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N. BULGANIN

SPEECH
AT THE NINETEENTH
CONGRESS
OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)



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Comrades, the report of the Central Committee of our Party and the report on the directives of the congress concerning the Fifth Five-Year Plan have elucidated problems and events that constitute fresh convincing evidence of the supreme power of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, fresh proof of their correctness. The successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the building of communism, the forming of the powerful camp of People's Democracies, and the growth and strengthening of the communist and workers' parties clearly confirm this fact.

The strength, unity and solidarity of the world communist movement is shown by the further fact, so joyfully welcomed by all of us, that the present congress of the C.P.S.U. is attended by numerous delegations of the communist and workers' parties abroad. (*Applause.*)

In reviewing the path traversed by the Land of Soviets since the Eighteenth Congress it may be noted with pride and satisfaction that the policy pursued by our Party was right, was based as always on the interests of the people and aimed at strengthening our state to the utmost. (*Applause.*)

During these years the policy of the Party as well as its practical activities in all the spheres of economy, culture and military affairs were subjected to the acid test applied in the stern crucible of the Great Patriotic War.

War overtook our country at a time when the Soviet people were enthusiastically engaged in the task of fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., when our native land had entered a new stage of development, that of gradual transition from socialism to communism. Quite a number of outstanding victories in the field of labour had already been gained along this glorious path proclaimed by the Eighteenth Party Congress.

The sudden perfidious attack of the fascist invaders instantly worked a fundamental change in the situation. Millions of Soviet citizens were compelled to abandon their peaceful pursuits, take up arms in defence of the great socialist achievements and to rid their Homeland of the menace of fascist bondage.

In the Great Patriotic War the very life of our country was at stake. The issue, we know, was as follows: shall the Soviet Union retain its independence and the people of our land remain free, or shall it be turned into a colony and its people become slaves to the German imperialists? No other alternative was possible.

The Great Patriotic War was not only a war waged between two armies but a war of the entire Soviet people against a foreign invader. It was a war fought not only to annihilate the grave danger that threatened our country but also to render assistance to Europe's peoples groaning under the jackboot of German fascism. This was the cruelest of all the wars by which our country was ever stricken and hence required of the Soviet people incredible exertion, great privation and heavy sacrifice.

No detailed account is required of the exceptional difficulties that beset our Motherland during the years of war. The memory of the excruciating trials we went

through during the war is still fresh in the minds of all of us. But one thing cannot be impressed too strongly: if any bourgeois state had had to fend off a blow as severe as that struck at us by the Hitlerites it would surely have succumbed. Only our Soviet socialist state was able to stand up against the aggressor under these conditions, to surmount the unprecedented difficulties and emerge victorious. (*Prolonged applause.*)

What helped us to repulse the onslaught of the enemy and then to score the greatest victory in history?

Comrade Stalin teaches that modern war is an all-round test of the material and spiritual strength of every nation involved. Only those countries stand the test which excel their opponents in respect of the development and organization of their economies, in respect of the experience and proficiency as well as morale of their troops, and of the endurance and unity of the people throughout the length of the war.

In brief, the issue of a war depends upon the economic, moral and military potentials of the belligerents. In all these respects our Soviet state proved considerably stronger than its adversary, Hitler Germany, although the latter at the time of its incursion into our country possessed the economic and man-power resources available on its own territory and also in France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Rumania, Spain and a number of other countries.

Before the war and since our people have applied their efforts chiefly to peaceful construction. The Soviet Union prosecuted a firm and consistent foreign policy of peace. At the same time our Party was never oblivious of the threat of war, of imperialist machinations, and, under Stalin's wise leadership, put the country and army in read-

iness for active defence. This preparation consisted, first and foremost, in creating such material potentials as in the event of war would ensure rapid conversion to war production and the uninterrupted supply of army and population with food and industry with raw material. Our Party solved this difficult problem by its policy of industrializing the whole country and collectivizing its agriculture during the three prewar Stalin five-year-plan periods. It was during that span of time that the historic transformation of our formerly agrarian country into an industrial one took place.

The fulfilment of the five-year economic development plans greatly enhanced the defensive power of the Soviet state. Even the First Five-Year Plan brought results that warranted the conclusion that the Soviet Union had been transformed from a weak country unprepared for defence into a country possessing a powerful national defence, a country ready for all eventualities and capable of producing on a mass scale all modern implements of defence and of supplying them to the army in case of foreign attack.

