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30th

Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Speech of V. M. MOLOTOV

3d.

6/11/1947

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SPEECH
of
V. M. MOLOTOV

Delivered at the Celebration
Meeting of the Moscow Soviet
on November 6, 1947

Published by "SOVIET NEWS"

COMRADES

TO-DAY the peoples of the Soviet Union are celebrating a date of notable significance to the working people of the whole world, the 30th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We, the Soviet people, are not alone these days in the joy we experience on the occasion of the great victories of Socialism in our country.

Not only in the countries friendly to us are there millions of devoted friends of the U.S.S.R. Wherever capitalism rules, oppressing working people and enslaving the toilers of the colonies and dependencies, people with awakened minds see in the achievements of the Soviet Union the approach of their own emancipation from oppression and enslavement. There is no country in the world where among the working class, among the toiling peasants and in broad democratic circles, the Soviet Union has not numerous friends imbued with warm sympathy and faith in our cause. That is why to-day, on the 30th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, our October banner, the victorious banner of Lenin and Stalin, waves so proudly.

(I) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

Thirty years have passed since the events of October, 1917. Our enemies in the bourgeois camp prophesied in those days, and later too, that Soviet power could not maintain itself in Russia, that it was doomed to inevitable and speedy collapse. The Bolsheviks were not daunted by these prophecies and boldly entered the fight for the seizure of power by the working class and, having smashed the oppressive capitalist system, have now for 30 years been building with triumphant success the Socialist State, a new society on the basis of Communism.

The path we have traversed may be divided into three periods. The first period was from the victory of Soviet power to the outbreak of the Second World War. The second period was the period of the Great Patriotic War. The third period, which has only just begun, is the period of post-war development.

The first period embraced 23½ years. Of these, more than three years were spent in armed struggle against the forces of intervention and Whiteguard bands who strove to smash the Soviet power and destroy the young Soviet State. These plans of the capitalists and landlords ended in a complete fiasco, but they reduced our country to a state of extreme devastation and

exhaustion. It required a long series of years before the pre-war level of production in industry and agriculture was restored.

After this the progress and development of the country's national economy proceeded on the basis of the renowned Stalin Five-Year Plans. Towards the end of 1928 we were able to proceed to the realisation of the First Five-Year Plan which, as you know, was fulfilled ahead of time. After this we accomplished the Second Five-Year Plan and proceeded to carry out the Third Five-Year Plan, which we were unable to consummate owing to Germany's attack. Thus we were only able to work on the three Stalin Five-Year Plans for not quite 13 years.

Yet, in this brief period our country was transformed. From the industrially backward Russia, our country was transformed into an advanced industrial state which already by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan held first place in Europe for volume of industrial output.

With every year, right up to the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, our industry continued to make rapid strides, to create new branches of production and progressively to increase the volume of industrial output. In 1940, large-scale industry in our country produced almost twelve times as much as in 1913.

Our agriculture underwent an even greater transformation. From small and little-productive peasant farms, mostly cultivating their land only with the help of primitive ploughs, sickles and scythes, our agriculture, by combining into collective farms was converted into large-scale progressive farming which, with the help of the state machine-tractor stations, along with the state farms, received abundant technical equipment in the shape of tractors, harvester combines, trucks and diverse new kinds of agricultural machinery. Despite the still considerable lag in livestock breeding, gross output of agriculture in 1940 was almost double that of 1913.

Reviewing the pre-war period of the development of Soviet economy, Comrade Stalin said last year: "Such an unprecedented growth of production cannot be regarded as the simple and ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress. This was a leap by means of which our Motherland was transformed from a backward into an advanced country, from an agrarian into an industrial country."

This means that our Socialist state, smashing the traditions of bourgeois states and overcoming the resistance of the class enemy and of wavering elements, effected a genuine revolution both in industry and in agriculture.

Thanks to this the national economy of the U.S.S.R. was in a brief period reconstructed on the basis of up-to-date technique, which no other country could or can know. We achieved these results primarily by pursuing the Bolshevik policy of industrialising the country, putting prime stress on the development of heavy industry. This was all the more necessary since our

people, living as they were in a hostile capitalist encirclement, had always to bear in mind that they must be ready for resistance in the event of attack.

We effected the radical reconstruction of agriculture by pursuing the policy of collectivisation. A whole decade was spent preparing the way for this reconstruction, which involved overcoming the fierce resistance of the kulaks. But in the very first years of the transition to the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plans our Party was able to persuade the peasants to take the new path—that of the complete reorganisation of peasant farming on the basis of collective farming. And this created the conditions for a hitherto unparalleled expansion of the productive forces of agriculture, equipped with powerful modern machines and armed with all the achievements of agricultural science.

