33rd Anniversary of the Great
October Socialist Revolution

USSR BUILDS
FOR PEACE

N. A. Bulganin
reports on the achievements of
the Post-War Five-Year Plan
and the USSR’s fight for peace

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Speech at the Moscow Soviet Meeting
Celebrating the 33rd Anniversary of
the Great October Socialist Revolution

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COMRADES!

Today the peoples of the Soviet Union are celebrating the
33rd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution,
which ushered in a new era, the era of the emancipation of the
working people from capitalist slavery.

The October Revolution awakened unprecedented creative
energy and initiative among our people. Guided by the Com­
munist Party, the Soviet people have displayed unparal­
lelled heroism both in peaceful labour and in the military defence of
their Motherland. Overcoming serious difficulties in its path,
the Soviet people in a short historical period created the Soviet
Socialist system, and is now confidently advancing to the great
goal—Communism.

Born of the victory of the October Revolution, our Soviet
system is exerting a great transforming influence on the whole
development of world history. The principles proclaimed by
the October Revolution are now uniting the mighty camp of
Socialism and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union. This,
with all justice, we regard as a triumph for the ideas of Marxis­
Leninism.

The whole course of development has confirmed the correct­
ness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching regarding the inevi­
table doom of capitalism, which at the end of the 19th and the begin­
ning of the 20th centuries entered its last stage of develop­
ment—the stage of imperialism. It has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist
scientific conclusion that when headed by a revolutionary Marxist
party, the working class constitutes a force capable of rousing
the working people to fight for emancipation from capitalism,
taking over the State direction of society, and achieving the
noble aim of building Socialism. The construction of the Soviet
State, which is a model of fraternal co-operation of nations, is
convincing the peoples of other countries of the superiority of
Socialism over capitalism, and of the truth and vitality of
Marxism-Leninism.
I. Historic Successes of the Soviet Union on the Road of Internal Development

In greeting the 33rd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people are able to show a record of considerable achievement in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

The chief result we have to show on the Anniversary of the October Revolution is that the political and economic power of the Soviet Socialist State has become still further enhanced and strengthened. The Soviet Government, which is the most democratic in the world, and which enjoys the full confidence and love of its people, has in these post-war years still further increased its prestige not only among the Soviet people, but also among the working people of other countries. Our Soviet system ensures the active participation in State and public life of the broadest masses of the people, and is the form of government which best serves to promote their creative energies. The guiding and directing force in our State is the Communist Party, the policy of which the Soviet people regard as their policy, because in it they see the embodiment of their interests. There is no bourgeois government in the world whose internal political position is as firm and unshakable as that of the Soviet Government (applause).

The successes achieved by the Soviet Union in these years of peaceful development have still further fortified in our people the sentiment of Soviet patriotism, the power of which, as Comrade Stalin teaches us, consists in the fact that it is based, not on racial or national prejudices, but on the profound loyalty and devotion of the people to their Motherland, and on the fraternal co-operation of the working people of all the nations of our country.

The fraternal co-operation and friendship among the peoples of our country are promoted and strengthened by their creative labours for the benefit of their Socialist Motherland. With the support of the entire Soviet Union, the economy of the regions which suffered enemy occupation rose from the ruins and made rapid headway. United in a friendly family of peoples all our Republics have in these past years reached no inconsiderable achievement in the political, economic and cultural fields.

In the struggle for the attainment of the great goals of Communist construction the moral and political unity of Soviet
society, which is solidly rallied around the Party and Soviet power, is being continuously strengthened. This was convincingly demonstrated by the results of the elections, held in the post-war years, to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and the Supreme Soviets of the national Republics, which were brilliant victories for the Stalin bloc of Communists and non-Party people.

The advantages of the Soviet social and State system, which were demonstrated with exceptional force in the period of the war, are being no less fruitfully manifested in the period of peaceful development.

The basis of the economic and cultural activities of the Soviet people in the post-war period was the Five-Year Plan for the restoration and development of the national economy of the country for 1946-1950, adopted soon after the end of the Great Patriotic War, which was the most exacting of all wars ever experienced by our Motherland. The material damage inflicted by the war on our country was so serious that our enemies built on it their self-seeking calculations. They hoped that we would not be able to cope with our post-war difficulties by our own efforts. These calculations, however, proved groundless. The Soviet Union found within itself the forces and potentialities, not only to heal the wounds inflicted by the war, but also to organise a further mighty advance of industry, transport, agriculture, culture and the material well-being of the working people.

