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THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE
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1. OURS IS A RIGHTEOUS CAUSE

The twenty-second of June nineteen forty-one will go down in history as the beginning of the Soviet people's great patriotic war against fascist Germany, of their resistance to its predatory attack on the Soviet Union. The Soviet nation, 200,000,000 strong, is rising as one man to grapple with this robber invasion of our country.

It is in a struggle against innumerable enemies that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. have built their free and mighty homeland. By heroic effort and unceasing labour, they have won their country for themselves, defending it with life and limb. Out of the blood and filth of the first imperialist World War, out of the unutterable ruin caused by the Civil War, they have raised it till it towers on high, have transformed a land so backward formerly into an advanced and mighty power. Their effort was led by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Russian people and the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. can count in their history instances of magnificent heroism, self-sacrifice and endurance in battles fought both in ages long past and in our day. In the Battle of the Ice on Lake Chudskoye on April 5, 1242, the men of Russia fought valiantly indeed and routed the Teutonic Order, those distant predecessors of the fascists of today, driving this "scum," these "curs," to use Marx's words, from Russian territory. The history of the Russian people tells of patriotic
wars for their country when the people, with a mighty surge of their strength, swept away enemy armies whose leaders laid claim to world domination. In 1812 the Russian people defeated Napoleon, greatest of generals, and put him to flight with the wretched remnants of his broken army. The people rose in their mass to meet the foe; the peasants, men and women, took to arms to drive out the invaders who would subjugate them; and the army that had swept through all Europe, that had set its flag over Syria, and Egypt, and the Mediterranean, met its defeat at the hands of Kutuzov, Bagration and other glorious Russian soldiers. It was defeated in the patriotic war of the people for their country, a war in which millions of peasants took part.

We have none of us forgotten, nor shall we ever forget, the atrocities and humiliations the people were subjected to by the German imperialists in the years of foreign intervention, when German troops occupied the Ukraine, Byelorussia and other parts of the country from which they were subsequently driven by the armed people and the Red Army.

What the present historical juncture demands of us, what our duty to our country and to the working people of the entire world demands of us is to do everything in our power not only to meet the fascist marauders’ attack with the rebuff it deserves, but to see that it leads to their utter rout.

The Soviet Government left nothing undone, no stone unturned, to avert war. At a time when the flames of war had enveloped half the world, the Soviet Government did everything to maintain peace. Every clause of the treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Germany was scrupulously adhered to by the Soviet Government. At the same time, however, it kept a vigilant eye on the suspicious preparations and steps of the German fascist government, which in the person of Hitler has declared that Germany’s war aim is to establish the hegemony of fascism in Europe, and that she demands of every state and nation in Europe a recognition of the fascist “new order”—which “new order,” as we know, consists in
the incredibly brutal persecution and enslavement of the working class and generally the labouring people of entire countries and nations, to say nothing of the huge concentration camp Germany herself has been converted into. The bloodthirsty fascist rulers of Germany, after enslaving the French, the Czechs, the Poles, the Serbs, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations, have now made this robber assault on our country. But the Soviet people will never allow the German fascist jackboot to trample on our holy Soviet land, won by the people in a fight against the exploiters—against the tsar, the landlords and the capitalists—and watered with their sweat and blood.

Germany is involving Finland and Rumania in this war against the Soviet people. The Finnish Whiteguards, in company with the German fascist hangmen and the Rumanian boyards, would like to subjugate our sacred Soviet land. But they will get a reply they did not bargain for. For the Soviet two hundred million will rise up, invincible in their might, and sweep the earth clean of these butchers, stamp out these hotbeds of the fascist plague, and bring peace to the nations and the possibility of independent existence.

In the days of the Civil War, the Soviet people fought to defend their country against the forces of intervention that were trying to wipe it off the map. Today we are waging another great patriotic war. But in 1918 we were weak, we lacked experience, we were only just beginning to create the Red Army; today, on the other hand, the mighty Soviet state stands fully armed, with vast accumulated power and experience, a great commonwealth of Soviet nations. And this will be the patriotic war of a people that knows that its cause is a righteous one.

