitalist monopolies which in their insatiable drive for higher profits seek by means of force to establish world domination. None other than the U.S. ruling circles bear the main responsibility for the criminal war in Korea, for the seizure of the Chinese island of Taiwan, for converting Western Germany and Japan into dependent states and also for creating in the West and in the East aggressive military alliances, such as the North Atlantic bloc, spear-headed against the peace-loving states—the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the countries of people's democracy.

Nothing, however, can hide the serious weakening which has taken place in the world capitalist system in recent years, particularly in the postwar when a number of states with an overall population of 600,000,000 dropped out of this system. Nor can anything screen the inability of the capitalist countries to cope with the growing danger of a new economic crisis and another rise of mass unemployment, leading simultaneously to growing contradictions and friction between these states and to inevitable sharpening of class struggle in these countries. No effort on the part of the warmongers and their newspaper hacks, striving to hide behind the mask of peace-lovers and at the same time to deceive the readers of the capitalist press by disseminating calumny about the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, can overshadow the fact that the repeated threats to the freedom and national independence of the peoples, and the constantly repeated threats to peace and international security emanate precisely from the aggressive circles of the imperialist camp. The more there is unfolded the precariousness and hopelessness of the prospect for and the inner weakness of contemporary capitalism now in the stage of general crisis and heading more and more towards a fascist regime—the more aggressive become the main Powers of the imperialist camp and their predatory propaganda for a new war.

The camp of reaction and aggression is counterposed by another camp—the international camp upholding peace and democracy. This peace-loving democratic camp is by right headed by the Soviet Union which firmly and invariably upholds the policy of preserving and consolidating peace among the peoples.

We cannot but note in this connection that a significant result of the second world war is the historic fact that the Soviet Union has emerged once and for all from the position of international isolation. Nowadays the cause of peace and democracy is upheld, jointly with the Soviet Union, by the countries of people's democracy,

the Chinese People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic. More, the cause of peace and democracy now relies on the mighty international peace movement which unites hundreds of millions of people, including many millions of peace champions in the capitalist countries.

While working to ensure peace, we, Soviet people, do not forget for a single minute the need for due vigilance and readiness actively to rebuff any aggression on the part of the bellicose imperialist camp. Without this it is impossible to uphold the cause of preserving and consolidating peace. In this we are guided by the well-known counsel of Comrade Stalin which has become the basis of the struggle of the peoples for the cause of peace:

"Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if the warmongers succeed in entangling the masses of the people in lies, in deceiving them and drawing them into a new world war."

This Party Congress will demonstrate the extent to which the forces of the Soviet Union, the homeland of victorious Socialism, has grown and gained strength. It will also fulfill its main task — that of illuminating with the bright light of Marxism-Leninism the further pathways leading to new and even more glorious victories of Socialism in our country, to further, even wider and more powerful consolidation of the international democratic forces in the interests of defending world peace.

Our Party comes to the XIX Congress mighty and consolidated as never before. The banner of our Party, covered with glorious battles and numerous victories, waves on high and calls on our people to go forward, to the triumph of Communism. The name of the leader of our Party, the name of Stalin expresses the best hopes and aspirations of all progressive mankind.

Long live the Party of Lenin-Stalin!

Long live the XIX Party Congress!

Long life and many years of good health to our own, great STALIN.

On behalf of the Central Committee I declare the XIX Party Congress open.

Speech by L. P. Beria

Comrades: The Central Committee's report submitted by Comrade Malenkov, summarized the results of the work of our Party in the period between the XVIII and XIX Congresses. This period was marked by two events of particular significance in the life of our Party and of the Soviet people, and it is on these that I shall dwell.

The first of these was the Great Patriotic War.

In that war the fate of our country and of the states and peoples of Europe and Asia was at stake. It is clear to all that if the Hitlerite coalition had been victorious the result would have been frightful enslavement and extermination of the peoples of our country and of many others. Hundreds of millions of people would have been reduced to the position of slaves. The fascist barbarians would have destroyed modern civilization and thrown back mankind for decades.

And that this did not happen is due primarily to the fact that the peoples of the Soviet Union won complete victory in mortal combat with the fascist invaders. The suddenness of the perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R. gave rise in the first phase of the war to conditions that favored the Hitlerite troops. However, the Soviet Union, at the cost of enormous sacrifice, at the cost of the greatest strain on all the material and spiritual forces of the people, upheld its independence, smashed the enemy who had struck terror into the armies of Europe, and saved mankind and its civilization.

The inspirer and organizer of the great victory of the Soviet people was the Communist Party led by Comrade Stalin. Right from the first days of the war, when our country found itself in a particularly grave situation, Comrade Stalin headed the State Committee of Defense and the Armed Forces of the country. With the greatest courage our wise and fearless leader led the Soviet Army and the entire Soviet people through the fire of battle, through the hardships and trials of the war, to victory over the enemy. It was the good fortune of our Party and of all the people of the U.S.S.R. that, in that difficult period, Comrade Stalin stood at the head of the Soviet state and its army.

The victory of the Soviet peoples showed the whole world that the strength and power of our socialist state are unshakable.

This is one of the most important lessons of the Great Patriotic War. True, not all have benefited from the lessons of history. The American imperialists who have grown fat on two world wars, intoxicated with the crazy idea of establishing world domination, are

again pushing the peoples into the abyss of world war.

The present rulers of the United States of America—the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Duponts, and other who control the American state and war machine—are feverishly forming new world monopolies, such as the European Coal and Steel Community and the World Oil Cartel, with a view to swift seizure of the economies of other states, to subordinating them to their own interests. They seek to establish their undivided rule in all parts of the world in order, by means of other countries, to ensure for themselves super-profits. To achieve this end they need war. With the object of preparing war American big capital in conjunction with the American military are taking upon themselves all the functions of a fascist regime in order to suppress within their country the people's desire to preserve peace and to put down all opposition to their reckless policy. In pushing the country onto the path of war they also figure that an arms drive and a war situation will make it possible to avert economic crisis. But this crisis is advancing inexorably on the economy of the United States of America and no subterfuges or gambles of the financial tycoons can avert it. Accelerating the arms drive, and having adapted their entire economy to the purpose of preparing war, they fear peace more than war, although there is no doubt that in unleashing war they will only hasten their own collapse and their own destruction.

Having spread a net of military bases all over the world and hastily knocking together all kinds of military blocs, they are feverishly preparing war against the U.S.S.R. and other peace-loving states. They unceasingly send to our country and to other peace-loving countries spies and saboteurs, picked up all over the world from among the depraved off-scourings of humanity. The vigilance of the Soviet people is one of the keenest weapons in the fight against enemy spies and there is no doubt that by heightening and sharpening their vigilance the Soviet people will succeed in rendering harmless the spies of the imperialist warmongers no matter how many are sent and how camouflaged.

The demonstratively-brazen provocations and gambles of the American military with regard to the U.S.S.R. in the shape of numerous land, air and naval manoeuvres, "inspection" tours by Atlantic bloc military chieftains in regions bordering on the Soviet Union, the activity of American military aircraft in the vicinity of the western and eastern borders of the U.S.S.R.—all are obviously intended to upset the peace of mind of Soviet people and to sustain the war psychosis in their own country and in those of their vassals.

None but fools can bank on provocations frightening Soviet people. The Soviet people know the worth of all the warmongers' pro-

vocations and threats. With steadfast calm the Soviet people continue their constructive, peaceful labor. They have confidence in the strength and might of their state and of their army which is capable of delivering a crushing blow to anyone who dares attack our country and of killing once and for all the desire to encroach on the Soviet Union's frontiers.

Another most important event in the life of the Party and of the Soviet people is the mighty new advance of the national economy which made it possible to raise the level of our industry 2.3 times above the prewar level and to take a giant stride along the path from Socialism to Communism. The war forced upon us by Hitlerite fascism, the most brutal and severe of all wars ever experienced by our country, interrupted our peaceful development. Pursuing the barbarous "scorched earth" tactics in the regions occupied by them, the Hitlerite cut-throats inflicted grave wounds on the Soviet national economy.

And so, when the war ended we were faced with the most difficult task of bringing life back to normal in the areas that suffered from German occupation, of restoring the prewar level of industry and agriculture and then considerably surpassing this level.

During this difficult period Comrade Stalin provided us with a comprehensive program for the rehabilitation of the national economy and showed us how to carry it out. With the iron will and energy characteristic of him, Comrade Stalin directly guided all the work of the Party and the state in organizing the working class, collective farm peasantry and intelligentsia for the fulfillment of the postwar Five-Year Plan. As everyone knows, the postwar Five-Year Plan was successfully carried out.

At present industry, agriculture and transport in our country are developing on the basis of the most advanced technique, ensuring an increase in all social production on a hitherto unprecedented scale.

Here are some illustrations giving an idea of the scale of our industrial production.

A comparison of the volume of industrial output in 1951-52 with that produced in all the years of the first and second Five-Year Plans shows that in these two years it will be 22 per cent greater than in the two Five-Year Plans combined. In 1952 alone the production of such major items of industrial output as electric power, iron and steel, coal, oil products, cement and consumer goods will be much greater than in all the years of the first Five-Year Plan.

As for machine-building which is the base for the technical progress of the entire national economy, it is developing at an even faster pace. In the current year alone much more machinery and

equipment will be produced than during the first and second Five-Year Plan periods combined.

Parallel with the increase in socialist production the wellbeing of the entire Soviet people is steadily growing and improving year by year.

Economically and politically, as well as in defense-capacity, the Soviet Union is stronger now than ever before, and more than ever before capable of withstanding any trials.

Should the enemy dare to make war on us, the Soviet Union which heads the camp of peace and democracy, will be able to give a crushing rebuff to any grouping of aggressive imperialist states, will be able to smash and punish the overweening aggressors and warmakers.

Comrades, one of the decisive conditions for the victories won by the Soviet people both in war and in peaceful economic and cultural development has been the wise and farsighted national policy of our Party. More than 60 nations, national groups and nationalities live and work in the Soviet multi-national state. Under these conditions the implementation of a correct national policy acquires exceptional importance for the success of our common cause—the strengthening of the might of the U.S.S.R. and the building of a Communist society.