The Second Five-Year Plan and the first few years of the third brought further progress in the domain of country-wide industrialization and still greater consolidation of the Soviet Union's mighty system of defence. An economic base was set up which enabled us to enter the war prepared, meet all its demands and for four years endure all its trials and tribulations.

In prewar days measures were also taken to strengthen our army. The tremendous effort of the Party, the Government and the entire Soviet people in this regard under the leadership of Comrade Stalin converted the Soviet Army into a powerful and formidable force. Its techni-

cal re-equipment and the practical application of Stalin's principle that all arms of the service must be developed was greatly instrumental in accomplishing this change.

After the First World War bourgeois military science found itself unable to decide on a correct relation between the various arms of the service. A large variety of so-called theories that gave preference to some particular arm or weapon made its appearance. Several such theories were introduced in practice. For instance, the German military command made tank development its specialty, banking on swift military victory with the aid of these engines of war. The Second World War however frustrated their hopes.

Our country already in prewar years had created a superb artillery service, powerful armoured and mobile troops, and a modern air force with up-to-date equipment while the building of a big Navy had been begun. This elevated the defensive capacity and fighting efficiency of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union to a high plane.

Came the war. It required skillful and correct employment of the material potentials that had been created. Thanks to the organizing work of the Party this task too was accomplished with great success.

The conversion of our industry to war production, which started at the very commencement of hostilities, was essentially finished in 3 or 4 months; the reconstruction of our entire economy to place it on a military footing took approximately one year. It must here be borne in mind that this reorganization had to be effected under unbelievably difficult conditions, a considerable portion of our territory having been occupied by the enemy while

a great number of our plants had to be removed east. All these circumstances enhanced the difficulties to be coped with. Suffice it to say that the industrial areas we temporarily lost had produced in peacetime one third of the Soviet Union's industrial output. More than 1,300 big state plants were re-sited in eastern areas. Moreover, millions of people with not inconsiderable property were likewise evacuated east. In not one of the belligerent countries was war conversion attended by such great difficulties.

But in a short space of time we created a war economy that worked smoothly and grew at a rapid pace. It had for its base not only the existing enterprises but also new ones.

During the strenuous period of war our industry and socialist agriculture successfully coped with the tasks assigned them. This was a graphic illustration of the correctness of the far-sighted policy conducted by our Party, which looks far ahead and wisely resolves the most complicated problems. (*Applause.*)

The war showed that such unity reigns among our people as no capitalist country can even dream of.

Already before the war the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. made it possible to abolish once and for all the vestiges of the exploiting classes and welded the workers, peasants and intellectuals into a single front of toilers. It was in that period that the moral and political unity of Soviet society was forged, that the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union was consolidated and the political life of the country fully democratized.

When they attacked us our enemies counted on instability of the Soviet rear and of the Soviet system: they expected conflicts between the Soviet workers and peasants,

and dissension and disagreement between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. But their expectations were disappointed. What happened was something quite different. The grave danger that threatened the Soviet Union rallied the Soviet people still more closely around the Communist Party, the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin, and gave rise to an unparalleled wave of Soviet patriotism. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the cause of freedom and independence of their country the Soviet people worked in the rear with unstinted energy and selflessness, fought bravely, undauntedly at the front, suffered untold hardships and made enormous sacrifices. The war showed that our Soviet people are a nation of heroes. They can work miracles and emerge victorious from the severest of trials. (*Applause.*)

Our rear, the firmest of any country in the world, provided not only for the material but also the intellectual needs of the army, imbued it with ideas and inspired its moods. Its ideas were the most advanced, the ideas of the Communist Party, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; its moods reflected profound, indestructible belief in our victory.

During the war years our Party explained to our soldiers the significance and aims of the war, instilled in their hearts love of country and hatred for the enemy, buoyed up their spirits and inspired them to feats of daring.

The utterances of the Party, of the great Stalin, armed the Soviet people with an extraordinarily effective weapon—profound faith in the triumph of our just cause. Recall, comrades, the stern days of the autumn of 1941 when the Hitlerites were pressing on Moscow, the capital of our country. The foe was jubilant and was already mak-

ing preparations to celebrate the victory. The clique across the ocean that is now preparing a new war likewise looked forward to the early demise of Soviet rule.

