
J. V. STALIN

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PREFACE

The thirteenth volume of the *Works* of J. V. Stalin contains writings and speeches of the period from July 1930 to January 1934.

During this period the Bolshevik Party, carrying out the policy of a sweeping offensive of socialism along the whole front, achieved epoch-making successes in the socialist transformation of the country. The Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power, a country of collective, large-scale, mechanised agriculture.

In the "Reply to the Discussion on the Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)," J. V. Stalin exposes the double-dealing of the leaders of the Right opportunists. Describing the successes in the work of socialist construction, he points out that the U.S.S.R. has entered the period of socialism. Criticising the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theory of the dying away of national languages and their merging into one common language within the framework of a single state at a time when socialism is victorious in one country, J. V. Stalin substantiates the programmatic thesis that the national languages will merge into one common language only after the victory of socialism on a world scale.

In his speeches "The Tasks of Business Executives" and "New Conditions—New Tasks in Economic Construction," J. V. Stalin shows the historical necessity of rapid rates of socialist industrialisation, shows the decisive importance of technique in the period of reconstruction of all branches of the national economy and advances the slogan: "Bolsheviks must master technique." J. V. Stalin discloses the new conditions of development of socialist industry and outlines new methods of management in the work of economic construction.

In the report "The Results of the First Five-Year Plan" at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.), J. V. Stalin shows that the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan in four years is of the utmost international significance. The results of the five-year plan, achieved at a time when the entire capitalist system was shaken by a world economic crisis, proved the indisputable superiority of the Soviet socialist system over the out-of-date capitalist system of economy.

Speaking of the principal forces that ensured the victory of the five-year plan, J. V. Stalin notes first and foremost the activity and selflessness, the enthusiasm and initiative, of the vast masses of workers and collective farmers who, in conjunction with the engineering and technical personnel, displayed enormous energy in the promotion of socialist emulation and shock-brigade work.

In defining the main tasks of the Party connected with the results of the five-year plan, J. V. Stalin indicates the special importance of safeguarding public,

socialist property against grafters and pilferers and the necessity of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in every way.

The problems of consolidating the collective-farm system and the tasks of Party work in the countryside are the theme of the speech "Work in the Countryside" and of the "Speech Delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Brigaders." Revealing the new tactics of the camouflaged class enemies in the countryside, J. V. Stalin appeals to the Party organisations for greater vigilance. Summarising the results of collective-farm development, J. V. Stalin advances the slogan: Make the collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers prosperous.

The following works by J. V. Stalin: "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism"—(letter to the editorial board of the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia*) and "Reply to Olekhovich and Aristov," deal with very important problems of the history of Bolshevism. Denouncing the Trotskyist and all other falsifiers of the history of the Party, J. V. Stalin calls for the study of the history of the Party to be put on scientific, Bolshevik lines, emphasising that Leninism was born, grew up and became strong in relentless struggle against opportunism of every brand. J. V. Stalin characterises Trotskyism as the advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

In his letter to Demyan Bedny, J. V. Stalin points out that some of Demyan Bedny's skits in verse are permeated with unpatriotic tendencies and are an obvious retreat from Leninism. J. V. Stalin stresses the fact that the Russian working class has given mankind

splendid examples of struggle for freedom and for socialism. This fills the hearts of the Russian workers with a feeling of revolutionary national pride that can move mountains and perform miracles. J. V. Stalin calls upon Soviet writers to be equal to the lofty tasks of bards of the advanced proletariat.

In the "Talk with the German Author Emil Ludwig," J. V. Stalin by his theoretical treatment throws light on the question of the role of the individual and of the masses of the people in history. In his replies to Ludwig's questions, J. V. Stalin declares that the task to which he has devoted his life is the elevation of the working class, the strengthening of the socialist state. Everything that strengthens the socialist state helps to strengthen the entire international working class.

In a number of talks with public figures from abroad J. V. Stalin characterises the foreign policy of the Soviet state as a consistent policy of peace and substantiates the possibility of peaceful co-existence and of establishing business connections between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries.