The national policy of our Party is founded on the harmonious, scientifically substantiated theory of the national question as part of the Lenin teaching on the proletarian revolution. Lenin and Stalin are the founders of the program and policy of the Communist Party on the national question. It is for this reason that our national policy is called the Lenin-Stalin national policy. The national policy of our Party is warmly approved and unanimously supported by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Lenin and Stalin directly guided the building up of the Soviet multi-national state. Since the death of the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin has been directing all the work of the Party in shaping the fraternal co-operation among the people of our country, in strengthening the Union of republics, in developing the economy and culture of our peoples. Comrade Stalin has played an exceptional role in elaborating the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the national question. He has enriched Marxism-Leninism with the theory of the nation, has developed the Lenin teaching on the unity of the national and the international tasks of the working class, the strategy and tactics of the national-liberation movement in the epoch of imperialism, elaborated the theoretical foundations of the national policy of the Communist Party in conditions of the Soviet multi-national state and founded the teaching about socialist nations and

their development in the struggle for the victory of Communism.

The Great October Revolution which overthrew capitalism, emancipated the peoples of Russia, eliminated national oppression and brought the peoples genuine regeneration. After the abolition of the bourgeoisie with its nationalist parties and after the Soviet system took firm root in our country, there arose, on the basis of the old, bourgeois nations, new socialist nations which have developed and taken shape.

The actual inequality in economic and cultural development between the peoples of central Russia who were advanced and the peoples in the outlying regions who lagged behind them in the past—the legacy inherited from tsarism—has been eliminated in our country as a result of the consistent implementation of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. Today there are no longer any backward peoples in our country. The new socialist nations in our country have radically changed their aspect and have developed into advanced modern nations during the years of socialist construction.

What does the concept of an advanced socialist nation include?

Proceeding from the classical definition of a nation given by Comrade Stalin, his teaching about the new, socialist nations, and proceeding from the historic experience of our Soviet multi-national state, it can be said that the main features inherent in an advanced socialist nation are as follows:

Firstly, existence of a social and state system, the most advanced in the world, in which there are no exploiting classes and all power belongs to the people.

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

Thirdly, universal literacy of the population, compulsory school education for children, a developed system of higher education ensuring the training of national cadres of specialists for all spheres of economy and culture; the flowering of science and art.

Fourthly, steady improvement in the living standard of the entire population by ensuring the growth of real wages for factory and office workers and incomes of peasants, through the development of trade, development and improvement of towns, improved housing conditions; the existence of an extensive network of medical institutions ensuring health protection for the people.

Fifthly, the triumph of the ideology of the equality of all races and nations, the ideology of friendship of the peoples.

Do our Soviet republics possess these features of an advanced socialist nation? Yes, they do.

Let us turn to the facts.

It is known that tsarism was the oppressor and hangman of the

people of Russia. The numerous non-Russian nationalities had no rights whatsoever. They had no statehood of their own, they were governed by tsarist officials and the affairs in all institutions were transacted in the Russian language incomprehensible to the local nationalities.

Under the Soviet system all peoples of our country have acquired and developed their statehood. The outlying national regions of tsarist Russia have been transformed under Soviet power from colonies and semi-colonies into really independent states—Soviet republics with their own territory, national autonomy, their own Constitution, their own legislation. In the organs of power, in the economic bodies and administrative organs, in the judicial organs of the Union and Autonomous Republics, national groups, areas, districts and villages, men and women elected by the people and who know the mode of life, customs and psychology of the local population administer state affairs in the native language spoken by the entire population.

There is no such genuine equality of nations in any bourgeois state. And this is understandable because abolition of national oppression is impossible within the framework of the capitalist system. It is a matter of record that the entire system of state administration in bourgeois countries is built on inequality of races and nations, on race discrimination, on the utilization of nationalist prejudices for fanning discord and hostility among nations. In our times two countries—the United States of America and the Union of South Africa—stand out for the particularly rampant race and national discrimination.

The Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, consistently implementing the Lenin-Stalin national policy, have ensured, parallel with a high level of development of the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R., a still more rapid development of the economically backward national republics. This has resulted in the elimination of the past legacy of economic and cultural inequality among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. This, undoubtedly, is one of the most important achievements of the national policy of Soviet power.

The successes in the development of the Soviet national republics could be illustrated by voluminous convincing data but I will confine myself to a few examples.

During the years of the Stalin Five-Year Plans new metallurgical, oil and chemical industries were created in the Soviet republics; big power stations, agricultural machinery, tractor and automobile works, cement plants, big textile mills and food factories and many other industrial establishments were built.

That industry in the national republics and especially large-scale industry, developed faster than in the U.S.S.R. as a whole can be seen from the example of the Soviet republics in the East — the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tajik republics. The output of large-scale industry in these republics increased 22 times from 1928 to 1951, while for the U.S.S.R. as a whole it rose 16 times during the same period.

It is known that in the recent past the outlying eastern regions of tsarist Russia hardly differed in their industrial development from such of their neighbors as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. In Soviet times our Central Asian republics swiftly outstripped in industrial development the eastern countries bordering on the U.S.S.R. and advanced far ahead. If the above-named Soviet republics are compared with a number of eastern countries as regards such an important index of industrial development as electric power, we find that these five Soviet republics—Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tajik—which have a population of about 17 million people—generated three times as much electric power as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt, Irak, Syria and Afghanistan taken together, with their combined population of 156 million. And if we compare as regards generation of electric power, one Soviet republic, Azerbaijan, for example, with Turkey, it turns out that Soviet Azerbaijan with a population almost one-seventh that of Turkey, produces four times as much electric power as Turkey which has put its head into the noose of American "aid."

Our Soviet republics have greatly outstripped in their development the old industrial countries of Western Europe as well.

Let us compare, for example, one Soviet republic—the Ukrainian—with two large European bourgeois states—France and Italy. Of course not everything is comparable in the given case. It is known that in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic the exploiting classes have long since been abolished, that the factories, mills, the land and all the products of labor are the property of the people, that unemployment has been abolished forever and that all power belongs undividedly to the people. In this respect both France and Italy where the capitalists are in power were left far behind by Soviet Ukraine already more than thirty years ago. Consequently, we will compare only a few of the most important economic data of these countries.

Soviet Ukraine, which twice in its lifetime had to raised from ruins and ashes after invasion by foreign aggressors, now produces much more pig iron than France and Italy combined; it produces more steel and rolled metal than France and over three times as much as Italy; it mines one-and-a-half times as much coal as France

and Italy together; in terms of horse-power Soviet Ukraine manufactures almost three times as many tractors as France and Italy combined; it produces much more grain, potatoes, sugar-beet and sugar than France and Italy combined.

As a result of the advance in socialist industry and collective-farm agriculture the Ukrainian people live a well-to-do life, enjoying all the blessings of culture, of which the toiling masses of France and Italy are deprived.

No less indicative is the rapid economic development of the Soviet Baltic republics after they had established the Soviet system. A comparison between the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Union Republics and Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium reveals that the rate of industrial development in the Soviet republics is far above that in the afore-mentioned capitalist states of Europe.

By the beginning of 1952 the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic had surpassed the prewar level of industrial production 2.4 times; the Latvian Republic had surpassed it 3.6 times and the Estonian Republic—4.1 times, whereas by the same date Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium had only slightly exceeded the prewar level of industrial production, though the Soviet republics had emerged from the war with a much more devastated economy.

It is worth mentioning that in the old, capitalist Latvia, even according to the whitewashed data of the then rulers, industrial output increased in the 26 years—1931-39—one and a half times, whereas in the new, Soviet Latvia it has risen—despite the damage caused by the war and enemy occupation—in the 11 years—1940-51—3.6 times.

The achievements in the development of agriculture are just as great.

The victory of the collective-farm system in the U.S.S.R. put the agriculture of the Soviet republics on a steady upgrade. The collective-farm system is one of the greatest achievements of Soviet power, because it drew the peasant masses into building Socialism, opened up new, unprecedented opportunities for development in all branches of agricultural production and gave rise to conditions making for the constant improvement of the material and cultural standards of millions of peasants.

Consequently, in all the Soviet republics we now have large-scale socialist agriculture producing abundantly for the market, widely applying the latest achievements of agronomy and better equipped with up-to-date machinery than agriculture in any other country.

This can be seen in every republic of the Soviet Union. I shall, however, again dwell on the Soviet republics of the East where prior to the establishment of Soviet rule, as everyone knows, agri-

culture was most backward of all and there was not a trace of agricultural machinery of any kind, not even the simplest.

Now, on the fields of the collective farms and state farms of the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Turkmenian and Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics there are 121,000 tractors in terms of 15 horse-power units, 23,000 harvester combines, 102,000 machines for sowing, cultivating and picking cotton and hundreds of thousands of other agricultural machines and implements. The Soviet republics of the East are much better equipped with agricultural machinery than the most developed capitalist countries of Europe.

Take, for instance, the supply of tractors. Soviet Uzbekistan has 14 tractors per every thousand hectares under crops, while for the same area France has 7 and Italy 4 much lower-powered tractors. It goes without saying that there is an altogether insignificant number of tractors in the foreign countries of the East. Whereas the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has one tractor per 70 hectares under crops, Pakistan has one tractor per 9,000 hectares, India—one per 13,000 and Iran—one per 18,000 hectares.

The equipment of socialist agriculture with a large number of machines has radically lightened the labor of the peasants and, combined with modern scientific farming and the extensive development of irrigation, has ensured abundant harvests.

Take cotton, for instance—one of the leading industrial crops of the developed diversified agriculture of the Soviet Republics of the East. In 1951 the yield of raw cotton in those republics averaged 21 centners per hectare.

No cotton producing country in the world can boast of the yield attained by Soviet cotton growers. In the same year, 1951, the yield of cotton 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, in Iran—4.5 centners per hectare.

