



Text of a Speech Delivered By

V. M. MOLOTOV

at an Election Rally in Molotov Electoral Area, Moscow February 6, 1946

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Comrades!

You and the electors represented by you have nominated me as a candidate to the Supreme Soviet and the Election Commission of the Molotov Electoral Area of Moscow has registered my nomination. Permit me to express my deep gratitude for the confidence you have accorded thereby to the Communist Party, for the confidence and honor you have accorded me personally as a representative of the Party. I thank you for the kind words you have said here about me and my work.

On my part I wish to assure you and all the electors that I remember well what Comrade Stalin said about a Deputy's prime duty: to have the great image of great Lenin before him and to emulate Lenin in everything. To emulate Lenin means at the same time to emulate great Stalin, the continuer of Lenin's cause. There can be no nobler task for a Deputy than to emulate Lenin and Stalin and to be worthy of this in fact. Rest assured, Comrade electors, that I shall always and with all my heart strive toward this goal.

Test of Leadership

We are on the eve of new general elections. The entire adult population of the country is taking part in these elections. The attitude of all the many millions in the Soviet Union toward the leadership of the Communist Party and toward the policy of the Soviet Government is now being put to the test. Well, we have reason to look confidently ahead. Proof of this is also supplied by the fact that the bloc of Communists and non-Party people has gained still greater strength and pursues its work with concerted efforts.

Perhaps some persons abroad still dream that it would be a good thing if some other party, not the Communist Party, were to assume the leadership of our country. To these persons one could reply with a simple proverb: "If ifs and ands were pots and pans." There is not much to be said about such persons, persons, so to say,

"from another world." As for our people, they have their own opinion on the subject. How can it be helped if the Soviet people have formed bonds of close kinship with their Communist Party? And if some persons abroad still do not like it, we can console them: in other countries, too, it is no rare thing nowadays to find that the Communists as leaders enjoy the confidence of the broad masses of the people. This only goes to show that the lessons taught by life are not in vain. So the earth does not merely go round; we may say that it does not go round for nothing and that it is pursuing its course forward to a better future.

Four years of war with Germany and later with Japan was the supreme test for the young Soviet State. This war, which placed a strain on all the spiritual and material forces of the nation, was an exceptionally grave test of the policy of the Bolshevik Party. More than that, it was a test of the stability of the very state system of the Soviet Republic. Now no one can deny that the Soviet State has passed this test with flying colors.

Comparison with Past

Compare Russia before the October Revolution with what the Soviet Union is now. It is a well known fact that the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 caused an upheaval in tsarist Russia. Everyone remembers the first Russian revolution when the first thunder-bolt burst over tsarism. The war with Germany in 1914-1917 undermined tsarism at its roots and ended with the abolition of the bourgeois landowners' regime in Russia.

At the time of the war with Japan, the tsarist government hastened to end the war, admitting its defeat. In the war with Germany, tsarist Russia was not able to survive, demonstrating how utterly rotten and obsolete the old regime was.

Compare this with the present position of our country after the most difficult war with Germany and then a war with Japan as well. Both aggressors, together with their satellites, have been routed, chiefly owing to our Red Army.

The Soviet Union achieved victory in the West and then in the East as well, which as you see is quite unlike the old pre-Soviet times. Having passed these supreme tests, the Soviet Union has made still greater advance as a major factor in international life. The USSR ranks today among the world powers, enjoying the highest prestige. Important problems of international relations cannot

now be settled without the participation of the Soviet Union or without heeding the voice of our homeland. The participation of Comrade Stalin is regarded as the best guarantee of a successful solution of complicated international problems.

New Position

Without indulging in self-complacency, always remembering how stubbornly reactionary forces still cling to life in capitalist countries, we must, nevertheless, recognize that the new position the Soviet Union now occupies in international relations is not the result of some fortuitous circumstance, that it meets the interests of all peace-loving nations and also the interests of all countries advancing along the road of democratic development and assertion of their national independence.

Credit for all this goes primarily to the heroic Red Army. Our Red Army and Red Navy men, officers, commanders, all services, have given the most devoted service for the glory of our Motherland. Our Generals and Marshals, with Generalissimo Stalin at their head, have brought the Soviet Union glory and renown. The enemy was checked at the gates of Moscow, and this was the beginning in the turn of the tide of the Soviet-German front. The enemy surrounded Leningrad but proved powerless to carry out his plan of capturing that city. The enemy was routed at Stalingrad, and from then on the utter rout of the German army began on our front. These tasks were accomplished on a strategic plan and under the immediate guidance of Comrade Stalin, our great Army leader.

The defeat of the enemy came as a result of the efforts of the entire Soviet people who ensued the victory. We had to lengthen the working day. Millions of women replaced men on the collective farms, at the factories and plants. Youths self-sacrificingly did the work of adults. We had to reconcile ourselves to serious restrictions in supply of the most vital necessities, to grave housing shortage, to evacuation to distant parts and to other wartime hardships. And in spite of this our national economy has coped with its main tasks. The needs of the front were satisfied without fail or delay. The urgent needs of the rear were also met, although with great restrictions. Comrade Stalin's call, "Everything for the front!" was unanimously taken up by the entire Soviet people and this ensured victory.

