

**LENINIST  
APPROACH  
TO UNITY  
OF THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2010



**LENINIST  
APPROACH  
TO UNITY  
OF THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST  
MOVEMENT**

**Novosti Press Agency  
Publishing House  
Moscow, 1970**



PUBLISHER'S NOTE

*This is a collection of articles from the Soviet press by Acad. Yu. Frantsov, Acad. P. Fedoseyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences U. Trukhanovsky, and Prof. F. Konstantinov.*



## CONTENTS

Militant Vanguard of the Struggle Against Imperialism	7
Under the Banner of Unity of the Communist Movement	31
Marxism and Internationalism	44
Internationalism and the World So- cialist System	60
The Principles of Internationalism and Peaceful Coexistence	79





## Militant Vanguard of the Struggle Against Imperialism

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow from June 5 to 17, 1969, shall, without doubt, go down in the annals of history as one of the most important political events of the sixties. In its Resolution on the report of Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the June Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU appraised the Conference as *a great success of the communist, workers', and the entire liberation movement*. Leading bodies of the fraternal parties expressed an equally high opinion of the work of the Conference of 75 Communist and Workers' Parties and the documents adopted there. Millions of Communists the world over, participants of the anti-imperialist struggle, and all progressive people who are for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism ex-

press their profound satisfaction at the results of the Moscow Conference.

The documents adopted by the Conference—"Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces," the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," the Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!," and the "Appeal in Defence of Peace"—along with several statements on vital questions pertaining to international life, the speech by Leonid Brezhnev, head of the CPSU delegation at the Conference, "For Greater Unity of Communists, for a Fresh Upsurge of Anti-Imperialist Struggle," and the Resolution "On the Results of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties," adopted by the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on June 26th, convey the great importance of the Conference for the future of the communist movement, for the future of the human race, for the development of the world revolutionary process. The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee justly pointed out: "The Moscow Conference will exert a tremendous influence on the further development of the struggle against imperialism on the basis of the broadest unity of action of all democratic, progressive forces of the world. The Conference constituted an important milestone on the road to strengthening the unity of the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."

In order to evaluate properly the success achieved, it is necessary to give due consideration

to the complicated international situation that prevailed during preparations for the Conference and at the time of the Conference. It was a long and thorny road. The preparation of a new international forum of Communist Parties required tremendous efforts and patience in view of the certain differences that have occurred in the communist movement in recent years. The task was made even more difficult by the fact that all overt and covert enemies of communism conducted a frantic campaign against calling the Conference; they endeavoured to sow the seeds of doubt and suspicion, to set parties against each other, to exploit nationalistic sentiments. The "leftist" and rightist opportunists, for their part, tried to exploit the situation for weakening the unity of the Communist Parties and the socialist nations. Imperialist apologists and propaganda found loyal allies and helpers in the Maoist splitters, who were bitterly opposed to the International Conference from the very first.

Scepticism as to the possibility of arriving at a common line of action was also voiced within certain communist circles. This made preparations for the Conference particularly difficult and important, but even so they were successfully concluded. All the fraternal parties were duly grateful for the role played in this by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A big contribution to the preparations, particularly at the stage when the Preparatory Commission worked in Budapest, was made by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Without exaggeration, we can say that the spadework for success of the Conference was done during the months of preparation. Never

before had there been such thorough preparations, in such a democratic manner, with the active participation of so many parties for an international meeting of Communists. The Communist Parties of the GDR, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia, as well as of France, Uruguay, India, the USA, Denmark, etc., actively promoted the convening of the Conference. All Communist Parties were entitled, if they so desired, to take an active part in the preparatory work. It was a veritable school of collective theoretical work by Marxist-Leninists. The discussion of all questions was conducted in the spirit of comradeship, democracy, equality and frankness. Hundreds of proposals were submitted at different stages of the Preparatory Commission's work, and they were all given due attention. Many differences were settled and a common Marxist-Leninist view on many key questions of the contemporary epoch was elaborated in this atmosphere of comradeship and mutual understanding, in the process of principled discussion.

The Conference also demonstrated the political maturity of the communist movement. Seventy-five parties delegated about 300 leaders of the world revolutionary movement to attend the meeting as representatives of millions of Communists, embodying, so to say, their collective wisdom and experience. The deliberations in the Great Kremlin Palace were marked by genuine democracy, a bold and creative approach to the questions discussed, frank comparison of views, criticism and self-criticism. The Conference was well publicized, enabling the whole world to see the strength and confidence of the

international communist movement in the righteousness of its goals.

The principled discussion of the broad range of questions, concerning Communists of all countries, has proved that those were right who, like the Soviet Communist Party, from the very first proceeded from the belief that the practice of collective work, aimed at ensuring united action in the struggle for the common goals, primarily in the struggle against imperialism, is the best way to overcome differences, to do away with difficulties within the communist movement. The undeniable success of the Conference also confirmed that *the striving for unity is the main and irresistible tendency in the communist ranks.*

The fraternal parties that took part in the Conference have displayed a clear understanding of their responsibility for the future of the world and social progress, their firm resolution to discharge their duty to the international working class and all the working people. No other international force in the contemporary world is capable of organizing on a world-wide scale a mass struggle of the peoples against imperialism and the dangers it entails. Only Communists, equipped as they are with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism and living the life of the popular masses, knowing well their hopes and aspirations, and having attracted to their ranks the finest, most vigorous and unselfish representatives of the working class and other toiling sections of the population, are able to assume this historical mission and carry it out.

The speeches of the representatives of the fraternal parties were, as a rule, business-like and

constructive and furnished a profound analysis of the situation in individual countries and the international situation as a whole. The speakers, naturally enough, dwelt on the experience of their own parties but they also devoted much attention to general questions of a theoretical, program character.

Inasmuch as envoys of parties, working in different zones of the world and in the most diverse socio-political conditions took the floor during the meeting, their statements gave an unusually broad, comprehensive picture of the contemporary world with all its complexities, anxieties and cares. Thus, the representatives of the French Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of the United States, the Italian Communist Party, and the Communist Party of Germany furnished a comprehensive analysis of new phenomena taking place within modern imperialism. The leaders of the Communist Parties of Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and other countries of Latin America made a concrete analysis of the development of capitalism's contradictions and painted an impressive picture of the working class struggle in that seething continent. The statements by representatives of the Communist Parties of Africa and Asia were replete with interesting facts and conclusions.

In vain were the hopes of communism's enemies that the Conference would be bogged down in fruitless arguments and would end in a squabble without being able to find a common line. The progress and results of the Conference have dispelled such illusions, have refuted the fabri-

cations of reactionary propaganda which, to the very last minute, predicted the failure of this extremely important forum and even deepening of differences among the Communists. Those who expected and believed that the Conference would signify a swerve towards closer unity of the communist ranks proved right. This is exactly what happened. The desire for united action, for revolutionary solidarity inherently characteristic of the communist movement, got the upper hand. The tried and tested principles of proletarian internationalism have triumphed. As the Conference has shown, the fraternal parties realize that they are responsible for their activities not only to the working class and all the people of their country, but to the international communist movement as a whole.

It is the consensus of the Conference participants that the greatest contribution towards that meeting was made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The statement of Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet delegation, evoked general interest for its comprehensive analysis of the contemporary world situation and of the tasks of anti-imperialist struggle, its elucidation of problems concerning the communist movement and united action of the anti-imperialist forces. Outlining the policy of the CPSU Comrade Brezhnev devoted considerable attention to the development of the world socialist system, to strengthening its unity. He raised boldly and in a principled way the question of fighting "Left" and Right opportunist views and all revisionist distortions of Marxism-Leninism. The delegates were greatly impressed by Comrade Brezhnev's statement on the historical achievements of the

Soviet state describing in part how the CPSU is discharging its internationalist duty, how the Soviet Union is opposing imperialism in all aspects—political, economic, ideological, and military.