It should be taken into account that big cotton crops in the Soviet eastern republics are grown on large areas, as is evidenced by the fact that the above-mentioned Soviet republics produce as much cotton as India, Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan combined.

Such are some of the facts relating to the economic development of the national republics which are part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They show that the economy of these republics is continuously growing and developing, without crises and setbacks. Lastly, these facts show what can be achieved by peoples who have broken with imperialism and have freed themselves from the domination of the landlords and capitalists.

To build up a developed socialist economy in the Soviet national republics it was necessary to put an end to the cultural backward-

ness of the greater part of the republics, to launch cultural advancement on the widest scale, to establish a broad network of elementary and secondary schools where instruction is carried on in the native tongue, to organize a new system of higher education and to arrange, on a large scale, for the training of skilled workers, engineers and technicians, agronomists and zootechnicians, teachers and physicians from among the indigenous nationalities.

As a result of the application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy the peoples of the Soviet Union have brought about a real cultural revolution.

At present more than two million engineering and technical personnel are working in industry, construction and on transport in the Soviet republics, about 400 thousand agronomists, zootechnicians, afforestation and other specialists are engaged in agriculture; almost two million teachers and instructors are working in schools, technicums and higher educational establishments; almost 300 thousand physicians and 900 thousand doctors' assistants, nurses and other intermediary medical personnel comprise the staff of urban and rural health institutions. Each Soviet republic has tens of thousands of specialists with a higher education.

A large network of higher educational establishments and technicums has been set up in the Soviet republics to train cadres of Soviet Intelligentsia from among the indigenous nationalities. When Soviet power was established there were 96 higher educational establishments in our country, which, with the exception of a few, were located in the major centers of Russia. These educational establishments had a student body of 117 thousand.

The U.S.S.R. now has 887 higher educational establishments with a student enrollment of 1,400 thousand. There are 216 thousand students in the Ukraine, 104 thousand in the Soviet republics of Central Asia, 80 thousand in the Transcaucasian republics, 35 thousand in Byelorussia and 7 thousand students in the Baltic Soviet republics.

For development of higher education the Soviet republics have greatly surpassed not only the foreign eastern countries but also the countries of Western Europe.

For instance, in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic there are 58 students in higher educational establishments per ten thousand of the population, in Turkmenia—60, Kirghizia—64, Uzbekistan—71, Azerbaijan—93. At the same time in Iran 3 out of every ten thousand of the population study in higher educational establishments, in India—9, Egypt and Turkey—12, Sweden—21, Italy—32, Denmark—34, France—36.

During the time Soviet rule has been in existence 48 nationalities

have created their own written language, and textbooks, books and newspapers are printed in their native tongues. In the past thirty years some 90 thousand well-appointed and well-equipped schools have been built in the republics of the Soviet Union, almost two-thirds of them in the national union and autonomous republics.

Parallel with the advance of socialist economy, the well-being of the people of the Soviet Union grows year by year. Real earnings of wage and salaried workers and the income of the peasants have gone up substantially in all Soviet republics. Between 1940 and 1951 the combined income of wage and salaried workers and of peasants increased 78 per cent.

The Soviet state is doing a great deal to protect the health of the peoples of our country. Indicative of this is the adequate medical service furnished the population. I shall cite a few examples for a number of Soviet republics.

Before the establishment of Soviet rule Uzbekistan had one physician per 31 thousand of population, which is approximately the case now in Pakistan. At the present time the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic has one physician for every 895 persons. The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic is in an incomparably better position as regards the number of physicians than Egypt, for instance, which has one physician for every 4,350 persons, and in a better position than such countries of Western Europe as France, where there is one physician per one thousand of population, or Holland, which has one for every 1,160.

The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic has one physician per 490 people. Thus, with respect to medical service the population of Soviet Azerbaijan is eight and a half times better off than the population of Turkey and 23 times better off than the population of Iran. As regards the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, which has one physician for every 373 persons and the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, where there is one physician per 483 persons, the population of those republics is much better provided with medical service than the population of any country in the world. But it is not only that the population of the Soviet republics have a greater number of physicians at their service. To fill in the picture it must be borne in mind that in the Soviet Union every kind of medical service is furnished the population free of charge, and that millions of working people go to excellent sanatoria and rest homes every year, whereas in bourgeois countries medical service has, in the main, to be paid for, and costs quite a good deal too. For this reason it is beyond the means of the broad masses of the working people, and going to health resorts and sanatoria in those countries is the exclusive privilege of the parasite-exploiters.

The development of the socialist nations under the Soviet social and state system, the elimination of actual economic and cultural inequality between the nations, the long-continuing cooperation of the nations both in defending the Soviet state from foreign enemies and in building Socialism have resulted in the firm establishment and complete triumph in our country of the ideology of the equality of nations, the ideology of the friendship of peoples.

The friendship of the peoples of our country went through many trials. One of the greatest tests of the firmness of the friendship of the peoples was the war against the Hitlerite coalition.

After the Great Patriotic War the friendship of the peoples of our country was revealed with renewed force during the period of rehabilitating the socialist economy on the territories that suffered from enemy occupation. All the peoples of the Soviet Union wholeheartedly participated in the rehabilitation of the economy of the republics and regions which had been occupied, for they looked upon this work as a matter of vital concern to them and an urgent task of state importance. Where, in what bourgeois state is there a parallel for peoples rendering one another such aid?

Now with the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism in the U.S.S.R., the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union is enriched in its development with a new content. The high standard of economy and culture attained by the Soviet republics has opened opportunities for their still more active participation in solving major problems of national significance.

The force cementing the friendship of the peoples of our country is the Russian people, the Russian nation, as the most outstanding of all the nations making up the Soviet Union.

In October 1917 the Russian working class, led by the Lenin-Stalin Party, accomplished a great historic exploit: it breached the front of world imperialism, destroyed the power of the bourgeoisie and broke the fetters of national-colonial oppression on one-sixth of the earth's surface. There can be no doubt that without the help of the Russian working class the peoples of our country could not have defended themselves against the White Guards and interventionists and could not have built Socialism. As regards the peoples which had not previously passed through the capitalist stage of development, without steady systematic help from the Russian working class they would not have been able to make the transition from pre-capitalist forms of economy to Socialism.

During the Great Patriotic War, as pointed out by Comrade Stalin, the clarity of mind, staunchness of character and patience that are inherent in the Russian people, were revealed with special force. By their heroism, courage and valor the Russian people mer-

ited in this war general recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country.

Following the example of the Russian people, together with them, shoulder to shoulder, all the peoples of our country fought the enemy self-sacrificingly; together with the Russian people they were the architects of our victory over Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan. The peoples of our country demonstrated to the whole world the mighty and invincible force possessed by the Soviet socialist multi-national state, based on the Stalin friendship of the peoples.

The basis of the friendship of the peoples of our country is the community of their vital interests. The peoples of the Soviet Union are united by their desire and determination to defend against each and every enemy their freedom, independence and happy life gained under Soviet rule; they are united by the common effort to build Communist society. The people of our country know well that united by indissoluble Stalin friendship into a single Soviet state—the union of republics—they are invincible and can successfully build Communism and defend their gains from any danger.

Our Party and Comrade Stalin personally take constant care to see that the Soviet national policy is carried out correctly. In the struggle against the enemies of Leninism the Party upheld the Lenin-Stalin national policy and ensured the complete and final defeat of great-power chauvinism, bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

The great service rendered by the leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin, is that by his wise leadership he has ensured a genuine rebirth and unprecedented advance of the physical and spiritual forces of all the peoples of our country, rallied them in indestructible fraternal friendship and directed their efforts to one great goal—the consolidation of the might of our country and the victory of Communism.

The successes in the development of the socialist nations gained within the system of the united multi-national Soviet state are of great international importance.

Our example shows the working class of the capitalist countries the way to their deliverance from exploitation, poverty and unemployment, from the growing danger of establishing fascism.

Our example shows the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries the way leading from oppression and tyranny to freedom and independence, from strife and enmity among nations to fraternal friendship between peoples, from starvation and poverty to a well-to-do life, from illiteracy and cultural backwardness to the flowering of culture, science and art.

The entire course of history confirms more and more the words

of the leader of our Party, Comrade Stalin, that ". . . now we are reaching the point where Socialism can serve (and is already beginning to serve!) as the banner of liberation for the multi-million masses in the vast colonial states of imperialism."

The ideas of freedom and national independence, the ideas of Socialism have penetrated to the remotest corners of the enslaved countries.

The peoples fighting for their emancipation know that the great camp of peace and democracy is on their side, that the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies uphold the cause of peace, freedom, independence and true equality of all races and nations and that the very fact of the existence of these states acts as a brake on the black forces of reaction, thus facilitating the struggle of the oppressed nations.

In their impotence in the face of the growing national-liberation movement the ruling circles of the United States of America and of the other bourgeois states scream from the house tops that the struggle waged by the oppressed peoples against their enslavers is the result of Soviet propoganda in the East.

The ill-starred bourgeois politicians got their answer to this from Comrade Stalin many years ago. Comrade Stalin said:

"We are accused of conducting propoganda in the East. . . . There is no need for us to conduct propoganda 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 all colors of skin and of all nationalities have put their shoulders to the wheel and are together governing a great country, in order to convince himself that ours is the only country where the fraternity of nations is a reality, not merely a phrase. With such effective propoganda as the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics we require no printed or oral propoganda at all."

Building their new life the people's democratic countries are drawing on the rich experience gained in building and consolidating the multi-national Soviet state.