And it was during these crucial days that Comrade Stalin delivered his two addresses, one on November 6 devoted to the 24th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and the other the next day at the Red Army Parade, from the rostrum of the Lenin Mausoleum.

In spite of the critical situation in which the country and its army found themselves at that time Comrade Stalin declared that our victory was assured and drew such a perspective of the war that many were surprised by its boldness. He stated that the Soviet Army was capable not only of destroying the robber hordes of fascist invaders but also of liberating the peoples of Europe they held in bondage.

The heartening effect of Comrade Stalin's utterances can hardly be overestimated. They shed brilliant light upon the course which our struggle would take, raised the spirits of our people and troops, cheered up all the friends of the Soviet Union abroad and caused alarm in the camp of the enemy.

Everything turned out exactly the way Comrade Stalin had said it would. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) The Soviet Army not only cleared its native land of the enemy but also carried out its great mission of liberation.

Comrade Malenkov spoke in his report of the great trust which our people placed in the Communist Party during the war. This found expression, particularly, in the great wartime increase in Party membership. Moreover, it was very significant that the maximum number of applications for admission to the Party coincided with the times when the situation at the front was unfavourable

to us. This indicates the strong bonds that link our Party with the masses and corroborates the correctness of its line.

The most ample proof, the most conclusive criterion that the policy and leadership of our Party in military matters was right is of course the issue of the past war, our complete victory over the enemy, achieved by the joint efforts of the people and the army.

The war has demonstrated that the Soviet Union possesses a first-rate army with up-to-the-minute armaments, a highly experienced officers' corps and a morale and fighting efficiency unequalled anywhere. The war has demonstrated once more that our army is an army of a new type, that it is a genuine people's army, an army that incorporates the fraternity existing among the different nations of our country, an army reared in the spirit of internationalism. The war has further demonstrated that the personnel of our army derives its strength from its conviction that the wars which our country has to wage are just and from its political consciousness, which, as is known, is of tremendous importance and assures victory.

Trained to consider themselves personally responsible for the defence of their Motherland the Soviet fighters came to realize that in warring against Hitler Germany they were defending what they treasured most, the freedom and independence of their country. This noble purpose gave birth to mass heroism among our fighters, sons of the various peoples that make up the Soviet Union. Repeatedly Comrade Stalin commended in his Orders of the Day the excellent combat qualities and the feats of heroism performed by the soldiers and officers of all the arms of the service—by infantrymen, artillerymen, tank-

men, airmen and sailors. Each arm of the service contributed to the vanquishment of the foe.

During the war the Soviet troops, commanded by a glorious corps of officers, attained a large number of outstanding victories, of which our people may justly feel proud and which will go down in history for all eternity. Everyone of these victories is written in letters of gold in our country's annals of war. (*Loud applause.*)

The discomfiture of the German fascist troops at Moscow, which disrupted the enemy's plan to surround and capture our capital and thus killed the "blitzkrieg" plan; the grand battle of Stalingrad which ended in the encirclement, defeat and capture of an army of 330,000 picked troops and marked the beginning of a fundamental change in the tide of the war; the rout of Hitler's hordes in the foothills of the Caucasus, which frustrated the plans of the enemy to break through to our oil fields and to divert our main reserves south; the Kursk battle which terminated the offensive strategy of the Hitlerites; the ten crushing blows struck by Stalin in 1944, which made it possible to transfer military operations beyond the confines of our Homeland, and caused the Hitlerite bloc to fall completely asunder; the culminating victories of 1945 with their splendid operations in East Prussia, on the Vistula and the Oder, at Budapest and Vienna; and finally, the capture of Berlin—such is the roll of the most glorious of the victories achieved by our troops, victories that brought on the downfall and unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany. Nor ought we to forget the successful operations our troops conducted to encompass the defeat of imperialist Japan.

Each one of these victories was a result of the courage, bravery and unexcelled exploits of ordinary soldiers.

and officers of every rank, and of the heroic efforts of the labouring people in the rear. It was they, all Soviet people, who by their toil and military skill, by their sweat and blood, achieved our glorious victories which saved our country from enthrallment. (*Applause.*)

Each one of these victories is a concrete embodiment of the Soviet art of war, of the skill of Soviet officers and generals, is a triumph of the Stalin military science, a triumph of the generalship of our leader and Supreme Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Stalin headed the fight of the Soviet people and of our Armed Forces against the foreign invasion. It was under his direct leadership and in accordance with the plans designed by his genius that all decisive operations in the Great Patriotic War were prepared and carried into execution and that the defeat of Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan became a reality.

