M.KALININ

THE PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE AGAINST THE GERMAN INVADERS

M. KALININ

THE PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE against the GERMAN INVADERS



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

MOSCOW 1942

Written End of December, 1941

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

1. HOW THE WAR BEGAN

On June 22, 1941, at 5.30 a. m., von der Schulenburg, the German Ambassador in Moscow, stated to Comrade Molotov that the German government was declaring war against the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact this declaration was superfluous, since fighting had already been going on for more than two hours with the German troops that had crossed our frontier and the German air force was already bombing our peaceful cities situated far from the border.

At 12 o'clock noon of that same day Comrade Molotov announced over the radio in the name of the Soviet government that fascist Germany had perfidiously attacked our country and called upon the Red Army and the whole Soviet people to fight till victory for their country, their honor and their liberty.

Thus began the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the fascist aggressors.

Our country has been infrequently engaged in war with the Germans in the past. Three of these wars are well-known to the people. The first of these was in 1242 when we fought the pack of German knights who invaded Russian soil but were defeated by Alexander Nevsky on Lake Peipus, near Pskov. In 1759, under Empress Elizabeth, Russian troops routed the army of Frederick II near Kunersdorf, and in 1760 entered Berlin, the keys to which city are still kept safely in one of our trophy museums. Then finally there was the war of 1914-18 the results of which everyone knows.

Although the time which has elapsed since the first World War is not a long period as history goes—twenty-three to twenty-four years—yet the war we are waging at the present time with Germany not only exhibits distinctive forms and methods of fighting but its inner political content is fraught with incomparably greater danger for our people.

The last war was fought with annexationist aims in view; but it was a war fought by two dynasties, the Hohenzollerns and the Romanovs, which were kindred in spirit. In that war the fight was between "relatives"—Nicholas and Wilhelm. In their letters they addressed each other as "dear brother." Naturally each of these two "brothers," in conjunc tion with their respective nobility and bourgeoisie, wanted to grab as fat a slice as he could from the other's ham. All the same the established rules of international law were observed for decency's sake, at least with regard to the forms of warfare adopted. Officers taken prisoner by either side were placed in a privileged position in comparison with plain soldiers; privates taken prisoner, who of course enjoyed no privileges or marks of respect, were not subjected to persecution, at least not openly and officially; torture and shooting were rarely resorted to. The robbery and deeds of violence practised against the civil population by the Germans were in the nature of unauthorized acts which the authorities in command formally suppressed in some measure or other.

German fascism is today waging against us a specifically Hitlerite war, a total war.

With the self-conceit characteristic of him Hitler declared that he would wage war on his own initiative, that his blows would hit the army of his adversary like those of a sledge hammer and that he would pass through the occupied territory with fire and sword, destroying and annihilating everything, terrorizing and decimating the population. The people of the occupied territory were to be "scared stiff," like rabbits catching sight of the maw of a beast of prey—this is the sum and substance of Hitlerite, of total war. This has not been thought up, for here are Hitler's own words: "Massed air attacks, sudden blows, acts of terrorism, shattering attacks against all weak spots in the enemy's defence, delivered like sledge hammer blows, simultaneously, with no thought given to reserves or losses—such will be the future war. A gigantic hammer which crushes everything. Only this I see and I do not think of the consequences. I am not playing at soldiering and the strategists will not jockey me into doing so. It will be I that will wage the war. I shall determine the moment favorable for attack. I shall wait for this moment, the most favorable possible, with iron determination, and shall not miss my opportunity. I shall exert my entire energy to call it forth. Such will be my task. And when I shall have succeeded in this I shall have the right to send the youth into the jaws of death."

Now, after our practical experience in the war, we can convince ourselves of the profound justice of the definition of the German "National, Socialists" which Comrade Stalin gave in his speech broadcast over the radio on July 3, 1941. In this speech Comrade Stalin called the leaders of fascist Germany cannibals. And they really are cannibals, mechanized man-eaters, whose atrocities exceed in fiendishness anything perpetrated in past history.

2. WHAT THE HITLERITES ARE

As the saying goes, to defeat the enemy one must know him. What does the present-day government of Germany represent; on what social forces does it rely for support?

Today the fascists are in power in Germany. They call themselves "National Socialists" (the name of "Socialists" they strung on as bait with which to catch the simple-minded workers). As a political party fascism is a comparatively new, a post-war phenomenon. It first appeared on the political scene in Italy in 1921. At that time a tidal wave of strikes was sweeping that country and assuming the shape of a revolutionary seizure of mills and factories by the workers. The government of Italy was powerless to cope with this movement; the capitalists were frightened out of their wits by the Red conflagration. However the Italian workers did not have a revolutionary leadership analogous to a Bolshevik party and their movement was not consolidated into centralized political action. This inevitably brought about the defeat of the workers.

It was in those days that with the support of the bourgeoisie which was terrified at the spectre of revolution Mussolini, an erstwhile Socialist, organized his Blackshirt detachments. With this armed band, which could have been dispersed by a single regiment of regular troops, he seized power in Rome in 1922. Mussolini considers himself the founder of fascism.

In Germany fascism likewise crystallized as a result of the difficult position in which the German bourgeoisie found itself after its defeat in the imperialist war. Representatives of German big capital, like Hugo Stinnes, Thyssen and Krupp, were the actual initiators of the organization

of the fascist party there. At the outset nothing may have been further from the intentions of the German capitalists than the establishment of a special fascist party. Their ambitions and their program were most clearly expressed and advocated by such people as the nationalist Hugenberg. The German bourgeoisie simply needed armed bands that would do its bidding. Hitler, who in the beginning acted as monitor in National-Socialist circles on the lookout for unreliable elements, became in 1920 the organizer of fighting detachments and assumed the leadership of them.

Considering himself unfettered by any principles, doctrines or ethical rules, and not being bound by any hampering traditions, Hitler unfolded a campaign of unchecked self-advertisement, giving himself out as the savior of the German people from all evils, particularly the fundamental evil—the Versailles Treaty. He was a frenzied agitator and demagogue, promising work with good pay to the workers, land and big incomes to the peasants, orders to the artisans and profits to the businessmen, while all the time whispering in the ears of the capitalists: "Don't worry, we won't touch what's yours; we'll even add to it."

Having at his disposal the financial means of the industrial barons and the big estate owners, Hitler was able in the course of a few years to surround himself with an army of cutthroats whom he had recruited from among the small businessmen and artisans, the military officers who after the war had remained without employ, and in part also from among the soldiers. His men were drawn from the ranks of all those who felt themselves cheated by fate but who had strong fists and an ardent desire to live on the fat of the land without doing a stitch of work. They all streamed to Hitler's banner. He fed them and the rankest of these thugs, those who were capable of committing any crime, he enrolled in his fighting units called Storm Troop detachments.

