

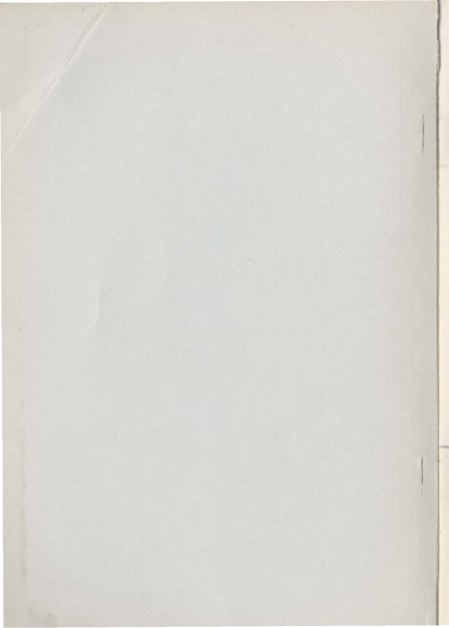
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**THE WAR
OF NATIONAL
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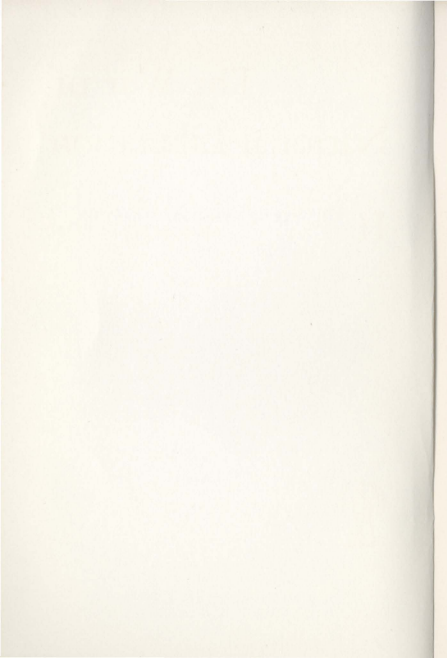
*A second collection of
the wartime addresses
of the Soviet Premier*

JOSEPH STALIN

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
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THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION



The War of National Liberation

II

BY JOSEPH STALIN



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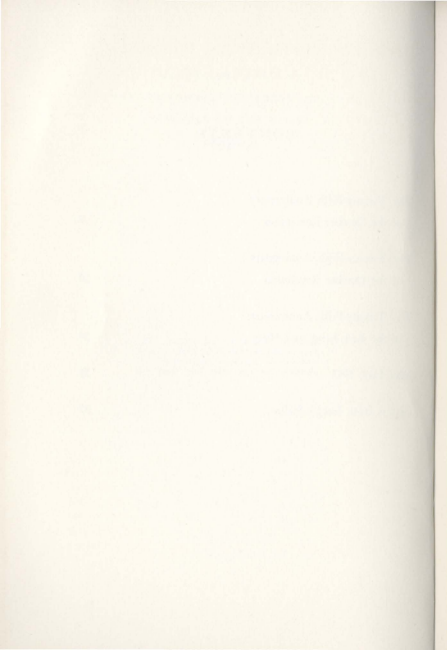
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CONTENTS

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution	7
The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution	20
The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Red Army and Navy	24
May Day, 1943	31
Letters from Joseph Stalin	37



THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

COMRADES, we are today celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory of the Soviet Revolution in our country. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the Soviet system was established in our country. We are now on the threshold of the twenty-sixth year of existence of the Soviet system.

At meetings in celebration of the anniversary of the October Soviet Revolution it is customary to review the work of the Government and party bodies in the preceding year. I have been instructed to make such a review for the past year—from November of last year to November of the current year.

The activities of our Government and party bodies during the past period proceeded in two directions: in the direction of peaceful construction and the organization of a strong rear for our front, on the one hand; and in the direction of conducting the defensive and offensive operations of the Red Army, on the other.

1. ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN THE REAR

The peaceful constructive work of our directing bodies in this period consisted in shifting the base of our industry, both war and civilian, to the Eastern regions of our country, in evacuating and installing in their new places industrial workers and plants, in extending crop areas and enlarging the winter crop area in the East and, lastly, in radically improving the operations of our industries which produce supplies for the front and in strengthening labor discipline in the rear, both in the factories and in the collective and state farms. It must be said that this was an extremely difficult and complex large-scale task of organization for all our economic and administrative People's

Commissariats, including our railways. Nevertheless, we succeeded in overcoming the obstacles; and now, in spite of all the wartime difficulties, our factories, collective farms, and state farms are undoubtedly working satisfactorily. Our munitions factories and allied enterprises are conscientiously and punctually supplying the Red Army with guns, trench mortars, aircraft, tanks, machine-guns, rifles, and ammunition. Our collective farms and state farms are likewise conscientiously and punctually supplying the population and the Red Army with foodstuffs, and our industry with raw materials. It must be admitted that never before has our country had such a strong and well-organized rear.

As a result of all this complex organizational and constructive effort, not only our country, but the people themselves in the rear, have been transformed. They have become more efficient, less slipshod, more disciplined; they have learned to work in wartime fashion, and to realize their duty to our motherland and to her defenders at the front—the Red Army. Bunglers and slackers with no sense of civic duty are becoming fewer and fewer in the rear. The organized and disciplined, those who are imbued with a sense of civic duty, are becoming more and more numerous.

But, as I have said, the past year was not only one of peaceful construction. It was also a year of our Patriotic War against the German invaders, who vilely and treacherously attacked our peaceful country.

2. HOSTILITIES ON THE SOVIET-GERMAN FRONT

As regards the military activities of our directing bodies during the past year, they consisted in providing for the offensive and defensive operations of the Red Army against the German fascist troops. The hostilities on the Soviet-German Front during the past year may be divided into two periods. The first period was chiefly the winter period, when the Red Army, after repelling the German attack on Moscow, took the initiative, passed to

the offensive, drove back the German troops, and in the space of four months advanced, in places, over four hundred kilometers. The second period was the summer period, when the German fascist troops, taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, mustered all their available reserves, pierced the front in the southwestern direction, and taking the initiative, advanced in places as much as five hundred kilometers in the space of five months.