On June 26th the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee *fully approved the political line and practical activity of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee to strengthen the unity of the world communist movement, and the work of the CPSU delegation at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.* This decision corresponds to the unanimous views of the entire Party, of all the Soviet people. The efforts of the CPSU to rally the communist ranks are approved by Communists in other countries, by revolutionaries throughout the world. Even the bourgeois press is now compelled to acknowledge that the Conference, the progress of its deliberations and the decisions it adopted, testify to the broad support for the policy of the CPSU and the unshakable moral authority of the Party of Lenin.

Those who banked on anti-Sovietism were soundly defeated. Also futile were the hopes of international reaction that the notorious "Czechoslovak question" would be the Conference's stumbling-stone. The firm and principled stand of the new leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the obvious successes achieved in normalization of the situation in that country, foiled the calculations of the enemies of socialism. The overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties approached last years' events from class positions of principle.

The Conference participants branded anti-



communism as bourgeois ideological venom vented by imperialist reaction and designed to poison the minds of the masses. Many delegations stressed, moreover, that anti-Sovietism is the most malicious variety of anti-communism. In our days it has become the main tool of the reactionary forces, a tool which serves to demoralize and undermine the unity of the communist movement, to split and weaken its forces. The most diverse enemies of Marxism-Leninism, from direct agents of imperialist subversive centres to Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, from the Peking chauvinists to Right-wing and "Left"-wing revisionists, who boast of their intellectual "independence," rally today on the platform of anti-Sovietism. A delegate of one Latin American Communist Party rightly called anti-Sovietism a mire into which all anti-Leninist, anti-Marxist sewage is drained today.

Therefore, any concession to anti-Sovietism, no matter how insignificant it seems or what motivates it, signifies a deviation from class, Marxist-Leninist positions, a concession to bourgeois ideology.

It is noteworthy that the progress of the Conference and its results have also dispelled the slanderous claims, which had been voiced repeatedly in the period preceding it, that this forum would be exploited to "excommunicate" certain parties from the communist movement. Those who made these claims had obviously subversive purposes in mind. The failure of their efforts is now clear to all. This is evident, primarily, from the fact that more parties took part in the Conference than initially expected. Sixty-six parties attended the Consultative Meeting in Budapest

compared with 75 at the Moscow Conference. At the same time, the Conference participants did not sidestep their duty and right to give a Marxist analysis and to condemn both the Right-wing and "Left"-wing revisionist trends which were largely responsible for the differences that have appeared in the communist movement. They clarified the connection between these two varieties of opportunism and nationalism, which Lenin pointed out in his time when he wrote: "The ideological and political affinity, connection, and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt." \* The calls made from the Conference rostrum and recorded in its documents to rebuff more vigorously all revisionist distortions in theory and practical work will help to overcome quickly the existing difficulties in the communist movement.

It was by no means a desire to "excommunicate" anyone from the communist movement that was behind the irreconcilability with which the Conference participants spoke about the present line of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Concerned for the common interests of the revolutionary cause, the delegates did not pass over in silence the policy of Peking which has denounced Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and which has, in fact, given up the struggle against imperialism declaring as its enemy the communist movement and the socialist nations that refuse to accept the anti-Marxist political and ideological concepts of Maoism.

It was in the period which immediately pre-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 154.

ceded the Conference, that Mao Tse-tung and his supporters at the so-called 9th Congress of the CPC, put the finishing touches to their policy, deeply hostile to all the main goals of the communist movement. Organization of bloody provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border, advancement of absurd claims to vast Soviet territories, blatant anti-Sovietism, flirtation with imperialist states and, at the same time, pursuance of subversive activity against the socialist states and the fraternal parties—such are the main lines of the present Maoist policy. It was to be expected that the participants of the international forum of Communists, as a rule, deemed it necessary to specify their attitude to the Maoist course, the implementation of which is fraught with grave dangers for the entire communist movement, and not only for it alone. The Peking adventuristic policy goes much too far for Marxist-Leninists to be “neutral” towards this line or, at least, to acquiesce tacitly. At least sixty speakers from the fraternal parties condemned in their statements the theory and practice of Maoism; not a single word was uttered in its defence at the Conference.

The Conference supported the policy of the CPSU on the Chinese question, which, faced with unprecedented provocations, is invariably guided by concern for the basic interests of the cause of the revolution and socialism. The June Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee unanimously confirmed the Party's stand. The CPSU will carry on an irreconcilable struggle against the anti-Leninist ideological tenets of the present leaders of China, against their splitting line and chauvinistic foreign policy. It

will do all it can to safeguard from any encroachments the interests of the Soviet people, who are building up communism. The CPSU proceeds from the premise that the basic interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples coincide. Our Party will go on striving to preserve and maintain the friendly feelings which the Soviet people have for the Chinese nation. No doubt the Chinese people entertain similar feelings for the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

The CPSU policy is a graphic example of correctly combining national and international tasks.

The central task of the Conference was to sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of Communist and Workers' Parties and, taking into account the changes that have occurred in recent years, to draw up a concerted programme to help bring about a new upsurge of the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement. This task has been successfully fulfilled. The documents of the Conference contain a profound analysis of contemporary world development and constitute an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. The results of the Conference have proved once more that, despite certain difficulties in its development, the international communist movement is the militant vanguard of all anti-imperialist forces, the most powerful political force of our times.

The success of the Conference has once more confirmed the ability of the communist movement to solve complicated political and theoretical tasks creatively, to equip the working class and the masses of the working people with a clear understanding of the goals and tasks of the current stage of struggle against reaction and war, for

peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. Thereby, the Conference proved to be an important milestone on the way to closer unity of the communist movement.

Of paramount importance is the Conference Main Document "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces." Dealing with the key problem of our epoch, it furnishes answers to many questions posed by life including the question of ascertaining the main tendencies of development in our era. The Main Document makes this amply clear: "The world revolutionary movement continues its offensive despite the difficulties and setbacks of some of its contingents. Notwithstanding the counter-offensives launched by it, imperialism has failed to change the general relationship of forces in its favour... The events of the past decade bear out that the Marxist-Leninist assessment of the character, content and chief trends of the present epoch is correct. Ours is an epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism."

In complete accord with the actual state of affairs, the Conference noted that although imperialism, as a world system, has not become stronger, it remains a dangerous and treacherous adversary. The document also noted the increased aggressiveness of the main imperialist power—the United States of America. But the main line of world development, the document stressed, is determined as before by the forces of revolution and socialism, of peace and of the national-liberation movement.

There is no need to prove the paramount theo-

retical and practical importance of this conclusion. It is common knowledge that in recent years there has been a tendency among some Marxists abroad, influenced by individual setbacks and defeats of the liberation movement, to question some or other previously elaborated collective assessments and conclusions. Their inability to correctly evaluate the events and tendencies of the epoch, to distinguish clearly between what is typical and what is incidental for the times is very telling. In his time Lenin warned against the danger of such confusion, pointing out that "an epoch is a sum of varied phenomena, in which in addition to the typical there is always something else." \*

The Main Document of the Conference combines a realistic scientific analysis of the international situation and the tendencies of its development, a sober assessment of the dangers presented by the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, with the directives on concrete ways for organizing successful, extensive anti-imperialist actions. For this reason the Conference participants refused to prejudice the integrity of the document by singling out separate parts, as proposed by some delegations. In its present form the Main Document constitutes a solid foundation for united anti-imperialist action of the three main revolutionary streams of the epoch—the world socialist system, the international working class, and the national-liberation movement. At the same time, it is not merely an agreement on united action, but a solid basis, created by the collective thought of the Communist Par-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 229.

ties, for further struggle and for overcoming differences over individual ideological and theoretical issues.