The relations between the democratic countries are of an entirely new type such as never known before in history. The chief distinguishing feature of these relations is that they are based on:

Complete and real equality of all nations, big and small, the preservation of all sovereign rights and the independence of each state, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, in contrast to the imperialist policy of diktat and enslavement of peoples;

Mutual respect for the national interests, trust and friendship between peoples, in contrast to the policy of secret agreements,

intrigues, overt and covert enmity pursued by the imperialist states;

Close economic co-operation and mutual assistance, ensuring the most favorable conditions for economic development in complete conformity with the national interests of each country, in contrast to the fierce competitive struggle for sources of raw material and markets raging in the imperialist camp;

The common striving of the democratic states to ensure peace, to re-establish and develop economic and cultural relations between all countries, irrespective of their economic and social system for the purpose of improving the life of the millions in all the countries of the world, in contrast to the imperialist policy of militarizing the economy, preparing for and unleashing of another world war and attacks on the living standard of the working people.

Characteristic of the relations between nations and states in the imperialist camp is the greedy desire of American capital for world domination. American imperialism, extending its web to all parts of the world, like an insatiable spider, is sucking the life's blood of many peoples and states, hesitating at no means to enslave them. The method most commonly employed is enslavement in the guise of so-called American "aid," when the country getting American "aid" rapidly loses its sovereign rights and independence and is reduced to the status of a vassal. The best that such a country can expect is the status of a far from equal partner.

Such an unequal partner of the United States of America now is Great Britain, once known as "mistress of the seas," "the workshop of the world." Day after day American imperialism is increasingly elbowing Britain from sources of raw material and markets and using every means to oust her from Europe and Asia, wresting from her one position after another. It has come to the point that the Americans rudely denied the British Government's most humble request to send an observer to the talks between the U.S.A. and the British dominions of New Zealand and Australia concerning the so-called Pacific pact. In this regard even the British conservative press recently complained bitterly that Britain was being treated like a poor relation whom one lectures, slights or ignores. And one of the conservative newspapers, the "Daily Mail," said straight out that if Britain was going to lose her positions now here, now there, she would soon have nothing left to lose. It would be wrong to think that Britain's ruling circles do not understand this; nevertheless, they still continue to submit to the American diktat trying to put on a good face while holding a bad hand.

The imperialist bosses of the United States are turning the countries enslaved by them into bridgeheads for aggressive war and dooming the youth of these countries to the role of cannon fodder.

Thus, step by step, the countries that have become dependent on the United States are sliding down the fatal road to war.

Striving to save capitalism wherever it faces danger, and fighting to preserve colonial dominion and the most reactionary regimes wherever the latter are threatened by the national liberation movement and democratic revolution, American imperialism has become the bulwark and citadel of world reaction. It follows recklessly in the footsteps of German fascism, dooming its soldiers to the role of gendarmes and stranglers of the freedom-loving peoples. It is only natural that the peoples of those countries that have fallen into dependence on the United States are organizing themselves nationally to resist American interference in their life, to drive out of their countries the unbidden guests; they are paying the Americans back with burning hatred for mocking their national honor and dignity.

The American people, in their turn, despite the fact that day after day the fraudulent idea of an alleged foreign threat is being hammered into their heads, are beginning to understand the entire absurdity of this propaganda, and, under the heavy burden of the mounting military expenditure, they are increasingly showing dissatisfaction with the present policy of the ruling circles of the United States.

Comrades, the main achievement with which our Party comes to the XIX Congress is that the Soviet Union has achieved unprecedented might and international prestige. We have achieved this by means of the policy of industrialization, which has changed our country from an agrarian land into an advanced industrial power; by means of the policy of collectivization, which has changed our agriculture into large-scale, mechanized agriculture, the most advanced in the world; by consistently carrying out the Lenin-Stalin national policy, a policy which ensures indissoluble unity and friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; by steadfastly carrying out the Stalin foreign policy, designed to uphold peace among the nations.

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

History shows that in the 35 years of Soviet rule our country registered industrial progress that took the capitalist countries centuries to achieve. Whereas the U.S.S.R. increased industrial output 39 fold in Soviet years, it took Britain 162 years (from 1790 to 1951) to obtain the same increase, and France increased its industrial production in the past 90 years only 5.5 fold. As for the United States of America it increased its industrial output but 2.6 fold in the last 35 years.

The socialist state attained its success in an historically short space of time because the Soviet system opened up unprecedented possibilities for the rapid economic and cultural development of the U.S.S.R. and because the struggle of our people for Socialism has been led by the Communism Party, which knows how to get things done and is not daunted by difficulties.

The path to the victory of Socialism in our country was not an easy one. This path was strewn with not a few difficulties and obstacles both of an internal and external nature, but our Party, always in a state of mobilized preparedness, successfully surmounted them. Now that we are faced with great and complex problems of Communist construction our Party, as the party guiding the Soviet state, must foresee the difficulties and be fully armed in order to lead the people to overcome them. We are confident that our Party, founded and reared by Lenin and Stalin, will always in the future too measure up to its great tasks.

Together with the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin built and strengthened our Party, led the working class of Russia in the assault on capitalism in October 1917, and founded the first Soviet state in the world. For more than a quarter of a century since the death of the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin has been leading our Party and the Soviet people along the unexplored path-ways of building the new Communist life. At every new stage along this path Comrade Stalin arms our Party theoretically, teaches it to foresee the further development of events and concentrates its efforts on solving the main tasks.

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

The theses and conclusions submitted by Comrade Stalin in this work are especially important because they open up a new chapter in the development of the science of Marxism-Leninism and are indissolubly bound up with the main tasks of the practice of Communist construction in the U.S.S.R. It is known that Marx and Engels transformed Socialism from utopia into a science. Developing Marxism, the great Lenin founded the teaching about the socialist state and about the ways of building a classless, socialist society in our country. Carrying out this teaching the Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin won a world-historic victory: from being a dream of the finest minds of mankind Socialism has become a reality. The Soviet people have built Socialism and our country has entered the period of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

In these conditions our Party faced new problems relating to

Marxist-Leninist theory. What preliminary conditions are necessary for realizing the transition from Socialism to Communism? What must be done for this? What are the basic laws governing this important historic period? And we see how Comrade Stalin has given clear-cut and lucid answers to all these urgent, vitally important questions of our Soviet society's advance, answers which have illuminated for the Party and the Soviet people the path ahead.

There can be no doubt that Comrade Stalin's directives about the conditions and the ways for accomplishing the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism will be accepted by our Congress and our whole Party as their program of struggle for building Communism.

Our Party and the entire Soviet people welcomed this Stalin program with the greatest enthusiasm. It gives wings to the best dreams of the Soviet people and inspires them to new heroic deeds for the triumph of the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin.

Our triumphant advance along the pathway of Communism will serve as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for the working class and working people of all countries in their revolutionary struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

During these historic days of the XIX Congress, the Soviet people, strong in their unity, are solidly rallied as never before around their beloved Communist Party and are ready for new labor exploits for the glory of their homeland.

The peoples of our country can rest assured that the Communist Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, will lead our country to its cherished goal—to Communism.

Speech by N. A. Bulganin

Comrades: The report of the Central Committee of our Party and the report on the directives of the Congress for the fifth Five-Year Plan elucidate matters and events that provide further convincing evidence of the tremendous force and correctness of the great Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin teaching. This is vividly proved by the successes of the Soviet Union in building Communism, by the formation of the powerful people's democratic camp, and by the growth and consolidation of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Specifically indicative of the strength, unity and cohesion of the world Communist movement is also the fact—a joyful one for all of us—that numerous delegations from foreign Communist and Workers' Parties are present at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Glancing back over the path traversed by the Soviet land since the XVIII Congress it can be stated with satisfaction and pride that the policy of our Party has been correct; that, as always, it proceeded from the interests of the people and was aimed at strengthening our state in every way.

During these years both the policy of the Party and its practical work in all spheres of economy, culture and military affairs were subjected to the strictest test in the crucible of the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War.

War befell our country at the time when the Soviet people were working enthusiastically on the third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.; when our country had entered upon a new phase in its development—the phase of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. Not a few outstanding labor achievements had been recorded along the glorious path proclaimed by the XVIII Congress of our Party.

The sudden and perfidious attack by the fascist invaders immediately and radically changed the situation. Millions of Soviet people had to relinquish peaceful labor and take to arms in order to defend the great socialist gains and deliver their homeland from the danger of fascist enslavement.

In the Great Patriotic War the matter was one of life and death for our state. As is known, the issue was: either the Soviet Union would preserve its independence and the peoples of our country would remain free, or the Soviet Union would become a colony and the peoples inhabiting it would become slaves of the German imperialists. There could be no other outcome.

The Great Patriotic War was not only a war between the two

armies; it was also a war of the entire Soviet people against the foreign invaders. The aim of that war was not only to eliminate the fearful danger hanging over our country but also to aid the peoples of Europe languishing under the yoke of German fascism. This war was the most arduous of all wars experienced by our state, and for this reason it demanded from the Soviet people an incredible straining of energies, great hardships and heavy sacrifice.

There is no need to speak in detail of the extraordinary difficulties that befell our country during the war. The grave wartime trials are fresh in the memory of all of us. It is important to note over and over again, one thing: had any bourgeois state encountered such difficulties it never would have withstood the blow that the Hitlerites delivered our country. Only the Soviet socialist state could hold out in such conditions, survive the unprecedented difficulties and win through to victory.

What was it that helped us to overcome the onslaught of the enemy and then to win the greatest victory in history?

Comrade Stalin teaches that modern war is an all-round trial of all the material and spiritual forces of every nation. Only those states withstand this trial which prove to be stronger than their adversary in the development and organization of the economy in experience, in the skill and fighting spirit of their troops, in the stamina and unity of the people throughout the entire course of the war.

In a word, the outcome of war depends on the economic, moral and military potential of the belligerents. In all this our Soviet state proved to be much stronger than its adversary—Hitlerite Germany—although at the time it fell upon our country Hitlerite Germany possessed economic and man-power resources not only on its own territory but also on the territory of France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Rumania, Spain and a number of other countries.

In the prewar years, as is the case now, the main efforts of our people were channeled into peaceful construction. The Soviet Union firmly and consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy. At the same time our Party was never oblivious to the danger of war and to the imperialist machinations, and under the wise Stalin leadership it prepared the country and the army for active defense. The preparations consisted, above all, in creating such material potential, which, in the event of war, would ensure rapid organization of war production and uninterrupted supplies of food to the army and the population and raw materials for industry. Our Party solved this difficult task by its policy of industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture during the three prewar Stalin Five-

Year Plans. It was in those years that the historic transformation was effected as a result of which our formerly agrarian country became an industrial country.