The hostilities in the first period, especially the Red Army's successful operations in the Rostov, Tula, and Kaluga areas, and at Moscow, Tikhvin, and Leningrad, disclosed two significant facts. They showed, first, that the Red Army and its combatant cadres have become an effective force, not only capable of withstanding the onslaught of the German fascist troops, but also of defeating them in open battle and driving them back. They showed, secondly, that for all their staunchness, the German fascist troops suffer from grave organic defects which, given certain favorable conditions for the Red Army, may lead to their defeat. It is not by mere chance that the German troops, after marching in triumph through all Europe and at one blow smashing the French troops, which had been regarded as first-class troops, met with effective military resistance only in our country; and not only did they meet with resistance, but they were compelled by the blows of the Red Army to retreat from their positions over four hundred kilometers, abandoning on their line of retreat an immense quantity of guns, machines, and ammunition. This fact cannot be attributed exclusively to the winter conditions of fighting.

The second period of hostilities on the Soviet-German Front was marked by a turn in favor of the Germans, by the initiative passing to the Germans, by the piercing of our front in the southwestern direction, by the advance of the German troops and their reaching the areas of Voronezh, Stalingrad, Novorossiisk, Pyatigorsk and Mozdok. Taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Germans and their allies transferred all their

available reserves to the front and, massing them in one direction, the southwestern direction, created a big superiority of forces and achieved substantial tactical gains.

Apparently the Germans are no longer strong enough to conduct a simultaneous offensive in all three directions, in the south, north and center, as was the case in the early months of the German offensive in the summer of last year; but they are still strong enough to organize a serious offensive in some one direction.

What was the main objective of the German fascist strategists when they launched their summer offensive on our front? To judge by the comments of the foreign press, including the German, one might think that the main objective of the offensive was to capture the oil districts of Grozny and Baku. But facts decidedly refute this assumption. Facts show that the German advance towards the oil districts of the U.S.S.R. is not the main, but an auxiliary, objective.

What, then, was the main objective of the German offensive? It was to outflank Moscow from the east; to cut it off from its Volga and Urals rear and then to strike at the city. The German advance southwards, towards the oil districts, had an auxiliary purpose; not only, and not so much, to capture the oil districts as to divert our main reserves to the south and to weaken the Moscow front, and thereby facilitate the success of the blow at Moscow. This, in fact, explains why the main group of the German forces are now in the Orel and the Stalingrad areas, and not in the south.

Recently, an officer of the German general staff fell into the hands of our men. A map was found on this officer showing the plan and schedule of the German troops' advance. From this document it is evident that the Germans intended to be in Borisoglebsk on July 10, this year, in Stalingrad on July 25, in Saratov on August 10, in Kuibyshev on August 15, in Arzamas on September 10, and in Baku on September 25.

This document fully confirms the information in our possession

that the main objective of the German summer offensive was to outflank Moscow from the east and to strike at Moscow; while the object of the advance to the south was, apart from everything else, to divert our reserves as far as possible from Moscow and to weaken the Moscow front so as to facilitate the blow at Moscow. In short, the main objective of the German summer offensive was to surround Moscow and end the war this year.

In November last year the Germans counted on capturing Moscow by a frontal attack, on compelling the Red Army to capitulate and thus bringing the war in the east to a close. These were the illusions with which they sustained their soldiers. As we know, however, these calculations of the Germans miscarried. Having burned their fingers in their attempt at a frontal attack on Moscow last year, the Germans planned to capture Moscow this year by a flanking movement and to end the war in the east in that way. These are the illusions with which they are sustaining their duped soldiers now. As we know, these calculations of the Germans also proved unsound. Their attempt to chase two hares at once—oil and the encirclement of Moscow—landed the German fascist strategists in difficulties.

Thus, the tactical successes of the German summer offensive were not consummated owing to the obvious unfeasibility of their strategical plans.

3. THE SECOND FRONT IN EUROPE

How are we to explain the fact that the Germans were nevertheless able to take the initiative in military operations this year and achieve substantial tactical successes on our front?

It is to be explained by the fact that the Germans and their allies were able to muster all their available reserves, transfer them to the Eastern front and create a big superiority of forces in one of the directions. There can be no doubt that but for these measures the Germans could not have achieved any success on our front.

But why were they able to muster all their reserves and transfer them to the Eastern front? Because the absence of a second front in Europe enabled them to carry out this operation without any risk.

Hence, the chief reason for the Germans' tactical successes on our front this year is that the absence of a second front in Europe enabled them to transfer to our front all their available reserves and to create a big superiority of forces in the southwestern direction.

Let us assume that there was a second front in Europe as there was in the first World War, and that this second front diverted, let us say, sixty German divisions and twenty divisions of Germany's allies. What would have been the position of the German troops on our front today? It is not difficult to guess that their position would have been deplorable. More than that, it would have been the beginning of the end of the German fascist troops, for in that case the Red Army would not be where it is now, but somewhere near Pskov, Minsk, Zhitomir, and Odessa. That means that already in the summer of this year the German fascist army would have been on the verge of disaster; and if that did not occur, it was because the Germans were saved by the absence of a second front in Europe.

Let us examine the question of a second front in Europe in its historical aspect.

In the first World War Germany had to fight on two fronts: in the West, chiefly against Great Britain and France, and in the East, against the Russian troops. Thus, in the first World War there was a second front against Germany. Of the 220 divisions which Germany then had, not more than 85 were stationed on the Russian front. If to this we add the troops of Germany's allies then facing the Russian front, namely, 37 Austro-Hungarian divisions, two Bulgarian divisions and three Turkish divisions, we get a total of 127 divisions facing the Russian troops. Most of the remaining divisions of Germany and her allies held the front against the Anglo-French troops, while

some of them performed garrison duty in the occupied territories of Europe. Such was the position in the first World War.

What is the position today, in the second World War, in September of this year, let us say?

According to authentic information which is beyond all doubt, of the 256 divisions which Germany now has, no fewer than 179 are on our front. If to this we add 22 Rumanian divisions, 14 Finnish divisions, 10 Italian divisions, 13 Hungarian divisions, one Slovak division and one Spanish division, we get a total of 240 divisions which are now fighting on our front. The remaining divisions of Germany and her allies are performing garrison duty in the occupied countries (France, Belgium, Norway, the Netherlands, Jugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.), while part of them are fighting in Libya for the possession of Egypt against Great Britain. In all, the Libyan front is diverting four German divisions and 11 Italian divisions.

Hence, instead of 127 divisions as was the case in the first World War, we, today, are facing on our front no less than 240 divisions, and instead of 85 German divisions we have 179 German divisions fighting the Red Army.

This is the chief reason and grounds for the tactical successes the German fascist troops gained on our front this summer.