The Conference once again confirmed that *the world socialist system is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle*. It noted that the socialist world has now entered a period of development when it is becoming possible to exploit much more fully the mighty potential inherent in the new system. Relying on its steadily growing economic and defence potential, the world socialist system fetters imperialism, restricts its ability to export counter-revolution. Discharging its internationalist duty, it renders increasing assistance to the peoples fighting for freedom and independence, strengthens peace and international security. This is why, the Main Document specifies, the defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of Communists. At the same time, united action by socialist nations is an important factor in rallying and strengthening all the anti-imperialist forces.

Having stressed the role of the working class as the main mobilizing and motive force of the revolutionary struggle and the entire democratic anti-imperialist movement, the document notes the new, considerable revolutionary potentialities, possessed by the labouring peasantry, progressive intelligentsia, the youth and women. It pays much attention to the important, ever-growing role in the world revolutionary process played by the anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

In concentrating its efforts on the solution of the main task of our time—creation of a universal anti-imperialist front—the international com-

munist movement devoted much time to problems of consolidating the unity of its own ranks. The participants of the Conference could be compared to soldiers who over and over again check and put their weapons and equipment in order before a new difficult march. "*The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties*, says the Main Document, *is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces.*" The Conference reaffirmed the Leninist norms of relations between the fraternal parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It pointed out that the line of joint anti-imperialist action calls for enhancing the ideological-political role of Marxist-Leninist parties in the world revolutionary process. And this, in turn, is impossible without a struggle against Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunist distortions of theory and policy, against revisionism, dogmatism, and left-sectarian adventurism.

Of cardinal importance is the Address of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin." This concise but very exhaustive document expresses the ideological basis of unity of the international communist movement. It reads like a solemn pledge of the Communist and Workers' Parties to be loyal to the ideas of Lenin, to follow the example of his life and work, of his irreconcilability to every kind of opportunism in theory and practice.

Today, the Address says, we have every justification for saying about Lenin's teaching what he himself said about Marxism: it is omnipotent, because it is true. Marxist-Leninist theory, its



creative application in the given conditions, permits the elaboration of scientific answers to the questions facing all contingents of the world revolutionary movement, wherever they are active. "Study Lenin's works!"—this fervent call was issued by the Conference participants to all Communists, to all fighters for the socialist transformation of society, to all champions of peace and progress. "There you shall find an inexhaustible fund of inspiration for struggle against reaction and oppression, for socialism and peace."

The Appeal "Independence, Freedom and Peace for Vietnam!" is not just an expression of the inviolable militant solidarity of Communists with the fighting Vietnamese people, not just a pledge to make a still greater contribution to the victory of the righteous cause of Vietnam. This document contains important conclusions, drawn from the experience of the struggle waged by the Vietnamese patriots and the world movement of solidarity with them. In fighting to defend their homeland the Vietnamese people exercise the sacred and inviolable right of all peoples to self-defence, the Communists declared for all the world to hear. A nation which fights consistently against imperialism, for freedom and independence, a nation which has on its side the Soviet Union, all the socialist nations, and the peace-loving forces of the world is unconquerable. The greater the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against the common enemy—imperialism—the bigger their successes.

A continuation of the traditional militant, anti-militarist line of the communist movement is

the "Appeal in Defence of Peace." Along with similar documents, adopted in 1957, and 1960, the 1969 Appeal testifies to the consistent struggle of Communists against the danger of a new world war which would cause mankind incalculable sufferings.

There is not a single question of any importance concerning the peoples' contemporary life on which the communist movement does not have a clear-cut stand, on which it has not come up with a positive programme of mass action. The prevailing situation in the world today, with its countless new opportunities for revolutionary struggle, raises the role of Communist and Workers' Parties, the importance of their work among the masses. Pointing this out, Leonid Brezhnev said at the Conference: "Much will depend on the activities of Communists with regard to world development in the closing third of the 20th century. One cannot fail to see that not only material, but also socio-political requisites are ripening at an accelerated pace for the revolutionary replacement of capitalism by a new social system, for socialist revolutions."

These words, imbued with deep faith in the righteousness of the revolutionary cause, met with enthusiastic approval at the Conference. Indeed, never before had history developed at so fast a pace, never had such broad masses taken so active a part in it as now. The revolutionary changes which have occurred in our times exceed all social upheavals of the past in scope and depth. The so-called great bourgeois revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries affected the destinies of only a small part of mankind inhabiting the European and American continents. And

now the world revolutionary process is drawing into its mainstream the overwhelming majority of the human race. History has put on the order of the day the question of doing away with all exploitation of man by man, of ending all oppression, and not simply of replacing one exploiter class by another.

The Communists, Marxist-Leninists, can deservedly be proud of the role which they played and continue to play in this historic cause. It will be no exaggeration to say that it was the contemporary international communist movement that served throughout the fifty years of its existence as a sort of powerful generator of revolutionary energy. It raised the masses to struggle, organized them, and illumined their road by Marxist-Leninist theory. Wherever the working class has come out in defence of its rights and interests, wherever there has been a struggle for freedom and peace, against imperialist oppression, the Communists invariably have marched in the front ranks, setting an example of staunchness, exposing themselves to the heaviest blows of the reactionary forces. With equal selflessness they have upheld the interests of the closest allies of the working class—the toiling peasantry and intellectuals.

The working people of all countries turn away with disgust from the slanderers who endeavour to smear the Communist Parties, to belittle their role as a revolutionary force. And there were quite a few attempts of this sort on the eve of the Conference. The reactionary bourgeois newspapers, such as the *British Times*, strove to get across the idea that the communist movement had allegedly lost its revolutionary dynamism and

turned into a "conservative" factor. Thought up for the most immature minds, this lie falls flat as soon as it comes up against the facts.

The fearlessness and courage of Communists, their adherence to principle and faith in the correctness of their cause, their readiness to make sacrifices when required by the interests of the revolution, the Party and the class, all this has earned them the confidence and love of the masses, the furious hatred and enmity of the bourgeoisie, of all reactionary forces, who regard the Communist Parties as their main and irreconcilable class enemy.

Doesn't it speak for itself that more than forty Communist Parties, almost half the total number, are compelled to work underground in the so-called "free world"? Out of the 23 Communist Parties of Latin America only six enjoy full legal status. Imperialist reaction is well aware of the true value of their own propaganda fabrications concerning the "conservatism" of the Communist Parties and, wherever possible, takes vengeance on the Communists for their active revolutionary work through police persecutions and various bans; it deals harshly with them by legal and illegal means.

It is no secret that thousands upon thousands of Communists have been jailed for years on end or have paid with their lives for their revolutionary convictions, for their dedication to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. And the Conference participants included no small number of Communists who had personally experienced the cruelty of bourgeois judges and jailers. It is indicative that during the months preceding the Conference and in the course of it the Com-

munist and Workers' Parties had to raise their voice in protest against new fascist reprisals against the Communists and other democrats and patriots in Greece, Guatemala, Paraguay, Indonesia and, finally, in Haiti, where, during the days of the Moscow Conference, Duvalier's henchmen brutally massacred a group of Haitian communist leaders. In Argentina the reactionary forces displayed their fear of the international forum of Communists by passing a law making participation in the Moscow Conference an offence liable to 10-year imprisonment.

However neither threats nor crimes of the reactionary forces can intimidate the Communists, can make them give up the struggle for the interests of the working class, of all the working people. Neither terror nor repressions, nor difficulties can deprive the Communists of faith in their cause, of the optimism which is typical of them.