As a result of the first period of the building of Socialism, the national economy of our country was reconstructed on a Socialist basis, the exploiting classes were completely eliminated and the Soviet people were solidly united morally and politically.

Mention must be made of one of the cardinal achievements of this first period of the building of Socialism. We were able to secure the steady and uninterrupted expansion from year to year of our national economy, and above all of its leading branch—Socialist industry. Of course, natural calamities such as severe droughts, say, and concomitant crop failures occurred in this period; but even this did not halt the steady forward movement. Under all conditions, Soviet industry continuously expanded, increasing its output from year to year.

This continuous industrial progress of the Soviet Union, in contradistinction to the capitalist countries, was one of the most important indications of the progressive basis of the planned organisation of the entire national economy. We also know that the continuous expansion of industry led long ago to the complete elimination of unemployment in our country. This made possible a steady rise in the standard of living of the working class, a progressive improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the industrial and office workers of the Soviet State.

Had it not been for the war, our cities and industrial regions would to-day be demonstrating the vast and unprecedented achievements in the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working people.

The reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collective farming led to the disappearance of the village poor who, under capitalism, are always doomed to live in hopeless misery. Broad opportunities for a prosperous and cultured life were opened to every collective farmer. From year to year our agriculture grew stronger, growing to maturity on the life-giving sap of collective labour. Had it not been for the war which devastated many of our finest agricultural districts, we should to-day be far better

supplied with every necessity than any country in Europe, and not in Europe alone.

The wise peace policy of Lenin and Stalin ensured to the Soviet people for 20 years after the end of the civil war and intervention the opportunity to engage in peaceful Socialist construction.

The attack of Fascist Germany interrupted the peaceful period of our constructive labours. There began the four-year period of the Great Patriotic War which was the supreme test for the Soviet Union, because as Comrade Stalin so rightly said, this war was "the cruellest and most arduous of all wars ever experienced in the history of our country."

We all remember what incredible hardships our people lived through in those years. Suffice it to say that the Hitlerite occupation embraced an area of Soviet territory which before the war had a population of 88,000,000 people. This area accounted for 33 per cent. of the country's industrial output. The Hitlerites occupied a territory, the crop area of which constituted 47 per cent. of the total crop area of the Soviet Union and where nearly half of our total livestock was concentrated.

During the war, 1,300 industrial plants, whose operation was needed for the satisfaction of the vital requirements of the front and rear, were evacuated from the Western and Southern regions and re-assembled in the East.

The second period in the history of the Soviet Union, which covers the years of the Great Patriotic War, demonstrated even more convincingly the enhanced might and progressive force of our multi-national Socialist State.

Before the Soviet Union entered the war, Hitler played the master in Europe as in his own house. Some countries, Fascist Italy, for instance, became his obedient satellites, other European countries, France for example, owing to the pro-Fascist servility of her ruling circles, lay prostrate under his heel. Over Britain, on whose territory no foreign foot had trod for many centuries, hung the most dangerous threat of German invasion. The situation changed radically only when the Soviet Union re-constructed itself on a war footing and when the Soviet Army passed to the offensive all along the whole front against Hitler's hordes.

Another factor of great importance was the formation of the anti-Fascist coalition of the allied Powers, in which the U.S.S.R. occupied a leading position. All this ensured the defeat of Fascism in Europe. Already on the 27th Anniversary of the October Revolution Comrade Stalin paid tribute to the services of the Soviet people in words known to the whole world, when he said:

"To-day, when the Patriotic War is drawing to its victorious conclusion, the historic role of the Soviet people is revealed in its full greatness. It is universally acknowledged now that by their selfless struggle the Soviet people have saved the civilisa-

tion of Europe from the Fascist vandals. That is the great service rendered by the Soviet people to the history of mankind."

In the eyes of the nations of the whole world, recognition of the fact that the Soviet people saved the civilisation of Europe from the Fascist vandals is also a recognition of the exceptional services of the leader of Communism and the great Army leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

Our multi-national Soviet State proved strong and unbreakable in face of all trials of war. The Great Patriotic War cemented the Soviet peoples more strongly than ever in the fight for safeguarding the gains of the October Revolution, in the fight for the happy future of our country.

With the end of the war, the Soviet Union entered a new period of its development. Since the beginning of last year we have been working on the basis of the new, post-war Five-Year Plan. Comrade Stalin defined our new objective as follows:

"The main tasks of the new Five-Year Plan are to rehabilitate the ravaged areas of the country, to restore industry and agriculture to their pre-war level and then to surpass this level to a more or less considerable degree."