The German invasion of our country is often compared to Napoleon's invasion of Russia. But this comparison will not bear criticism. Of the 600,000 troops which started out on the march against Russia, Napoleon brought to Borodino barely 130,000, or 140,000. That was all he had at his disposal at Moscow. Well, we now have facing the Red Army over 3,000,000 troops, and troops armed with all the implements of modern warfare. What comparison can there be here?

The German invasion of our country is sometimes also compared to the German invasion of Russia during the first World War. But neither will this comparison bear criticism. First, in the first World War there was the second front in Europe, which made the Germans' position very difficult, whereas in this

war there is no second front in Europe. Secondly, in this war, twice as many troops are facing our front as was the case during the first World War. Obviously, the comparison is inappropriate.

You can now imagine how grave and extraordinary are the difficulties that confront the Red Army, and how great is the heroism displayed by the Red Army in its war of liberation against the German fascist invaders.

I think that no other country and no other army could have withstood this onslaught of the savage gangs of German fascist brigands and their allies. Only our Soviet country and only our Red Army are capable of withstanding such an onslaught. And not only withstanding it, but also overpowering it.

It is often asked: But will there be a second front in Europe after all? Yes, there will be; sooner or later, there will be. And there will be one not only because we need it, but above all because our Allies need it no less than we. Our Allies cannot fail to realize that since France has been put out of action, the absence of a second front against fascist Germany may end badly for all the freedom-loving countries, including the Allies themselves.

4. THE FIGHTING ALLIANCE OF THE U.S.S.R., GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE U.S.A. AGAINST HITLERITE GERMANY AND HER ALLIES IN EUROPE

It may now be regarded as beyond dispute that in the course of the war imposed upon the nations by Hitlerite Germany, a radical demarcation of forces and the formation of two opposite camps have taken place: the camp of the Italo-German coalition, and the camp of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition.

It is equally beyond dispute that these two opposite coalitions are guided by two different and opposite programs of action.

The program of action of the Italo-German coalition may be characterized by the following points: race hatred; domination of the "chosen" nations; subjugation of other nations and seizure of their territories; economic enslavement of the subjugated

nations and spoliation of their national wealth; destruction of democratic liberties; universal institution of the Hitler regime.

The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to manage its affairs in its own way; economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance in establishing their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitler regime.

The effect of the program of action of the Italo-German coalition has been that the people in all the occupied countries of Europe—Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Greece, and the occupied regions of the U.S.S.R.—are seething with hatred for the Italo-German tyrants, are causing the Germans and their allies all the damage they can, and are waiting for a favorable opportunity to take revenge on their conquerors for the outrage and violence to which they are subjected.

In this connection, one of the characteristic features of the present situation is the steadily growing isolation of the Italo-German coalition and the depletion of its moral and political reserves in Europe, its growing weakness and disintegration.

The effect of the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has been that the people in all the occupied countries in Europe fully sympathize with the members of this coalition and are prepared to render them all the help of which they are capable.

In this connection, another characteristic feature of the present situation must be noted, namely, that the moral and political reserves of this coalition are growing from day to day in Europe—and not only in Europe—and that this coalition is steadily winning millions of sympathizers who are ready to join it to fight against Hitler's tyranny.

If the relative strength of these two coalitions is examined from the standpoint of human and material resources, the con-

clusion that one will be forced to arrive at is that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has the unquestionable advantage.

But the question is: Is this advantage alone sufficient for victory? As we know, cases occur when resources are abundant, but are expended so inefficiently that the advantage is lost. Obviously, what is needed in addition to resources is ability to mobilize and skill in expending them properly. Is there any reason to doubt that the men of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition possess this ability and skill? Some people do doubt this. But what grounds have they for their doubts? In the past the men of this coalition have displayed ability and skill in mobilizing the resources of their countries and expending them properly for the purposes of economic, cultural, and political development. What grounds are there, then, for doubting that the men who have displayed skill and ability in mobilizing and distributing resources for economic, cultural and political purposes will prove capable of doing the same for the purpose of prosecuting the war? I think there are no such grounds.

It is said that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of winning, and would certainly win if it did not suffer from an organic defect which might weaken and disintegrate it. This defect, in the opinion of these people, is that this coalition consists of heterogeneous elements having different ideologies, and that this circumstance will prevent them from organizing joint action against the common enemy.

I think that this assertion is wrong.

It would be ridiculous to deny the existence of different ideologies and social systems in the various countries that constitute the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. But does this preclude the possibility, and the expediency, of joint action on the part of the members of this coalition against the common enemy who threatens to enslave them? Certainly not. More than that. The very existence of this threat imperatively dictates the necessity of joint action among the members of the coalition in order to save mankind from reversion to savagery and medieval brutality. Is

not the program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition a sufficient basis upon which to organize a joint struggle against Hitler tyranny and to vanquish it? I think it is quite sufficient.

These people's assumption is unsound also because it has been utterly refuted by the events of the past year. If these people were right, we should be observing the steady mutual estrangement of the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. Far from this being the case, however, facts and events point to the steadily growing friendship among the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and to their amalgamation into a united fighting alliance. Events of the past year supply direct proof of this. In July, 1941, several weeks after Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., Great Britain concluded with us an agreement "on joint action in the war against Germany." At that time we had not yet any agreement with the United States of America on this subject. Ten months later, on May 26, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to Great Britain, the latter concluded with us a "treaty of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe and on collaboration and mutual aid thereafter." This treaty was concluded for a period of twenty years. It marks a historic turning point in the relations between our country and Great Britain. In June, 1942, during Comrade Molotov's visit to the United States, this country concluded with us an "agreement on the principles applicable to mutual aid in the conduct of the war against aggression," which represented a substantial advance in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Lastly, mention must be made of so important a fact as the visit to Moscow of the British Premier, Mr. Churchill, during which complete mutual understanding was reached between the leaders of the two countries. There can be no doubt that all these facts point to the steadily growing friendship between the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, and the United States of America and to their amalgamation into a fighting alliance against the Italo-German coalition.

It follows that the logic of facts is stronger than any other logic.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition has every chance of vanquishing the Italo-German coalition, and that it certainly will do so.

5. OUR TASKS

The war has torn down all veils and has laid bare all relationships. The situation has become so clear that nothing is easier than to define our tasks in this war.

In an interview with the Turkish General Erkilet, published in the Turkish newspaper *Gumhuriyet*, that cannibal Hitler said: "We shall destroy Russia, so that she will never be able to rise again." This is clear enough, one would think, although it is rather silly. We do not pursue the aim of destroying Germany, for it is impossible to destroy Germany, just as it is impossible to destroy Russia. But we can and must destroy the Hitler state.