Fulfillment of the Five-Year Plans for the development of the national economy greatly enhanced the defense power of the Soviet state. The results of the first Five-Year Plan were such as to give grounds for the conclusion that from a weak country unprepared for defense, the Soviet Union had become a powerful country as regards defense-capacity, a country prepared for each and every eventuality, a country capable of mass production of all modern implements of defense and of supplying its army with them in the event of attack from without.

The second Five-Year Plan and the first years of the third Five-Year Plan which ensured the further industrialization of the country strengthened still more the defense power of the Soviet Union. An economic base was founded which enabled us to meet the war prepared, to meet all its requirements and to withstand all its trials during the four years.

In the prewar period measures had also been taken to strengthen our army. As a result of the considerable work carried out in this sphere by the Party, the Government and by all the Soviet people under Comrade Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Army became a mighty and formidable force. A big role was played in this by the technical re-equipment of the army and the implementation of Stalin's precept concerning the need to develop all branches of the service.

After the first world war bourgeois military science failed to solve the question of a correct correlation between the various arms. All kinds of "theories" appeared about the dominant role of one or another arm or item of military equipment. In a number of cases these "theories" found practical application. The Hitler military command, for example, devoted special attention to the development of tanks, hoping with their help to snatch a quick victory in war. The second world war upset such hopes.

Even prior to the war, our country built first-rate artillery, powerful armored and motorized units, up-to-date aircraft—all supplied with the latest equipment—and began work on building a powerful navy. This raised to a high plane the defense-capacity and the combat efficiency of the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

Then, war broke out. It called for skillfull and correct utilization of the material potentialities that had been created.

Thanks to the Party's organizational work this task, too, was solved with great success.

The switching of our industry to war production, which began

from the first days of the war, was completed, in the main, within three or four months, and the entire economy was placed on a war footing in about a year. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the reorganization took place in extremely difficult conditions when a considerable part of our territory had been occupied by the enemy and many enterprises had to be transferred to the East. All this created considerable additional difficulties. Suffice it to say that the industrial regions temporarily lost by us produced, in peace-time, one-third of the total industrial output of the Soviet Union. More than 1,300 large state enterprises were removed to the eastern regions. Millions of people and a tremendous amount of property were also evacuated there. Not one of the belligerent countries had to reorganize its economy on a war footing under such difficult conditions.

Within a short space of time a harmonious and rapidly growing war economy was created, based not only on existing enterprises but also on newly built enterprises.

During the years of grim war our industry and socialist agriculture successfully coped with their tasks. This is clear confirmation of the farsighted policy of our Party which is able to see far ahead and solve in wise fashion the most complex problems.

The war demonstrated a unity of the people of our country of which no capitalist country can even dream.

Already before the war the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. had ensured the complete abolition of the remnants of the exploiting classes, and the rallying of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia into a united front of labor. Already at that time the moral-political unity of Soviet society had been effected in our country, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union had been consolidated and political life in the country completely democratized.

In falling upon our country the enemies banked on the instability of the Soviet rear and of the Soviet system; they pinned their hopes on conflicts breaking out between Soviet workers and peasants, on strife and discord among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The enemy's hopes were not justified. Something different took place. The grim danger hanging over the Soviet Union rallied the Soviet people still more closely around the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin, and evoked an unprecedented upsurge of Soviet patriotism among our people.

For the sake of the freedom and independence of their homeland, the Soviet people worked hard and self-sacrificingly in the rear, fought valiantly and courageously at the front, endured countless hardships and made heavy sacrifices. The war demonstrated that our Soviet people are heroic people. They can perform miracles

and emerge victorious from the most trying ordeals.

The rear of our country—the most stable rear in the world—satisfied not only the material but also the spiritual needs of the army; it was the source of its ideas and sentiments. These were the most advanced ideas—the ideas of the Communist Party, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; these were sentiments of unshakable and the deepest confidence in our victory.

During the war years the Party explained to the Soviet soldiers the significance and aims of the war, inculcated in them love for the homeland and hatred for the enemy, enhancing their fighting spirit and inspiring them to exploits.

The word of the Party, the word of the great Stalin armed Soviet people with a weapon of unprecedented force—deep faith in the triumph of our just cause. Recall, comrades, the grim days of the autumn of 1941 when the Hitlerites were approaching Moscow—the capital of our homeland. The enemies were gloating and getting ready to celebrate victory. The immediate collapse of Soviet rule was awaited also by those who today on the other side of the ocean are preparing a new war.

And during those grim days, on November 6, Comrade Stalin delivered a report on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the next day addressed the military parade from the tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum.

Notwithstanding the critical situation in which our country and the army found themselves at that time, Comrade Stalin declared that there could be no doubt whatever about our victory and unfolded a perspective of the war which was so bold that it came as a surprise to many. He said that the Soviet Army was capable not only of annihilating the predatory hordes of the fascist invaders but also of liberating the enslaved peoples of Europe.

The force of these pronouncements by Comrade Stalin cannot be overestimated. Like a searchlight they illuminated the path of our struggle, raised the spirits of our people and our troops, encouraged all the friends of the Soviet Union abroad and caused consternation in the camp of the enemy.

Everything turned out exactly as Comrade Stalin said. The Soviet Army not only drove the enemy off our soil, it fulfilled its great liberation mission.

Comrade Malenkov spoke in his report of the great confidence which our people reposed in the Communist Party during the war. An expression of this was, in particular, the considerable growth of the Party during the war. A significant feature was the fact that the number of applications for membership was greatest during those periods when the situation at the front did not favor us. This

testifies to the strong bonds linking our Party with the masses and confirms the correctness of its line.

The most complete, the most exhaustive criterion of the correctness of the policy and leadership of our Party in military questions is, of course, the outcome of the recent war, our complete victory over the enemy, won by the combined efforts of the people and the army.

The war demonstrated that the Soviet Union disposes of a first-class army possessing the very latest equipment, a highly experienced commanding staff and incomparable moral-combat qualities. The war confirmed with particular force that our army is an army of a new type, that it is a genuine people's army, an army of the fraternity of the nations of our country, an army educated in the spirit of internationalism. The war also proved that the personnel of our army is strong by virtue of its conviction of the justness of the wars which our country is forced to wage, by virtue of its consciousness, which, as is known, is of enormous significance and ensures victory.

The Soviet soldiers, educated in the spirit of personal responsibility for the cause of defending their homeland, knew that in the war against Hitler Germany they were defending that which was dearest to them—the freedom and independence of their country. This noble aim gave rise to mass heroism among the soldiers, sons of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Comrade Stalin in his orders of the day more than once commented the excellent combat actions and heroism displayed by soldiers and officers of all arms—infantry, artillery, tank crews, airmen and seamen. All branches of our Armed Forces made their contribution to victory over the enemy.

In the course of the war the Soviet troops, led by their valiant commanders, won many outstanding victories of which our people are justly proud. All these victories will be remembered for centuries. Each of them is a golden page in the military annals of our people.

The defeat of the German fascist troops at Moscow, which frustrated the enemy plan for encircling and capturing our capital, and consequently, frustrated the "Blitz" plan; the great battle at Stalin-grad which ended in the encirclement, annihilation and capture of the crack 330,000-strong enemy army and which signified the beginning of a radical change in the course of the second world war; the defeat of the Hitler troops in the foothills of the Caucasus, which frustrated the enemy's design of penetrating into our oil districts and of diverting our main reserves to the south; the battle of Kursk which put an end to the offensive strategy of the Hitlerites; the ten crushing Stalin blows in 1944 which ensured the transfer

of military operations beyond the borders of our homeland and which led to the complete disintegration of the Hitler bloc; the crowning victories of 1945 marked by brilliant operations in East Prussia, on the Vistula and Oder, at Budapest and Vienna and, finally, the capture of Berlin—these are the most glorious victories won by our troops and which led to the defeat and unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany. Nor should one forget the successful operations of our troops in the defeat of imperialist Japan.

Each of these victories was the result of the valor, courage and unparalleled exploits of the soldiers and officers of all ranks, as well as of the heroic efforts of the working people in the rear. It was they, the Soviet people, who, with their labor and military skill, with their sweat and blood won glorious victories and saved their country from enslavement.

Each of these victories was the concrete embodiment of the Soviet military art, the skill of the Soviet officers and generals, the triumph of the Stalin military science, the triumph of the strategic art of our leader and Supreme Commander, Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin headed the fight of the Soviet people and the Armed Forces against the foreign invasion. All the decisive operations of the Great Patriotic War were prepared and carried out and the defeat of Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan effected under his direct leadership, in keeping with his brilliant plans.

Speaking of our victory over the forces of fascism one cannot but mention the fact that, together with the Soviet Army, the glorious Polish Army and the Czechoslovak Corps formed during the war on the territory of the Soviet Union made their contribution to the victory. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops against the common enemy the personnel of the Polish and Czechoslovak units demonstrated in action their valor and military skill. Their successful military operations were more than once commended in the orders of the day of the Supreme Commander, Comrade Stalin. In the final phase of the war the armed struggle against fascism was joined by the Rumanian and Bulgarian armies which likewise displayed splendid combat qualities.

Our country emerged from the war strong and consolidated. The hopes of the imperialists that the Soviet Union would be weakened and exhausted went by the board.

Thanks to our victory the peoples of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe were enabled to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists and to establish the people's democratic system in their countries. Now, as a result of the fact that these countries and a number of countries in Asia dropped out of the system of capitalism, one-third of mankind has been forever lib-

erated from imperialist yoke.

The outcome of the war demonstrated to the whole world what a powerful force our Soviet Union is. The postwar years have once again demonstrated the strength of our state.