The Communists do not close their eyes to the realities of life, to the ups and downs of the struggle, to the difficulties lying ahead. They know that the world revolutionary process did not develop and does not proceed smoothly. The struggle for social and national liberation has its own ups and downs, successes and individual setbacks, periods of swift advancement and partial retreats.

Despite the zigzags and reverses, social development as a whole continues to advance along the revolutionary road, towards socialism. Communists remember well the words of the great Lenin that the revolution "may and probably will consist of many years of fighting, of several periods of onslaught with intervals of counter-

revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system.” \* In the postwar period we have witnessed time and again vigorous offensives of the revolutionary forces, but recently we have also observed no small number of “counter-revolutionary convulsions” in different parts of our planet. Nevertheless, these convulsions of the bourgeois system were and are unable to reverse the world revolutionary process.

Certainly the success of the International Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties does not signify that all the problems have already been solved. This is not the end of the struggle for unity of the communist movement and anti-imperialist front; it is only a milestone, though an important one, in the progress of this struggle. The Marxist-Leninist parties must exert considerable efforts to consolidate and further the success they have attained.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee approved the work of the Conference and its documents, passed a resolution to continue the consistent line of rallying the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of developing in every way contacts with the Communist Parties, waging a struggle against bourgeois ideology, for the purity of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, against Right-wing and “Left”-wing revisionism and nationalism.

The Plenary Meeting approved the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. The foreign policy of the USSR plays and

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 399.

will continue to play the most important role in the common struggle of the anti-imperialist forces, in the effort to enhance the strength and unity of the community of socialist nations. It will be an effective instrument for thwarting the aggressive plans of imperialism, for safeguarding peace and asserting the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for supporting the liberation struggle of the peoples.

The Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties has again confirmed the enormous influence that the successes of communist construction in the USSR have had on world development.

The collective creative work of the Communist Parties, started in the Conference's preparatory stage, will be continued at international theoretical conferences and seminars. In this work it is important to maintain the atmosphere of comradeship, adherence to principle, frankness, and free comparison of views, which distinguished the preparation and work of the International Conference.

The Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee confirmed the immutability of the CPSU's line to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of friendship, fraternity, and international solidarity. It is these qualities of the new Soviet man that have earned him the love and respect of his class brothers and of all honest people. Pride in his Party and country, readiness to devote all his strength to make them prosper, profound understanding of the international importance of the building of communism in the USSR—these traits of the politically-conscious

Soviet citizen are particularly important in the present conditions.

Meetings of Party activists have taken place in the Soviet Union. Reports at these meetings were delivered by members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and other Party leaders. These meetings have again demonstrated the inviolable unity of the Party and the people, their loyalty to the immortal Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The Soviet people and the Communist Party are approaching the centenary of the birth of Lenin full of enthusiasm and creative plans, firmly resolved to celebrate worthily the jubilee of the great founder of the Party and Soviet state. Inspired by the support of the international communist movement, the Soviet people will achieve new successes in the historical cause of building a new society.



## Under the Banner of Unity of the Communist Movement

### I

The vitality and influence of the communist movement today have deep historical roots; they can be traced to the formation and the subsequent revolutionary activity of the Communist International. The political and ideological heritage as well as the fine militant traditions of the Comintern are held sacred by all Marxist-Leninists.

The founding of the Comintern is inseparably linked with the name of Lenin. The Comintern ushered in a new stage in the development of the world communist movement—a stage marked by unity and cohesion of Communists of all countries under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The establishment of the Comintern was necessitated by the advent of a new era, which

Lenin characterized as the era of the abolition of capitalism and its vestiges and of the introduction of the basic principles of a communist system.

The October Revolution, which shook world capitalism to its very foundations, brought about a powerful upsurge of the international revolutionary movement. Not only the working masses in the capitalist countries but the oppressed peoples in the colonial and dependent states as well entered the struggle against imperialism. In the vanguard of this struggle marched the working class, the leading revolutionary force of our time. A clear indication of the growing maturity of the proletariat was the development of the highest form of its political organization—the Communist Party, a party capable of leading all the revolutionary forces in a society. Proletarian parties of a new type appeared in many countries, and this gave rise to a growing desire for the creation of a single international communist organization.

Analyzing the main changes brought about in the international situation and the world revolutionary process by the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "... from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, it is the Communist Parties' principal task at the present moment to unite the scattered Communist forces, to form a single Communist Party in every country (or to reinforce or renovate the already existing Party) in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of political power. . . ." \*

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 189.

Much ideological and organizational work had to be carried out in order to unite and consolidate the revolutionary forces both in each individual country and on an international scale. This difficult task was assigned to the Comintern.

The establishment and activity of the Communist International accorded with the vital interests of the revolutionary working-class struggle, which demanded a final break with the Social-Democratic ideology, the mastery of revolutionary Marxism which had been tested in the crucible of the victorious socialist revolution, and the fusion of Leninism and the international working-class movement. In accomplishing these historic tasks the Comintern made an inestimable contribution to the further development of Lenin's ideas and their realization in practice and laid the groundwork for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement.

## II

The Comintern's struggle for preserving the integrity of the ideas and principles of proletarian internationalism, against manifestations of bourgeois nationalist ideology, is of immense significance. It enables Communists everywhere to become ideologically equipped. It sets an example of Leninist fidelity to principle in the ideological struggle, a struggle which has greatly sharpened at the present time.

World War I clearly demonstrated the great harm done to the revolutionary proletarian movement by Right-wing Socialists and Centrists who spread the poisonous propaganda of bour-

geois nationalism among the working masses. In the preliminary draft theses on the national and colonial questions for the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin pointed out that the acceptance of internationalism in word and its substitution in deed by petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacifism, constituted a common phenomenon not only among the parties of the Second International, but also among those which had withdrawn from it, and often even among parties which called themselves Communist. The conclusion he reached was: in countries that were already fully capitalist and had workers' parties that really acted as the vanguard of the proletariat, the struggle against opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism was a primary task.

Lenin outlined a broad programme of action embracing the cardinal principles of proletarian internationalism and the ways of implementing them. He pointed out an important feature of the epoch, namely, that world political developments revolved around a central point—the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, gathered around which are inevitably, on the one hand, the revolutionary movements of the advanced workers of all countries, and, on the other, all the national-liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities, who were beginning to learn from bitter experience that their only salvation lay in the victory over world imperialism. Lenin thus called for close alliance of Soviet Russia and all the national- and colonial-liberation movements, emphasizing that “one cannot at present confine oneself to a bare recognition

or proclamation of the need for closer union between the working people of the various nation.” \*

Selfless assistance to all countries taking the socialist road was one of the conditions for admission to the Comintern, which acted as the organizer of international forces supporting and defending the working people's revolutionary gains.

We are now at a new stage in the development of proletarian internationalism which is characterized by the following historical task: that of merging in a single stream the three currents of the world revolutionary process—the struggle of the working people who have taken power into their own hands and are building a new society; the struggle of the working people against capital, under the leadership of the working class, in bourgeois countries; the national-liberation movement against the domination of foreign monopolies and their henchmen. The chief prerequisite for this merging is firm unity among the Communists. For only the Communists are in a position to rally all the forces taking part in the revolutionary process owing to their activity which is guided by Marxism-Leninism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The Communists are called upon to combat narrow nationalism and oppose all attempts to belittle the great internationalist tasks facing the working class.

Lenin forewarned that the practice of proletarian internationalism would be particularly important when it was time to carry out the task

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 146.

of converting the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national dictatorship into an international one. This time has come with the rise and development of the world socialist system. Consistent practice of proletarian internationalism and efforts to achieve closer unity of the socialist countries are indispensable in order that the world socialist system will be able to exert, as Lenin put it, a decisive influence on every aspect of world politics. Such an influence means the creation of more favourable conditions for the development of the liberation process throughout the world.