When fascism came to power the army of Storm Troopers had swelled to 200,000, that is, was almost twice as large as the Reichswehr, Germany's regular army. In substance a new power was established in Germany. This power had no formal rights but as it enjoyed the sympathy of the people who were at the helm, of the highest officials of state, of a considerable section of the officers and also the benevolent protection of the entire police, it meted out dire punishment to its political opponents, especially

the advanced workers. Raids on workers' organizations were daily occurrences, assassinations of disliked people were the usual thing. Hitler's party, an imperialist party of violence, made constant gains and was joined by all who aimed somehow to get their fingers into the pie.

The fascists, who could draw on the ample funds that flowed into their coffers from the financial world, waged a particularly furious campaign for revenge which Germany was to take for having lost the last war, a campaign for the creation of a Great Germany. As a matter of fact the entire program of the fascists came down to this campaign. As for the other points in the program, for instance, the abolition of usury bondage, the limitation of the profits of big capital, the doing away with department stores, big estate holding, etc.—all this was merely window dressing to attract adherents to fascism. These "radical" points, which had been adopted as embellishments of the program, were given special interpretations, with the result that they remained mere paper promises.

In their propaganda the fascists never hesitated to promise anything to anybody and on this basis the party grew in numbers and acquired considerable influence among the middle classes, as was shown at the elections to the Reichstag in 1932.

In 1933 the fascists, aided by reactionary elements, acceded to power and started with the workers the "fulfilment" of their promise to bring felicity to all. They forcibly disbanded the trade union organizations, confiscated their financial resources and property, and smashed the labor press. Thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and active non-partisan workers were murdered by them while other thousands were thrown into concentration camps. The same fate overtook the progressive section of the German intellectuals. Some were killed outright while others were subjected to tortures in concentration camps. Thousands of them fled Germany. The books of all more or less renowned German writers and writers of other countries were burnt. The works of Maxim Gorky and Leo Tolstoi, of course, shared the same fate.

Jewish pogroms, the mass murder and violent assault upon the Jewish population, were raised by fascism to the dignity of a state doctrine. The choicest bits of the booty pillaged from the Jews went to Hitler's entourage, the gross bulk—to the Storm Troopers.

The fascists declared in their demagogic way that they were protecting

the labor of the artisans, handicraft workers and small tradesmen from capital. Was this really so?

In the Annual of German Artisans for 1937 striking figures are quoted on the ruination of artisans and handicraftsmen. In 1936, 132,109 artisans closed their establishments in Germany, the figure rising with each succeeding quarter. In the first quarter of 1936, 29,351 establishments were closed while in the fourth quarter the number of establishments closed was 36,237. In the first quarter of 1937 this figure had gone up to 40,968. In the aggregate 173,077 artisan establishments went out of business during 1936 and the first quarter of 1937. The official organ, Soziale Praxis, in No. 9 of 1938, gives the following advice: "Artisans insufficiently employed should be transferred as skilled workers to industry while the 600,000 one-man artisan establishments should be liquidated."

The facts above quoted were mere blossoms. The ripe fruit began to be borne in 1939 when the fascists instituted the compulsory mass liquidation of both artisan and small business establishments, the proprietors of which were sent to work in the big military factories.

Such was the reward of the fascists to their middle-class followers. In the beginning they made use of them to fight the workers and professional people; after they had ruined them they sent them to work at military plants for the purpose of preparing for the war, of enriching the big fascist capitalists.

The German peasantry, whom the fascists had taken under their particular protection and whom they still continue to regard ostensibly the most valuable social estate in the German nation, calling them the "blood of the nation," actually received from Hitler nothing but stiff taxes and the obligation to deliver to the state all their surplus products at low prices. The peasants' food consumption quotas are strictly limited. Court calendars are full of cases in which peasants are accused of concealing food products or of consuming more than allowed, and, as a rule, the sentences handed down by Germany's local courts are severe.

Under the Hitler rule the number of landless peasants has considerably increased while the landed possessions of the German estate owners, the Prussian Junkers, have been augmented. Suffice it to state that more than two million peasant farms, constituting 53 per cent of all farms in Germany, have only from 0.5 to 5 hectares of land. By way of contrast,

the 3,500 landed proprietors possess on the average 2,781 hectares of land each. The landed possessions of the Hohenzollerns, the former imperial family, have not been touched at all. The Prince of Hesse, a friend of Goering, owns 7,000 hectares while the Duke of Anhalt owns 29,300 hectares. Goering himself is also a large estate owner. Hitler gave him a gift of 2,000 hectares of land in Bavaria. This is the way German fascism takes care of the peasants. As you see, this very much resembles the ways of old, tsarist Russia.

To all this must be added that in 1933 the fascist government issued a national decree on the inheritance of peasant households in accordance with which law all peasant households comprising ten hectares of land or more are entailed on the oldest son. Needless to say, this is a reactionary law which breaks up the family, at best makes farmhands out of the younger members of it and in most instances deprives them of hearth and home. It is obvious that in this question too Hitler pursues his aim of "dividing and ruling."

The peasant policy of the fascists has had the expected results. Between 1933 and 1939, 10 per cent of the peasants were reduced to utter ruin and lost their land, that is, every tenth peasant became homeless.

Private Steinkieler, 151st Regiment, a German prisoner of war, stated: "I was farming, but not my own land. I rented it from a farmer named Gesslermann who has ten cows and three horses. For the seven morgens of land which I rented from Gesslermann I had to work for him a certain number of days and no less than 80 per cent of these days I had to put in whenever it suited him best. As additional rental besides the work which my wife did I had to pay 200 marks yearly. I couldn't afford to buy any land; I had no money." And here is another aspect of peasant life. A prisoner from the 503rd Regiment who was a medical worker said in describing the life of the peasants in Germany: "The peasants have no right now to churn butter themselves. They receive all food products for their own consumption from the dairy factory. Consequently they can no longer sell these products themselves as they used to do."

Even the fascist press is compelled to speak of the general decline of peasant economy in Germany. For instance, the Nazional-Sozialistische Zeitung of February 14, 1941 wrote: "The number of head of horses has dropped to 72 per cent of 1934."

Involuntarily the question arises: So who in Germany does support Hitler? This question is clearly answered by Private Ernst Kester, 151st Infantry Regiment: "He is supported by the big capitalists; the big peasants likewise support Hitler but the poor peasants are opposed to him."

The dilapidation of peasant economy in Germany proceeds with gathering speed. The war mobilizations have wrought havoc with it. The war with the U.S.S.R. will provide the last nails for the coffin of the German peasantry.