When solving the tasks of the postwar period the Soviet people were also confronted with a host of difficulties owing to the fact that the ravages inflicted on the economy of our country by the war were extremely great. The enemies of the Soviet Union banked on this as well and hoped that we would not be able to overcome these difficulties by our own efforts. However, the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, emerged with honor from these difficult trials, having found the forces and means with which not only to heal the wounds of war but also to organize a powerful advance in industry and transport, agriculture, culture and in the material well-being of the working people. This was achieved during the years of the fourth Five-Year Plan the results of which are well known to everyone.

The successful fulfillment of the fourth Five-Year Plan signified another triumph for the policy of our Party.

The historic victories won by the Soviet Union during the war and the outstanding achievements in the postwar years have resulted in a strengthening of our country such as we have never witnessed before.

We can say without the slightest exaggeration that there is not, nor can there be, a single bourgeois state with such a stable and firm internal situation as that which we now have in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union of today is a solidly organized socialist state with a first-class industry, well developed transport and highly productive agriculture.

The economic life of our country is determined by the state national-economic plan which aims at multiplying the public wealth, at securing a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the working people, at consolidating the independence and strengthening the defense capacity of the Soviet Union.

The draft directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan for development of the U.S.S.R., submitted to the Congress of the Party, are also directed towards fulfillment of these tasks. The draft embodies the great force of the socialist system and reflects the basic economic law of Socialism which consists in ensuring maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of society as a whole by means of constant expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of the highest technique.

This is confirmed in the first place by the approximately 70 per

cent increase during the five-year period in industrial output, envisaged in the draft directives, with an average annual rate of growth of the entire gross industrial output of approximately 12 per cent and with the main emphasis on growth of output of the means of production. As a result, the volume of industrial output in 1955 will be 3 times the 1940 figure.

This is also evidenced by the high rate of development of the key industries, by the not less than 60 per cent growth in the national income during the five-year period, by the not less than 35 per cent increase in wages for factory and office workers, the not less than 40 per cent increase in income for collective farmers, by the considerable growth of trade and by many other indexes.

The assignments envisaged in the draft directives for the Five-Year Plan ensure the continued powerful development of advanced technique, machinery, machine-tools and high precision instruments, which, in turn, will require a corresponding growth in the number of highly-skilled engineers, technicians and workers. This will have a great positive significance both for the further strengthening of our economy and for enhancing the defense capacity of the country since modern war calls for many forms of armament based on the latest achievements of science and technology.

The increase in the output of vital items of agricultural produce, ranging from 40 to 70 per cent, and the considerable growth in the output of animal husbandry, set forth in the draft directives, testify to the new advance which will be effected in our agriculture in the immediate years.

Of vital significance for the state are the goals contained in the directives for public education: a considerable extension of universal secondary schooling and the beginning of the transition to polytechnical education in intermediate schools. Realization of these tasks will raise still higher the cultural level of our people, will give new cadres of well-educated and technically trained builders of Communism and defenders of the homeland. Universal, compulsory polytechnical education, Comrade Stalin says, is necessary in order to enable members of society freely to choose an occupation and not be tied down all their lives to one particular occupation.

The draft directives of the fifth Five-Year Plan, like all previous Five-Year Plans, give concrete expression to the Lenin-Stalin national policy of our Party, a policy aimed at strengthening friendship among nations, at a further and still greater economic and cultural flowering of the union republics. The comrades who have already spoken from this rostrum cited many vivid facts and impressive figures which characterize the rapid advance made by economy and culture in the union republics in the course of the

Soviet years, and, in particular, during the postwar period. During the new five-year period there will take place a further powerful advance of the national economy in the republics of Central Asia, Transcaucasia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and in all other republics.

Considerable assignments for developing all branches of economy and culture are earmarked for the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics the people of which joined the fraternal Soviet family shortly before the war and who until then lived under bourgeois governments.

During the years of the fourth Five-Year Plan the Baltic Soviet Republics, despite the grave consequences of the war, registered big successes in developing their national economy, particularly in industry. The directives for the new Five-Year Plan provide for a further advance of the national economy of these republics.

The draft directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan are further evidence of the fact that the Soviet people are devoting all their efforts to peaceful construction and do not want war. At the same time we make no secret of the fact that our economy can be switched to a war footing in the shortest possible space of time.

Under the leadership of our Party the Soviet people are effecting the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. In his latest brilliant work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," Comrade Stalin points out that in order to prepare for this transition it is necessary firmly to ensure uninterrupted growth of social production as a whole, with priority to growth of means of production; to elevate, by means of gradual transitions, collective-farm property to the level of national property; to replace commodity circulation, likewise by means of gradual transitions, by a system of exchange of products and finally, to achieve such a cultural growth of society as will ensure for all its members an all-round development of their physical and mental powers.

The program for the development of our country charted in the draft directives goes precisely in the direction outlined by Comrade Stalin. Fulfillment of the assignments contained in the directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan will ensure for our people further success in all spheres of Communist construction.

The tasks proclaimed in the new Five-Year Plan make heavy demands on the Party, Soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations and oblige them to mobilize the broad masses of the working people for fulfillment and overfulfillment of the new Five-Year Plan.

"It would be foolish to think," says Comrade Stalin, "that the production plan is a mere enumeration of figures and assignments. Actually, the production plan is the embodiment of the living and

practical activity of millions of people. What makes our production plan real is the millions of working people who are creating a new life."

In the past the Soviet people have more than once displayed their resolute determination not only to fulfill but to overfulfill national economic plans, thanks to which these plans were fulfilled ahead of time. This determination of our people is explained by the fact that they see in the economic plans the reflection of their vital interests, that fulfillment of the plans strengthens our Soviet state, multiplies our public wealth, makes life better for the Soviet people, and, year by year, with each succeeding Five-Year Plan, brings our country nearer to the cherished goal—to Communism.

The determination of the Soviet people to fulfill and overfulfill the national economic plans finds embodiment in the development of nation-wide socialist emulation. There is no doubt that during the years of the new Five-Year Plan, too, this tried Communist method of labor will be the method of millions of Soviet people who will utilize it for the purpose of ensuring an all-out rise in labor productivity, pre-schedule and high quality fulfillment and overfulfillment of all production assignments.

The many years' experience of socialist construction shows us that economic successes directly depend on the ideological, Marxist-Leninist tempering of our cadres, of the entire membership, and on the level of political consciousness of the broad masses of the working people.

During recent years our Party has done much to develop and raise the quality of ideological work. The tasks of Communist construction call for a new upsurge in the ideological work of the Party, for the further unfolding of propaganda work and for raising the theoretical level of the Party membership. This is one of the vital conditions for our advance.

Comrades, the report on the work of the Central Committee submitted by Comrade Malenkov contains a profound and all-round analysis of the international situation. One of the most characteristic features of the present world situation is its tension and intense preparations by the imperialists for war against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

The United States of America, utilizing the situation that arose after the war, openly switched to a policy aimed at establishing U.S. domination over the world. Of late the U.S. monopolists have been trying to conceal this policy by high-sounding phrases about "co-operation and mutual action by the countries of the non-Communist world." But no matter how these gentlemen may twist, it is clear that their designs and intentions differ not one iota from

the designs and intentions of Hitler and his associates who also strove for world domination but who broke their necks in the attempt. And it would do no harm if the latest pretenders to world domination would remember this.

In the course of recent years the numerical strength of the ground troops and airforces of all the aggressive countries has grown considerably. The overall strength of the armed forces of the U.S., for example, increased more than sixfold compared with 1939. The regular armed forces in Great Britain are now 2.5 times the prewar figure. At the demand of the U.S., armed forces are being built in Western Germany and in Japan; building up of the so-called European Army is underway, which according to the plans of the imperialists, is scheduled to grow considerably by the end of the current year.

Under cover of false speeches about its peace-loving intentions, the U.S. Government is organizing and building on a large scale war bases beyond the boundaries of its country, mainly in Western Germany, France, Britain, French Morocco, Turkey and Japan. The U.S. is also establishing naval bases mainly in foreign waters and, first of all, on the seas within the boundaries of the North Atlantic bloc.

It is not difficult to see that in building all these war bases the United States pursues the aim of encircling the Soviet Union with them, and in this way, of creating for itself favorable conditions in the event of war.

Of late the Atlantic bloc generals have been displaying considerable bellicosity, rushing, on the orders of their Wall Street masters, from one country to another. In one place they inspect troops, in another they conduct land, sea and air maneuvers or tear along the Soviet frontiers. In the past three months alone, the Soviet-Turkish border has been visited by about a dozen prominent representatives of the U.S. and British military. The appearance of these jackals in uniform on our border is, of course, not fortuitous. This is a link in the imperialist preparations for war against the U.S.S.R.

It also shows that the present Turkish Government, having lost all sense of responsibility for the fate of its people and having become an appendage to the U.S.-British bloc, is dragging its country onto the pathway of dangerous gambles.

The Atlantic bloc recently held combined naval exercises in an area not far from the Soviet frontiers—from the northern coast of Norway to the Danish island of Bornholm. Nine countries took part in the maneuvers. Except for Norway and Denmark, none of the participants has direct interests in the area of the Baltic Sea.

The actions and intentions of the imperialist camp, headed by

the present Government of America, bear a glaringly aggressive and provocative nature.

It would be wrong, of course, to underestimate the forces of the aggressive camp, but neither should we overestimate them. These forces contain in themselves all the vices of the imperialist system of which they are offshoots.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the capitalist camp is a combination of unequal states and that it is rent by serious internal contradictions. Acting under the flag of anti-Communism, the leaders of this camp assert that they are establishing a "community of free countries." But what, actually, does talk about a community of free countries amount to? Are the peoples of the countries drawn into the U.S. orbit desirous of taking part in this "community"? Are they attracted by the prospect of a new war for the sake of the predatory interests of the American monopolies?