An important contribution of the Comintern consisted in its efforts to put into practice Lenin's ideas on the national-liberation movement. For decades the reformists maintained that this movement, being bourgeois-democratic in nature, would lead to the further development of bourgeois relationships and the domination of capital in the world. Lenin and his followers showed the revolutionary essence of national-liberation movements, their link with the world revolutionary process of our time and the outlook for their development.

In his address to the Second Congress of the Comintern Lenin proved the groundlessness of the assertion that the capitalist stage of development was unavoidable for backward peoples who had won their freedom and embarked on the road to progress. The Communist International, Lenin declared, should propose and theoretically substantiate the thesis that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries backward countries could, after having passed certain stages of development, go over to com-

munism, by passing the capitalist stage. The way was thus shown to the solution of one of the most complex problems in world history. Today many nations are following this solution in the face of enormous difficulties. Assistance on a world-wide scale to this process is an important aspect of the practice of proletarian internationalism.

### III

Working tirelessly for unity of the international communist movement based on revolutionary Marxism, Lenin conducted a resolute struggle against Social-Democracy, showing its almost superstitious reverence for bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system.

At the same time Lenin resolutely condemned those Communists who denied the need to work in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary trade unions, wherever there were millions of workers still duped by the capitalists and their faithful servants from among the labouring classes. Lenin convinced the Communists that they must master all forms of struggle—legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful.

Lenin's views formed the basis of the Comintern's struggle against the ideology and policy of social reformism, for proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy. Armed with Leninism, the Communists of all countries have done much to expose bourgeois-democratic illusions under whose influence a sizable section of the working people continue to believe that capitalism's acute contradictions can be resolved on the basis of the capitalist mode of production. The

Comintern effectively exposed these illusions, showing the masses that the only correct road for them to take was the road of revolutionary struggle.

The bourgeoisie and its supporters now resort to new manoeuvres and subterfuges, trotting out various theories about the "peaceful transformation" of capitalism into socialism and the "convergence" of the two systems. Bourgeois theoreticians try to spread the idea that the socialist countries following the abolition of the exploiting classes must inevitably go over to some form of bourgeois democracy. Out of wishful thinking some even try to depict socialist democracy as a slightly refurbished version of bourgeois democracy.

The Comintern's traditions of militant resistance against all manifestations of bourgeois and reformist ideology continue to serve as a powerful weapon in the struggle against all kinds of theories concocted by bourgeois apologists. Today, when a tense class battle is being fought on a world scale, when imperialism constantly resorts to ideological subversion, the fight against bourgeois-reformist illusions is an important part of the struggle for the victory of the ideology and politics of socialism.

From its very inception the Comintern advised the emergent Communist Parties on the principle formulated by Lenin concerning Party organization and activity. This was the principle of democratic centralism, whose acceptance became one of the conditions for admission to the Communist International. Without inner-party democracy there would be no place for initiative on the part of every Party member and every



Party organization. At the same time, without centralism, the subordination of the minority to the majority, there could be no effective mass action, or concerted effort or militant unity which has the power to overcome great difficulties involved in the destruction of the old, moribund system and the building of a new society. Without adhering to the principle of democratic centralism it is impossible to ensure the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party at every stage of communist construction. And without the leading role of the parties guided by Marxism-Leninism the world revolutionary process would become defenceless and wrapped up in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois illusions.

Despite efforts by Right- and "Left"-wing revisionists to undermine the organizational foundations of Marxist-Leninist parties, the Leninist principle of democratic centralism has remained the unshakable basis of the organization and activity of all contingents of the international communist movement.

During the quarter of a century of its existence, the Comintern closely studied and generalized the experience of the first victorious socialist revolution in human history and its guiding force, the Leninist party. It is well known how the enemies of communism and their underlings tried from the very outset to mislead people into thinking that the October Revolution was a "purely local, Russian phenomenon," and that the activity of the Bolshevik Party was of little international significance. These attempts were thwarted by joint efforts of the fraternal parties.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that certain fundamental features of our revolution had a sig-

nificance which was not local, or peculiarly national, or only Russian, but international. Lenin emphasized and further developed this idea, convinced that to withhold from the world communist movement the rich experience gained by our Party would be to weaken it and do it irreparable harm.

Objecting to the use of all that was stereotyped and unimaginative in Comintern activities, Lenin wrote: "It stands to reason... that in every aspect of their work the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diversity of conditions in which the respective parties have to fight and work, and adopt decisions binding on all parties only on matters in which such decisions are possible." \*

The Comintern approached many important problems of the revolutionary movement in the Leninist spirit; it correctly assessed the great significance which socialist construction in our country had for the world liberation process. Realization of this significance is indispensable for a correct understanding of the present-day international situation dominated by the struggle between the two systems—socialism and capitalism. The Comintern resolutely fought against Trotskyism and Right-wing opportunism, which did much harm to socialist construction and the entire world revolutionary movement.

The Comintern was also guided by the spirit of Leninism in its approach to the problems of war and peace, to which it had always devoted great attention. It consistently adhered to Le-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 211.

nin's behest—to remove the veil of secrecy under which the imperialists conducted their war preparations. After generalizing the experience of a number of parties in the struggle against fascism which was openly preparing for World War II, the Comintern at its Seventh Congress put forward the idea of a united workers' and popular front. The extensive work carried out by the Communist Parties paved the way for the Resistance movement during World War II and enhanced the positions of genuinely democratic forces in the postwar world.

At the present stage of the struggle for peace and social progress Marxist-Leninists continue to act in the spirit of Leninism.

#### IV

From its very inception the Communist International upheld Marxism-Leninism as an integral international doctrine, the ideological banner of the world communist movement. Today, half a century after the founding of the Comintern and a quarter of a century after its dissolution, the Communists continue to carry aloft this revolutionary banner, resolutely fighting against Right-wing and "Left"-wing opportunism.

The world communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time. Closely united in its ranks are tens of millions of Communists—selfless fighters for the revolutionary remaking of society. The number of Communist Parties has grown from 61 at the time the Comintern was dissolved, to the pre-

sent 88. Party membership has increased considerably: 40-odd million (13 times more than in 1939) in the socialist countries; it has increased from 500,000 to 2,500,000 (fivefold) in the European capitalist countries; from 20,000 to 650,000 (more than 32-fold) in non-socialist countries on the Asian continent and Japan; from 180,000 to 343,000 (nearly twofold) on the American continent; and from 5,000 to 60,000 (12-fold) in Africa.

The immense growth of the communist movement has widened the range of and rendered more complex the tasks facing Marxist-Leninist parties in building the new society, combating imperialism, fighting for peace, social and national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The interests of their common struggle demand that Communists throughout the world do their utmost to become more closely united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the course of extending and strengthening their international ties, the fraternal parties evolve new forms of such ties in the absence of a central organization for guiding the world communist movement. An important part in promoting international ties was played by the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties. After examining the tasks in the struggle against imperialism, the recent International Conference defined the role of Communists in this struggle and ways of achieving united action by Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces. The Conference went a long way towards achieving closer unity and cohesion of the world communist movement. Since the parties operate

under different conditions, it is understandable that they will have different views on various issues. But that should not prevent them from taking joint action in the struggle against their common enemy—present-day imperialism.