Reprisals against the workers, persecution and brow-beating of the professional people, the public burning of books, Jewish pogroms, the encouragement of banditism among the Storm Troopers—all this is not mere licientiousness but a deliberate tactic of fascism: to cow some of their adherents, change them into automatons without a will of their own while stupefying others so that they will not ponder over anything, so that they will not do any independent thinking. There is one supreme duty for all—to carry out the orders of one's superiors, and the less enlightened a Storm Trooper is and the more mechanically he carries out orders, the better a member of the fascist party he will make.

The Storm Troop detachments were not averse to robbing even the German bourgeoisie, for which reason they were disbanded; but the most brazen-faced of them who at the same time were implicitly loyal to the fascist leadership, were merged in the "SS," the public safety detachments vested with police and espionage functions. Another and more radical portion of the Storm Troopers was thrown out of the party, was murdered or hidden away behind the bars of concentration camps.

Hitler deliberately inculcated, at first in his party and then in the army, cruelty and imperviousness to the sufferings of others. Banditism, stealing and avariciousness are encouraged while complete, unquestioning, mechanical subordination to one's superior in the party and one's commander in the army are exacted of all. Through the army, the party and the SS detachments, fascism with its unbridled mendacious propaganda and arbitrary action evidently succeeded in corrupting also a considerable portion of the German common people. Here are a few letters which illustrate this point.

Corporal Willy Maes received a letter from Mary Maes, dated Koveler, June 28, 1941, which stated: "You ought to grab everything in Russia you can only lay your hands on. Even if your superiors forbid it, as long as you don't starve. Follow Pitti Klappen's example. He never minds in the least what his superiors say. Why, you have lately been deprived of everything that has any taste to it, so take advantage of everything you can: Russia, you see, is a big country."

Another German soldier received the following epistle from his wife under date of July 6, 1941: "You write to me that you sent me something and that I should tell you how many pieces I received. I hope to get it soon. If you cast your eye on a fur coat and you get the chance, think of me. Over yonder there ought to be plenty of stuff of that description. No. 46; main thing is a big one—you can always make it smaller. If you get soap or wool, that's also O.K...."

These letters, and there are any number of them, speak with sufficient eloquence of how fascism strives to spiritually devastate and ideologically degrade the German people. For the purpose of fostering the interests of the most predatory and piratical imperialist circles of the German bourgeoisie and the Prussian landlords, fascism, preaching misanthropic race theories, cultivating deception and violence, robbery and murder, has prosecuted and continues to this day to prosecute a most reactionary, most anti-popular policy, calling down upon itself the universal hatred and contempt of all progressive humankind.

Upon their accession to power in 1933 the fascists set up in their country a regime of brutal dictatorship. All democratic liberties were completely abolished; the slightest manifestation of freemindedness was ruthlessly crushed. To curry favor with the magnates of German capital the fascist government pursued a policy of unbridled despoliation of broad sections of the working people and the middle classes. The fascists fanned the flames of arrant chauvinism, speculating on the *revanche* sentiments of certain sections of the German population.

The entire "philosophy" of fascism reduced itself to the idea that in Europe there could exist only one great power whose mission it was to achieve world dominion, and that Germany was to be that country as she alone was of purely Aryan stock. All other nations were mongrels; they had no claim to playing an independent part in Europe.

The ambition to achieve the mastery of the world was the guiding principle that governed the fascist clique in its entire activity. True, at first this was kept concealed and was discussed only in the highest circles of the fascist party. The Hitlerites skilfully played on the desires of the financial groups in the various countries of Western Europe and intimated that they were ready to attack the Bolsheviks and were enlarging their army for that purpose. The governments of a number of big European powers were in sympathy with such a scheme and even encouraged such a "beneficent" undertaking.

Making the most of this favorable situation German fascism began to arm like mad and introduced universal conscription, the very thing Germany had been forbidden by the Versailles Treaty. The fascists at first seized the territories that Germany had lost by its provisions, and as they did not encounter any serious resistance, they annexed Austria in March 1938 and a year later, in March 1939, seized Czechoslovakia, shouting all the while from the housetops that all this was being done in preparation of the attack against the U.S.S.R.

The imperialist ambitions of the German government became more and more aggressive. On September 1, 1939 Germany attacked Poland. In answer to this England and France, on September 3, 1939, declared themselves in a state of war with Germany. In eighteen days Poland was defeated and her territory seized by the Germans. The German troops were about to occupy Ukrainian and Bielorussian territory but our government moved up the Red Army to occupy the Western districts of the Ukraine and Bielorussia and thereby stopped the further advance of the Germans. Today everyone realizes how useful for our country was the agreement concluded by our government with Germany in August 1939 if for no other reason than that war was staved off for almost two years.

After defeating Poland German fascism, following its principle of beating its opponents singly, directed its main blow against France. Having enjoyed a seven months' respite after France and England had declared war on Germany, the fascists had calmly prepared for the infliction of this blow. In thirty-seven days the French army was smashed and the French government sued for an armistice which was concluded on June 22, 1940. The conditions of this armistice are extremely onerous for France. Suffice it to state that half the country, including Paris, continues to be occupied by the German army and that the cost of its maintenance has to be borne by the French people.

France's quick defeat is to be explained on a number of grounds. Chief of them was the fear felt by France's rulers of their own people and the refusal to resist, defeatist sentiments among the ruling circles of the French bourgeoisie and the French generals, and the treasonable actions of the Fifth Column. Naturally one of the principal causes of the defeat of France was the weakness of the French army when compared with that of fascist Germany, albeit military specialists considered the French army the best in Europe.

Hitler and his boon companions were now obviously getting dizzy in the head. After the victory over France the German fascists proposed to mete out condign punishment to England which they expected to do in two or three months, figuring that with England brought low Hitler would have all Europe, and then the whole world, in his pocket. This was the only track along which his mind ran and nothing would satisfy this mind of his except the idea of putting the whole world flat on its back, not excluding America in the countries of which his agents long ago had been carrying on subversive activities.

But the war with England did not turn out to be a brief one, and in general it was a failure. The German air force, though vastly superior to the British and aggressive, proved a hopeless proposition without a powerful navy for the landing of German troops on the British Isles, while the air bombing was not as effective as Hitler had hoped. The war dragged on and ended in a deadlock.

At the same time Hitler was surreptitiously preparing for a wanton attack on the Soviet Union. Military specialists pointed out to Hitler that a victory over the U.S.S.R. would make it possible for him to win the world war which the fascists had started. They predicted that victory over the Soviet Union would not require more than four to six weeks and that the losses of the German army would be slight.

And so the fascist hordes forcibly intruded upon the confines of our country. The Hitlerite government of Germany perfidiously violated the non-aggression pact and fell upon the U.S.S.R. like a highway robber, aiming to pass through our country with fire and sword and enslave the free peoples of the Soviet Union.