Our first task is to destroy the Hitler state and its inspirers.

In the same interview with the same general, that cannibal Hitler went on to say: "We shall continue the war as long as there is an organized military force in Russia." This is clear enough, one would think, although illiterate. We do not pursue the aim of destroying the entire organized military force in Germany, for every literate person will understand that this is not only impossible as regards Germany, just as it is in regard to Russia, but also inadvisable from the point of view of the victor. But we can and must destroy Hitler's army.

Our second task is to destroy Hitler's army and its leaders.

The Hitlerite scoundrels have made it their rule to torture Soviet war prisoners, to slay them by the hundred, and to condemn thousands of them to death by starvation. They outrage and slaughter the civilian population of the occupied territories of our country, men and women, children and the aged, our brothers and sisters. They have set out to enslave or exterminate the population of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic Republics, Moldavia, Crimea and the Caucasus. Only villains and scoundrels

who are bereft of all honor and who have sunk to the level of brutes can commit such outrages against innocent and unarmed people. But that is not all. They have covered Europe with gallows and concentration camps. They have introduced the vile "hostage system." They shoot and hang absolutely innocent citizens whom they take as "hostages" because some German beast was prevented from raping women or robbing citizens. They have converted Europe into a prison of nations. And this they call the "New Order in Europe." We know the men who are guilty of these outrages, the builders of this "New Order in Europe," all those upstart governor-generals, or just ordinary governors, commandants and sub-commandants. Their names are known to tens of thousands of tormented people. Let these butchers know that they will not escape responsibility for their crimes or elude the hand of retribution of the tormented nations.

Our third task is to destroy the detestable "New Order in Europe" and to punish its builders.

Such are our tasks.

Comrades, we are waging a great war of liberation. We are not waging it alone, but in conjunction with our Allies. It will end in our victory over the vile foes of mankind, over the German fascist imperialists. On its standard is inscribed:

Hail the victory of the Anglo-Soviet-American fighting alliance!

Hail the liberation of the nations of Europe from Hitler's tyranny!

Hail the liberty and independence of our glorious Soviet motherland!

Damnation and death to the German fascist invaders, to their state, their army, their "New Order in Europe"!

Glory to our Red Army! Glory to our Red Navy!

Glory to our men and women guerrilla fighters!

*Speech delivered at an anniversary meeting,
Moscow, November 6, 1942*

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

ORDER OF THE DAY

COMRADES, Red Armymen, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerrilla fighters, working people of the Soviet Union!

On behalf of the Soviet Government and of our Bolshevik Party, I greet you and congratulate you on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A quarter of a century ago, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and of our great Lenin, the workers and peasants established the Soviet regime in their country. Since then the peoples of the Soviet Union have traversed a glorious road. In the course of these twenty-five years our country grew into a mighty socialist industrial and collective farm power. After winning for themselves freedom and independence, the peoples of the Soviet state united in an indestructible, fraternal commonwealth. The Soviet people freed themselves from all oppression, and by their persevering labors secured for themselves a prosperous and cultured existence.

Today, the peoples of our country are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution amidst the conflagration of a fierce struggle against the German fascist invaders and their associates in Europe.

At the beginning of this year, in the winter, the Red Army inflicted severe blows on the German fascist troops. After repelling the German attack on Moscow, it took the initiative, passed to the offensive, and drove the German troops to the West, liberating a number of regions of our country from German slavery. The Red Army thus proved that given certain favorable conditions it can vanquish the German fascist troops.

In the summer, however, the situation at the front changed for the worse. Taking advantage of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Germans and their allies swept together all their reserves, hurled them at our Ukrainian front, and broke through it. At the price of enormous losses the German fascist troops succeeded in advancing on the South, threatening Stalingrad, the Black Sea coast, Grozny, and the approaches to Transcaucasia.

True, the staunchness and courage of the Red Army has thwarted the German plan to outflank Moscow on the East and strike at the capital of our country from the rear. The enemy has been checked at Stalingrad. But although checked at Stalingrad, and having already lost there tens of thousands of men and officers, the enemy is hurling new divisions into the battle and exerting his last efforts. The struggle on the Soviet-German front is becoming increasingly intense. On the outcome of this struggle depend the fate of the Soviet state, the freedom and independence of our country.

Our Soviet people have passed with flying colors the test to which they have been subjected, and are imbued with unshakable confidence in victory. This war has served as a stern test of the strength and durability of the Soviet system. The calculations of the German imperialists that the Soviet state would collapse proved to be utterly baseless. Socialist industry, the collective farm system, the friendship among the nations of our country and the Soviet state have proved to be firm and indestructible. The workers and peasants and the entire intelligentsia of our country, everybody in the rear, is working conscientiously and self-sacrificingly to supply the needs of our armed forces.

The Red Army is bearing the brunt of the war against Hitlerite Germany and its associates. By its self-sacrificing struggle against the fascist armies it has won the love and respect of all the freedom-loving nations of the world. The men and commanders of the Red Army—who had not had sufficient military experience before—have learned to strike the enemy unerring blows, to

destroy his manpower and technique, to thwart the enemy's designs and staunchly to defend our towns and villages against the alien invaders. The heroic defenders of Moscow and Tula, of Odessa and Sevastopol, and of Leningrad and Stalingrad have set an example of boundless courage, iron discipline, staunchness and ability to win. Our entire Red Army is following their heroic example. The enemy has already had a taste of the Red Army's power of resistance. It will yet learn the power of the Red Army's crushing blows.

There can be no doubt that the German invaders will plunge into new adventures. But the enemy's forces are already undermined and have now reached the limit. During the course of the war, the Red Army has put out of action over eight million enemy soldiers and officers. The Hitler army, with an admixture of Rumanians, Hungarians, Italians, and Finns, is much weaker than it was in the summer and autumn of 1941.

Comrades, Red Armymen, commanders and political instructors, men and women guerrilla fighters!

The defeat of the German fascist army and the clearing of our Soviet soil of the Hitler invaders depends upon your tenacity and staunchness, your military skill and readiness to perform your duty to your country!

We can and must clear our Soviet soil of the German scum!

To achieve this we must:

1. Staunchly and stubbornly defend the line of our front, prevent the enemy from advancing any further, do everything to wear the enemy down, exterminate his manpower and destroy his technique;

2. In every way reinforce iron discipline, the strictest order and individual responsibility in our army, perfect the military training of our troops and perseveringly and persistently prepare for a crushing blow at the enemy;

3. Fan the flames of popular guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, destroy the enemy's bases, and exterminate the German fascist scoundrels.