The Soviet people hailed the Five-Year Plan as a programme of action and one that conformed to their vital interests, and with enthusiasm they set about putting this Plan into effect. Guided by the Communist Party, the Soviet people spared neither strength nor effort to secure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the post-war Five-Year Plan. In these years the remarkable qualities and creative energies of the Soviet people were once again manifested, and their political consciousness and public activities rose to a new level.

The post-war Five-Year Plan was another glorious stage in the development of our country.

The principal tasks of the Five-Year Plan were to restore the war-stricken areas of the country, to recover the pre-war level of industry and agriculture, and then considerably to surpass it. It is with a feeling of pride in our great country that we can say today that these tasks of the Five-Year Plan have been successfully attained (applause).

The Five-Year Plan provided that the gross industrial output of the Soviet Union in 1950 should exceed the output of the pre-war year 1940 by 48 per cent. Not only has our industry achieved this output, it has greatly surpassed it. As we know, in
the fourth quarter of 1949 the average monthly gross output already exceeded that of 1940 by 53 per cent. In the current year the volume of industrial output has still further increased. In the first ten months of 1950 the pre-war level of gross industrial output was exceeded by 70 per cent (applause).

The high rate of increase of industrial output and the development of all branches of the national economy are ensured by extensive capital construction. In the past period of the post-war Five-Year Plan nearly 6,000 industrial enterprises were restored or newly built, not counting small State and co-operative enterprises.

The industry of the regions which suffered from the war has not only been fully restored but has been considerably expanded on the basis of new and more up-to-date equipment.

The task of restoring and developing heavy industry as first priority is being successfully accomplished.

The Five-Year Plan targets for the development of the iron and steel industry have been surpassed. According to the Five-Year Plan 35 per cent more iron and steel was to be produced in 1950 than in 1940. In the first ten months of the current year iron and steel output exceeded the pre-war level by 44 per cent—pig iron by 28 per cent, steel by 48 per cent and rolled metal by 58 per cent.

It required no little work on the part of our metallurgical and building workers to attain these results. You all know that the metallurgical industry in the South was completely wrecked during the war. Now it has been entirely restored on a new technical basis, and is producing more metal than before the war (applause). In the Eastern regions of the country the iron and steel industry is continuing to expand. The level of production of rolled metal in these regions is now two and a half times greater than before the war.

In accordance with the non-ferrous metal targets of the Five-Year Plan, there has been a substantial increase in the production of non-ferrous and rare metals: aluminium, tin, nickel, copper, lead, zinc, magnesium, and tungsten and molybdenum concentrates.

The coal target of the Five-Year Plan has also been surpassed. According to the Five-Year Plan, coal output in 1950 was to be 51 per cent greater than in 1940. In the first ten months of this year the coal output was 57 per cent above pre-war and in volume of coal output the Soviet Union has risen to second place in the world (applause).

The coal industry of the Donbas, which was completely destroyed during the war, has been fully restored. The Donbas
Collieries are now producing more coal than before the war, and more than was envisaged by the Five-Year Plan. The Donbas has again become the biggest and most highly mechanised coal-field in the country.

The Moscow coalfield, which was likewise completely wrecked, is now producing three times as much coal as before the war.

Parallel with the restoration of the Donbas and the Moscow collieries went the further development of the coal industry in the Urals, the Kuzbas, Karaganda and other Eastern areas of the country. In the East more than twice as much coal as before the war is being produced. The Five-Year Plan targets for the extension of the new sources of coal supply for the Northern areas and Leningrad—the Pechora coalfield—are being surpassed. New coalfields are also being developed in other parts of the country.

Our oil industry is making good progress. The Five-Year Plan target for oil output has been surpassed. The Five-Year Plan envisaged a 1950 oil output 14 per cent greater than before the war. The oil output in the first ten months of this year was 21 per cent above pre-war.

The oil industries of Maikop and Grozny and of the Western Ukraine, which were completely destroyed during the war, have now been fully restored and technically re-equipped.

The new oil regions in the East have acquired greatly enhanced importance. Big new oilfields and refineries have been created in Bashkiria. Oil production and refining are making swift headway in the Kuibyshev Region and in the Turkmen, Uzbek and Kazakh Republics. Big new oil deposits have been opened in the Tatar Republic. Extensive work is under way for the development of oil production on Sakhalin Island. The Eastern Regions today account for 44 per cent of the Soviet Union's total oil output as compared with 12 per cent in 1940.

The oil refining industry has been technically re-equipped and has produced and perfected new kinds of high-octane aviation spirit and other fuels and lubricants.

Electric power output in the last year of the Five-Year Plan was to have been 70 per cent greater than before the war; actually it has increased 87 per cent. In the war-stricken areas where the power stations were completely wrecked, their capacity and output today are greater than before the war.