3. THE GERMAN FASCISTS ARE THE WORST ENEMIES OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

In people's minds the perfectly correct idea has found fairly firm lodgement that the fascists, after engineering their bloody Bacchanalia intend to enslave other peoples and achieve world domination. This algebraic formula does not prevent us from disclosing, from showing concretely how it is arrived at in reality, how it applies to our country.

The German fascists, as represented by their upper circles, have nurtured in their minds and allowed to take firm root with regard to the U.S.S.R. the most extreme annexationist aims German imperialists ever dreamed of or ever mentioned in the past with regard to Russia.

In the war against the U.S.S.R. the German government aims at the destruction and dismemberment of the Soviet Union, the direct annexation to Germany of the territory of Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, the Ukraine, Bielorussia and other parts of the Soviet Union. Nor does the Hitlerite government of Germany simply want to obtain from the U.S.S.R. this or that prize of war, annex this or that territory. It pursues the definite purpose of depriving the Soviet people of political independence, that is, its objectives are such as not even Napoleon set himself.

The fascist leaders are too presumptuous. Life will punish them cruelly for this and is already doing so. The war has not yet attained its point of culmination, but responsible people like Hitler's deputy in Holland, a certain Zeiss-Inquart, are already determining the fates of European peoples. In a speech he delivered on November 13, 1941 in Cologne he gave open expression to the desires of the German imperialists: "In the Europe of the future no one will nor can enjoy absolute independence." The German Reich Commissar in Holland, Zeiss-Inquart, argues that the Dutch, like the Norwegians, were given a Reichs Commissar, that is, a direct representative of Hitler and not a representative of the military commander, the explanation being that these peoples belong to the German race. "The new Reich Commissariats in the Baltic and in Russia ought to be viewed from a different angle, namely, as an expression of Germany's desire to annex these territories, as she has annexed Poland."

Holland and Norway, the populations of which allegedly belong to the German race, will be granted "cultural autonomy." Obviously this implies that the local Quislings may, within the limits set by Hitler's deputy, autonomously squash everything that has life in the Dutch and Norwegian peoples, in their national cultures. From this fact alone it may readily be conceived what conditions, what future the German fascists are holding out for the national republics which constitute the U.S.S.R. For in the eyes of the German fascists the peoples of the Soviet Union are lower, non-Aryan nationalities preordained to lead the servile life of subordinates.

All this is written in "serious" fascist magazines, is the subject of debates in the "learned" circles of Germany. Looked at soberly, is this not an insane scheme? Just think, deprive our national republics of their statehood, hurl them far back, far beneath the economic and cultural level which they have achieved under the Soviet system. Have the arrant Hitlerites not gone too far in their plans?

What heroic deeds the workers of our country have performed during the last two decades! Behold our fatherland! From end to end it has changed its visage under the creative influence of Soviet people. And the gigantic work that has been done in our country has immensely raised the cultural level of the workers. Slowly but surely, year by year, the material security of the workers has been increasing. Thousands, aye, tens of thousands of specially trained people—engineers, technical workers, Red Army commanders—have sprung from the midst of the working class. Everything that has been produced—and indeed, to tell the truth, very much has been produced—belongs to the people, is public property. The factories and mills, electric stations and canals, the straight asphalted highways, the People's Palaces, the theatres, schools, hospitals and homes have all been fashioned by the hands of Soviet people and are all their own possession.

The German kings of finance and the fascist factory owners, who are consumed with greed for gain, harbor thoughts of depriving the Soviet people of its possessions, of its wealth, want to drive our workers into their production pens, render them slaves in the fascist inferno.

The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of November 16 carried an article in which with cynical frankness there is discussed the question of how the German imperialists can best utilize the Soviet establishments created by the hands of the working people of our country. The article states that "the Soviet state establishments are first to become the property of the German state," that they will then be transferred to private persons, primarily to cover the debts of the German Reich. "It is enough to think of connecting the question of the transference of property in the East to private persons with the question of diminishing the debts of the German Reich," the newspaper rambles on. "In this way billions can be mobilized. The same results can be achieved by the state selling cheap raw materials and foodstuffs." Such are the ravenous appetites of the German imperialists and such is their program of robbing the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Time was when pirates used to raid seacoasts, carry off people and sell them in the slave markets. Today the German gangsters rove over Europe, forcibly seizing the workers and carrying them off by the thousand to Germany where they keep them in concentration camps and compel them to work infinitely long hours at various enterprises, particularly those which are frequently bombed by the British Air Force. They want our workers to share their misfortune. But this shall never be.

With bloody hands the fascists interrupted the peaceful, creative pursuits in which the Soviet workers were engaged, the same workers that will now spend all their energy in the production of armaments and munitions of war for the Red Army. Let us, then, satisfy the avidity of the fascists—let us produce more arms, more shells for our glorious Red Army which will hurl them all upon the heads of the fascist landsharks.

What are the intentions of the Germans with regard to the Soviet farmers? Nothing need be said about the farmers of the Ukraine and Bielorussia. They are already suffering their Golgotha and with each day their lot will become heavier until we fling the fascist scoundrels out of Soviet territory.

It is not accidental that Hitler is trying to cheer up his army by clamantly asserting that the Russian soil in the hands of the Germans will feed all of fascist Europe. Hitler is not discovering anything new here and is not the only one to entertain this ambition. In this instance he is giving voice to ideas which for many years have been elaborated in German literature by reactionary authors, but the main thing, the idea of the seizure of Russian land, has become firmly implanted in the heads of the Prussian landlords. Their appetites are not assuaged by the land which they have taken away from the peasants in Germany herself; they want to

reach out for the vast expanses of Russia and become the owners of tens of thousands of hectares of alien soil.

The fingers of the German big peasants are itching for the land of the collective farms, for the rich parks of tractors belonging to the machine and tractor stations, for our farming machinery and our collective farm herds. They want to deprive the collective farmers of their land and compel them to work on terms of involuntary servitude.

In order to show how insistently the fascists have fostered these rapacious desires and what firm hold they have taken of the minds of the soldiers, particularly the SS detachments, I shall quote the letter of Paul Meyer, a private in an SS division, since killed, to his wife in Breslau, a letter that was never sent off:

"Dear Greta, in my next package I will send you some of that famous Don champagne so that you can drink to my health. And afterwards, as soon as this infernal Russian campaign comes to an end, we will build a charming villa along the banks of this river and will chirp in the Southern sun like pipits. Just wait a bit; we will institute a new order here."

This day-dreaming blackguard wants to institute a "new order" so that by bleeding white and grinding the bones of our farmers he may be able to chirp like a pipit with his Greta and drink Soviet champagne.