“The main thing is,” said Comrade Brezhnev at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers’ Party, “that the Communist and Workers’ Parties, notwithstanding differences on some issues, are searching for ways and means of extending their international ties and strengthening their unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. For our part, we have always found it useful to have comradely exchanges of views and are ready to discuss frankly all issues with the fraternal parties. We are confident that closer contact and cooperation will enable us to resolve problems in a way that will promote international communist unity. And this is understandable. For we share a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism; we have a common enemy, imperialism; and we are working towards a common goal, the triumph of communism.”

The world revolutionary movement and Leninism are inseparable. The international communist movement owes its great victories won in the half-century following the founding of the Comintern to its unshakable fidelity to the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In this lies the guarantee for the future victories of world communism.

## Marxism and Internationalism

In recent years the question of proletarian internationalism has been widely discussed in the world press. Interest centres on such questions as the relationship between proletarian internationalism and patriotism, national and international interests, between internationalism and national sovereignty. This interest is not accidental. It is explained by contemporary history, by international developments in our time.

It may be appropriate to begin with a few general considerations.

When one discusses proletarian internationalism, one should always bear in mind that it is not the invention of armchair theoreticians or a mere slogan which may have had certain significance at the dawn of the labour movement, but which has become outdated for our time. Internationalism is an organic part of the labour movement; it stems from the very nature and essence of the working-class liberation struggle.

The origin and development of proletarian internationalism are explained by the following objective factors:

The essential similarity of the position of the proletariat of different bourgeois countries with the capitalist system of production;

Similarity of conditions for the emancipation of the working class in these countries. "...the emancipation of labour," Marx pointed out in the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association (First International), "is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists;" \*

The fact that the workers have a common class enemy determines the need for joint struggle. "Capital," Lenin stressed, "is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists;" \*\*

The working class of different countries shares a common aim—the destruction of capitalism and the building of a socialist and then a communist society—the most humane social system which provides favourable conditions for the all-round, harmonious development of the individual. The

---

\* Marx and Engels. *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 386.

\*\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

achievement of this aim, said Marx, demands "a harmonious national and international coordination of the social forms of production;" \*

And lastly, the working class and its vanguard—the Communist and Workers' Parties—are guided in their struggle by a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, which not only enables the proletariat to find scientific solutions to the problems confronting it, but also unites millions of fighters against the rule of capital in various parts of the world. As Engels said, the theoretical principles expounded in the *Communist Manifesto* "constitute today the strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement of both Europe and America." \*\*

Proletarian internationalism is not only an inherent characteristic of the international working-class and communist movement, but a major component part of Marxist theory itself. Both theoretically and practically, it is inseparably linked with Marxism as a scientific world outlook of the revolutionary proletariat, which from the very beginning was distinguished by its international character.

Briefly, proletarian internationalism can be defined as international solidarity of the working class of different countries and its revolutionary vanguard—the Communist and Workers'

---

\* Marx and Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 17, p. 553, Russ. Ed.

\*\* Marx and Engels. *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. II, p. 338.



Parties—which serves as a basis for the solidarity of all the working people, all the revolutionary forces of our time in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the socialist remaking of society. United action alone can guarantee the success of the struggle. Marx taught that “disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.” \*

Viewed historically, internationalism is a phenomenon governed by laws of history. It appeared at a certain stage of labour’s struggle for its social emancipation, and it developed as this struggle and the entire social life developed. In the process the content of proletarian internationalism grew richer and its forms became more varied.

Already in the time of Marx and Engels internationalism began to develop as a form of cooperation between the workers of different countries in the struggle against capitalist exploitation. The famous slogan: “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” is a call for strengthening this cooperation. In the case of multi-national countries, internationalism means closer unity among the working people of different nationalities within the country in the struggle for social and national liberation.

With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the upsurge of the national-

---

\* Marx and Engels, *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Moscow, 1962, Vol. I, p. 384.

liberation movement, the question of solidarity with the peoples fighting against colonial oppression and for national independence demanded urgent attention. The international tasks of the revolutionary working class became more complex. In 1920 a new journal, *The Peoples of the East*, appeared, published in Moscow. "Working Men of All Countries and Oppressed Peoples of the World, Unite!" was the slogan imprinted on its cover. Stressing the importance of this slogan, Lenin said: "We now stand, not only as representatives of the proletarians of all countries but as representatives of the oppressed peoples as well." \*

With the emergence of the world socialist system the principles of proletarian internationalism were applied to relations between the socialist countries. In present-day conditions the principles of internationalism demand the closest possible cohesion of the main revolutionary forces of our time—the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement.

The essence of proletarian internationalism, which remains the same for all stages of the liberation struggle waged by the working people and oppressed nations, for all contingents of the revolutionary movement, is clearly defined by Lenin: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*,

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.

this, *and only* this, line, in every country without exception.” \*

In speaking of class solidarity of the oppressed against their oppressors, one should bear in mind that the ruling classes, in trying to retain their privileges, fight back by establishing solidarity among themselves and setting up world-wide organizations of their own. Today, imperialist blocs and alliances, while directing their activities primarily against the socialist states, at the same time aim at crushing the hopes for freedom of peoples still under monopoly capitalism. Thus NATO, for example, whose official policy is that of maintaining “stability” in the area of its operation and holding consultations in case of “threat to security,” is actually designed to provide for joint action by its members in suppressing revolutionary outbreaks.

Unity of workers of the world, of all the socialist countries, is an objective necessity. The revolutionary forces in the contemporary world are being opposed by international imperialism which, though rent by internal contradictions, is a powerful, dangerous and united enemy. Thus only unity can ensure the success of the revolutionary forces in their struggle for mankind’s progress. The unity of progressive forces is of decisive importance for the struggle against the united front of reaction. Close unity of the international communist movement is a powerful weapon of the anti-imperialist forces, an indispensable condition for their victory over imperialism.

The need for unity is dictated by the world

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

we live in, by the fight against international capital. Our enemies who gloat over the slightest differences arising among Communists on individual problems are in for a bitter disappointment. Lenin taught that Communists, being united on the main, the most essential issues, can and must act jointly; differences over minor matters can and most certainly will disappear owing to the logic of joint struggle against the chief and really formidable enemy, world capital. This advice of Lenin's should be heeded by all Communists who see their urgent and pressing task in working steadfastly towards closer unity and cohesion of their ranks. The recent International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow was an important step in promoting such unity.

Proletarian internationalism is incompatible with any concessions to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, regardless of the form in which it appears or the pseudo-socialist mask it wears.

“Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the *two* policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question.” \*

But in what way is internationalism linked to national interests, to problems of national development, national independence? Would it be correct to say that Marxists underestimate the significance of the national question, self-determination and state sovereignty, that they tend

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 26.

to oppose the international to the national? Certainly not.

For an understanding of this question, one may proceed by considering the proposition contained in the *Communist Manifesto*, namely, that the struggle for liberation begins within the existing national-state boundaries. The proletariat must first put an end to the rule and privileges of its own bourgeoisie. International solidarity helps the various national contingents of the working class in this liberation struggle.

The founders of scientific communism were opposed to national nihilism and resolutely came out against those who asserted that from the international point of view "national independence is a matter of secondary importance." As Engels clearly pointed out, national independence "is the underlying basis for any international cooperation." \*

Only the proletariat, the most consistent fighter against all forms of national oppression, and its victory will make it possible to solve the national question, to ensure the free and harmonious development of all nations. "To the old world, the world of national oppression, national bickering, and national isolation the workers counterpose a new world, a world of the unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for any privileges or for the slightest degree of oppression of man by man." \*\*

In this connection it may be pertinent to con-

---

\* Marx and Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 35, p. 221, Russ. Ed.

\*\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 19, p. 92.

sider the thesis in the *Communist Manifesto* which is often discussed and debated, namely, that the working men have no country.