The machine-building industry is also developing rapidly.

The Five-Year Plan targets for the output of machinery, equipment and instruments are being successfully fulfilled. According to the Five-Year Plan the output of machinery in 1950 was to be twice as great as before the war. In the first ten months of
the current year the rate of machine production was 2.2 times greater than before the war. The output of equipment for the metallurgical industry increased five times, the output of steam turbines 2.5 times, the output of high-capacity electric motors increased five times, the output of equipment for the oil industry over three times and of excavators 13 times.

Soviet engineers, drawing on the achievements of our science, have in these past few years designed and put into production many new up-to-date types of machines and equipment.

The period of the Five-Year Plan has witnessed greatly improved efficiency in the utilisation of industrial equipment. Blast furnaces, for instance, are being operated 25 per cent and open-hearth furnaces 32 per cent more efficiently than before the war. Oil wells are being drilled 43 per cent faster than pre-war. However, the showing of our foremost workers and foremost plants and shops indicate that there are still big reserves and potentialities for the more productive use of equipment.

The successful introduction of new types of equipment has made it possible to continue the technical re-equipment of our national economy on a big scale and to increase the level of mechanisation of processes consuming a large amount of labour and involving heavy work. Side by side with this, the technical progress, the increased skill of our cadres and the creative initiative of workers, engineers and technicians have ensured a substantial increase in the productivity of labour.

The Five-Year Plan envisaged a 36 per cent increase in the productivity of labour in industry in 1950, as compared with pre-war. Actually the productivity of labour of our industrial workers in the third quarter of 1950 was more than 40 per cent greater than before the war. Very effective measures are being taken in industry to economise raw materials, semi-manufactures, fuel and power, to make more efficient use of production space, and to speed up the circulation of working funds. The result is that the plans fixed by the Government for the reduction of the cost of production of industrial products are being fulfilled and over-fulfilled.

The Five-Year Plan targets are being exceeded in railway transport, as well as in industry. According to the Five-Year Plan, railway freight carriage in 1950 was to be 28 per cent greater than pre-war. In the first ten months of this year it was actually more than 40 per cent above the pre-war level. The park of locomotives and wagons has been enlarged and replenished, and a home industry producing electric and diesel locomotives has been created.

Considerable successes have been achieved in agriculture. The
gross grain harvest this year will total 7.600 million poods*, and is over 300 million poods greater than the 1940 harvest, the gross wheat harvest exceeding that of 1940 by 340 million poods.

The gross cotton crop will be more than 40 per cent greater than that of 1940. The sugar beet yield has increased. This year we shall gather at least 25 million metric centners† more sugar beet than in 1940.

Successful progress is being made in the carrying out of the plan adopted in 1948 for the planting of shelter belts, the introduction of ley crop rotations, and the building of ponds and reservoirs in the steppe and forest-steppe regions of the European part of the Union. In these two years an area of 1,300,000 hectares‡ has been afforested; several thousand ponds and reservoirs have been built on collective farms and State farms in these regions.

In August of this year an important decision was adopted providing for the introduction of a new system of irrigation on an area of upwards of 4,300,000 hectares. This new system, which envisages the use of temporary irrigation canals instead of permanent ones which hindered the introduction of modern machine techniques in agriculture, will make it possible to enlarge the size of the irrigation plots and substantially to increase productivity of labour in irrigation farming.

This year the efforts of the Party and Government were directed towards solving the central task in our agriculture—an all-round development of livestock-raising. The three-year plan for the development of socialised collective-farm and State-farm productive livestock-raising is being successfully fulfilled and the collective farms and State farms have substantially enlarged their flocks and herds and increased their livestock yields.

Our livestock industry suffered very severely during the war. In the most important agricultural areas of the country, in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Byelorussia and the Central Black Earth region, the livestock was completely destroyed except for the small part that was evacuated to the East or concealed by the population. The livestock industry in other parts of the country also suffered during the war. In spite of this, our socialised productive livestock industry has today not only fully attained the pre-war level, but has considerably surpassed it. The head of beef and dairy cattle in the collective farms is now 38 per cent greater than before the war, the number of sheep and goats 65 per cent and the number of pigs 55 per cent.

* one pood = 36.113 lb.
† one metric centner = 220.46 lb.
‡ one hectare = 2.47 acres.
The collective farms and State farms have substantially enlarged their herds of pedigree stock.

Large-scale measures are being taken in the collective farms and State farms to build well-appointed sheds for the accommodation of livestock, as well as for the creation of an adequate supply of fodder: special fodder crop rotations are being introduced, the planting of leys is being expanded, the growing of silo and root crops enlarged, and new high-yield fodder crops, Sudan sorghum, etc., introduced into cultivation.