In the "Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)," J. V. Stalin sums up the great victories of socialism in the U.S.S.R., notes the radical changes that have taken place in the country since the Sixteenth Congress, the successes achieved in all the branches of the socialist national economy and culture, successes that testify to the complete triumph of the general line of the Party. J. V. Stalin stresses that the Party owes its successes to being guided in its work by the invincible teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin. J. V. Stalin outlines the pro-

gramme of the further work of the Party in industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy, and in culture and science. J. V. Stalin puts forward the task of raising organisational leadership to the level of political leadership, of intensifying the ideological work of the Party and the struggle against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people.

J. V. Stalin analyses the course of the world economic crisis, which is based on the general crisis of capitalism; he shows that in the conditions of the general crisis of the capitalist system capitalism is experiencing a depression of a special kind, one which does not lead to a new upward trend and industrial boom. J. V. Stalin describes the growing tension in the political situation within the capitalist countries and in the relations between these countries, and the imperialists' preparation for a new world war.

Exposing the plans of the instigators of war and scientifically forecasting the further development of events, J. V. Stalin points out that war against the Soviet Union will be the most dangerous war for the imperialists, that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will fight to the death to preserve the gains of the revolution, that the war will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and Asia, and to the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord governments in those countries. J. V. Stalin defines the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. as a policy of preserving peace. He warns that it is necessary to strengthen the defence capacity of the Soviet country in order to be ready to defend it from attack by imperialist states.

The following items in the thirteenth volume are published for the first time: J. V. Stalin's letters to Comrade Shatunovsky, Comrade Ch., Demyan Bedny, Comrade Etchin, and Comrade I. N. Bazhanov; J. V. Stalin's replies to Ralph V. Barnes's questions and the reply to Mr. Barnes's letter; the talk with Colonel Robins.

*Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute
of the C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.)*