Some people think that this thesis is outdated, that in bourgeois countries too the proletariat has its fatherland. And then there are others who declare that for the proletariat it makes no difference generally in which country it lives, that the proletariat is unconcerned with the destiny of its country. These diametrically opposite points of view serve to confirm once again the complexity of the question of the correlation of the international and the national.

The Marxist thesis that the "working men have no country" means that in bourgeois society the proletariat is denied any part in administering the affairs of state, that the country's destiny is decided by the bourgeoisie. As pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto*, the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, and become the leading class of the nation, and only then will it have its country, that is, will it be able to create its own state and take the destiny of the country into its own hands.

This does not at all mean that for the proletariat in bourgeois society it makes no difference in which country it lives. In criticizing this point of view, Lenin stressed that the fatherland—the given political, cultural and social environment—is the decisive factor in the class struggle of the proletariat. Thus the proletariat cannot be indifferent to the destiny of its country.

A closely related question is that of the relationship between patriotism and national pride, on the one hand, and internationalism, on the other.

It may be recalled that during the First World War the Bolsheviks opposed the "defence of the fatherland" slogan and were accused by advocates of the war of "betraying" their country. At the height of the war Lenin—a most consistent internationalist—declared that, far from rejecting national pride, Bolshevik-Marxists believed that national interests, correctly understood, coincided with the interests of the working class, and that the feeling of national pride did not run counter to internationalism but rather merged with it.

Essentially, the question is: What should be the object of national pride? The Great-Russian proletarians-internationalists, Lenin said, loved their language and their country and were proud of its great cultural and revolutionary traditions. Precisely for this reason they hated everything that was reactionary in the history of Russia—autocracy, serfdom, slavish obedience to the tsars, landlords and capitalists. The Great-Russian nation is full of national pride, Lenin wrote, because it, too, has created a revolutionary class, because it, too, has proved capable of providing mankind with great models of the struggle for freedom and socialism.

These words were written still before the Revolution. There is all the more reason, then, why Marxists today consider it their duty to maintain, develop and foster patriotism and national pride among the people of a socialist country.

Thus, from the Marxist point of view, national pride, that is, pride in the finest achievements of one's people and their progressive traditions, does not hamper revolutionary struggle, but faci-

litates it by raising the spirit of the fighters for the triumph of socialism. It is, therefore, in full harmony with internationalism.

The principles of proletarian internationalism constitute the unshakable foundation of relations between the socialist countries, the individual links of the world socialist system.

Internationalism is a general law of the development of socialism, for the socialist countries have the same economic basis, the same political system, the same class structure and the same goal—the building of communism.

At the same time, all-round economic, political, military and diplomatic cooperation among the socialist countries does not mean that in the development of each individual country there do not or cannot exist features which are peculiar to one country and which stem from the historical, political, economic or geographical conditions of that country.

Proletarian internationalism does not reject the diversity of the contemporary world or demand the use of the same methods of building socialism. It implies the desire and ability to find solutions to common international problems in specific national conditions. Each fraternal party, in creatively solving questions of socialist development, takes into account national conditions and peculiarities.

Lenin repeatedly stressed the need to regard international and national interests in the building and defence of socialism as a whole. He criticized those who sought to “confine” socialism within “national boundaries” and were prepared to renounce the principles of international solidarity. He denounced those “nationalist-social-



ists" who, for the sake of narrow national interests, betrayed the interests of the world working masses.

The principle of proletarian internationalism demands that the working class of all countries unite its efforts on an international scale for defeating the reactionary forces, for opposing all forms of oppression, for rallying the masses in the fight for peace among nations. "Complete victory over capitalism," Lenin emphasized, "cannot be won unless the proletariat and, following it, the mass of working people in all countries and nations throughout the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity."\*

Needless to say, the world liberation movement, in which diverse social forces participate, has its own difficulties and contradictions. There are also problems related to the development of the world socialist system. Analyzing the laws governing the development of a socialist society, Lenin noted that under socialism antagonism disappeared but contradictions remained. And if contradictions are possible within a socialist society, it is not really surprising then that problems and difficulties can arise in the course of the development of the world socialist system. Marxist-Leninists believe that the important thing is not to deny the existence of contradictions under socialism, in the world socialist system or in the international liberation movement, but to recognize them in time and take prompt measures to overcome them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 151.

To hamper international cohesion of the socialist countries is to jeopardize the gains of socialism and increase the danger of imperialist aggression against the fraternal countries. Lenin stressed: "Those who treat frivolously the defence of the country in which the proletariat has already achieved victory are the ones who destroy the connection with international socialism." \*

While staunchly defending national sovereignty, Lenin at the same time demanded complete unity of the socialist republics in facing imperialism, including military unity: "... we, who are faced by a huge front of imperialist powers, we, who are fighting imperialism, represent an alliance that requires close military unity, and any attempt to violate this unity we regard as absolutely impermissible, as a betrayal of the struggle against international imperialism." \*\*

The working class of each socialist country must advance towards the common goal with due account of national conditions, but without causing any harm to other socialist countries or to the interests of socialism as a whole. The right of every Marxist-Leninist party to shape its policy on the basis of the specific conditions of its country is indisputable, but proletarian internationalism requires that each party be aware of its responsibility towards the entire movement and be ready to carry out this responsibility.

Any attempt to counterpose international solidarity to national peculiarities, to exaggerate the latter's role in social life can only do harm to

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 332.

\*\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 325.

internationalism. Those countries which, in their search for their "own," purely "national road to socialism," deny the general laws of socialist construction and lay stress on their specific features stemming from their conditions and traditions are in danger of departing from the true socialist path.

The communist view on national sovereignty has aroused much discussion of late. Our enemies are trying to make it appear as if Marxist-Leninists consider the principle of national sovereignty to be of secondary importance. At the same time, they try to present the Soviet Union's foreign policy as one dominated by the "state interests" which stand in contradiction to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Such allegations are groundless and are explained either by insufficient understanding of the principles underlying Soviet foreign policy or, more frequently, by a desire to misrepresent it, to cast aspersions on the policy of the world's first socialist state.

It is necessary to stress that Communists regard national sovereignty as the right of every state to independent existence.

The Soviet Union consistently and resolutely defends national sovereignty against all encroachments by the reactionary forces. Prior to World War II the USSR rendered all-round political, material and military assistance (by sending arms and volunteers) to the Spanish Republic in its heroic struggle for freedom and democracy, against German and Italian fascists and the forces of internal reaction. Having defeated the Nazi and Japanese aggressors, the USSR helped many European and Asian nations

to regain national independence and defend their sovereignty. The Soviet Union used every means at its disposal to protect the sovereignty of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, helping it to repel the imperialist aggression.

The peoples of the USSR are rendering and will continue to render all-round assistance and support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle for freedom and independence. The contribution of the USSR to the defence of socialist Cuba against the encroachments of US imperialists and their accomplices is well known. Freedom-loving people everywhere approve of the support given by the Soviet Union to the Arab peoples who are fighting for their independence and against Israeli aggression instigated by imperialism, primarily by US ruling circles.

The firm stand of the Soviet Union on questions of national sovereignty may be seen in the statement made by Comrade Brezhnev at the Fifth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

"The socialist states strictly respect the sovereignty of all countries," he declared. "We resolutely oppose any interference in the internal affairs of states, any violation of their sovereignty."

"We Communists attach particular importance to establishing and defending the sovereignty of those countries which have embarked on the socialist path. The forces of imperialism and reaction are striving to rob the people of the socialist countries of their hard-won sovereign right to secure progress and prosperity of their country, to promote the well-being and happiness of the working masses by building a society freed from

all oppression and exploitation. And when encroachments on this right meet with joint rebuff from the socialist camp, bourgeois propagandists raise a hue and cry about the 'defence of sovereignty' and 'non-interference'. It should be clear to all that this is pure deception and demagoguery on their part. What these shouters are actually interested in is not the preservation of socialist sovereignty but its destruction." \*

It is thus obvious that national sovereignty and internationalism, far from contradicting each other, are interconnected and indivisible.