There was a multitude of such letters written by German thugs, particularly in the beginning of the war. Now letters of such description are getting rare; we have no doubt that soon they will not only cease to be written altogether but every thought of acquiring collective farm land will have taken flight from the minds of the German soldiers. But only the complete annihilation of the German occupants can cure them of this "eastern" malady.

An admirable Soviet intelligentsia has grown up in the Soviet Union. The part it plays in the progressive development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is becoming enhanced each year. It is thrusting ever deeper roots among the people, and is whole-heartedly sharing its interests and sufferings. It is necessary to fully realize the danger that fascism represents to our professional people. They are already being destroyed on the Soviet territory occupied by the Germans. Only the complete extermination of the occupants who have penetrated into the U.S.S.R. will save our intelligentsia.

The same danger menaces our children of whom literally the whole adult population of the country is so very fond. With what difficulty, with what exertion the people and the Soviet government have raised the standard of health and increased the happiness of our children, have fostered their development, encouraged their daring, with instinctive feeling have indulged their wishes, in the best sense of that expression. In our country children feel themselves everywhere at home, in their own family.

Germany is waging a war for world domination. The German ringleaders, swayed by unfounded pride unfortified by strength, have set themselves the goal of first achieving victory over the U.S.S.R. and then directing their main blows against England and America. This is borne out latterly by such facts as Germany's declaration of war against the United States of America.

Not so long ago, at the end of November 1941, at a conference of the vassal states of Germany at which the comedy of the signing of the agreement to prolong the anti-Comintern pact was enacted, Ribbentrop delivered a speech on the "New Order" in Europe. In an extensive discussion of Germany's future world domination in which he assumed, somewhat overhastily, that the Soviet Union had already been defeated, Ribbentrop declared that the axis powers now "have acquired independence of the trans-oceanic countries. Europe has freed itself once and for all from the threat of blockade. The grain and raw materials of European Russia can completely satisfy the demands of Europe. Her war industry will serve the war economy of Germany and her allies. In this way the two last decisive conditions have been established for the final victory of the axis and its allies over England".

In a foretaste of the fruits of his predatory plans Ribbentrop continued: "In the further course of this war insular England with her North American assistant across the ocean will constitute the one side, and a powerful European bloc the other. Germany and Italy are able to concentrate the entire decisive force of their armies, navies and air forces for the defeat of the principal enemy, England."

The Hitlerites were blurting out their plans much too early. Had they kept mum they would not have had to eat their words subsequently.

So here we have it: the Germans want to annex the Baltic region, the Ukraine and Bielorussia. In the Don and Kuban regions the Hitlerite rogues want to have estates of their own. Elsewhere in the Soviet Union the fascists intend establishing a government of the type of Petain's in France, of the man who delivered his country to the sack and pillage of the Germans. Furthermore, they intend continuing the war for the subjugation of all peoples of the world to the rule of the German imperialists and their loyal servitors, the fascists, by making use of our war material, obtaining cheap grain from the slave labor of our farmers, forcibly driving the workers into the enterprises they have taken away from the people and compelling them to manufacture arms. Just as in the France of Petain the Germans are sending Frenchmen to fight in the interests of Germany, so in case of a victory of fascist Germany, Russians, Ukrainians and Bielorussians will be recruited by the Germans and driven to the fronts to die in an alien cause.

This is the groundwork on which Hitler means to conquer the world; this is what German fascism has in store for the Soviet people.

Citizens, brothers of our common fatherland, let us firmly bear in mind what the Germans intend to do with our country, with its population, and let us ruthlessly settle scores with these arrant bandits.

Meanwhile we shall strike, and strike hard, at the German invaders who have forced their way into our land.

4. THE PLANS OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS HAVE COME TO NOUGHT!

What sort of army was it that Hitler hurled into the fray to conquer the Soviet Union?

It was an army vast in numbers. When it started its invasion it comprised a multitude of mechanized units with fine equipment and huge quantities of ammunition. The men in command and the entire army apparatus had received excellent training in the moving of enormous bodies of troops during the war in Western Europe and in the Balkans. Having been propagandized and schooled in the fascist spirit, the most brazenfaced units of the army, spoiled by easy victories, had become accustomed to the robbery, lawlessness and despotism practised by the military. To them war meant pillage without let or hindrance and the "organized shipment" home of part of what they had pillaged.

Hitlerite Germany prepared for a lightning war, a blitzkrieg. The fascists prepared munitions of war as well as manpower for the infliction of a shattering blow at the very outset which, even if it did not lead to the final defeat of the U.S.S.R., would none the less cause its disorganization, would stun, would enfeeble its will to resist.

The soldiers of the fascist army were keyed up to the highest pitch by Hitlerite propaganda. They looked upon the war with the Soviet Union as an easy military walkover that would last at the most from two to three months.

This can be well seen from the diaries and letters of the soldiers and officers from the front. Private Kurt Fuchs, for instance, made the following entry in his diary under date of June 22, 1941: "Today at 3.30 a. m. the German troops entered Russia. We entered with the eighth wave." Hence the foremost units must have entered still earlier. "Major Müller," continued Fuchs, "figures on the war with Russia lasting three months. So for us this means three months during which leave will be forbidden. Let us hope that we will return from Russia safe and sound."

In the diary of an officer, evidently of high rank, who was killed we read the following entry for July 26: "Again and again the same question arises: how much longer? The city is under heavy artillery fire. Our artillery is keeping up defensive firing but the shells often fall short. The Russians have brought up their batteries very close and are stationed so that soon everything will be smashed to bits. The war is supposed to last altogether another five days. Poor consolation that is!"

The officer's remark that five days were left to the end of the war was evidently jotted down in a vein of irony, meaning that the six weeks, the time limit within which the Germans had figured on ending the war with us, were about up. This is confirmed by the officer's next entry for July 27, from which it appears that a certain general was postponing the end of the war five more days: "Lieutenant Reins is returning from the regiment and saying that getting out of this war is entirely out of the question. The unit is not to know this as yet: and as the general once told the third company, as if in spite, that this would continue for another ten days, our mood will not get better."

The army of German fascism became very soon convinced that a speedy and easy victory over the U.S.S.R. was impossible. From the very first

In his radio address of July 3, 1941, Comrade Stalin justly declared that the war of fascist Germany against the U.S.S.R. had begun under conditions that were favorable to the German troops and unfavorable to the Soviet troops. Nevertheless as a result of the heroic resistance of the Red Army the enemy's finest divisions and the best units of his air force had been smashed.