The increased production of grain and industrial crops and the growing output of livestock-raising are creating a solid raw material basis for the further expansion of our light industry and food industry.

The Party and Government render great assistance to the collective farms, State farms and machine and tractor stations. Increasing numbers of machines of every description are being supplied to agriculture. Our tractor and agricultural machinery plants were destroyed during the war; they have now all been rebuilt and, together with the newly erected plants, are this year supplying agriculture with four times more tractors (reckoned in 15 h.p. units), 3.8 times more harvester combines, four times more tractor-drawn ploughs, practically six times more tractor-drawn seed drills, and over three times more tractor-drawn cultivators than in 1940.

Our chemical industry is supplying agriculture with ever-increasing quantities of mineral fertiliser. This year our agriculture is to receive nearly twice as much phosphorus, potassium and nitrogen fertilisers as in 1940.

The introduction of large-scale collective agriculture, equipped with up-to-date machinery, requires a knowledge of the economics of collective farm production, of the principles of agrotechnique and agricultural mechanisation. Wonderful organisers, directors and experts in agriculture have arisen from the ranks of the collective farmers. But we cannot rest content with this, and the Party and the Government therefore set the task of further strengthening our collective farm cadres and introducing the latest achievements of agricultural science and advanced practice into collective farm production and the work of the machine and tractor stations.

The progress of the national economy goes hand in hand with an increase in the national income and a continuous rise of the standards of living and cultural level of our people.

In the capitalist countries the lion’s share of the national income, which is created by the workers, is appropriated by the exploiting classes. Under the Soviet Socialist system of econ-
omy the national income goes to the working people and is distributed in a way that makes, not for the enrichment of exploiting classes but for the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and for the expansion of Socialist production. The growth of the national income in the Soviet Union therefore represents the most comprehensive and graphic index of the rising standard of living of the working masses.

According to the Five-Year Plan the national income in 1950 was to be 38 per cent greater than before the war. The national income of the Soviet Union had already practically attained this level in 1949, and in 1950 it will be more than 60 per cent greater than pre-war (measured in comparable prices), that is considerably higher than was envisaged by the Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet Government, as we know, carried out a currency reform, and in 1950 reduced the retail prices of articles for general consumption for the third time in succession. This has still further strengthened the Soviet rouble and increased its purchasing power. In 1949 average incomes of factory and office workers (measured in comparable prices) were already 24 per cent higher than pre-war. Peasants' incomes were correspondingly 30 per cent higher. This year has seen the continued growth of real wages of factory and office workers and of peasant incomes.

In our country, as everyone knows, there is no such thing as unemployment. The number of factory and office workers employed in the national economy is steadily growing and is now 22 per cent greater than pre-war.

The rising living standard of the working people is reflected in the increasing purchasing power of the population and the growth of trade turnover. Compared with pre-war, we were able this year to provide for sale to the population through the State and co-operative shops, apart from local supplies: 35 per cent more meat and meat products, 53 per cent more fish, 60 per cent more butter and other fats, 30 per cent more sugar and confectionery, 38 per cent more cotton, wool, silk and linen fabrics, 35 per cent more footwear, 37 per cent more hosiery, and 31 per cent more soup.

Popular consumption is now considerably higher than it was before the war.

The Party and the Government consider it a matter of primary importance to bring about an all-round increase in the housing resources of the country, and in particular to assist workers, peasants and intellectuals in building their own houses. In the past four years and ten months of the post-war Five-Year Plan a total of about 90 million square metres of living
space has been rebuilt or newly built. During the same period over 2,500,000 houses have been built or rebuilt in rural areas. These figures are indicative of the vast scale of housing construction in our country. However, the housing programme is not being fulfilled completely everywhere. In town and country, houses are still being built slowly and still too dearly.

The Government spends huge sums on the social and cultural services. Since the war thousands of new schools, libraries and children's institutions have been built or rebuilt in our country, as well as large numbers of hospitals, sanatoria, rest homes, clubs, theatres and cinemas.

Thirty-seven million persons are studying in primary, seven-year and secondary schools, in technical schools and other secondary educational establishments. Our university and college students number 1,230,000, which is 400,000 more than before the war.

Soviet literature and art, which in our country serve the interests of the people and are important media for the Communist education of the Soviet individual, are successfully developing.

The network of scientific research institutes has expanded. Important new steps have been taken to accomplish the task set Soviet scientists by Comrade Stalin—the task of "not only overtaking but surpassing in the very near future the achievements of science abroad". Our scientists have followed up the discovery of the secret of atomic energy with many other important works and discoveries contributing to technical progress and the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of our national economic plans.