Comrades! The enemy has already felt the weight of the Red Army's blows at Rostov, Moscow, and Tikhvin. The day is not far distant when the enemy will again feel the weight of the Red Army's blows. Our turn will come!

Hail the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live our Red Army!

Long live our Red Navy!

Long live our brave men and women guerrilla fighters!

Death to the German fascist invaders!

November 7, 1942

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY AND NAVY

ORDER OF THE DAY

COMRADES, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerrillas!

Today we are celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the existence of the Red Army. A quarter of a century has passed since the Red Army was created. It was created for the struggle against the foreign invaders who strove to enslave our country. February 23, 1918, the day when Red Army detachments utterly routed the troops of the German invaders near Pskov and Narva, was proclaimed the birthday of the Red Army.

In 1918-21, in stubborn struggle against the foreign invaders, the Red Army preserved the honor, freedom, and independence of our Soviet motherland, preserved the right of the peoples of our country to build their life in the way the great Lenin had taught. In the course of two decades the Red Army protected the peaceful, constructive labor of the Soviet people. The peoples of our country never forgot about the encroachments of foreign invaders on our land, and indefatigably strove to enhance the might of the Red Army, supplied it with first-rate combat equipment, and lovingly reared cadres of Soviet warriors.

The Red Army is an army of defense, of peace and friendship among peoples of all countries. It was created not for the conquest of foreign countries, but for the defense of the frontiers of the Soviet country. The Red Army has always treated with respect the rights and independence of all nations.

But in June, 1941, in rude and base violation of the treaty of non-aggression, Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked our country, and the Red Army found itself compelled to march out to defend its motherland against the German invaders and to oust them from our country. Since that time the Red Army

has become an army of life and death struggle with the Hitlerite troops, an army of avengers of the violence and humiliation inflicted by the German fascist scoundrels on our brothers and sisters in the occupied districts of our country.

The Red Army meets the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence in a decisive moment of the Patriotic War against Hitlerite Germany and her servitors—the Italians, Hungarians, Rumanians, and Finns. For twenty months, the Red Army has been waging a heroic struggle without parallel in history against the invasion of the German fascist hordes. In view of the absence of a second front in Europe, the Red Army alone bears the whole burden of the war. Nevertheless, the Red Army not only stood its own against the onslaught of the German fascist hordes, but in the course of the war has become the terror of the fascist armies.

In the hard battles of the summer and autumn of 1942, the Red Army barred the way to the fascist beasts. Forever will our people preserve the memory of the heroic defense of Sevastopol and Odessa, of the stiff fighting at Moscow and in the foothills of the Caucasus, in the Rzhev area and at Leningrad, of the battle at the walls of Stalingrad, the greatest in the history of wars.

In these great battles our gallant Red Army men, commanders and political workers covered with unfading glory the battle standards of the Red Army and laid a firm foundation for victory over the German fascist armies.

Three months ago Red Army troops began an offensive at the approaches to Stalingrad. Since then the initiative of military operations has been in our hands, while the pace and striking force of the Red Army's offensive operations have not weakened. At present, in the hard conditions of winter, the Red Army advances on a frontage of 1,500 kilometers and achieves success practically everywhere. In the North, at Leningrad; on the Central Front, at the approaches to Kharkov; in the Donbas, at Rostov; on the Azov and Black Sea Coasts, the Red Army strikes one blow after another at Hitler's troops. In three months

the Red Army has cleared the enemy from the territory of the Voronezh and Stalingrad Regions, the Checheno-Ingush, North Ossetian, Kabardino-Balkarian, and Kalmyk Autonomous Republics, the Stavropol and Krasnodar Territories, the Cherkess, Karachai and Adygei Autonomous Regions, and nearly all of the Rostov, Kharkov, and Kursk Regions. The expulsion of the enemy from the Soviet country has begun.

What has changed in these three months? Whence such serious reverses of the Germans? What are the causes of these reverses? The balance of forces on the Soviet-German front has changed. The point is that fascist Germany becomes progressively exhausted and weaker while the Soviet Union progressively deploys its reserves and becomes stronger. Time works against fascist Germany.

Hitlerite Germany, which forced the war industry of Europe to work for her, until recently enjoyed superiority over the Soviet Union in equipment, and primarily in tanks and aircraft. This was her advantage. But in twenty months of war the situation has changed. Thanks to the selfless labor of the men and women workers, engineers and technicians of the war industry of the U.S.S.R., the production of tanks, planes, and guns has grown in the course of the war.

During the same time, on the Soviet-German front, the enemy sustained enormous losses in combat equipment, especially in tanks, planes, and guns. During the three months of the Red Army's offensive in the winter of 1942-43 alone, the Germans lost over 7,000 tanks, 4,000 planes, 17,000 guns, and large quantities of other arms. Naturally, the Germans will try to make good these losses, but this will not be so easy to accomplish, as considerable time will be needed for the enemy to be able to repair these enormous losses in equipment. And time does not wait.

Hitlerite Germany began the war against the U.S.S.R. while enjoying numerical superiority in troops already mobilized and ready for battle, compared with the Red Army. This was her advantage. In twenty months, however, the situation has changed

in this respect, too. In defensive and offensive battles the Red Army has disabled during the war about 9,000,000 German fascist officers and men, of which number not less than 4,000,000 were killed on the battlefield. The Rumanian, Italian, and Hungarian armies transferred by Hitler to the Soviet-German front have been completely routed.

During the past three months alone the Red Army routed 112 enemy divisions, killing more than 700,000 men and taking over 300,000 prisoners.

The German Command will certainly try to make good these tremendous losses. But, first, the weakness of the German armies is in the shortage of manpower reserves, and consequently it is not known from what sources these losses can be compensated. Secondly, supposing even that by hook and crook the Germans muster up the necessary number of men, time would be needed to gather and train them. And time does not wait.

The Hitlerite army entered the war against the Soviet Union possessing almost two years' experience in conducting large-scale military operations in Europe, with the application of the latest means of warfare. In the initial period of the war the Red Army naturally had not yet and could not have such military experience. This was the advantage of the German fascist army. In twenty months, however, the situation has changed in this respect, too. In the course of the war the Red Army has become a seasoned army. It has learned to strike at the enemy unerringly, taking into consideration his weak and strong sides, as required by modern military science.