The targets set by the Party and Government in rehabilitating and developing the national economy inspired our people to fresh heroic efforts and feats of labour. The whole country is now inspired by the ambition not only to fulfil, but overfulfil the new Five-Year Plan.

Agriculture at the beginning of the new Five-Year Plan was handicapped by the drought which last year afflicted the most important agricultural areas. However, the ability of our country rapidly to overcome the economic difficulties it encounters is well-known. This was again demonstrated by the fact that, thanks to the measures taken by the Party and Government, the gross grain crop this year is 58 per cent. above last year's.

Last year, the first year of the post-war Five-Year Plan, we already secured a big increase in industrial output. However, last year's programme was fulfilled by industry by only 96 per cent., due to the fact that its reconversion to work in peace-time conditions had not yet been completed.

This year, on the other hand, Soviet industry is overfulfilling its programme. In the first three quarters of the current year industry fulfilled its nine-months' programme 103 per cent. The whole country is expressing its joy at the fact that our glorious Leningrad is now again marching in the front ranks, and that already in October Leningrad's industry overfulfilled its programme for the whole second year of the Five-Year Plan.

All this furnishes grounds for saying that the unfulfilled part of the first year's programme of the Five-Year Plan will be made good in the second year, and that thus the programme for the first two years of the Five-Year Plan, taken together, will be fulfilled by the end of the current year.

In all branches of industry and agriculture, as well as in transport, we are confidently marching forward, although much still remains to be done to heal the wounds and repair the damage inflicted by the war. We are already mining more coal than before the war, but have not yet reached the pre-war mark in rehabilitating the iron and steel industry and in the output of oil. All branches of industry producing consumer goods and foodstuffs are being restored and developed. We have no branch of industry which is not striding forward and has not its plan for an increase of output for several years ahead.

The constant concern of the Soviet Government for the introduction of new machinery in all branches of industry, transport and agriculture is a reliable guarantee for the further all-round progress of Socialist economy. The volume of industrial output is increasing from month to month. Suffice it to say that in the month of October the gross output of our large-scale industry has already reached the average monthly output of 1940. In other words our industrial output has already attained the pre-war level.

This only proves once more that the conditions have been created in our country for the rapid rise of the standard of living of all the people, and for the further enhancement of the might of the Soviet State.

We are not threatened by economic crises, which are so destructive to industry, and which no capitalist country is spared. There is no unemployment, with the attendant impoverishment of the population, in our country, nor will there be. The Soviet system ensures every opportunity for a continuous expansion of the productive forces and a continuous rise of the standard of living of the working people of town and country, such as does not exist and cannot exist in any capitalist country.

Compare the old Russia to the Soviet Union, created by the Revolution. We know that bourgeois-landlord Russia was beaten by Japanese imperialism in 1904-05. We also know that Tsarist Russia proved impotent against, and unable to withstand, Wilhelm's hordes. Since then the situation has radically changed. The victory over German Fascism in Europe and the defeat of the troops of the Japanese Empire in Manchuria that followed it, vividly demonstrated how far our country has progressed since the days of old Tsarist Russia.

Attempts to rejuvenate and revive Russia failed both in the 1905 Revolution and in the February Revolution of 1917. The Great October Socialist Revolution alone brought the long-awaited rejuvenation and created the conditions for the powerful rebirth of our country. The Soviet Revolution alone, a genuine Revolution of the people, of which the Party of Lenin and Stalin took the lead, made our country the great and foremost Power that it is to-day. The greatness of the Soviet Union was

created by the Socialist Revolution and is now recognised by all the nations of the world.

Is it not obvious that, had the Bolsheviks not succeeded 30 years ago in wresting our country from the hands of Kerensky, the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Cadets and other servitors of the bourgeoisie, it would have lost its independence and would be languishing in misery?

Compare the Soviet Union with the most highly developed capitalist countries in Europe. Take Britain, which for a long time has legitimately been considered a highly developed industrial country and even the "workshop of the world." In the period between the two world wars it was only in exceptional years that industrial output in Britain rose above the level of 1913; most of the time it was considerably lower. That being the case, it can hardly be said that British industry made any progress between the two world wars. And even now, as you know, Britain is in serious economic difficulties and is relying more and more on aid from Uncle Sam.

In France, in the same period, industry made no better progress, although there were individual boom years. Suffice it to say that, before the outbreak of the Second World War, France's industrial output was only six per cent. above the level it had reached before the First World War. It may be said that throughout the whole period between the two World Wars, French industry marked time. To-day France, too, is passing through a period of economic difficulties and, like Britain, is pinning her hopes on help from abroad.