Some ask why our army retreated, whether our armament is really less or worse than that of the Germans and whether Germany's industry is really working better than ours. These are legitimate questions; however, they have not been thoroughly thought through. That our industry works well is best known to our enemy who keenly suffers in consequence of its good work.

In preparation for this predatory war the fascists got ready enormous quantities of war materials. Germany's entire economy had been harnessed for many years to the service of her army. Moreover the Germans had robbed most of the European countries whose resources and industry they likewise employed to promote the war preparations against the U.S.S.R. We on the other hand prepared to defend ourselves against possible attack. In preparing for defence the Soviet government did not relax its efforts to raise the standard of the material and cultural wellbeing of the people. But there is also another reason: the U.S.S.R. had to create an industrial base of its own from the bottom up in a short period of time while the German fascists have possessed such a base ever since their accession to power.

It must also be borne in mind that the fascists were the attackers, which means that they could always concentrate a preponderance of forces at any particular sector of the front. It is difficult, almost impossible, for the defending side to have everywhere along a front stretching for over two thousand kilometers military forces adequate to counteract the enemy. In this respect the attacking side has a great advantage which the fascist command was endeavoring to utilize to the utmost by advancing along the line of least resistance.

Our government and our military command bore in mind the possibility of an attack on the U.S.S.R. by Germany and prepared for such an

attack. However there was a pact of non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Germany which placed certain obligations upon the contracting parties. The Soviet government on its part did everything to carry out loyally its agreement with Germany.

One of the causes of the retreat of the Red Army and of our loss of territory was the suddenness of the attack against us along a front stretching over more than two thousand kilometers by an army that was in full battle array, supported by thousands of tanks and airplanes. This is in addition to the cause pointed out by Comrade Stalin in his report of November 6, 1941, namely, the absence of a second front in Europe. Our army, on the other hand, had to be put in battle order in the process of repelling the offensive of the enemy, i. e., was in a most unfavorable position. Even if all units and commanders of the Red Army had been ideal in military respects, the suddenness of the attack would have given the attacker considerable military advantages. Even in the course of military actions where vigilance is particularly sharp, where the scouting service watches the actions of the enemy with unflagging attention, the success of an attack depends largely on its suddenness. It was on this tactical advantage at the beginning of the war against us that the fascists in large measure built their plan of an early termination of the war.

By its ardent devotion to country, its conspicuous gallantry and its constantly growing experience in fighting the Germans and combating their tactics and practises, the Red Army inflicted immense losses on their troops in both men and equipment. The war assumed more and more the nature of a counter-battle though the initiative remained in the hands of the Germans. True, the scope and potentialities of the initiative of the German army became more and more circumscribed while the political factor, to which Comrade Stalin had pointed in his speeches, was beginning to tell more and more in the successes of the Red Army against fascist Germany.

The German command plumes itself on conducting its military operations to plan. It cannot be denied that their military operations display organization and a certain measure of planning; but this should not blind us. The counter-blows and counter-offensives of our army have introduced so many corrections in the German plans and proposals for carrying on the war that in actual fact not a scrap has remained of the plans of the German command.

Plan No. 1—To be in Moscow three weeks after the beginning of the war. This was not the proposal or fantastic mental product of individual fascists but a plan elaborated in advance, when everything was still tranquil, by the inner circles at military headquarters. Everyone knows that this plan fell through.

Plan No. 2—To be in Moscow in six weeks. Also this project, which likewise originated in military circles, came to nought.

Plan No. 3—To be in Moscow in three months. It must be said here that many pro-fascist elements beyond the confines of Germany believed in the feasibility of this plan. This plan suffered shipwreck just like the previous two.

Plan No. 4—This plan for the capture of Moscow Hitler widely advertised all over the world in his army order and speech of October 3, 1941. He boastfully declared that an offensive had been launched for the preparation of which everything humanly possible had been done, that in a few weeks the three principal industrial districts of the U.S.S.R. would be completely in his hands. According to Hitler's plan this offensive was to be the last and the decisive one, would bring victory and establish the most important pre-condition for peace. Obviously Hitler dreamt of being in Moscow by the end of October.

But facts are stubborn things. The proposal of the High Command and Hitler's ambition were scotched once more. The offensive he had started in October, the strength of which must by no means be underrated, struck a snag. The Germans met with a stubborn defence near Moscow and suffered tremendous losses in men and equipment. It became necessary to prepare a new offensive against Moscow, to bring up fresh reserves.

The offensive against Moscow that started on November 16, 1941 proved extremely costly to the Germans. The plan of surrounding and capturing Moscow ended in a fiasco for the German command. The German army has suffered a terrible defeat at the approaches to Moscow which is assuming greater proportions with every day.

The first powerful defeat which our troops inflicted on the German army was at the southern sector of the front, near Rostov. Here a very strong group of German military units under the command of General Kleist

was roundly defeated. The Germans suffered considerable casualities in killed, wounded and prisoners, while part of the German troops simply ran away in every direction. Their equipment was badly battered and heavy inroads were made upon it by our capture of a great number of tanks, trucks, guns, machineguns, rifles and other war supplies. Much territory was liberated from fascist invasion.

When the Germans took Rostov the fascist press on orders from above sought in every way to inflate the value of their gains at the southern front, declaring that from the point of view of production the Donets Basin was far more important than the Moscow area. The Donets Basin is, of course, of great importance to us. But after the Germans lost Rostov they switched around to saying that the success of the war depended on victory at the decisive front, that is, the western front, near Moscow. It is true that the battles being waged in the vicinity of Moscow are of decisive importance and that the aftereffects may perhaps prove fatal to Hitler. At any rate the Red Army is doing all in its power to make the outcome fatal for the German army.

Considerable importance in the chain of military successes achieved by the Red Army in November and December attaches to the defeat of a large group of fascist troops under General Schmidt in the North, near Tikhvin, and of several enemy divisions on the southwestern front, near Yelets.

However conservatively one estimates the successes of the Red Army near Moscow and at other sectors of the front during the last two months, it may be stated with certainty that the backbone of the German army has been cracked. Counting only the battles near Moscow that lasted from November 16 to December 10, 1941, the fascist army lost more than 85,000 in killed and a vast amount of equipment. And these losses keep mounting each day on all the fronts.

The morale of the German army is sinking. Physical tiredness and lassitude have caused their pluck in battle to diminish. The German army is no longer the same as that which Hitler hurled against us at the beginning of the war.

Hitler promised the soldiers of the German army a speedy and easy victory over the U.S.S.R. Instead they have had to suffer untold sacrifice and inhuman hardships. The German soldiers are becoming more and more

convinced of the hopelessness of the war against the U.S.S.R. where they are being subjected to the constantly more powerful blows of the Red Army.