The creative discussions which took place this year on questions of linguistics and physiology have helped to promote the development of our Soviet science.

Of exceptional value were Comrade Stalin's contributions to the discussion on linguistics, bringing about a sharp turn, first, in this branch of science. Showing that science cannot develop and prosper without a battle of opinions, without free criticism, without replacing obsolete formulae and conclusions by new ones, Comrade Stalin opened up broad vistas in all fields of Soviet scientific thought for the solution of the new problems confronting our State.

One cannot speak of our achievements in the spheres of economic and cultural construction without also mentioning our glorious armed forces, our army, air force and navy. They are performing their military duty with credit, reliably standing sentinel over the peace and security of our Motherland (prolonged applause).
Comrade Stalin teaches us that the planned economy of Communism will be based on the highest achievements of technology, both in industry and agriculture. Consequently, we must organise the further progress of our Soviet economy, raise the technical equipment of all branches of the economy to a still higher level and further develop the productive forces of the country.

In the light of these tasks confronting the Soviet people, of immense importance are the decisions of the Government to build the Kuibyshev and Stalingrad Hydro-Electric Power Stations on the Volga, the main Turkmenian Canal from the Amu Darya to Krasnovodsk, the Kakhovka Hydro-Electric Power Station on the Dnieper, and the South Ukrainian and North Crimean Canals. These projects, for their scale, technical daring and the times set for their accomplishment, are veritable construction projects of Communism. Each of them includes the building of power stations, dams, canals, reservoirs and irrigation systems. The new projects represent a complex aggregate of works of engineering. Works of this nature are possible only in our country, under a planned Socialist economy.

The four new hydro-electric power stations will have a total capacity of four million kilowatts and will, in years of average water flow, generate 22,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity, which is more than eleven times the total current generated in 1913 by all the power stations of Tsarist Russia.

The Kuibyshev and Stalingrad hydro-electric power stations will make it possible to supply Moscow with all the power it needs and more swiftly to develop the economy of the Volga areas and the Central Black Earth region, while the hydro-electric power stations of the Main Turkmenian Canal and Kakhovka will make it possible to speed up the development of the economy of the Caspian areas of Turkmenia and the Lower Dnieper area. They will make it possible for the country to commission new industrial enterprises and to instal up-to-date machinery in existing plants.

The irrigation and watering of the Volga area, the South Ukraine, the northern districts of the Crimea and the desert and semi-desert regions of the Caspian and Central Asia will yield additional millions of goods of wheat, rice, cotton and other industrial crops for the country. Livestock-raising will be widely developed in the irrigated lands. The power generated by the new stations will be put to extensive use in industry and agriculture.

The decisions of the Government to build these works on the Volga, the Amu Darya and the Dnieper was greeted with great enthusiasm in our country. The workers of many of our industrial enterprises are pledging themselves to fulfil orders for
the new construction projects quickly and well. Soviet scientists, engineers and technicians are bending their creative energies to the solution of the technical problems of the new construction projects. Men and women collective farmers of the Volga, Turkmenia, the Ukraine and the Crimea are undertaking to contribute their personal labour in order to speed up the completion of the construction work.

As Soviet society develops, the thorough grounding of our cadres in ideology and theory assumes ever-increasing importance. The conditions of transition from Socialism to Communism make it incumbent upon us to raise all ideological work to a higher level and further to improve the Communist education of the working people.

Communism cannot be built unless the survivals of capitalism in the minds of our people are completely eradicated. We must therefore intensify our struggle against the various manifestations of a non-Communist attitude towards work and Socialist property, towards observance of State interests. It is essential to eliminate, radically, bourgeois influences in science, literature and art, persistently work to perfect the Marxist-Leninist education of our cadres in all fields and help them to master the science of the laws of social development.

Our Communist Party urges us not to rest content with the achieved and not to flatter ourselves with our successes. It would be unworthy of Soviet people not to notice shortcomings in our work and not to take measures to remove them.

We cannot, for instance, pass over in silence such an intolerable thing as infringement of laws on the obligatory fulfilment of State plans. In a number of branches of industry there are enterprises which to this day systematically underfulfil their assigned programmes. The heads of these branches of industry console themselves with the thought that the bad work of the plants which do not fulfil their programmes will be made good by the overfulfilment of programmes by the foremost plants.

This is an incorrect and un-Soviet attitude towards the fulfilment of State plans. This practice of glossing over the bad work of some plants and of covering it up with the good work of other plants has nothing in common with the Soviet mode of business management. Such methods are not befitting in executives in a Socialist economy. Only bourgeois jugglers can think and act in this way. The State Plan is a law. Every enterprise is in duty bound to fulfil its assigned programme. This requirement applies to the executives not only in industry but in all other branches of our Socialist economy.