How is this striking contrast between the industrial development of the U.S.S.R. on the one hand, and the state of industry in Britain and France on the other, to be explained? How is it to be explained that, whereas industrial output in the Soviet Union in the period of respite between the two world wars increased almost twelvefold, the industry of Britain and France made no progress, registering little rise in some years, but in most years stagnation and even decline?

To unbiased persons, who desire to understand modern developments, the answer is suggested above all by a comparison of facts. The fundamental difference between the Soviet Union on the one hand and Britain and France on the other, is well known: industry, like the entire national economy of the U.S.S.R., is built on the foundation of Socialism. But industry, like the entire state edifice of Great Britain and of France, too, rests on the old pillars of capitalism. Moreover, both science and practice graphically show that while the foundation of Socialism in the Soviet Union is growing firmer with every passing day, the pillars of capitalist society in Europe have long been rotten through and through.

It is now more evident than ever how ripe were the conditions for Socialism in our Motherland 30 years ago, when the victorious

Socialist Revolution led our country into a new path—the path of revolutionary rejuvenation. Thirty years ago, on the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin passionately argued that in the historical conditions of the time it was impossible to go forward without taking steps towards Socialism and that the material requisites for Socialism already existed in our country.

He said: "To advance in 20th Century Russia, which has won the Republic and democracy by revolutionary means, is impossible without advancing towards Socialism, without making steps towards it. Such are the dialectics of history that war, by accelerating the conversion of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism, has by that very fact brought mankind nearer to Socialism. Imperialist war is the eve of Socialist revolution. And that is not only because war, by its horrors, engenders proletarian uprising—no uprising can bring Socialism if conditions are not ripe economically—but because state-monopoly capitalism is the fullest material preparation for Socialism, is the ante-chamber to it, it is that rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called Socialism there is no intermediate step."

It goes without saying that both in Britain and France even then—30 years ago—the material conditions for the passage to Socialism were no less favourable than in our country, but, as we know, material conditions alone are not enough even for the solution of those problems to solve which has already become a historical necessity.

The Second World War dealt another blow to the capitalist system and still further shook its position in Europe. The new democracies—Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania—with the support of the broad masses of the people, have carried out bold democratic reforms, among them the elimination of the landlord class and the transfer of land to the peasants, nationalisation of large-scale industry and banks and so forth. These countries are taking steps towards Socialism in their own independent ways, having created for the working people a life that is free from capitalist bondage, and defending their national independence against the attempts of foreign imperialists to get these countries into their power and to impose their will upon them.

(II) THE SOVIET UNION AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

From the very first day of its existence, the Soviet Union took a special place in international affairs by assuming the lead of the struggle for peace. The October Revolution wrested our country from the First World War by proclaiming peace and unreservedly renouncing the imperialist policy both of Tsarist

Russia and of the Government of the pseudo-Socialist Kerensky, set up after the February Revolution.

Despite this, for a number of years our people were unable to return to peaceful labour. With the purpose of strangling the October Revolution and restoring to power the landlords and capitalists who had fled the country, the Entente Powers organised a series of armed interventions against our country. Responsibility for these crimes falls upon the imperialists of Britain and France, upon their American and Japanese allies and their then satellites. This piratical policy, which was imbued with the bestial anti-Soviet enmity of Churchill, Clemenceau and other reactionaries towards the revolutionary Russian people, failed ignominiously. The Soviet people upheld their independence, secured a respite and set out on the road of the victorious peaceful construction of Socialism.

You know that even after that the machinations against our country did not cease. What did the imperialists of the West and East not do to frustrate the peaceful constructive labour in our country! Things were carried so far that Britain and France united with Fascist Italy, and concluded the shameful Munich agreement with Hitler Germany, in order to spur on the German Fascists to attack the Soviet Union more speedily. However, the British and French imperialists miscalculated. They got caught in their own snares, and Stalin's wise peace policy brilliantly ensured another postponement of war for the Soviet Union.

But when Hitler Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. after all, the hopes of our enemies revived. We know that shortly after this a report appeared in the London newspapers that the British Minister Moore-Brabazon, discussing the situation on the Soviet-German front in the summer of 1941, did not hesitate to express the wish that the Soviet and German Armies would exhaust each other, while Britain would enhance her might and become the dominating Power.

And there were people in America, too, who were anxious not to be one whit behind Moore-Brabazon. In June, 1941, the "New York Times" printed the following statement by a most prominent American: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we must help Russia, and if Russia is winning we must help Germany. The more they kill each other, the better."

Nevertheless, in the war against Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States successfully collaborated against the common enemy, the common enemy of all democratic countries.