Hundreds of thousands and millions of Red Army men have become experts in wielding their arms—rifle, saber, machine gun, and aviation. Tens of thousands of Red Army commanders have become experts in the leading of troops. They have learned to combine personal heroism and courage with skill in directing troops on the battlefield, having discarded the foolish and harmful linear tactics and having firmly adopted the tactics of maneuvering.

One cannot consider fortuitous the fact that the Red Army Command not only liberates Soviet soil from the enemy, but does not let the enemy escape alive from our soil, effecting such serious operations of encirclement and annihilation of enemy armies as may serve as examples of military art. This undoubtedly is an indication of the maturity of our commanders. There can be no doubt that only the correct strategy of the Red Army Command and the flexible tactics of our commanders—its executors—could have resulted in such an outstanding fact as the encirclement and annihilation of the picked army of Germans numbering 330,000 men at Stalingrad.

In this respect, things are far from going well with the Germans. Their strategy is defective because, as a rule, it underestimates the enemy's forces and possibilities and overestimates its own forces. Their tactics follow a routine—they endeavor to fit events at the front into this or that article of the regulations. The Germans are accurate and precise in their actions when the situation permits them to act in the way required by the regulations. In this is their strength. The Germans become helpless when the situation becomes complicated and begins to "run at variance" with this or that article of the regulations, calling for the adoption of an independent decision not provided for by the regulations. In this is their main weakness.

Such are the causes which determined the defeat of the German troops and the successes of the Red Army during the past three months. It does not follow from this, however, that the Hitlerite army has been done for and that it remains only for the Red Army to pursue it to the western frontiers of our country. To think so means to indulge in unwise and harmful self-delusion. To think so means to overestimate our own forces, to underestimate the enemy's forces, and to adopt an adventurous course. The enemy has suffered a defeat, but he is not vanquished as yet.

The German fascist army is now going through a crisis as a result of the blows received from the Red Army. But this does not mean that it cannot recover. The struggle against the German

invaders is not yet over—it is just developing and flaring up. It would be foolish to think that the Germans will surrender even one kilometer of our soil without fighting.

The Red Army faces a grim struggle against the perfidious, cruel, and as yet strong enemy. This struggle will require time, sacrifices, the exertion of our forces and the mobilization of all our possibilities. We have begun the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from the German yoke, but millions of Ukrainians still languish under the yoke of the German enslavers. The German occupationists and their servitors still lord it in Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, in Moldavia, in the Crimea, and in Karelia. Powerful blows have been dealt to the enemy armies, but the enemy has not yet been vanquished. The German invaders offer furious resistance, launch counter-attacks, and try to make a stand on defensive lines. They may embark upon fresh adventures.

This is why there should be no place for complacency, carelessness, and conceit in our ranks. The whole Soviet people rejoices in the Red Army's victories, but Red Army men, commanders and political workers should firmly remember the precepts of our teacher Lenin: "The first thing is not to be carried away by victory, and not to become conceited; the second thing is to consolidate the victory; the third thing is to finish off the enemy."

In the name of the liberation of our motherland from the hateful enemy, in the name of final victory over the German fascist invaders, I order:

1. To perfect indefatigably the military training and to strengthen discipline, order, and organization in the whole Red Army and Navy;

2. To deal stronger blows to the enemy troops, to pursue the enemy indefatigably and persistently, without allowing him to make a stand on defensive lines, not to give him respite day or night, to cut the enemy's communications, to surround the enemy troops and annihilate them if they refuse to down their arms;

3. To fan ever brighter the flames of the guerrilla struggle in the enemy rear, to destroy the enemy's communications, to blow up railway bridges, to thwart the transportation of enemy troops, the supply of arms and ammunition, to blow up and set fire to military stores, to attack the enemy garrisons, to prevent the retreating enemy from burning down our towns and villages, to help the advancing Red Army with all forces and means.

In this lies the pledge of our victory.

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerrillas! On behalf of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party, I greet and congratulate you on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Red Army. Long live our great motherland! Long live our glorious Red Army, our valiant Navy, our brave men and women guerrillas! Long live the party of the Bolsheviks, inspirer and organizer of the Red Army's victories!

Death to the German invaders!

February 23, 1943

MAY DAY, 1943

ORDER OF THE DAY

COMRADES, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerrillas, working men and women, men and women peasants, people engaged in intellectual work; brothers and sisters who have temporarily fallen under the yoke of the German oppressors! In the name of the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party I greet and congratulate you on the occasion of May First!

The peoples of our country meet May First in the stern days of Patriotic War. They have entrusted their destiny to the Red Army and their hopes have not been misplaced. Soviet warriors stood up resolutely in defense of the motherland, and now for nearly two years have been defending the honor and independence of the peoples of the Soviet Union. During the winter campaign of 1942-43, the Red Army inflicted grave defeats on the Hitlerite troops, annihilated an enormous amount of the enemy's manpower and equipment, surrounded and annihilated two armies of the enemy at Stalingrad, took prisoner over 300,000 enemy officers and men, and liberated hundreds of Soviet towns and thousands of villages from the German yoke.

The winter campaign has demonstrated that the offensive power of the Red Army has grown. Our troops not only hurled the Germans out of the territory the latter had seized in the summer of 1942, but occupied a number of towns and districts which had been in the enemy's hands for about one and a half years.

It proved beyond the Germans' strength to avert the Red Army's offensive. Even for a counter-offensive in a narrow sector of the front in the area of Kharkov the Hitlerite command found itself compelled to transfer more than thirty fresh divisions from Western Europe. The Germans calculated on surrounding Soviet troops in the area of Kharkov and arranging a "German Stalin-

grad" for our troops. However, the attempt of the Hitlerite Command to take revenge for Stalingrad has collapsed.

Simultaneously the victorious troops of our Allies routed the Italo-German troops in the area of Libya and Tripolitania, cleared these areas of enemies and now continue to batter them in the area of Tunisia, while the valiant Anglo-American aviators strike shattering blows at the military and industrial centers of Germany and Italy, foreshadowing the formation of a second front in Europe against the Italo-German fascists.

Thus, for the first time since the beginning of the war, the blow dealt at the enemy from the east by the Red Army merged with a blow from the west dealt by the troops of our Allies into one joint blow.

All of these circumstances taken together have shaken the Hitlerite war machine to its foundation, have changed the course of the World War, and created the necessary prerequisites for victory over Hitlerite Germany. As a result the enemy was forced to admit a serious aggravation of his position and raised a hue and cry about a military crisis.