In increasing numbers and volume are voices being heard today in the ranks of the German army complaining of the difficulties of the war in the East and wanting to know when it will end. Today one rarely finds a letter by a German soldier that does not contain a bitter acknowledgment of the difficulties and the hopelessness of the war on the eastern front.

Reimund Hein, a German soldier, wrote to his wife on October 25, 1941: "I can only say that I had rather fight ten years in France than one year in Russia." Private Simon Baumer wrote to his relatives about the same time: "Our advance on Moscow is costing us a huge number of killed and wounded. The Russians are resisting like devils. Only during the course of the campaign did we find out that there is no more stubborn enemy than the Russians. If another half a year passes we're lost."

The German command threatened us at the time that it would not give us a breathing space, that the German army's advance would not slow down in winter. After the severe blows it had received near Moscow and at other sectors of the front the tone of the Hitlerite ringleaders underwent a sharp change. Today they already speak of a "planned withdrawal" of their troops to winter quarters, which means a virtual admission of the failure of their plans.

There can be no doubt that the approaches to Moscow have become the spot that marks the beginning of the defeat of the armies of German fascism.

As a result of the successful operations of our troops at the approaches to Moscow, the fascist army has been thoroughly cracked up, and not only in consequence of the huge losses of men and equipment but also morally. Cracked up does not mean broken up. The Red Army and all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are still confronted with very difficult tasks in the further fight with the German military machine.

True, our army also had retreated though it did so fighting fiercely and launching powerful counter-attacks. The population keenly felt the loss of our villages and towns. The feeling of hatred for the enemy was growing every day; increasing offence was taken at our injured national pride and

our wounded national self-esteem, and at the fact that the Germans were trampling Soviet soil underfoot.

In former wars too the Russian army had been compelled at times to retreat but in the end it always beat the enemy. The Red Army likewise retreated on several occasions during the Civil War. When the German imperialists occupied the Ukraine in 1918 the situation was serious. Lenin said at that time:

"You must conduct this war in real fashion... There can be no middle way here. Once the German imperialists have forced it on us, it is our sacred duty soberly to estimate our position, take stock of our forces and check-up on our economic apparatus. All this must be done with wartime speed, for any dilly-dallying in our present position is indeed 'flirting with death.' Hannibal is at the gate—this we must not forget for one moment."

Comrade Stalin's appeal for a patriotic war means not only organizing the struggle of the guerrillas but the participation of the entire civil population in the defence of their places of birth. Naturally the best organizers of the local population for the struggle with the German invaders are the commanders of the fighting units of the Red Army in conjunction with the all-sided support of the local Party and Soviet leaders. Nothing fags out, demoralizes the army of the enemy so much as a whole-hearted joint struggle of the population and the units of the Red Army. Scores of cities could be cited where the fascists incurred enormous losses due to the staunch resistance of the population. With the weakening of the fascist army and the deterioration of its morale the opportunities for such resistance and its effectiveness have been enhanced.

Our army is fighting a very powerful opponent. But in spite of the furious onslaughts of the enemy, the morale and fighting capacity of the Red Army, even when our troops were withdrawing, have been increasing from day to day. This is the earnest of our victory.

When we employ the word "war" we do not yet fully grasp and realize its full significance. We associate this word mostly with the death of people near and dear to us, with destruction, with calamities, evacuations, and so forth caused by the war. But this is only one side of war, namely, the effect of the enemy forces on us, on our ability to resist. On the other hand, and everybody will understand this, the greater our power

of resistance and the mightier the blows inflicted by our army upon the enemy troops, the less destruction, the less human victims among the civil population, the less evacuations and other hardships there will be.

An army strikes directly at its enemy by its numbers, its art of manoeuvring and its skilful employment of the implements of war it possesses. Where the two sides are approximately equal in manpower, armament becomes perhaps the decisive factor. Hence to emerge victorious the prime requisite is a colossal quantity of arms, ammunition and other army equipment. This aspect of the war, namely, the ability of the hinterland to supply the army with all the necessary means for conducting the fight, is of paramount importance.

While a blitzkrieg demands the concentration of all effective forces for the infliction of a decisive blow at the commencement of the war, a protracted war requires the uninterrupted supply of the army for a lengthy period of time. In that event it is a war of attrition, of the exhaustion of the forces of the people, a war for the lowering of its morale.

The fascist intention was to smash the U.S.S.R. by one stunning initial blow. In this, however, they failed. Our army proved unable to ward off the first blow and drive the enemy back to his own territory, but it proved strong enough to keep up a constant fight as it withdrew, systematically holding up the enemy at advantageous lines and inflicting huge losses upon him. In defending itself the Red Army wore down the enemy, thanks to which the war, despite all German plans, became a protracted and more enervating struggle for fascist Germany.

It goes without saying that the protracted nature of the war places a great strain upon the forces and means of both the Red Army and the entire people. But it gives us time and an opportunity, while defending our lines, of accumulating forces, of taking advantage of the material support of our allies in preparation for the decisive battles.

The fascists do not welcome the idea of replenishing their army with reservists from the common people, as the latter will introduce discontent in the army because of the hardships of the war, the concealed opposition of the German masses to fascist politics. The morale of the German army will inevitably drop at a steadily advancing pace. This process will be facilitated, and is already being facilitated, by the poor military training

of the reservists and their undoubtedly diminished power of endurance. The main point is that the German soldier who has not gone through the school of the fascist drill masters and who has not had their "ideology" pounded into his head, will not be attracted by the annexationist aims of the fascist ringleaders.

The drawing out of the war is a keen blow to the German people. Two years Hitler fought using the reserve stores and having recourse to the pillaging of the occupied countries. Some morsels of their loot the soldiers sent off to their families. This, of course, in no wise enriched the German population nor allayed their needs, but it provided the fascists with some points for agitation and pacified somewhat the man in the street.

Even at its initial stage the Russian front was fraught for the Germans with nothing but harsh and unpleasant surprises—with stupendous casualty lists. Hitler's accumulated and looted war supplies are drawing to an end. With each week of war, the Eastern front will demand equipment and foodstuffs in increasing quantities directly from the German people. The need for arming, clothing and feeding a huge army will make itself sorely felt among the Germans. To think that the German army will live by pillage is only one of Hitler's unfounded illusions. Whatever tricks the German command may resort to, Hitler has to strip the German people, take the last piece of bread away from them. This is the gist of a drawn-out war; this explains the inevitability of fascism's defeat.

It must be firmly borne in mind that victory will not fall from heaven like manna in biblical times. Victory must be snatched, snatched in fierce, relentless battle, with all forces of the people strained to their utmost.