No less important is it to note the serious shortcomings in the field of capital construction. Comrade Stalin has drawn our
attention to them. Whereas the development of industrial production is accompanied by a lowering of costs of production, on the basis of which a reduction of prices of goods and the strengthening of the Soviet rouble are carried out, building costs, in spite of the big expansion of capital construction work, are not falling and remain excessively high. In the designing of projects too many superfluities are tolerated, which increases the cost of construction. Because of serious defects in the planning of capital development, materials and funds are scattered over too many projects with the result that construction is dragged out far too long, the opening of new production facilities is delayed and the volume of incomplete construction work is increased. In view of the present scale of our capital development this question is of great State importance.

Executives of our building organisations must put an end to this practice of not fulfilling the targets set by the Government for the reduction of building costs, they must substantially increase the speed of construction, improve their methods of work and no longer lag behind the other branches of our national economy.

A reliable and tested means of removing defects in our work is Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. The Party teaches us that criticism and self-criticism constitute one of the driving forces of Soviet society and help decisively to remove the old and the obsolete and to clear the way for the new, the advanced, the progressive. Criticism and self-criticism must therefore be employed not sporadically, but systematically. Criticism and self-criticism must be a permanently functioning instrument for the improvement of our work.

The elimination of shortcomings in political education and in our economic and cultural construction will enable us to discover new sources for the development of Socialist production and thus accelerate our advance towards Communism.

II. The Soviet Union in the Fight to Strengthen World Peace

ENGAGED on its tasks of national economic construction, the Soviet Union is persistently striving for peace, friendship and co-operation among the peoples of all countries.

Side by side with the Soviet Union in the fight for peace and friendship among nations stand the People's Democracies—Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

In the cause of peace the great Chinese people are actively
fighting, led by the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung (prolonged applause).

In the camp of peace firmly stands the German Democratic Republic.

For peace and for their freedom and independence the Korean people are waging their war of liberation (prolonged applause). All these peoples represent the camp of peace, Socialism and democracy.

Comrade Stalin has repeatedly stated that differences of economic systems and ideologies do not preclude co-operation and normal relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries, in particular, between the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

"It is not necessary for co-operation", Comrade Stalin has said, "that peoples should have similar systems. One must respect the systems approved by the people." At the same time Comrade Stalin points out that "a distinction must be drawn between the possibility of co-operation and the desire for co-operation. There is always the possibility of co-operation, but there is not always the desire for co-operation."

As to the Soviet Union, all the world is familiar with the numerous efforts and practical steps taken by our Government to promote peace and co-operation among nations.

The camp of Socialism and democracy, the camp of peace, is opposed by the camp of imperialism, which is headed by the ruling circles of the United States and which is pursuing a policy of unleashing a new war, a policy of the domination of strong countries over weak countries.

Until the Second World War the chief competitors of the American imperialists in the world markets were Germany and Japan. Since the defeat of these countries in the war, the United States imperialists are striving to take advantage of the new situation in order to seize sources of raw materials and markets. But this is not their only aim. The American imperialists believe that a new, third war is bound to lead to the crushing of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, to the suppression of the Labour and national liberation movements in all other countries and to the establishment of the world supremacy of the United States imperialists. It is for all this that the imperialist camp is intensifying the armaments drive, swelling military expenditure, increasing the numerical strength of its armed forces, destroying the remnants of democratic liberties and persecuting progressive organisations. The American imperialists hope to use the armies of the countries dependent upon them as cannon fodder for the attainment of these ends. The ruling
circles of Britain and France, who once pursued an independent foreign policy, are now servilely submitting to the diktat of the United States imperialists on all major international questions, to the detriment of their own national interests.

From a policy of preparing for aggression the United States imperialists have lately passed to outright acts of aggression. The most open manifestation of this policy is the armed intervention of the U.S.A. in Korea.

Faithful to its unswerving policy of peace, the Soviet Government insisted from the very beginning of the events in Korea that the conflict should be settled by peaceful means. With this purpose in view the Soviet Government proposed that hostilities in Korea be immediately terminated and all foreign troops simultaneously withdrawn from the country, thus granting the Korean people the possibility of settling their internal affairs themselves without foreign interference.

But the American Government, having embarked upon open aggression, rejected all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. This was an object lesson to the peoples of all countries, showing who it is that stands for peace and who for another war.