And so the ruling circles in the capitalist countries enmesh the peoples in lies, spread cock-and-bull stories of all kinds about the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, shout about the need to "liberate" these countries from Communism. Particular zeal in this respect is displayed by representatives of the American ruling circles who go so far as to call for the "liberation," by force of arms, of a substantial part of Europe and Asia, naming in this connection Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, China, the Mongolian People's Republic and other countries.

These crazy schemes evoke amazement even in the bourgeois camp. The more sober-minded leaders of this camp ask: "But are the peoples in question anxious to be 'liberated'?"

The question is a reasonable one. The peoples of the enumerated countries have in fact no need for the services of such "liberators." If these countries really need to free themselves completely from anyone then it is from the spies, saboteurs and terrorists sent in increasing numbers by the Americans. No other "liberation" is needed, particularly since the world knows what is meant by "liberation in the American way." In the past this was inhuman extermination of the Indian tribes in North America, brutal massacres of people in the Philippines, armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic. Nowadays "liberation in the American way" signifies a predatory, aggressive war in Korea, barbarous bombing of peaceful Korean towns and villages, the slaughter of women and children by means of bombs and lethal bacteria.

The American imperialists resort to the falsehood about "liberation" in order to cover up their banditry. But lies will not help them. Lies have short legs that will not take them far.

At present the U.S. Government is seriously disturbed by the inadequate "political and moral solidarity" of the Atlantic bloc countries. And, apparently, because of this, U.S. aid to the member countries of this bloc is being especially extolled. However, what American "aid" signifies is well known. It means outright plunder of these countries and subordinating them to U.S. domination. When rendering "aid" to its satellites the U.S. Government adheres to the rule customary in the capitalist world: "You're welcome to our leavings," disposing of unsaleable goods and obsolete armaments. Military and economic aid to foreign states is used for involving them in active preparation for a new world war.

Characterizing the present situation in the capitalist world Comrade Stalin said: "Outwardly everything would seem to be 'going well': the U.S.A. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations: Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A. and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity', that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavor to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development."

The contradictions and internal difficulties of the North Atlantic bloc partners hinder the realization of their aggressive designs. But an even greater hindrance in this respect is our mighty camp of peace and democracy.

The working people in the people's democratic states, under the leadership of their Communist and Workers' Parties, have achieved outstanding success in all spheres of economic, political and social life. This success clearly testifies that the countries of the democratic camp have become far stronger than they were before the war under the old, anti-popular regimes.

The countries of the people's democratic camp have established permanent economic co-operation among themselves. This co-operation is based on a sincere desire to help each other and to attain a general economic advance, and, as a result, these countries are ensured a rapid rate of industrial development.

That is the "difference in the relations between countries in the world of capitalism and the world of Socialism. There, in the capitalist countries, these relations are relations of domination and subordination leading to the ruin and enslavement of the economically weak countries. Here, in our case, there are equal relations, relations of fraternal friendship, leading to general economic progress.

The camp of peace and democracy which extends from the Elbe

to the Pacific is filled with the elan of peaceful construction, with the striving to preserve peace for years and years. But it is important to point out that should the need arise, it possesses completely modern and sufficiently powerful armed forces.

And let the capitalist gentlemen know and remember that a new world war is more dangerous for capitalism than for the camp of democracy. If unleashed it will call forth a mighty armed rebuff on the part of all freedom-loving peoples who will spare no effort to put an end to capitalism once and for all.

Taking all this into account we must constantly display keen vigilance and enhance our readiness to rebuff the aggressors. Historical experience teaches us that the weaker the position of imperialism, the greater the danger of military gambles on its part, the more the imperialists seek to repair their tottering fortunes at the expense of the Soviet Union.

And so we must, as we have done in the past, strengthen in every way our Army, Airforce and Navy. Constant military preparedness of our Armed Forces and the armed forces of the entire democratic camp is the most reliable guarantee against all eventualities.

Our Army and Navy exist in order to defend the homeland, in order to guard the peaceful labor of the Soviet people. We stand for peace and pursue a policy of peace, a policy of averting war. However, all the proposals of the Soviet Government directed towards ensuring the cause of peace are rejected by the U.S. Government and its mercenary supporters. They are rejected because the Soviet proposals thwart the business of the warmongers and their aggressive designs. Malignant threats and the most ridiculous intimidation are directed against the Soviet Union.

To this we can but say:

Your exertions are in vain, Messieurs imperialists! The great Soviet people are not of the timid brand and threats will not frighten them. And should matters go further, then our people will be able to stand up for themselves, for the interests of their homeland. And if need be, the Soviet Armed Forces will be able to rebuff any aggressor in accordance with all the rules of Soviet military science.

Comrades, the present Congress of our Party coincides with the approaching 35th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the eve of the October Revolution Russia was on the brink of catastrophe: she faced the threat of losing her national independence and of being reduced to a colony of the foreign imperialists. Such was the state to which our country was reduced by the ruling classes of Russia—the landlords and capitalists.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new epoch

in the history of our homeland. Our Party, having organized the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry, achieved as a result of this revolution the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landlords, the organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liquidation of capitalism, abolition of exploitation of man by man and ensured the building of socialist society.

Under the leadership of the Party our people carried out the behests of the great Lenin of converting our country into a country rich and powerful.

At present the basic task of our Party is to build Communist society by means of gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. Fulfillment of the fifth Stalin Five-Year Plan will be an important step along this pathway.

The victories registered by our people are of world historic significance. We have long since entered the phase when the working people of the world see the striking results of the great cause we are carrying out. As a result of the successes won in socialist construction our country has become a magnet for the working people, for progressive people throughout the world. From the example of our country every unbiased person sees what the working people can do when they themselves run the state and when they are led by a party such as ours.

The strength of our Party lies in the advanced theory by which it is guided, — the theory of Marxism-Leninism; the strength of our Party lies in its close, unbreakable bonds with the people, in its ability to rally the masses for carrying out historical tasks: the strength of our Party lies in its monolithic unity.

Our Party comes to its XIX Congress united and closely rallied round the Lenin-Stalin Central Committee, round Comrade Stalin.

Long live the great and invincible banner of our Party—the banner of Lenin-Stalin!

Long live our leader and teacher, the great Stalin!

Speech by L. M. Kaganovich

Comrades: The Central Committee of the Party has directed me to submit to the Nineteenth Congress the proposal on the revising of the program of our Party.

A commission for revising the program of the CPSU(B) was elected at the Eighteenth Congress. As you know, the Party has lost eminent comrades who were members of this commission: Comrade Kalinin, Zhdanov, Shcherbakov, Yaroslavsky. The commission did not have the possibility of carrying out the task assigned to it. The Great Patriotic War and the work connected with the elimination of the consequences of the war, the great work of restoring the national economy, prevented the commission from completing its task.

At present, after the Nineteenth Congress of the Party, the conditions will be more favorable for the accomplishment of this complex task. We are richer for the experience acquired in the years of the Great Patriotic War which ended in victory for our Soviet social and state system, for our Socialist system of economy, for our valiant Soviet Army. We are richer for the experience acquired in the postwar restoration and further development of the national economy.

The present period in the work of our Party differs fundamentally from the period of 1919 when the program of our Party was adopted. In the period since the Eighth Congress, when the present program was adopted, fundamental changes have taken place in international relations and in the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

In the years separating us from the Eighth Congress of the Party (1919) our country has developed from a backward agrarian into a mighty industrial and collective-farm Socialist power. The multiple economic formations existing at that time have been eliminated, and the socialist system of economy and socialist property in its two forms—public property and collective-farm property—holds undivided sway. Our country has changed beyond recognition. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, Socialism has been built in our country.

The strength and authority of the Soviet State have grown immeasurably in the past thirty years, especially as a result of the Soviet Union's historic victory in the Great Patriotic War. The results of the struggle and victories of our Party and of the Soviet people, our achievements have been vividly demonstrated in the reports and speeches at the Nineteenth Congress of the Party.

In connection with all these changes, a number of principles of the program of our Party and the tasks outlined in it, inasmuch as they have already been accomplished during this period, no longer correspond to the present-day conditions and the new tasks of the Party. For this very reason it is urgently necessary to revise the program of our Party.

In the thirty-odd years that have elapsed since the adoption of the program, the Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin, guided by creative Marxism-Leninism, have been advancing Party theory, developing the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin and enriching it with new scientific discoveries.

In his brilliant works Comrade Stalin has elaborated all the most important programmatic questions relating to the construction of Socialism and Communism in one country; to the two aspects of the question of building Socialism and Communism in our country in conditions of capitalist encirclement; to the socialist industrialization of the country; to the collectivization of agriculture; to the socialist state, the socialist nations, the Marxist theory of linguistics, and other important theoretical and practical problems.

The revised program should embody all the new contributions made to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism by our leader and teacher, the great Stalin.

The new, revised program of the Party should sum up the world-historic experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the experience in the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., and define the future ways of fulfillment of the main task of the Party—the building of Communist society through the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

It is of decisive significance for revising the program and defining the future way of the building of Communism that our Party has received in time for its Nineteenth Congress the new classical work of Comrade Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

This brilliant work is a major event in the ideological and theoretical life of our Party, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the fraternal Communist Parties.

It is our great fortune that our Party, our people, who are building Communism, are being continuously enriched and equipped with the masterly theoretical endeavors of the great Stalin.

In the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Comrade Stalin has raised and solved the fundamental questions of the character of economic laws under Socialism, of commodity production under Socialism, of the law of value under Socialism, of the measures for elevating collective-farm property to the level of public property, of the basic economic laws of modern capitalism and

Socialism, of the three basic preliminary conditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism, of the elimination of the essential distinctions between town and country, between mental labor and physical labor, of the disintegration of the single world market and deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system, of the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries.

The historic significance of Comrade Stalin's new work is determined by the fact that the task of building Socialism has been accomplished in the Soviet Union and that new tasks of securing the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism now confront the Party in all their magnitude. Comrade Stalin's new work supplies the theoretical and practical solution for the most important problems which have arisen before the Party in the new historic conditions. In revising the program of the Party, it is necessary to be guided by the fundamental principles of Comrade Stalin's work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

Comrade Stalin's brilliant work is of immense international significance. To the Soviet people, guided by our Party, it illumines with the light of Stalin's genius the way of a further strengthening of our state and of the speediest construction of Communism in our country.