We arrived at victory, having overcome all the difficulties at the front and in the rear. We were able to do this because not only

during the war, but in the years preceding it, we followed the correct path. We swept from our road internal enemies, all those saboteurs and subversive elements who in the end turned into a gang of spies and wreckers in the employ of foreign masters. It is also known that the Soviet people have long checked any ambition for direct foreign intervention into our internal affairs. In spite of all those who put spokes in our wheel, our people transformed their country and created a mighty socialist state.

The foundations of our victory were laid by the creation of the Red Army, industrialization of the country, reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collective farming, intensive work for raising the cultural level of the population, and the persistent training of engineering and other skilled personnel. And now we are able to sum up the splendid results: we have routed a most dangerous enemy, scored a glorious victory, rallied the family of Soviet peoples still closer, and raised the international prestige of the Soviet Union to unprecedented heights. What better test could there be of the correctness of the policy of the Bolshevik Party? After this, it is not difficult to understand why the confidence in our Party has grown so much, why the confidence in Comrade Stalin's leadership is so unshakable.

New Tasks

The termination of the war confronted us with new tasks, imposing also new obligations upon us. The time has come to set about the work interrupted by the war. We shall need some time to raise socialist industry to the level it had reached before the war. But in a couple of years we shall accomplish it, which is more than any capitalist country could do. This task will be an integral part of the new Five-Year Plan which we are launching this year and which in many respects will enable us to surpass our prewar level of economic development. We are again developing branches of industry which will provide agriculture with tractors, farm machinery and fertilizer in the amounts it needs, and also those industries which will furnish locomotives, rolling stock and everything else needed for railways and other important forms of transportation, sea and river shipping and automobile traffic. Another task on the order of the day is an all-round improvement in the supply of consumer goods for the population of town and country. For that a number of our industries will have to be expanded. The

problem of overcoming the housing shortage is particularly acute now in view of the ravages which the war against the German invader has left behind it. We must raise to proper standard the construction of schools and hospitals, institutes and laboratories, cinemas and theaters and many other cultural and social institutions everywhere, taking account of the shortcomings in the past and of the need to draw more extensively on the experience of other countries. The people of Moscow will again take up plans for the reconstruction of the Capital, and all of us will actively participate in this major state undertaking.

Main Task

You will remember that shortly before the war the Party and the Government acknowledged that the time had come to undertake and accomplish in practice the main economic task of the USSR. This main task was formulated as follows: to overtake and surpass economically the most highly developed capitalist European countries and the United States of America, and to accomplish this task fully in the nearest future. Our country must produce no less industrial goods per capita of the population than the most developed capitalist country—that is the task.

We launched this work successfully. But Germany's attack interrupted the great work we had begun. Now we shall take it up anew with still more profound realization of its importance, and we shall try to make the pace of our work commensurate with the greatness of this task. We do not know and shall not know crises when industry slumps, as is the case in capitalist countries. We do not and shall not know unemployment, for we have long discarded the fetters of capitalism and the rule of private property. Conscious endeavor and socialist emulation in our factories and mills, on collective and State farms, on railways and in the offices are bringing us economic progress.

We must especially strive to make the labor of each worker more productive, for that is not only in the personal interest of every working man and woman, but in the common interest of the State. The time has passed when work was done to the strains of "Dubinushka." Of course "Dubinushka" is a good song and is the song of the Volga boatmen. But there is a proper time for everything.

In our age, the age of machinery and highly developed technology, and especially when we are out to "overtake and surpass"—

new machinery must be introduced more extensively and effectively in all branches of our national economy so that the latest achievements of technology and science may play an ever greater part in the development of our industry and of the entire national economy. Then we shall accomplish our task—the task of overtaking and surpassing economically the most developed capitalist countries with that success which is required by the interests of our country and interests of communism.

Peace Essential

Naturally, in order completely to accomplish this titanic task, we need a lengthy period of peace and ensured security of our country. The peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union is not something transient, it follows from the fundamental interests and vital needs of our people, from their desire to raise their living standards as speedily as possible, from the tremedous urge felt by Soviet men and women to fashion their own way of life—the new cultured socialist way of life, and from our people's deep-seated conviction that the Soviet Union will successfully accomplish all these tasks, provided the aggressor pack is kept chained. That is why the Soviet people are so vigilant when it comes to possible centers of violation of peace and international security or to any intrigues along these lines.

Disturbing Facts

Today, too, our people are alert when circumstances require it. Should we, for example, pass by such facts as, say, the preservation in one form or another of hundreds of thousands of German troops of Hitler's defeated army on territory administered by one of our Allies? One cannot fail to acknowledge the positive value of our Ally's admission that this state of affairs must be ended.