True, the enemy tries to disguise his critical situation by clamor about "total" mobilization. But no amount of clamor can do away with the fact that the camp of the fascists is really going through a grave crisis. The crisis in the fascists' camp finds expression in the first place in the fact that the enemy had to renounce openly his original plan of a lightning war. The talk about lightning war is no longer in vogue in the enemy's camp. The vociferous babble about lightning war has yielded place to sad lamentations about the inevitability of protracted war.

While previously the German fascist command boasted of the tactic of the lightning offensive, now this tactic has been discarded and the German fascists boast no more that they effected or intend to effect a lightning offensive, but that they managed to slip away deftly from the flanking blow of the British troops in Northern Africa, or from encirclement by Soviet troops in the area of Demyansk.

The fascist press is replete with boastful reports to the effect that the German troops succeeded in making good their escape from the front and avoided another Stalingrad in one or another sector of the Eastern front or the Tunisian front. Evidently the Hitlerite strategists have nothing else to boast of.

Secondly, the crisis in the fascist camp finds expression in that the fascists begin to speak more frequently about peace. To judge by the reports of the foreign press, one can arrive at the conclusion that the Germans would wish to obtain peace with Britain and the U. S. A. on the condition that the latter two draw away from the Soviet Union, or, on the contrary, they would wish to obtain peace with the Soviet Union under the condition that it draw away from Britain and the U. S. A. Themselves treacherous to the marrow, the German imperialists have the nerve to apply their own yardstick to the Allies, expecting some one of the Allies to swallow the bait.

Obviously it is not from fine living that the Germans babble about peace. The babble about peace in the fascist camp only indicates that they are going through a grave crisis.

But of what kind of peace can one talk with the imperialist bandits from the German fascist camp who have flooded Europe with blood and studded it with gallows? Is it not clear that only the utter routing of the Hitlerite armies and the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany can bring peace to Europe? Is it not because the German fascists sense the coming catastrophe that they babble about peace? The German-Italian fascist camp is experiencing a grave crisis and faces catastrophe.

This does not mean, of course, that the catastrophe of Hitlerite Germany has already come. No, it does not mean that. Hitlerite Germany and her army have been shaken and experience a crisis, but they have not been smashed as yet. It would be naive to think that the catastrophe will come of itself, drift in with the tide. Another two or three powerful blows from the west and east are needed, such as those dealt to the Hitlerite army in the past

five or six months, for the catastrophe of Hitlerite Germany to become an accomplished fact.

For this reason the peoples of the Soviet Union and their Red Army, as well as our Allies and their armies, still face a stern and hard struggle for complete victory over the Hitlerite fiends. This struggle will demand of them great sacrifices, enormous staying power, and iron staunchness. They must mobilize all their forces and possibilities to smash the enemy and thus blaze the road to peace.

Comrades! The Soviet people displays the greatest solicitude for its Red Army. It is ready to give all its forces for the further strengthening of the military might of the Soviet country. In less than four months the peoples of the Soviet Union have donated more than 7,000,000,000 rubles to the Red Army fund. This demonstrates once more that the war against the Germans is truly a national war of all the peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union. Without folding their hands, staunchly and courageously facing the hardships caused by war, workers, collective farmers and intellectuals work at factories and in institutions, on transport, in collective farms and State farms.

But the war against the German fascist invaders demands that the Red Army receive still more guns, tanks, aircraft, machine guns, automatic rifles, trench-mortars, ammunition, equipment, and provisions. Hence it is necessary that the workers, collective farmers, and all Soviet intellectuals work with redoubled energy for the front. It is necessary that all our people and all institutions in the rear work with clockwork efficiency and precision. Let us recall the bequest of great Lenin: "Once war proves inevitable—everything for the war, and the least slackness and lack of energy must be punished by wartime laws."

In return for the confidence and solicitude of its people the Red Army must strike at the enemy still more strongly, exterminate mercilessly the German invaders, drive them incessantly out of the Soviet land.

In the course of the war the Red Army acquired rich military experience. Hundreds of thousands of Red Army men learned to wield their arms to perfection. Many commanders learned skillfully to direct troops on the field of action. But it would be unwise to rest at that. All the Red Army men must learn to wield their arms well, commanders must acquire mastery in the conduct of battle.

But even this is not enough. In military matters, and the more so in such a war as modern war, one cannot stand still. To stop in military matters means to remain behind. And as is known, those who remain behind are beaten. Therefore, the main point now is that the whole Red Army must, day in and day out, perfect its combat training, that all commanders and men of the Red Army must study the experience of war, must learn to fight in such a manner as is needed for the cause of victory.

Comrades, Red Army and Red Navy men, commanders and political workers, men and women guerrillas! While greeting and congratulating you on the occasion of the First of May, I order:

1. That all Red Army men—infantrymen, trench-mortar gunners, artillerymen, tankmen, fliers, sappers, signalmen, and cavalrymen—undefatigably continue to perfect their fighting mastery, to execute precisely the orders of their commanders, the requirements of the Army regulations and instructions, sacredly to observe discipline, and to maintain organization and order.

2. That the commanders of all services and the commanders of combined arms become experts in the leading of troops; skillfully to organize the instruction of all arms and to direct them in battle; to study the enemy, to improve reconnaissance—the eyes and ears of the army—and to remember that without this, one cannot beat the enemy. To raise the efficiency of the work of troops headquarters so that the headquarters of Red Army units and formations become exemplary bodies for the direction of troops; to raise the work of the Army and the rear establishments to the level of requirements presented by modern warfare; to bear firmly in mind that the outcome of combat opera-

tions depends on a full and timely supply of troops with ammunition, equipment, and provisions.

3. That the whole Red Army consolidate and develop the successes of the winter battles; that it does not surrender to the enemy a single inch of our soil; that it be prepared for decisive battles against the German fascist invaders; that in defense it display the stubbornness inherent in the men of our Army; and in the offensive—the resolution, correct interaction of troops and bold maneuver in the field of action, crowned by the encirclement and annihilation of the enemy.

4. That men and women guerrillas strike powerful blows at the enemy's rear establishments, communications, military stores, headquarters and factories; that they destroy the enemy's telegraph and telephone lines; that they draw the wide strata of the Soviet population in the areas captured by the enemy into the active struggle of liberation, and thus save Soviet citizens from extermination by the Hitlerite beasts; that they take merciless revenge on the German invaders for the blood and tears of our wives and children, mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters; that they help, by all means, the Red Army in its struggle against the base Hitlerite enslavers.