War demands stupendous means and the demand for them will increase daily. The army at the front and the new formations call for armaments. Incessant fighting implies a vast expenditure of ammunition. Everyone who works in the manufacture of arms and ammunition bears a grave responsibility to the country, to the Red Army. Anyone who delays, who by his negligence or carelessness holds up, the output of war supplies commits a crime against our country, becomes an involuntary abettor of our foe.

Every honest producer who is heart and soul for his country should 28.

forget about rest, about hard conditions of work. Everyone should be ruled by but one idea—how to produce more and better goods with a maximum economy of raw materials. The creative faculties of rationalizers in industry and of inventors of new types of munitions should be taxed to the utmost.

The front is a great consumer of articles like clothing, underwear, sanitary supplies, tobacco and cigarettes. The civil population cannot complain if the government gives the Red Army priority in the supply of such articles. Owing to the fact that that part of light and local industry which was situated on territory occupied by the enemy has ceased production, the manufacture of these articles must necessarily be increased to the utmost at the plants in operation so as not only to equal the former output of these articles so necessary for the Red Army but as far as possible to exceed it.

Great and responsible tasks have devolved on the collective farmers and on the leading local government officials. Foodstuffs constitute a subject of prime importance in war. The leaders in the eastern regions which today form the bases of the hinterland of our army, should chisel it into their heads that the time for a certain degree of carelessness, for a possible floating along with the current, for trailing behind in the rear has passed. If formerly the eastern regions could still afford to have indices qualified by "as far as possible," today, when they have become the principal bases for the production of grain and every other sort of agricultural products, such work can no longer be tolerated. It must be admitted that in these regions not much is thought of losses during harvesting; today this can no longer go on. People guilty of carelessness, or any other act of remissness, people who will not realize that grain is also essential for carrying on the war must be regarded as involuntary abettors of the enemy and punished as such. People who have failed to take necessary action or who have been careless are always apt to blame objective causes, but if you want to you can always find some objective cause in every blunder that any one in a leading position commits.

Our army is engaged in war with a powerful opponent. However it is able to offer stubborn resistance to the enemy and to deliver severe blows of its own. The collective farmers are likewise at a front, though that front is far in the rear, though the collective farmers bear, not rifles,

but farming implements, in their hands. It should penetrate the mind of everyone that, like at the front, so in the rear there can be no objective causes preventing us from coping in time with our agricultural work, from conscientiously fulfilling our obligations to the Soviet state.

Every collective farm chairman and brigade leader must unconditionally fulfil the plan of agricultural work for the coming year on the presupposition that the land will be fully utilized, that every muscle will be strained to the utmost to bring home a bumper crop, that all labor power (including the residents of regions occupied by the Germans that have been evacuated and settled on the collective farm in question) be made use of for productive work. Today there is no longer room for idlers in any quarter whatever. In all regions collective farmers must not forget that victory is gained not only by the army but also in the fields of the productive work of all collective farmers, both men and women. This is the essence of the patriotic war of the people.

In its issue of November 22, 1941 the newspaper Volzhskaya Kommuna (The Volga Commune) carried a news item on the work of the livestock departments on the Powerful Ploughmen Collective Farm in the Chapayev district of the Kuibyshev region. The letter sent in to the editors contained the following passage: "Formerly we had six milk maids, now three manage the job. In the pig department Vera Stenkina works single-handed while in the sheep-raising department Ivan Korolyev, the shepherd, assisted by his wife, does all the work. They act as night watchmen and themselves haul the fodder. They are ready to do any job, to make any sacrifice, as long as it helps the Red Army beat the accursed enemy."

This is the only way for real patriots to act when it comes to discharging their duty, when it comes to performing their work.

In reply to the call of our government, the call of Comrade Stalin—to subordinate everything to the task of defeating the hated enemy—the Soviet people have worked like Trojans at the labor front, have toiled wholeheartedly in factories and mills, in the transportation system and on the collective farms, so as to be of maximum assistance to the Red Army.

From the very beginning of the war voluntary contributions of money have flowed from the pockets of the people into the national defence-

fund. By November 1, 1941 this fund had already received about 1,000,000,000 rubles in eash and about 1,300,000,000 rubles in state loan bonds. Patriotic citizens also contributed much platinum, gold, silver, jewelry and foreign currency.

I cannot but make reference to a certain incident which more eloquently than words speaks of the profound patriotism of the Soviet people.

On the Kzyl-Koshun (Red Army) Collective Farm, in the Takhtabazar district of the Mari region, the collective farm women collected 82 kilograms of gold-plated silverware for the defence fund. The leading officials of the republic were afraid that some degree of coercion might have been employed on this farm. On the instruction of the leading bodies of the republic, Comrade A. B. Berdyiev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, went to the Kzyl-Koshun Collective Farm to verify the facts. When he arrived he ascertained that all contributions to the fund had been voluntary, without the slightest pressure on the part of the local leaders. The collective farm women even declared: "Just you smash the enemy; we can always get new ornaments."

Again applying the principle of voluntary aid, the inhabitants of the towns and villages of the Soviet Union took an extensive part in providing the Red Army with warm things. In September, October and November 1941 alone there were received from workers, office employees, collective farmers and professional people 1,174,972 pairs of felt boots, 2,767,232 kilograms of wool, 523,107 fur-lined jackets, 2,062,706 sheepskin coats, 2,245,115 pairs of woollen gloves, mittens and fur gauntlets, 2,297,638 pairs of woollen socks, stockings and puttees, 1,429,048 pieces of winter underwear, sweaters and pullovers, 1,333,360 caps with ear flaps, and 1,293,818 padded jackets and pants. Vast quantities of underwear, tunics, dry goods, leather footwear and other such articles were received.

The aid given by the population to the front, to their beloved Red Army, and the profound feeling of patriotism of the Soviet people manifest themselves in the most diverse forms.

5. DEATH TO THE GERMAN INVADERS!

The great ideas of Lenin and Stalin are powerful factors for the unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, its heroism and self-sacrifice. It was under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, under the leadership of the Communist Party, that Soviet power was won and that the creative, constructive work of our people during the period of peaceful construction took its course; and it is under this banner that we are fighting the imperialist aggressor, German fascism, and are insuring our victory in this fight.

It was against the wishes of our government, against the wishes of the people, that this war, this bloody cruel holocaust, was forced upon us. We are waging a war with the most powerful army in the world, with the most inhuman enemy of the Soviet people, with an enemy whose fondest dream it has been to wipe the Slavs, and in the first place the Russians, off the face of the earth.

The German fascists have forced our hand and made us enter the fray which is already getting too hot for them. So let us put every shoulder to the wheel, exert all our strength, and strength we have, to smash the enemy. Let us not leave a single fascist occupant on Soviet soil! Such is the will of our leader, but it is also the keen desire and wish of the entire Soviet people. Death to the invaders!



