

of Lenin and Stalin, which had created socialism and the powerful Red army, was capable of achievements of which no other people was capable."

5. The Communist party in particular has emerged from the war stronger, more self-confident and all-persuasive than ever before. During the war years it has done magnificent work in leading, inspiring and mobilising the Soviet peoples in sustained and unflagging efforts on the battle-fronts and on the home front. Its leaders claim that it is the real source of strength of the Soviet State and the prime organiser of the historic Soviet victories in the patriotic war. The leading article in *Red Star*, the organ of the Red army, on the 22nd May does not attribute the victory primarily to the patriotism or to the special qualities of the Russian peoples or soldiers, but to the fact that "the State is Soviet and Socialist and marches under the banner of Lenin-Stalin." Since 1940 the party has increased its membership from about 3,600,000 to 5,700,000, which means that its contacts with the masses have become closer, firmer and more all-embracing. There can be little doubt that it has tried to absorb the best type of people and that its general prestige is higher than when the war began. The leaders of the party obviously feel themselves to be in a very strong position. They believe that in Marxist dialectical materialism they possess a progressive and scientific philosophy, which enables them to comprehend the inner connexion of events around them and discern not only how events are developing and whither they are tending in the present, but also how they are bound to tend in the future. They certainly do not accept all Marx's views as dogma, and neither Lenin nor Stalin has hesitated to jettison any which they considered to be out of date. But at the same time, they regard his dialectical materialism as an unflinching guide to action in the conditions of a given moment. Stalin himself once said that mistakes in politics can only be avoided by looking forwards, not backwards; and if the party leaders remain true to their basic philosophy they cannot but believe that the party and the Soviet Union must work with the progressive forces of society, which Marxism-Leninism holds to be the forces of the future and invincible in the end, though not necessarily automatically and without a struggle.

6. The Soviet leaders and the Communist party therefore look to the future with few misgivings, although they realise that many difficult and urgent tasks lie ahead, both in internal and external affairs. They have, in their view, already solved two of the main problems with which the other Great Powers will be faced: first, the class problem, and then the problem of reconciling different nationalities within a single State or Commonwealth. They are sure that the economic basis of the Soviet State is sound and that they can avoid the problems of unemployment, over-production and under-consumption with which the capitalist world will be faced. Although fully conscious of the vast problems of reconstruction, and in particular industrial and agricultural re-equipment and housing, which they themselves have to solve, and anxious to lighten the task by outside assistance (but only on their own terms), they are in no sense overwhelmed by these problems and certainly do not regard them as a likely source of national weakness in the post-war years.

7. Though proud of their achievements and confident of the future, the masses of the Soviet people and of the Red army are, however, feeling tired and worn after years of privation and sustained toil or of continuous danger and hardship. When Stalin announced that the war in Europe was over and that the period of peaceful development had begun, they must undoubtedly have hoped for some relaxation of effort and for some speedy indication that the material conditions of life were to become easier. They certainly did not expect any increase in personal freedom, nor any relaxation in the all-prevailing control of the Communist party. Up to the present the Government has announced no measures either for demobilisation or shorter hours of work, which might encourage the people to slacken their exertions. On the contrary, in his May Day order Marshal Stalin summoned the workers to persistent and unwearied labour, which would increase aid to the front, swiftly heal the wounds of war and enhance the might of the Soviet State. The moment hostilities in Europe ended Soviet propaganda began to emphasise the need for fresh exertions to rebuild the liberated areas and to make the country stronger and more prosperous. It is therefore hardly surprising, although of great significance, that the Soviet people are now being told that they must use the period of peaceful development to increase not only the economic but also the military might of their country. This propaganda campaign may be explained in part by the obvious possibility that the Red army may still be called upon to join in the Far Eastern war. But it goes deeper than this. The military papers are impressing upon their readers