As soon as the war ended, the Soviet Union set to work on the new Stalin Five-Year Plan. At the same time we now have to draw up a plan for several five-year periods to come. Comrade Stalin, as we know, defined these new objectives as follows:—"As to plans for a longer period, our Party intends to organise a new powerful upsurge of the national economy which would

enable us, for instance, to raise the level of our industry three-fold as compared with the pre-war level. We must achieve a situation wherein our industry is able to produce annually up to 50 million tons of pig iron, up to 60 million tons of steel, up to 500 million tons of coal and up to 60 million tons of oil."

This should be enough to show how interested the Soviet Union is in a stable and lasting peace.

All sincere friends of peace—and they constitute the overwhelming majority of people in any country—can rest assured that the Soviet Union will uphold the interests of universal peace to the utmost. In conformity with this peace policy, the Soviet Union stands for all-round development of international co-operation.

Comrade Stalin gave a profound explanation of our foreign policy in his talk with the well-known American, Mr. Harold Stassen:

"They—the Soviet Union and the United States—can certainly co-operate. The difference between them is of no essential importance as far as their co-operation is concerned. The economic systems in Germany and the U.S.A. are alike, nevertheless war broke out between them. The economic systems of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are different, yet they did not fight each other but co-operated during the war. If two different systems could co-operate during the war, why can they not co-operate in peacetime? It is certainly understood that, given the desire to co-operate, co-operation is perfectly possible even with different economic systems. When the desire to co-operate is lacking, states and people may start to fight, each other, even though having the same economic systems."

The Soviet Union has invariably pursued a policy of peace and international co-operation. Such is the attitude of the Soviet Union towards all countries that manifest a desire to co-operate.

The policy outlined by Comrade Stalin is now being opposed by another policy, a policy based on entirely different principles. And here one must mention first and foremost the foreign policy of the United States of America, as well as that of Great Britain. It is possible that there does exist in the U.S.A. a programme for the economic development of the country for some time ahead. However, nothing has even been said about it in the press, although press conferences are not infrequent in that country. On the other hand, quite a lot of fuss is being raised over various American projects, connected now with the "Truman doctrine", now with the "Marshall plan".

Reading about all these American plans of "aid to Europe", "aid to China", and so forth, one might think that America's domestic problems have already long ago been solved, and all that now remains is for her to put the affairs of other countries in order by prescribing to them her own policy and whatever composition of their Governments she finds desirable.

Actually, this is not so. If the domestic affairs of the U.S.A. were not causing its ruling circles great uneasiness, especially in connection with an approaching economic crisis, there would not be such an abundance of economic projects for United States expansion, which in their turn are based on the aggressive, military and political plans of American imperialism.

No secret is now being made of the fact that the U.S.A.—not infrequently in conjunction with Great Britain—is constantly setting up new naval and air bases in all parts of the globe, and is even adapting whole countries for such purposes, especially in the vicinity of the territory of the Soviet Union. Who nowadays does not complain of the pressure of American imperialism in this respect?

If the Governments of certain big states in Europe, Asia and America are preserving a sort of respectable silence on this score, some of the smaller countries are evidently beginning to find it absolutely unbearable. Denmark, for instance, try as she will, cannot secure restoration of her national sovereignty over Greenland, from which the Americans have not wanted to depart since the end of the war. Egypt is legitimately demanding the withdrawal of British troops from her territory, but Britain refuses to do so, and America supports the British imperialists in such matters, too.

It is obvious, however, that the creation of military bases in various parts of the world is not designed for the purposes of defence, but as preparation for aggression. It is also obvious that if the combined Anglo-American Military Staff created during the Second World War is still being maintained, it is not from peaceable motives, but with the object of intimidating others with the prospect of new aggression.

It would be a good thing if the American people knew about all this, because under the so-called "Western" freedom of the press, when practically every newspaper and broadcasting station is in the hands of a handful of aggressive capitalists and their hired servants, it is difficult for the people to get to know the real truth.

As we know, a sort of new religion has become widespread among the expansionist circles in the U.S.A.: having no faith in their own internal forces, they put their faith in the secret of the atomic bomb, although this secret has long ceased to be a secret.

The imperialists apparently need this faith in the atomic bomb which, it is generally known, is not a means of defence but a weapon of attack. Many are indignant at the fact that the U.S.A. and Great Britain are preventing the United Nations from adopting a final decision banning atomic weapons. Twice this year British scientists have protested against this, they have twice published statements to this effect, in which they expressed discontent at the fact that Britain is merely seconding the United States in this. And that is quite understandable, for the

peoples of America and Britain are no less interested than others that the banning of the atomic weapon and a general reduction of swollen armaments be carried out.