After all the reverses and severe defeats sustained by the American military command in its war on the freedom-loving Korean people, the Americans massed practically all their available armed forces in the Far East for the war in Korea. Not relying on their own forces alone, the Americans enlisted in the operations the troops of Britain and other countries. Only with the help of these big forces, which outnumbered those of the Korean People's Army several times over, did the interventionists manage to achieve certain military successes.

The Korean people, after their big military successes, are now passing through a period of military reverses, but these reverses have not broken their fighting determination. Reverses occur in every war. There was a time when our Soviet State, too, in the years of the foreign armed intervention and the civil war, passed through a period of tremendous difficulties. Nevertheless the interventionists were defeated and driven out (prolonged applause).

The Korean people have by their heroic struggle against the American interventionists won the sympathy of the peace-loving peoples of the entire world (applause). Korea has become the banner of the liberation movement for the oppressed and dependent countries (applause).

After the victory over fascist Germany and imperialist Japan, the Great Powers, expressing the will of the peoples which had
experienced the horrors of war, established an agreed system of relations between States which guaranteed the peace and security of nations. The basis of this system was the Potsdam Agreement, also the Charter of the United Nations. However, the Anglo-American imperialists have for a long time been working to destroy this system of international co-operation. In circumvention and direct defiance of the United Nations Charter, the Anglo-American imperialists have formed the aggressive North Atlantic Alliance and are whipping together other aggressive military blocs.

Anglo-American ruling circles are frustrating the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and striving to prolong the occupation of Western Germany as long as possible. The Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Britain and France decided at their conference in New York in September this year to re-create the German Army in Western Germany, to take practical measures for the re-militarisation of Western Germany and to use its manpower and material resources in their own interests, disregarding the national interests of the German people.

The policy of splitting Germany pursued by the American, British and French Governments in violation of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement has resulted in the severance of normal economic ties between the Western and Eastern regions of Germany and in the development in Western Germany of only those branches of industry which are connected with war production.

In complete contradistinction to this is the policy of the Soviet Government. It insists upon the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, which provides for the establishment of a united, independent peace-loving and democratic Germany. The Soviet Government’s proposals for the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, the withdrawal of the occupation forces and the setting up of an All-German Government are widely known. These proposals have again been advanced in the recently published Declaration of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic.

The Soviet Union also insists on the implementation of the Potsdam Declaration, that is, on the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, on the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Japan and the removal of the threat of a revival of Japanese militarism.

The aim of the U.S.A., on the contrary, is to prolong the occupation of Japan and to convert her into a place d’armes for the accomplishment of its aggressive plans in the Far East. Taking
advantage of its position as an occupying Power and violating the agreed decisions on the demilitarisation and democratisation of Japan, the U.S.A. is rebuilding naval bases in Japan, re-creating the Japanese armed forces, persecuting democratic organisations and assisting the return to power of the Japanese militarists.

Thus, violating the obligations they assumed in regard to Germany and Japan, the Governments of the U.S.A. and Britain are frustrating the post-war peace settlement in which the peoples of all countries are interested.

Striving for peace and international co-operation, the Soviet Government supports all measures designed to strengthen the United Nations Organisation, whose mission it is to be an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and international security.

"The strength of this international organisation," Comrade Stalin said, "lies in that it is based on the principle of the equality of States and not on the principle of the domination of some States over others. If the United Nations Organisation succeeds in maintaining the principle of equality also in the future, it will unquestionably play a great positive part in ensuring universal peace and security."

The representatives of the Anglo-American bloc systematically reject the Soviet Union's proposals designed to strengthen the United Nations. Moreover, the American Government is working to turn this international organisation into a mere appendage of the U.S. State Department, into an institution serving as a screen for American aggressive plans. The United States Government is thereby demonstrating that it does not desire to seek ways and means of international co-operation and does not respect the sovereign rights of other States, that it intends to unleash a new war.

The imperialists devote a great deal of effort to distorting the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, representing it as propaganda, an attempt to lead somebody or other astray. But what can be more clear and explicit than the repeated proposals of the Soviet Government designed to prevent the unleashing of a new war and to extend international co-operation.

True to its policy of fighting for peace, the Soviet Government, at the present fifth session of the United Nations General Assembly, proposed the adoption of a "Declaration on the removal of the menace of a new war and on the strengthening of peace and security among the nations". In this Declaration the Soviet Government again proposed that propaganda for another war be condemned and prohibited; that the atomic weapon be banned, as a weapon of aggression and mass extermination of people; that strict international control be established to enforce the
precise and unconditional observance of the ban: that the five
Great Powers conclude a pact for the strengthening of peace
and reduce their armaments by one-third within one year and
continue to reduce them thereafter.