With the Party program revised, guiding itself by the fundamental principles of Comrade Stalin's work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, our great Party will lead the Soviet people with still greater speed onward, to the complete victory of Communism.

I shall now read the following draft resolution of the Nineteenth Congress on revising the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

The Nineteenth Congress of the Party establishes that in the period since the Eighth Congress of the Party, when the present program of the Party was adopted, fundamental changes have occurred both in international relations and in the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., in view of which a number of principles of the program and the tasks of the Party outlined in it, since they have already been accomplished during this period, no longer correspond to the present-day conditions and the new tasks of the Party.

Proceeding from this the Congress resolves:

1. To consider it necessary and timely to revise the present program of the Party.

2. In revising the program to be guided by the fundamental principles of Comrade Stalin's work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

3. To entrust the revising of the program of the Party to a Commission to be composed of: Comrade Stalin, Chairman of the Commission. Members of the Commission: Comrades Beria, Kaganovich, Kuusinen, Malenkov, Molotov, Pospelov, Rumyantsev, Saburov, Chesnokov, Yudin.

4. To submit the draft of the revised program of the Party for the consideration of the next Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Speech by K. E. Voroshilov

Comrades: The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has finished its work. There can be no doubt that this Congress will occupy a prominent place in the glorious history of the Lenin-Stalin Party.

Held at a time when the Soviet people are effecting the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism, the Congress summed up the results of the struggle and victories of our Party and defined the perspectives of our further advance.

The work of the Congress was a striking demonstration of the profound trust which our Party reposes in its Stalinist leadership, of its warm affection and infinite devotion to the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin.

Congress heard the report by Comrade Malenkov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), which contains an all-embracing account by the Central Committee of its work between the XVIII and the XIX Congresses and outlines the Party's future tasks. With the greatest enthusiasm the Congress adopted a resolution approving the political line and the practical work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B).

The discussion on the report of the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) demonstrated over and over again the great unity of the Lenin-Stalin Party, its close consolidation around its Central Committee, and its indissoluble bonds with the broad masses of the working people.

On the basis of the report submitted by Comrade Saburov, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Congress approved the directives for the fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the U.S.S.R. for 1951-55. The directives provide for a new powerful upsurge in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. and ensure a further considerable rise in the material conditions and cultural level of the people. Fulfillment of the fifth Five-Year Plan will be a big stride forward along the path from Socialism to Communism.

Of great significance are the Congress decisions regarding the changes in the Rules of the Party.

Henceforth our Party will be known as the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. The new name of the Party expresses precisely the Marxist content of its tasks. The relinquishing of the dual name of the Party—"Communist" "Bolshevik"—reflects the world-historic fact that the Lenin-Stalin principles have gained a complete and undivided victory in our Party.

The Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted

on the report of Comrade Khrushchev, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), generalize the vast organizational experience accumulated by the Party since its XVIII Congress. The changes introduced into the Rules by the Congress signify a new, higher phase in the development of the Party, corresponding to the tasks of the struggle for building Communist society.

In its resolution "About Revising the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" the Congress considered it essential to revise the Party Program. The Commission formed by the Congress for revising the Program will be guided in its work by the basic theses of Comrade Stalin's brilliant new work, "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." The ideas contained in this Stalin work illumine our path forward, towards the final victory of Communism.

After discussing the paramount questions of Party, economic and cultural construction and adopting historic resolutions on these questions, Congress elected the leading organs of the Party—the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission.

The newly elected Central Committee embarks on fulfillment of the Congress decisions equipped with rich experience and the Stalin science of Communist construction. The Party knows that its Central Committee headed by Comrade Stalin will ensure successful implementation of the majestic tasks facing our homeland.

Comrade Stalin's speech which was followed with such close attention by the Congress delegates and by our dear guests will be a great program for struggle and victories. The speech of our leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, will be an inspiring guide to action for all Soviet people and for the working people of all countries in their noble struggle for peace among nations, against the war-mongers.

Comrades, an entire historic period separates the XIX from the XVIII Congress of the Party. History knows no other period so rich in events of world significance as the period under review.

As is known, the beginning of this period was distinguished by the tremendous achievements accomplished by the Party in the struggle to fulfill the third Five-Year Plan.

When Hitler Germany and its satellites perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union and interrupted its creative work, our people, headed by the Lenin-Stalin Party, confronted the enemy with the economic and military might of the socialist state, with the moral-political unity of their ranks, with ardent patriotism and the indomitable will to battle for freedom and the independence of the socialist homeland.

In the single-handed struggle against German fascism, the armed forces of the Soviet Union—equipped with first-class Soviet arms and

diverse modern military technique, headed by generals, admirals and marshals of the Stalin school, and led by the great strategist of socialist revolution, the brilliant captain, Comrade Stalin—won deathless renown for the homeland by their valor, boundless heroism and genuine military skill.

The Stalin military science of ensuring victory proved a formidable weapon in the hands of the higher commanding personnel of our armies, of the fronts and their staffs.

With the help of this superb weapon the Soviet armed forces, as a result of a whole series of historic battles which have become classical models of the Stalin operational-strategic art, won complete victory; the enemy was smashed and capitulated.

After the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, the people of our country, led by the Party, performed miracles of labor heroism, fulfilled the postwar, fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, and are successfully solving the tasks for a new powerful upsurge of socialist economy and culture.

Today we can say that never before has our country been so great and powerful, so replete with vitality and creative energy as it is now!

As a result of the path traversed and of the victories and achievements won, the international prestige of the Soviet state has grown immeasurably and its influence on the course of world events has become greater.

Way back in 1927 Comrade Stalin said that in the course of further historical development “two world centers will take shape: the socialist center, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards Socialism, and the capitalist center, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards capitalism.”

Life has fully confirmed Stalin's brilliant prediction.

“The Soviet State,” said Comrade Malenkov in the report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), “is no longer a solitary island surrounded by capitalist countries.”

We are marching forward in a united front with the great Chinese people, with the working people in the countries of people's democracy and the German Democratic Republic. We have the sympathy and support of all progressive and honest people in the world. Our forces are growing constantly, the forces of the millions of ordinary people who have thrown off the fetters of capitalism and rallied under the banner of struggle for a new, happy life for themselves and for future generations.

Altogether different is the picture in the doomed camp of capitalism.

In the capitalist camp the contradictions between the countries

are sharpening more and more and internal contradictions are growing in these countries; a new economic crisis looms up more menacingly, unemployment grows relentlessly and with it its inevitable corollary—impoverishment of the toiling masses.

U.S. imperialism, having taken upon itself the role of savior of capitalism, seeks to unite all the reactionary forces of the world, to unleash a new world war against the U.S.S.R. and the countries of the democratic camp, reckoning in this way to achieve world domination.

Led by the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the Soviet people, together with hundreds of millions of peace champions in other countries, together with honest people throughout the world, have fought and will continue tirelessly to fight for peace, independence and freedom for the peoples.

The resolve of our Party and of all Soviet people to stand up for peace and to uphold the cause of peace has been confirmed with renewed force at the present Congress.

This does not mean that we weaken even for a moment our attention to questions concerning defense of the Soviet state.

Our Party, Government and the Soviet people as a whole considered and will in the future, too, consider that it is their vital duty to ensure the defense-capacity of their socialist homeland, to reinforce in every way the readiness of the Soviet people to meet any aggressor fully prepared.

Comrades, the decisions adopted by our Congress open for the Party and for all Soviet people new, splendid vistas of peaceful creative labor for the building of Communism in our country.

Realization of the decisions adopted by the Congress will make our Soviet homeland an even mightier Power and will serve as a great contribution to the cause of strengthening the entire camp of democracy and Socialism, to the cause of consolidating world peace.

The fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, working people in all countries and all progressive humanity, enriched by our experience, will step out even more confidently along the pathway of freedom and progress.

Therein lies the great international significance of the XIX Congress of our Party.

The significance of our great cause for the working people in all countries, for all mankind is strikingly evident in the greetings conveyed here to the XIX Congress by representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

History has entrusted the Party of Lenin-Stalin with a great and noble mission—to ensure the building of Communist society in our country and by so doing pave the way to Communism for all man-

kind. We know that ahead of us are not only the joys of victory, difficulties are likewise inevitable, but we also know that the Party of Lenin-Stalin, guided by its brilliant leader, will surmount all difficulties and win complete victory.

But in order to make fuller use of all our opportunities and to advance more rapidly towards the set goal, clearing from the path all difficulties and barriers, we must resolutely combat shortcomings in work, overcome moods of carelessness, complacency and smugness.

Criticism and self-criticism are indispensable weapons in the Party's struggle against shortcomings, mistakes and various defects. Criticism and self-criticism reinforce the Party, enhance its militancy, extend and make more profound its contact with the masses and develop the creative activity of the Party ranks and of all working people.

Comrades, the Lenin-Stalin Party enjoys the boundless love of the multi-million Soviet people.

The eyes of the toilers and progressive people throughout the world, of all who want happiness for themselves, for their children and for the generations to come, are turned to our Party and to its great leader, Comrade Stalin. Allow me to declare from this high tribune that our Party will carry out its historic mission in full measure. The triumphant banner—the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin—will, in the future too, proudly wave over the liberated and renovated land!

It is gratifying and pleasing to know that the Soviet people are building and creating the new life under the leadership of our wise teacher, leader and friend, Comrade Stalin, whose clear mind, powerful will and boundless love for man is the guarantee of new victories, the guarantee of the successful solution of the tasks of Communist construction set by the XIX Congress of our Party.

Long live our mighty and free people, builders of the new Communist Society!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin-Stalin—the inspirer and organizer of all the victories of the Soviet people!

Glory to the great leader and teacher of the working people and of all progressive humanity, to the brilliant architect of Communism, Comrade Stalin!

I declare the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union closed.

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