II. WHAT WE HAVE IS WELL WORTH DEFENDING

In vain did the enemies of the young Soviet Republic try to drown it in blood, to destroy it by fire and the sword, to starve it out by economic blockade, to bring on its defeat by provocation, slanders and lies.
The enthusiasm that pervaded the Civil War was the expression of the vast might of the Soviet people in their realization that every sacrifice must be braved for the sake of their liberty, of their country. When you re-read pages from the history of the Civil War, there pass before your mind's eye the figures of innumerable heroes, many of them nameless, of the war against the foreign invaders and the Whiteguard generals. There pass before your mind's eye the heroes of Perekop and of the war against the Polish gentry, the figures of the splendid leaders of the Civil War who laid down their lives for the labouring people—Chapa­yev, Shchors, Lazo, Parkhomenko and many, many others. And your heart glows with pride for our Soviet land, for our revolution, for our Bolshevik Party, for the heroic Soviet people who brought forth such staunch and dauntless men. The Civil War gave rise to a \textit{mass heroism} of which history had never seen the like, it produced millions of patriots who displayed an \textit{unparalleled spirit of self-sacrifice} in defending the land of the working people. Those were hard days; but though freezing and starving, though plunged into unspeakable distress, the Land of the Soviets, led by Lenin and Stalin, summoned up the strength to crush the counter-revolutionaries and drive out the invaders.

The millions of working people know what patriarchal backwardness the Soviet system has overcome and they are legitimately proud of its vast achievements. The Stalin Five-Year Plans have transformed our country into a mighty, modern Socialist power. The Soviet patriot loves his country because it is the only country in the world where the exploitation of man by man has been uprooted for all time, where the labouring masses are free of its yoke.

“The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. While capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable
contradictions between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instabili-
ty—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such contradictions, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between work-
ers, peasants and intellectuals. It is this community of in-
terest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism.” (Stalin.)

How could the Soviet people help loving their country, this country they have rebuilt from the bottom up, this country they have wrested from the exploiters, the para-
sites? How could they help loving and fighting to the last for the Soviet land they themselves battled for, heedless of life or limb, and won with their own blood? How could they help loving this country where for the first time in the history of mankind they are the masters, free to build a bright and joyous new life, where under the labour of their hands are coming true the great visions and aspirations of humanity’s finest fighting spirits, the most cherished desires and aspirations of the labouring millions through-
out the world?

The following words uttered by Comrade Stalin present the most perfect expression of this Soviet patriotism:

“If every step in my efforts to elevate the working class and to strengthen the Socialist state of that class were not directed towards strengthening and improving the position of the working class, I should consider my life purposeless.”

It is because there are in the Soviet state millions of people for whom the good of their people, the improvement of their material and cultural standards, the defence of their country, are the biggest things in their lives that our country has progressed so enormously in a mere twenty-five years. That is the source of the boundless, unparalleled enthusiasm that permeates our Socialist construction, that is why every-
where—on the construction sites of Soviet industry and in
the factories working to increase the might of our country, in the collective farm fields and in the laboratories of science, thousands of feet above the ground, and amidst the silent expanses of the Arctic, in all their everyday work, the Soviet people do now and always will display the same mass heroism as their sons, fathers and brothers do at the front—whether on land or in the air, on the seas or under water. The force that spurs on our great people to build vast canals, to drain huge swamps, to work for the development of every branch of our economic life will tell in the battles with the enemy. Every Soviet citizen knows how greatly the country’s power and resources have developed during the quarter of a century of Soviet rule; and every one of them will make telling answer to the foe who has dared to encroach on our sacred territory and is attempting to hinder us in our great work of construction; for every Soviet citizen is a Soviet patriot.

What we have is well worth defending. And no force on earth can ever make us swerve from the road mapped out by the great Party of Lenin and Stalin, the road indicated by the Soviet government. The time has come when our moral and political unity will find its fullest, most vivid and worthy expression: the Soviet government’s order to “repulse the predatory assault and to drive the German troops from the territory of our country” will be as effectively carried out as we carried out all the fighting directives of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government in the past. Our nation of two hundred million is clear in the realization of what it is fighting for, and the enemy will soon enough be made to feel what crushing blows we deal to overweening invaders.

III. THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH

The very conditions of our Soviet country weld our people, our society, into a moral and political unity never paralleled in any other land. The Soviet state system is founded
on the emancipation of the working people from the exploiters’ yoke; it is founded on the equality and fraternal co-operation of all nationalities of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet patriot takes pride in being an inexorable enemy to all exploitation of man by man, an enemy to all discrimination among nations, an enemy to the dead misanthropic fascist theories, an enemy to all racial and national inequality and oppression. Our strength lies in our factories and mills, in our collective farming; our strength lies in Soviet culture, Soviet science. Soviet patriotism is the embodiment of the people’s devotion to the new state which has raised millions out of nothingness, has brought a wonderful new fulness into their lives, has opened up such bright and limitless prospects, has revealed the meaning of the struggle of all past generations and demonstrated that the efforts, sufferings, sacrifices and lives it cost were not in vain.

“It is pleasant and joyful to know,” Comrade Stalin said at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets, “that the blood our people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results. This arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia spiritually. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride.”

In this atmosphere of confidence in their powers, of ardent Soviet patriotism and devotion to their country, splendid Soviet forces are growing up: men of a new science, blazing new trails and upsetting the old, accepted ideas of what is possible; our celebrated airmen, the heroes of many a record flight—they will show their mettle yet, our Soviet pilots! A dauntless army of Stakhanovites has grown up, an army fighting on the labour front for the country’s progress. They will redouble their energies, will raise their labour productivity still more in the factories and on the farms, will work still more efficiently at whatever job is theirs. The workers in the factories and the collective farmers in the fields, after discussing Comrade Molotov’s address, are undertaking to double output; an undertaking we have no doubt of their fulfilling, for we have no doubt of the
forces the Soviet people will show themselves capable of unfolding when their vital interests are at stake.

As far back as 1845, Engels said: "See what miracles were performed between 1792 and 1799 by the enthusiasm of the revolutionary armies, which, after all, were fighting only for an illusion, for a supposed country of their own, and you will be bound to realize what must be the force of an army not fighting for an illusion, but for a tangible reality."

The Red Army is not fighting for an illusion, for a supposed country of its own, but for its real, beloved, glorious Soviet homeland, built and won by the heroic efforts and struggles of the entire Soviet nation.

"The members of such a society," Engels said, "will in case of a war... have a real country to defend, a real home... They will therefore fight with a spirit, an endurance, a fearlessness before which the mechanical schooling of the modern armies must scatter like chaff."

The time has arrived when the feelings and energies of the Soviet patriots will merge in a torrent before which nothing can avail, a time when war will at every step engender among the Soviet people mass heroism and readiness to make any sacrifice, to overcome any obstacle in order to safeguard their country, to assure its uninterrupted progress; for:

"... the land
you had
to do battle for
That you took
half-dead
and nursed back
to life
Where you slept
with your rifle
and jumped up
when they fired
Where you merge
like a drop
in the masses

With this
for your country
you'll go
with a will

To live
and labour
feast
or die!"

(Mayakovsky.)

IV. WE HAVE THE MEN AND WE HAVE THE ARMS

It was no easy matter for the Soviet state, surrounded as it is by capitalist countries, where brute force rules supreme, to assure the independence of its policy.

The Soviet citizen can never forget that the peace policy of the Soviet state has been possible only because the Soviet government has had the safeguard of the mighty forces of the armed people, the invincible forces of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

It was uphill work building this Red Army in a country devastated by the first imperialist World War and by the Civil War. But the people stinted nothing, and that explains how they were able to build up the formidable force that stood guard over their independence and enabled them to engage in their peaceful labours for two decades. The nations of the U.S.S.R. will never forget what colossal sacrifices were made by whole generations for the sake of the integrity and independence of the U.S.S.R. Nor have they forgotten the methods of the German and other invading hordes and the atrocities to which they subjected our country.