It should be realised that refusal to ban the atomic weapon covers the imperialists with shame and sets all honest people, all nations, against them.

Or take the question of the warmongers. Despite all the protests of the Americans and other expansionists, the General Assembly, although grudgingly, adopted a decision condemning propaganda for a new war. The debate, however, showed that it is necessary to intensify the fight against the warmongers and their patrons, who are carrying out the will of the aggressive and profit-loving top level capitalist multi-millionaires and ignoring the interests of their people.

We know that between the two world wars United States industry expanded, although its development was extremely uneven and output twice fell considerably below the level of 1913. On the other hand, during the Second World War American industry swelled rapidly and began to yield enormous profits to the capitalists, and to yield state revenues which American state-monopoly capitalism is now putting into action and using as a means of pressure everywhere—in Europe and China, in Greece and Turkey, in South America and in the Middle East.

Of course, there are plenty of lovers of war booms. But what has this to do with the interests of the people? The interests of the people, it goes without saying, differ fundamentally from the interests of the instigators of a new world war.

All these facts are indicative of the desire of American imperialism to exploit the post-war difficulties of certain states in order to impose its will upon them under the guise of unsolicited American leadership, and to pave the way for the world supremacy of the United States. This by no means justifies the expectation that it may be possible to escape the growing domestic difficulties and avert the onset of a profound economic crisis and a growing split of the United States into two major groups: the imperialist group, which is at present making so much noise, in the foreground; and the democratic group, to which the future belongs.

There is no limit to the appetite of the imperialists, and for the attainment of their selfish ends they are prepared to trample under an iron heel democratic rights in their own country, as well as the rights and sovereignty of other countries. Evidently the lesson of the collapse of Fascist Germany, which crushed the democratic forces and over-reached herself in striving for world supremacy, has not been taken to heart by those who are now being driven so blindly by an urge to dominate the whole world.

To-day the ruling circles of the United States as well as of Great Britain are at the head of an international group which has made it its purpose to strengthen capitalism and to establish

the domination of these countries over other nations. These countries lead the imperialist and anti-democratic forces in international affairs, with the active support of well-known Socialist leaders in a number of European countries.

The policy of the Soviet Union is based on directly opposite principles, the principles of respecting the sovereignty of big and small states and of not interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries.

Take the German question, for example. If in the post-war period, too, America and Britain adhered to those principles—such as for instance, the democratic principles of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences on the German question—which made possible and fruitful the co-operation between the great allies against Hitler Germany and for the purpose of eliminating the survivals of Fascism, then co-operation between the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain would also yield good results now.

But the U.S.A. and Britain have departed from these democratic principles and have violated the jointly adopted decisions. This may be said of such fundamental issues as the democratic reconstruction and demilitarisation of Germany and payment of reparations to countries that suffered German occupation. As a result of Anglo-American post-war policy, the British and American zones of occupation in Germany have been merged into a jointly administered bi-zonal territory, which has come to be known in the press as "Bizonia", in order that Anglo-American policy may be pursued there unilaterally and independently of the Control Council, on which all four occupying Powers are represented.

Our representatives in Germany now virtually deal solely with the Soviet zone. A situation has arisen which cannot but cause uneasiness to the German people as well, since, as a result of Anglo-American policy there is "Bizonia", and there are other zones, but there is no Germany, as an integral German State.

The Soviet Union considers that the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences on the German question, which envisaged the restoration of Germany as an integral democratic state, must be put into effect. It is fully realised in the Soviet Union that "Bizonia" is not Germany and that the German people have a right to their own state, which must of course, be democratic and must not create a threat of new aggression to other, peace-loving states.

There is to-day an Anglo-American plan for pacifying the population of the Anglo-American zone of Germany by throwing them a few sopas; for relying upon former German capitalists, who but so recently were supporting Hitler, and utilising them, with the help of "Bizonia" and its Ruhr industrial region, as a threat to those countries which do not display slavish subservience to the Anglo-American plans for the domination of Europe.

But these adventurous plans for Germany can lead to no good and will, of course, be rejected by democratic Europe.

From the example of the German question we see how far the present Anglo-American principles diverge from those of the Soviet Union, inasmuch as the present Anglo-American principles are imbued with frank imperialism, while the Soviet Union firmly adheres to the principles of democracy.

The Soviet Union, as well as other democratic countries, stands for peace and international co-operation on democratic lines. Under present conditions this demands unity of all the forces of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp in Europe and outside Europe, in order to erect an impregnable barrier to imperialism, which is growing ever more active, and to its new policy of aggression.