Or take another fact. To this day there are maintained in Italy at the expense of the Allies tens of thousands of troops of the Polish fascist General Anders who is notorious for his emnity to the Soviet Union and is ready for all kinds of adventurous undertakings against new democratic Poland.

Facts like these certainly cannot be explained by the interests of peace and security for nations. Or take this instance. On the territory of Austria, outside the Soviet zone, there remained in existence a Russian White Guard infantry corps under Colonel

Rogozhin, which during the war had been in Hitler's pay and service. Naturally, we demanded that this crew of outcasts should be eliminated again in the interests of peace and friendly relations among the Allies.

The Soviet Union has made no mean contribution to the building of a new and more effective organization to safeguard the peace and security of nations.

The United Nations Organization has already set to work and we wish it success in its important tasks. Our participation in this organization's work is aimed at making it effective in preventing fresh wars and curbing all and every imperialist aggressor and violator of the will of other nations.

Vigilance Continues

In the interests of universal peace the Soviet Union is always prepared to work in concord and harmony with peace-loving countries, great and small. In the Soviet Union there are no jingoistic adventurist groups, such as there are among the ruling classes of certain other countries where the insatiable imperialists are already encouraging rather dangerous prattle about a "Third World War." True friends of peace and security for nations will continue to find the Soviet Union a faithful ally and reliable bulwark.

That does not mean that we are complacent as regards the might of the Red Army and of our Navy. No, our concern for our armed forces is not relaxing. Our Army has accumulated fighting experience, has grown strong and steeled as never before. During the war it underwent great reorganization and geared itself to meet the demands of modern warfare. The fighting spirit and Soviet patriotism to our troops are well known. The Government and the leadership of the Red Army are doing everything to ensure that as regards the very latest types of armaments, too, our Army may be in no way inferior to the army of any other country. It is enough to say that through all these years the armed forces of the Soviet Union have been headed by Generalissimo Stalin, a great army leader, the helmsman of our land.

All this determines our new postwar tasks.

These include both major problems, domestic and foreign, which determine the future of our country and of our cause, and the tasks that are urgently awaiting their solution. The Bolshevik Party teaches us the art of combining these tasks. Unless we concentrate

the necessary forces and means on coping with the fundamental tasks of the State we shall not be able to look ahead with confidence; and this is quite apart from the fact that the war has borne out with tremendous force the correctness of this Bolshevik policy pursued throughout the past period in the construction of our State. As for our Party's major achievements, we may regard the indisputable fact that our people have long grasped the profound meaning of this general line of the Bolshevik Party. But the Party has always demanded that the opportunities available, and we have no few of them, should be used more freely and persistently to meet the urgent needs as regards raising the population's standard of living.

Self-Criticism

The Party has always fought ruthlessly against bureaucratic disdain for what are known as "minor" problems. It has urged not only Bolshevik self-criticism, but active public criticism of the work of inefficient executives. And now that the war has left many of these "minor" problems unsettled, it is fitting to call this to the minds of the executives of our organizations and institutions.

Much depends, of course, on the ability to work and still more on a genuine desire to learn how to work. You know that it is never too late to learn. This applies both to local and central officials in authority. Comrade Stalin has told us more than once how useful it is for people in authority to take stock of their work every day, to delve more frequently and more deeply into the results of their activities. After all, nowadays, a good deal depends in every sphere of activity on the executives. The same factory, the same collective farm, the same organization or institution yields certain results under one manager, and much better results under another more efficient manager. The factory worker, as you know, takes stock of his or her work every day. Factory workers want to know and do know how much they have produced in the course of a day, and what are the results of their work.

The same thing may be said about the collective farmers. The results of their work are expressed in the number of collective farm workday units; and we know what good care our collective farmers take to have as many of these units to their credit as they can, and how deeply rooted this is by now in the life of the collective farms. The people in authority, too, must develop the habit of taking stock of their work every day and must learn to treat the results of their

activity in the proper spirit of self-criticism. Then there will be fewer shortcomings in the work of many of our respected comrades, and we shall achieve the modern Bolshevik tempo we need in the solution of all urgent problems.

In its policy the Party sets us the correct course for our work. And we in authority in local and central organizations must prove by our deeds that we know how to work. We must prove our Bolshevik desire to work better, more productively, with maximum benefit for the people. You will probably agree that this is the thing which all our electors want.

We have every ground to expect that at the elections to the Supreme Soviet, our people will again show confidence in the Bolshevik Party and will unanimously support the candidates of the Stalin bloc of Communist and non-Party workers, peasants and intellectuals. That only increases the responsibility devolving on the Deputies; they must prove themselves worthy of the confidence of our great people and must justify the confidence of their electors. So let the new elections serve to cement our peoples' unity still further and to promote our further advance under the tried leadership of the Bolshevik Party and our great beloved Stalin.