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| <i>Preface</i> | XIII |
| REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE POLITICAL REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE SIXTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.), <i>July 2, 1930</i> | 1 |
| LETTER TO COMRADE SHATUNOVSKY | 18 |
| LETTERS TO COMRADE CH. | 21 |
| TO COMRADE DEMYAN BEDNY. (<i>Excerpts from a Letter</i>) | 24 |
| ANTI-SEMITISM. <i>Reply to an Inquiry of the Jewish News Agency in the United States</i> | 30 |
| THE TASKS OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES. <i>Speech Deliv- ered at the First All-Union Conference of Leading Person- nel of Socialist Industry, February 4, 1931</i> | 31 |
| LETTER TO COMRADE ETCHIN | 45 |
| GREETINGS TO THE STAFFS OF AZNEFT AND GROZ- NEFT | 47 |
| TO ELEKTROZAVOD | 48 |
| MAGNITOGORSK IRON AND STEEL WORKS PROJECT, MAGNITOGORSK | 49 |
| TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE ALL- UNION CENTRE OF MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS. TO ALL MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS | 50 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE GRAIN TRUST BOARD. TO ALL STATE GRAIN FARMS | 52 |
| NEW CONDITIONS—NEW TASKS IN ECONOMIC CON- STRUCTION. <i>Speech Delivered at a Conference of Busi- ness Executives, June 23, 1931</i> | 53 |
| I. Manpower | 54 |
| II. Wages | 57 |
| III. The Organisation of Work | 62 |
| IV. A Working-Class Industrial and Technical In- telligentsia | 67 |
| V. Signs of a Change of Attitude among the Old In- dustrial and Technical Intelligentsia | 71 |
| VI. Business Accounting | 75 |
| VII. New Methods of Work, New Methods of Manage- ment | 78 |
| TO THE WORKERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL OF AMO | 83 |
| TO THE WORKERS AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL OF THE KHARKOV TRACTOR WORKS PROJECT | 84 |
| TO THE NEWSPAPER <i>TEKHNICA</i> | 85 |
| SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM. <i>Letter to the Editorial Board of the Magazine "Proletarskaya Revolutsia"</i> | 86 |
| AUTOMOBILE WORKS, NIZHNI-NOVGOROD | 105 |
| TALK WITH THE GERMAN AUTHOR EMIL LUDWIG, <i>December 13, 1931</i> | 106 |
| TO THE CHIEF OF THE AUTOMOBILE WORKS PROJ- ECT AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE MOLOTOV AUTOMOBILE WORKS, NIZHNI-NOVGOROD | 126 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TO THE CHIEF OF THE HARVESTER COMBINE WORKS PROJECT AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE HARVESTER COMBINE WORKS, SARATOV. . . | 127 |
| REPLY TO OLEKHNOVICH AND ARISTOV. <i>With Ref- erence to the Letter "Some Questions Concerning the His- tory of Bolshevism" Addressed to the Editorial Board of the Magazine "Proletarskaya Revolutsia"</i> | 128 |
| MAGNITOGORSK IRON AND STEEL WORKS PROJECT, MAGNITOGORSK | 135 |
| REPLY TO THE LETTER OF Mr. RICHARDSON, REP- RESENTATIVE OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS AGENCY | 136 |
| THE IMPORTANCE AND TASKS OF THE COMPLAINTS BUREAUS | 137 |
| REPLIES TO THE QUESTIONS OF RALPH V. BARNES, <i>May 3, 1932</i> | 139 |
| KUZNETSK IRON AND STEEL WORKS PROJECT, KUZNETSK | 142 |
| GREETINGS TO THE SEVENTH ALL-UNION CON- FERENCE OF THE ALL-UNION LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE | 143 |
| CONGRATULATIONS TO MAXIM GORKY | 144 |
| TO THE BUILDERS OF THE DNIEPER HYDRO- ELECTRIC POWER STATION | 145 |
| GREETINGS TO LENINGRAD | 146 |
| LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEWS- PAPER PRAVDA | 147 |
| MR. CAMPBELL STRETCHES THE TRUTH | 148 |
| Record of the Talk with Mr. Campbell, <i>January 28, 1929</i> | 150 |
| THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OGPU . . | 160 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| JOINT PLENUM OF THE C.C. AND C.C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.), <i>January 7-12, 1933</i> | 161 |
| The Results of the First Five-Year Plan. <i>Report Delivered on January 7, 1933</i> | 163 |
| I. The International Significance of the Five-Year Plan | 163 |
| II. The Fundamental Task of the Five-Year Plan and the Way to Its Fulfilment | 174 |
| III. The Results of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years in the Sphere of Industry | 180 |
| IV. The Results of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years in the Sphere of Agriculture | 191 |
| V. The Results of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years as Regards Improving the Material Conditions of the Workers and Peasants | 199 |
| VI. The Results of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years as Regards Trade Turnover between Town and Country | 206 |
| VII. The Results of the Five-Year Plan in Four Years in the Sphere of the Struggle against the Remnants of the Hostile Classes | 211 |
| VIII. General Conclusions | 217 |
| Work in the Countryside. <i>Speech Delivered on January 11, 1933</i> | 220 |
| TO <i>RABOTNITSA</i> | 240 |
| LETTER TO COMRADE I. N. BAZHANOV | 241 |
| SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF COLLECTIVE-FARM SHOCK BRIGADERS, <i>February 19, 1933</i> | 242 |
| I. The Collective-Farm Path Is the Only Right Path | 242 |
| II. Our Immediate Task—To Make All the Collective Farmers Prosperous | 252 |
| III. Miscellaneous Remarks | 257 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| GREETINGS TO THE RED ARMY ON ITS FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY. <i>To the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R.</i> | 264 |
| REPLY TO A LETTER FROM Mr. BARNES, <i>March 20, 1933</i> | 265 |
| TO COMRADE S. M. BUDYONNY | 266 |
| TALK WITH COLONEL ROBINS, <i>May 13, 1933. (Brief Record)</i> | 267 |
| GREETINGS ON THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALL-UNION LENINIST YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE | 280 |
| TALK WITH Mr. DURANTY, CORRESPONDENT OF <i>THE NEW YORK TIMES</i> , <i>December 25, 1933</i> | 282 |
| REPORT TO THE SEVENTEENTH PARTY CONGRESS ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.), <i>January 26, 1934</i> | 288 |
| I. The Continuing Crisis of World Capitalism and the External Situation of the Soviet Union | 288 |
| 1. The Course of the Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries | 290 |
| 2. The Growing Tension in the Political Situation in the Capitalist Countries | 297 |
| 3. The Relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Capitalist States | 306 |
| II. The Continuing Progress of the National Economy and the Internal Situation in the U.S.S.R. . . . | 312 |
| 1. The Progress of Industry | 316 |
| 2. The Progress of Agriculture | 324 |
| 3. The Rise in the Material and Cultural Standard of the Working People | 340 |
| 4. The Progress of Trade Turnover, and Transport | 346 |
| III. The Party | 353 |
| 1. Questions of Ideological and Political Leadership . . . | 355 |
| 2. Questions of Organisational Leadership | 372 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| TO COMRADE SHAPOSHNIKOV, CHIEF AND COM- MISSAR OF THE FRUNZE MILITARY ACADEMY OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY. TO COMRADE SHCHADENKO, ASSISTANT FOR POLITICAL WORK | 389 |
| INSTEAD OF A REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION, <i>January 31,</i> <i>1934</i> | 390 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 391 |
| <i>Biographical Chronicle (July 1930-January 1934)</i> . . . | 409 |

**REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION
ON THE POLITICAL REPORT
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
TO THE SIXTEENTH CONGRESS
OF THE C.P.S.U.(B.)¹**

July 2, 1930

Comrades, after the discussion on the Central Committee's report and after all that has happened at this congress in connection with the statements made by the former leaders of the Right opposition, little is left for me to say in my concluding remarks.

I stated in my report that the Sixteenth Congress is one of the few congresses in the history of our Party at which there is no opposition of any crystallised kind, able to lay down its line and to counterpose it to that of the Party. That, as you see, is in fact precisely what has happened. Not only has there been no definitely crystallised opposition at our congress, the Sixteenth Congress of the Party, but there has not been even a small group, or even individual comrades, who have thought fit to come forward on the platform here and declare that the Party line is wrong.

The line followed by our Party is clearly the only correct one, moreover its correctness, it turns out, is so evident and indisputable that even the former

leaders of the Right opposition considered it necessary unhesitatingly to stress in their pronouncements the correctness of the Party's entire policy.

After all that, there is of course no need to dwell at length on the correctness of the propositions expounded in the report. There is no such need because, in view of its evident correctness, the Party's line stands in no need of further defence at this congress. And if, nevertheless, I have not waived my right to reply to the discussion, it is because I do not think it will be superfluous to answer briefly some notes handed up by comrades to the congress Presidium, and then to say a few words with regard to the utterances of the former leaders of the Right opposition.

A great many of the notes concern questions of secondary importance: why was no mention made of horse-breeding in the reports, and could not this be touched upon in the reply to the discussion? (*Laughter.*) Why did the reports not mention house-building, and could not something be said about it in the reply to the discussion? Why did the reports say nothing about the electrification of agriculture, and could not something be said about it in the reply to the discussion? And so on in the same strain.

My answer to all these comrades must be that I could not in my report touch on all the problems of our national economy. And I not only could not but had no right to, since I have no right to invade the sphere of the reports which Comrades Kuibyshev and Yakovlev are to make to you on concrete problems of industry and agriculture. Indeed, if all questions were to be dealt with in the Central Committee's report, what

should the reporters on industry, agriculture, etc., say in their reports? (*Voices: Quite right!*)

In particular, as regards the note on the electrification of agriculture, I must say that its author is wrong on several points. He asserts that we are already "confronted squarely with" the electrification of agriculture, that the People's Commissariat of Agriculture is blocking progress in this matter, that Lenin thought differently on the subject, etc. All that is untrue, comrades. It cannot be said that we are "confronted squarely with" the problem of electrifying agriculture. If we were in fact confronted squarely with the electrification of agriculture we should already have ten to fifteen districts in which agricultural production was electrified. But you know very well that we have nothing of the kind as yet. All one can say at the present time about the electrification of agriculture in our country is that it is in the experimental stage. That is how Lenin regarded this matter, encouraging such experiments. Some comrades believe the tractor is already out of date, that the time has come to advance from tractors to the electrification of agriculture. That of course is a fantastic notion. Such comrades should be taken down a peg or two. And that is precisely what the People's Commissariat of Agriculture is doing with them. Hence the note-writer's dissatisfaction with the People's Commissariat of Agriculture cannot be considered justified.

The second batch of notes concerns the national question. One of them—the most interesting, in my opinion—compares the treatment of the problem of national languages in my report at the Sixteenth Con-