The rallying of the democratic forces and a bold fight against imperialism and its new plans for war ventures, will unite the peoples into a mighty army, the like of which cannot be possessed by imperialism, which denies the democratic rights of the peoples, tramples on the sovereignty of nations and bases its plans on threats and reckless adventures.

Uneasiness and alarm are growing in the ranks of the imperialists, for everyone can see that the ground is shaking under the feet of imperialism, whereas the forces of democracy and Socialism are growing stronger with every passing day.

What can the policy of imperialism hold out for the nations? Only greater oppression, the revival of the vestiges of detested Fascism and fresh imperialist ventures.

The eyes of the peoples must be opened to this, and all democratic and anti-imperialist forces must be united in order to thwart any and every plan for the economic enslavement of nations, and any and every new adventure on the part of imperialism.

The historical experience of the Soviet Union has corroborated the words of the great Lenin that a people which has taken power into its own hands is invincible. "Never can that people be vanquished the majority of whose workers and peasants know, feel and see that they are defending their own, their Soviet Government, a Government of the working people, that they are defending that cause the victory of which will ensure them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the blessings of culture, all that is created by the labour of man."

The task to-day is to unite all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the peoples into one mighty camp cemented by common, vital interests, against the imperialist and anti-democratic camp and its policy of enslaving nations and of indulging in new adventures.

At the same time a sober view of the matter will show that, nowadays, to indulge in new imperialist ventures is to play a dangerous game with the destiny of capitalism. Certain ministers

and senators may fail to understand this. But if the anti-imperialist and democratic camp unites its forces and avails itself of all its opportunities it will compel the imperialists to be more sensible and restrained. It is to be presumed that capitalism has no interest in expediting its own downfall.

(III) THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNISM

Entering the 31st year of the great October Socialist Revolution, we look back with satisfaction along the path we have traversed and face the future with confidence.

The achievements of the Soviet State are great indeed. Socialism has deeply penetrated our whole life. In Soviet times a new generation has grown up which is beginning to spread its eagle wings. It must be admitted that the greatest achievement of our Revolution is that new spiritual make-up, that intellectual growth of our people as Soviet patriots. This is true of all Soviet peoples, of the population of town and countryside, of the workers by hand and by brain. That is indeed the supreme achievement of the October Revolution, an achievement of epochal significance.

The Soviet people of to-day are not what they were 30 years ago. The spiritual make-up of the Soviet people of to-day is revealed above all in the conscientious attitude towards their work as a matter of social importance and as a sacred duty to the Soviet State. To-day there are Stakhanovite men and women in every plant.

Socialist emulation has spread to all collective farms. All take part in Socialist emulation, workers and collective farmers, office workers, engineers and technicians, artists and scientists.

To-day the scope and content of emulation serve as an indication of the level achieved of the Communist attitude of the Soviet people towards work. The nation-wide character of this emulation makes it a most important lever in raising the productivity of labour.

A new movement has now become widespread: individual workers undertake personally to fulfil their yearly programmes and the Five-Year programmes as a whole ahead of time, which was not practised before the war. This movement is developing with great success in Moscow, in Leningrad, in the Donbas and all over the country, testifying to the Socialist consciousness of working men and women.

But this is only one of a whole number of effective instruments for raising the productivity of labour in our country. This year the grain delivery plan is being fulfilled ahead of schedule. The state will receive roughly as much grain as in the best pre-war years, although the grain area and the amount of machinery are as yet considerably less than before the war. This achievement is due to the Socialist emulation that has developed so

widely between Republic and Republic, Territory and Territory, Region and Region, and especially to the active part taken in the emulation by the entire mass of collective farms, by the many millions of men and women on the collective farms.

We had a hard time of it in the early period of the war, until we reorganised all our work to adapt it to the new conditions. The devotion of our workers in the rear and the heroism of our Army at the front, which are without parallel in world history, were a manifestation of the high Soviet patriotism—and this ensured our victory over the enemy. The present upsurge of Soviet patriotism serves as a notable expression of the present ideological level and spiritual development of our Soviet people.

It cannot be denied that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men are very tenacious. That is why the Party is constantly reminding the Soviet people of the need for all-round criticism and self-criticism, aiming at the elimination of these pernicious survivals of the past.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that we now have vast opportunities to conduct with success the struggle for the elimination of these survivals. The cultural level of our people has risen in all respects: The number of students, the number of books published, the educational work among the masses, long ago attained proportions unequalled in any other country. Our intellectuals, workers in the field of culture, our scientists and artists, are imbued with Soviet patriotism as never before. It is not without significance that nowadays the finest literary works come from the pens of writers who are conscious of their unbreakable ideological bond with Communism.