In speaking of our victory over the forces of fascism we must not fail to mention that besides the Soviet Army, the valiant Polish Army and the Czechoslovakian Corps also contributed to its achievement (*applause*), forces which were created during the progress of the war on the territory of the Soviet Union. As they fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops against the common foe the officers and men of the Polish and Czechoslovak units showed in deed their intrepidity and military proficiency. Their successful combat actions were repeatedly cited in the Orders of the Day issued by the Supreme Commander in Chief, Comrade Stalin. In the final stage of the war the Rumanian and Bulgarian armies likewise joined the armed struggle against fascism and gave proof of their fine military qualities.

Our country emerged from the war powerful and strong. The hopes of the imperialists that the Soviet Union would be weakened or even exhausted were shattered.

Thanks to our victory the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe were enabled to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists and set up People's Democracies in their respective countries. In consequence of the falling away of these countries and of a number of others in Asia from the capitalist system, one third of humanity has now been freed forever from imperialist subjugation.

The outcome of the war has proved to the whole world what a powerful force our Soviet Union is. Postwar developments have demonstrated once more the abiding strength of our state.

Numerous difficulties confronted the Soviet people also in finding solutions for its postwar problems, because the havoc wrought in our economy by the war proved to be exceedingly great. The enemies of the Soviet Union included this factor too in their calculations, hoping we would be unable to cope with the difficult situation by our own unaided efforts. However, the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, emerged with credit from this difficult test as well, found sufficient energy and strength not only to heal the wounds inflicted by the war but also to effect a thorough improvement of industry and the transport system, of agriculture, culture and their material welfare. This was achieved under the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the results of which are well known to all.

The successful fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan was a new triumph for the policy of our Party.

As a result of the historic victories won by the Soviet Union during the war and the outstanding achieve-

ments of the postwar period, our country has experienced such an increase in strength as was never witnessed before.

It may be said without the least exaggeration that in not a single bourgeois country is the internal situation as stable and remote from all disturbance as in the Soviet Union, nor can it be. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union is today a firmly-knit socialist state with a superlative industry, well developed transport system and highly productive agriculture.

The economic life of our country is governed by a state plan which aims at augmenting the social wealth and at steadily raising the living and cultural standards of the people, at fortifying the independence and strengthening the defensive capacity of the Soviet Union.

It is the fulfilment of these tasks that is contemplated by the draft directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan of development of the Soviet Union submitted to the Party Congress for its approval. The draft embodies the great force that inheres in the socialist system and reflects the basic economic law of socialism, namely, the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

This is attested to, above all, by the higher level of industrial output provided for in the draft directives, amounting to an increase of about 70 per cent for the five-year period and an annual average increase of about 12 per cent in gross industrial output, with an extra margin of increase in the production of means of production. This will result in tripling the volume of industrial output in 1955 as compared with 1940.

Further evidence of this can be seen in the high rates of development of the leading industries, the growth of the national income, which will amount to no less than 60 per cent under this five-year plan, the increase in real wages of factory and office workers, which will amount to no less than 35 per cent, the rise in the incomes of the collective farmers, which will be no less than 40 per cent, the vast growth of trade, and many other figures.

The tasks mentioned in the draft directives regarding the Fifth Five-Year Plan ensure the further powerful development of advanced techniques, machines, machine tools and high precision apparatus, which will in turn bring about a corresponding increase in the number of highly skilled engineers, technicians and workers. This will be a great and positive factor working for the further consolidation of our economy and the enhancement of the defensive capacity of our country, since modern warfare requires a host of weapons which are the products of the latest achievements in science and technique.

The increased output of the most important kinds of agricultural produce, set at 40 to 70 per cent, and the large increase in livestock products prescribed by the draft directives forecast a new upsurge in agricultural production within the next few years.

In the domain of public education the targets set by the directives are of great importance to the state. They comprise a considerable extension of the system of universal secondary education and the beginning of polytechnical education in the secondary schools. The practical solution of these problems will raise the cultural standard of our people to a still higher plane and will produce a vast number of well educated and technically trained