It was the Red Army's formidable might and heroic deeds that made possible the peaceful labour of the peoples of
the U.S.S.R. This was the force that secured them a peace of such long duration, halting the hand of the imperialists, who time and again prepared to strike at the Soviet Union. This was the force that sent the Finnish Whiteguards reeling back in 1939-40, and now that this Whiteguard scum have again raised their criminal hands and together with the German fascists have launched a gangster attack on the peace-loving Land of Soviets, it will crush them out of existence. This is the army that brought liberation to the people of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Time and again it has displayed marvels of heroism. With their country’s and Stalin’s name on their lips, the men, the commanders and the political staff of the Red Army have gone into battle in the past, and will go again, for the Soviet power, for honour and liberty. The same mass heroism that our enemies have good cause to remember since the days of the Civil War lives with renewed force in the hearts of our Red Army and will make their onslaught irresistible.

Comrade Stalin has always taught us that the Soviet people must hold themselves in a state of mobilization preparedness. The war has not caught us unawares. We have kept a keen watch on happenings on the other side of our frontiers, and the Soviet Red Army will honourably acquit itself of its duty to the country.

The enemy will be routed, we know it; and victory will be ours.

When the last Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. discussed the Budget for 1941 and endorsed the appropriations for the country’s defence, our whole nation felt proud of being able to make such large provisions for enhancing the military might of the U.S.S.R.

The citizens of the U.S.S.R. have proved that there is nothing they will not do to uphold the Soviet state. The subscriptions recently completed to the State Loan demonstrated that the Soviet people will do their utmost to sup-
port their state in enhancing its might. The subscriptions considerably exceeded the sum originally announced, and there can be no doubt that in coming days too the people of the U.S.S.R. will do all that is necessary that the Red Army may lack nothing for the successful accomplishment of its purpose. To secure this, everything must be put in the service of the army; efficient functioning of the whole of industry, the mobilization of all its forces, particularly in the case of the defence industries; efficient and precise operation of the transport system, so vital in wartime; organized, concerted Stakhanovite work in the fields of the collective and state farms; sustained and purposeful effort on the part of all the country's scientists, engineers, technicians, writers, artists and actors; persistent and equally purposeful study in the schools; military training of the entire population, training in first aid and in chemical and air raid protection; iron discipline; increased labour productivity; keen revolutionary vigilance; selfless devotion. What can be more vital and sacred for a Soviet patriot than to give all his energies for the defence of the Soviet land, and if need be, life itself; to be able to say with Mayakovsky:

"Name with me
the builder, the weaver,
whom work raises
to joyous fever.

I praise
what the fatherland is
And thrice
what it will be."

There is not, nor can there be, any higher mission for a Soviet patriot than to work for the Red Army. The Red Army itself implants the finest qualities of Soviet patriotism: it puts it to the most effective, the truest of all tests; it trains genuine Soviet revolutionary fighting discipline, stamina, heroism, resourcefulness, daring, fearlessness, comradeship, esprit de corps, utter disregard of self. For this is a new type
of army, an army that defends the interests of the working people. It was steeled in the fires of revolution and civil war. Its prestige among the people is unbounded, for it is flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. In no other country do the people lavish such affection upon the army and its commanders, themselves sprung from their ranks. Soviet industry supplies our army with the most up-to-date and effective materiel. It will provide it with everything it needs for victory.

But every one of us must feel himself a fighter in the Red Army’s ranks. “Our entire people must now stand solid and united as never before. Each one of us must demand of himself and of others a discipline, organization, and self-denial worthy of real Soviet patriots, in order to provide for all the needs of the Red Army, Navy and Air Force, to ensure victory over the enemy.” (From Comrade Molotov’s radio address.)

The destiny of dozens of nations of Europe, Asia and other continents too is weighed in the balance. The outcome of the great patriotic war which has now begun will decide not only the fate of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., but of other nations as well. In the consciousness of this immense historical responsibility, each of us will give all his energies, his effort of will, his knowledge, and if need be his life, for victory over the enemy. And that victory will be the earlier and fuller, the closer we rally the great commonwealth of Soviet nations around our Soviet government, around our great and glorious Communist, Bolshevik Party, around Comrade Stalin, its far-seeing leader, the head of the Soviet government.

(Pravda, June 23, 1941)