In our country Communism animates the people to inspired labour, to heroic endeavour for their Motherland, to creative effort imbued with lofty ideas.

During the war the bourgeois hacks abroad ventured to prophesy that when in their military campaigns the Soviet people familiarised themselves with the order and culture of the West, when they had visited many cities and capitals of Europe, they would return home with a desire to establish a similar order in their own country.

But what happened? Demobilised soldiers and officers on returning home set about with still greater ardour to strengthen their collective farms, to promote Socialist emulation in factory and workshop, and took their place in the front ranks of Soviet patriots.

Not all of our people have yet rid themselves of obsequious worship of the West, of capitalist culture. It was not for nothing that the ruling classes of old Russia were often in a state of such profound spiritual dependence on the more highly developed capitalistic countries of Europe. This made possible the cultivation among certain circles of the old intelligentsia of a slavish

mentality of inferiority and spiritual dependence on the bourgeois countries of Europe.

Unless one rids oneself of these shameful survivals, one cannot be a real Soviet citizen. That is why our Soviet people are filled with such resolute determination to put an end as quickly as possible to these survivals of the past, mercilessly to criticise all and every manifestation of obsequious worship of the West and of its capitalist culture.

You remember Comrade Stalin's historic words on the subject of the Soviet citizen: "The humblest Soviet citizen, free from the fetters of capital, stands head and shoulders above any highly placed foreign bureaucrat who carries the yoke of capitalist slavery." The better our Soviet people understand this appeal of Stalin to the consciousness and honour of the Soviet citizen, the faster will we advance towards our goal.

Like the sun on a clear day, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have illuminated our path throughout these 30 years. Our progress was founded on the strategy and tactics of Lenin and Stalin. Our road was no easy one. The enemy operated from without and from within. Even within the Bolshevik Party the enemy had his agents, in the person of the Trotskyists, the Rightists and other traitors and betrayers.

The Bolshevik Party, founded by Lenin and Stalin, emerged strengthened from all these trials; it purged its ranks and welded itself into a mighty force, which is the supreme embodiment of the moral and political unity of our people, who are confidently marching towards a Communist society, the Party which, led by the great Stalin, is now pointing the way to universal peace and deliverance from sanguinary wars, the way to the overthrow of capitalist slavery and to the great progress of the nations and of all mankind.

Experience has shown that the Communist movement to-day has grown to such dimensions and strength in many countries that it can no longer be directed from one centre. In this we see one of the outstanding achievements of Communism in our day.

At the same time, experience has shown that Communist Parties, and especially the stronger amongst the Communist Parties of Europe, must have a unifying body through which to effect a continuous exchange of views and, when necessary, to co-ordinate the activities of Communist Parties by mutual accord. This will help to promote the further growth of the Communist movement and to strengthen its influence among the masses.

The Bolshevik Party welcomes these timely measures of the Communist Parties, and wishes them every success.

Thirty years ago the Bolshevik Party was only a small section of its people. But the Party of Lenin and Stalin defined the matured historical needs of the country with scientific accuracy, found powerful support among the masses of the people, and the people, led by our Party, won a revolutionary victory. To-day

everyone can see the fruits of this victory of Socialism and their great international significance. To-day the united forces of democracy and Socialism in Europe, and outside Europe, are incomparably stronger than the opposing anti-democratic camp of imperialism.

Capitalism has become a brake on human progress, and the continuation of the reckless policy of imperialism, which has already brought about two world wars, constitutes the major danger to the peace-loving nations.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has opened the eyes of the nations to the fact that the age of capitalism is drawing to a close and that reliable roads have been opened to universal peace and the great progress of the nations. The feverish efforts of imperialists, under whom the ground is giving way, will not save capitalism from its approaching doom.

We are living in an age in which all roads lead to Communism.

The great Lenin laid the foundations of the Soviet State and led our people on to the path of Socialism, which has put an end to the age-old exploitation of man by man. The path of Lenin leads to the freedom and happiness of the nations, to the freedom and happiness of mankind.

The great Stalin has led, and is leading, our people along the glorious path to Communism. The name of Stalin, surrounded by the boundless respect and love of the peoples, is a symbol of the greatness of the victorious Soviet Union and a call to the struggle for the happy future for mankind.

Comrades, the Bolsheviks always have been and always will be the vanguard of their nation.

The Soviet people march in the front ranks of progressive humanity, full of faith in the lofty aims of the October Revolution.

Long live the 30th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Under the banner of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin, forward to the triumph of Communism!

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