Comrades! The enemy has already felt the weight of the shattering blows of our troops. The time is approaching when the Red Army, together with the armies of our Allies, will break the backbone of the fascist beast.

Long live our glorious motherland!

Long live our valiant Red Army!

Long live our valiant Red Navy!

Long live our gallant men and women guerrillas!

Death to the German invaders!

May 1, 1943

LETTERS FROM JOSEPH STALIN

1. REPLY TO LETTER FROM HENRY C. CASSIDY, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dear Mr. Cassidy:

Owing to the pressure of work and my consequent inability to grant you an interview, I shall confine myself to a brief written answer to your questions.

1. What place does the possibility of a second front occupy in the Soviet estimates of the current situation?

ANSWER: A most important place; one might say a place of first-rate importance.

2. To what extent is Allied aid to the Soviet Union proving effective and what could be done to amplify and improve this aid?

ANSWER: As compared with the aid which the Soviet Union is giving to the Allies by drawing upon itself the main force of the German fascist armies, the aid of the Allies to the Soviet Union has so far been little effective. In order to amplify and improve this aid, only one thing is required: that the Allies fulfill their obligations fully and on time.

3. What remains of the Soviet capacity for resistance?

ANSWER: I think that the Soviet capacity of resisting the German brigands is in strength not less, if not greater, than the capacity of fascist Germany or of any other aggressive power to secure for itself world domination.

October 3, 1942

2. REPLY TO LETTER FROM HENRY C. CASSIDY, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dear Mr. Cassidy:

I am answering your questions which reached me on November 12.

1. What is the Soviet view of the Allied campaign in Africa?

ANSWER: *The Soviet view of this campaign is that it represents an outstanding fact of major importance demonstrating the growing might of the armed forces of the Allies and opening the prospect of the disintegration of the Italo-German coalition in the very near future.*

The campaign in Africa refutes once more the skeptics who affirm that Anglo-American leaders are not capable of organizing a serious war campaign. There can be no doubt that no one but first-rate organizers could carry out such serious war operations as the successful landings in North Africa across the ocean, as the quick occupation of harbors and wide territories from Casablanca to Bougie, and as the smashing of Italo-German armies in the western desert being effected with such mastery.

2. *How effective has this campaign been in relieving pressure on the Soviet Union, and what further aid does the Soviet Union await?*

ANSWER: *It is yet too soon to say to what an extent this campaign has been effective in relieving immediate pressure on the Soviet Union. But it may be confidently said that the effect will not be a small one and that a certain relief in pressure on the Soviet Union will result in the nearest future.*

But that is not the only thing that matters. What matters first of all is that since the campaign in Africa means that the initiative has passed into the hands of our Allies, the campaign changes radically the political and war situation in Europe in favor of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition; that the campaign undermines the prestige of Hitlerite Germany as a leading force in the system of Axis powers and demoralizes Hitler's allies in Europe; the campaign releases France from her state of lethargy, mobilizes anti-Hitler forces of France and provides a basis for building up an anti-Hitler French army; also the campaign creates conditions for putting Italy out of commission and for isolating Hitlerite Germany; finally, that the campaign creates the prerequisites for establishment of a second front in Europe

nearer to Germany's vital centers which will be of decisive importance for organizing victory over Hitlerite tyranny.

3. What possibility is there of Soviet offensive power in the east joining the Allies in the west to hasten the final victory?

ANSWER: There need be no doubt that the Red Army will fulfill its task with honor as it has been fulfilling it throughout the war.

November 13, 1942

3. REPLY TO LETTER FROM RALPH PARKER, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dear Mr. Parker:

On May 3, I received your two questions concerning the Polish-Soviet relations.

Here are my answers:

1. Does the Government of the U.S.S.R. desire to see a strong and independent Poland after the defeat of Hitler's Germany?

ANSWER: Unquestionably, it does.

2. On what fundamentals is it your opinion that the relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. should be based after the war?

ANSWER: Upon the fundament of solid good neighborly relations and mutual respect or, should the Polish people so desire, upon the fundament of an alliance providing for mutual assistance against the Germans as the chief enemies of the Soviet Union and Poland.

May 4, 1943

4. REPLY TO LETTER FROM HAROLD KING, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Dear Mr. King:

I have received your request to answer a question referring to the dissolution of the Communist International. I am sending you my answer.

QUESTION: *British comment on the decision to wind up the Comintern has been very favorable. What is the Soviet view of this matter and of its bearing on future international relations?*

ANSWER: *The dissolution of the Communist International is proper and timely because it facilitates the organization of the common onslaught of all freedom-loving nations against the common enemy—Hitlerism. The dissolution of the Communist International is proper because:*

1. *It exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that Moscow allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to Bolshevize them. An end is now being put to this lie.*

2. *It exposes the calumny of adversaries of communism within the labor movement to the effect that Communist parties in various countries are allegedly acting not in the interest of their people but on orders from the outside. An end is now being put to this calumny, too.*

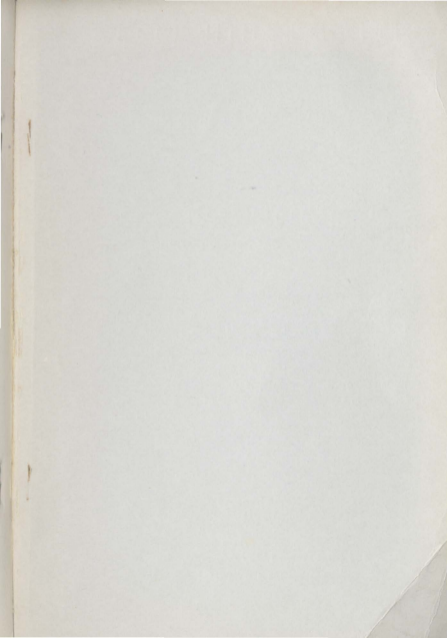
3. *It facilitates the work of patriots in freedom-loving countries for uniting progressive forces of their respective countries regardless of party or religious faith into a single camp of national liberation—for unfolding the struggle against fascism.*

4. *It facilitates the work of patriots in all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a single international camp for the fight against the menace of world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way for future organization of a companionship based on their equality.*

I think that all of these circumstances taken together will result in further strengthening of the united front of the Allies and other United Nations in the fight for victory over Hitlerite tyranny.

I feel that dissolution of the Communist International is perfectly timely because it is exactly now when the fascist beast is exerting its last strength that it is necessary to organize the common onslaught of freedom-loving countries to finish off this beast and deliver the peoples from fascist oppression.

May 28, 1943



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