What could be more simple, it would seem, than to accept
these peaceful proposals of the Soviet Government and thus to
test the sincerity of the Soviet proposals? But the warmongers
who command an obedient majority in the United Nations, pre-
ferred to reject the Soviet proposals. They rejected them because
the Soviet proposals would frustrate the work of the warmongers
and their aggressive plans. More than that, these gentlemen are
resorting to threats against the Soviet Union.

It is time these gentlemen realised that the Soviet people are
not of the weak-nerved sort (applause) and are not to be intimi-
dated by threats (prolonged applause). The experience of history
shows that our peaceful policy is not a sign of weakness. It is
time these gentlemen realised that our people are capable of
standing up for themselves (prolonged applause), of standing up
for the interests of their Motherland, if need be with arms in
hand (stormy, prolonged applause).

The imperialists are trying to mask their aggressive policy
by alleging that they are combating Communism. The trick
is not new. Hitler and his accomplices also tried to justify
their aggressive policy by talking about a Communist menace.
How these false machinations of the Hitlerites ended everyone
knows. The warmongers of the Anglo-American bloc are
evidently envious of Hitler's laurels.

But nowadays the common people cannot be fooled so easily.
The working people see from the example of the Soviet Union
and the People's Democracies that where the Communists come
to power there genuine democracy is established, unemployment
abolished, the well-being and culture of the people progress by
leaps and bounds, and the broadest opportunities for construc-
tive work are opened to every individual.

That is why, despite all the efforts of the imperialists to
"destroy" Communism, the number of its followers is growing.
The influence of the Communist Parties is increasing from day
to day and their ranks now embrace over 18 million people, not
counting the Soviet Union (applause).

Communism and the working people are inseparable. And,
therefore, just as it is impossible to destroy the people, so it is
impossible to destroy Communism (applause). Its very position
in capitalist society makes the people an irreconcilable enemy of
imperialism, which brings the peoples suffering and mass exter-
mination on the battlefields of piratical wars.
The peoples do not want war and are more and more clearly realising how terrible is the abyss into which the warmongers are trying to plunge them.

The growing threat of war is increasing the determination of the peoples to prevent war. All over the world a mighty organised movement for peace is growing and spreading, uniting workers, peasants, intellectuals, women and youth—people of the most diverse political and religious opinions. The peoples are now fighting not only to secure the outlawing of the atomic weapon, but also a general reduction of all types of armaments, the prohibition of all forms of war propaganda and the condemnation of armed aggression and interference from outside in the internal affairs of the peoples.

The Soviet people stand for peace and resolutely uphold the cause of peace. Reflecting the will of the people the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in June of this year supported the Stockholm Appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress. This Appeal has been signed by more than 115 million Soviet citizens—by the entire adult population of our country, who thereby voiced their desire for peace and their determination to fight for lasting peace. Millions have risen to fight for peace in other countries, too. The Stockholm Appeal has obtained the support and signatures of 204 million persons in China, of over 50 million in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Albania, of 50 million in Japan, Korea, Britain, Argentina and other countries, of over 20 million in Germany, of 15 million in France, of 16 million in Italy, and of 2,500,000 in the U.S.A. To date about 500 million signatures in all have been appended to the Stockholm Appeal (applause). This is a formidable force and a sombre warning to the warmongers.

The peoples which are fighting for peace are confident of the triumph of their righteous cause. They will thwart the plans of the warmongers.

Comrades!

The big successes our country has achieved in this post-war period are the fruits of the heroic labour of the Soviet people and the correct policy of the Communist Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The organising and guiding role of the Party is manifested in all spheres of our State and public life. When the war ended the Party directed all the efforts of the Soviet people to rehabilitating our economy and to promoting the progress of
our Motherland. On the appeal of the Party, socialist emulation for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule developed all over the country. The Party has ensured the cultural and material advancement of the Soviet people. Under the banner of the Party, the moral and political unity of Soviet society has grown still firmer and the Stalinist friendship of the peoples has developed and become stronger. In all branches of economic and cultural development numerous cadres of new leading workers have come to the fore, educated by the Party and armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism.

The activities of our Communist Party have demonstrated that it places the interests of the people above everything else and is capably fighting for them. By its service in the interests of the Motherland and the people the Party has won the love of the Soviet people and their complete confidence (stormy applause).

Therein lies the source of the strength of the Soviet Union (prolonged applause).

Long live the invincible banner of the Great October Socialist Revolution! (applause)

Long live the mighty Soviet people! (applause)

Long live our glorious Communist Party! (prolonged applause)

Long live peace throughout the world! (prolonged stormy applause. All rise. An ovation in honour of the great leader and teacher, organiser of historic victories of the Soviet people, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, lasts for a considerable time).
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