The forms of international ties vary, depending on concrete conditions, but their essence remains the same, namely, effective international solidarity of the working people in the struggle against imperialism, in defence of peace and socialism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is making great efforts to inculcate in the Soviet people the spirit of internationalism and socialist patriotism, a readiness to defend the cause of socialism in the USSR and the socialist community, to support the international working class and all the revolutionary liberation forces of our time.

---

\* *Pravda*, November 13, 1968.

# Internationalism and the World Socialist System

## Socialist Internationalism: The Highest Stage of Internationalism

Internationalism as an integral part of the theory of scientific communism is being constantly developed and enriched. In the process its categories and concepts come to be more precisely defined.

Proletarian internationalism—the scientific ideology of the working class—appeared together with Marxism as its organic component part. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* the founders of scientific communism, Marx and Engels, put forward and scientifically substantiated the idea of proletarian internationalism. They proclaimed their militant call “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” which became the banner of all working people in their struggle for social and national liberation.

The ideas of proletarian internationalism were further developed by Lenin, who not only defended them against social-chauvinists and betrayers of the Second International, but creatively adapted them to the new historical conditions.

In the process of the working-class struggle the concept of internationalism developed and acquired new content; its role in social development steadily increased. And its significance is especially great today when unity and cohesion of the world socialist system are the most reliable guarantee of socialism's further victories.

Proletarian internationalism has passed through three stages in its historical development.

*The first stage* covers a period from the emergence of proletarian internationalism in mid-19th century to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this period proletarian internationalism was manifested in the assistance and support which various contingents of the working class rendered one another in their struggle against capitalism.

*The second stage* covers a period from the October Revolution of 1917 to the victory of the people's democratic system in a number of European and Asian countries after World War II and the establishment of the world socialist system.

Lenin and the Soviet Communist Party accomplished a historic task when they preserved the integrity of and creatively developed the Marxist principle of proletarian internationalism. They also implemented this principle by founding the world's first socialist state which pursued a policy of international friendship and brotherhood.

The distinguishing feature of the second stage

consists in the fact that international friendship and brotherhood became the ideological basis of relations between the peoples freed from exploitation within the framework of a single socialist state.

The Great October Socialist Revolution helped oppressed peoples everywhere to rise and brought them closer to one another. It also had a great impact on the development of the ideas of internationalism. The experience of the USSR in solving the national question fully confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist ideas of internationalism. The example of the USSR became a great force in the peoples' fight to cast off the chains of imperialist oppression.

*The third stage* in the development of internationalism begins with the emergence of the world socialist system. In the new historical conditions proletarian internationalism enters a new and higher stage.

With the victory of socialism the social base of internationalism becomes broader as not only the working class but more and more working people in the socialist countries now march under the banner of internationalism. This feature of internationalism, first noted in the Soviet Union, is being further developed in conditions of the world socialist system.

The new historical conditions have given rise to still another, absolutely new feature of socialist internationalism. The Marxist-Leninist ideas of internationalism have become the prevailing ideology, not only within the multi-national socialist state, as was the case in the second stage, but also in the sphere of relations between the



sovereign socialist states. International relations of a new, socialist type have emerged. They are based, not on domination and subordination, exploitation and plunder which prevail in the imperialist world, but on sincere friendship, mutual respect, fraternal cooperation and reciprocal assistance, strict observance of the national independence and state sovereignty of all countries, whether large or small.

The existence of two diametrically opposite world systems also leads to the appearance of certain new features in the practice of internationalism outside the world socialist system. The practice of mutual aid and support among working-class parties in their struggle against capitalism (practical manifestation of proletarian internationalism during the first stage was actually limited to this) is greatly enhanced.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the mainstay of working people throughout the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from capitalist exploitation. Thus, it is the sacred internationalist duty of working men and women everywhere to support the socialist countries. This support constitutes the supreme manifestation of internationalism. The main concept of internationalism is being further elaborated on the basis of these principal stages in the development of international solidarity.

### **The World Socialist System—the Chief Gain of the International Working Class**

The rise and development of the world socialist system is a logical outcome of the entire preceding development of human society.

It is a supreme internationalist duty of all Communists and working people in the socialist countries, of progressive forces the world over to work for the strengthening of the world socialist system. The strengthening of the world socialist system accords with the vital interests of the socialist countries and of the whole of mankind.

The Statement adopted by the Conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow, November 1960) defines the world socialist system as "a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism." \*

The world socialist system is neither a temporary grouping nor a military-political bloc, as it is sometimes described by bourgeois propagandists. It marks a qualitatively new stage in mankind's progressive development.

The historically new community of people, which is still in the process of formation, did not arise accidentally; it is based on such permanently operating factors as the unity of the socio-economic system and state power, the unity of aims and tasks in the struggle for world peace and international security, for the building of communism.

This, however, does not preclude the possibility that certain difficulties and contradictions may arise in relations between the socialist countries. The emergence of such difficulties and contradic-

---

\* *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 50.

tions is, in fact, quite natural and inevitable. But it is important to note that the contradictions are not antagonistic in character. The basis for overcoming them lies in the socio-economic system of the socialist countries, in their common ideology—Marxism-Leninism, in the uniform class nature of the socialist system.

The imperialists and their accomplices—various types of nationalists and revisionists—are doing their utmost to undermine the ties of fraternal friendship and cooperation that bind the socialist countries, to present their relations in a distorted light.

Experience shows that in present-day conditions when the world socialist system has become stronger, any attempt on the part of one country to build socialism in isolation from the world community of socialist states can only doom that country to great difficulties. And any country which tries to build socialism with the aid of imperialist powers may well become a pawn of world imperialism, its pliant tool in the struggle against the socialist community. With the existence of aggressive imperialist blocs headed by the USA and the resurgence of German militarism, it would be difficult for any one socialist country to uphold its freedom and independence by solely relying on its own efforts. That is why close cooperation among all the socialist countries is of particular importance for the struggle for peace and security. Only the combined might of the entire socialist community can provide an effective guarantee for the economic and political independence of each individual socialist country.

The socialist countries want to live in peace and maintain amicable relations with all the

other nations. At the same time they are doing everything necessary and spare no efforts or resources to enhance the defence potential of the socialist community the indestructible bulwark of world peace.

We shall try to formulate certain laws of development pertaining to the world socialist system. One of these is that the socialist countries are drawn closer to one another in the process of jointly building socialism; this is accompanied by two tendencies which are becoming increasingly evident; on the one hand, national economic growth and enhancement of the sovereignty of each socialist country, and, on the other, the socialist countries coming closer to one another and forming an integrated world socialist economy.

At present the degree of closeness among the socialist countries is fairly high, their cooperation extending to diverse fields of economy, culture and science. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has become an effective organization promoting all-round cooperation between its member-countries. By defining the main directions of economic development for various socialist countries, it becomes possible to exploit more rationally and effectively the natural and geographic conditions, the economic potentialities and the historical traditions of each socialist country. Coordination of the socialist countries' current and long-range economic plans goes hand in hand with the systematic expansion and deepening of specialization and cooperation of production.

The socialist community guarantees genuine equality and independence of each of its members. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely assistance,

the socialist countries constantly seek to improve and extend their economic, political and cultural cooperation, which accords with the interests of each individual socialist country and of the socialist community as a whole.

The emergence and successful development of the world socialist system is exerting an ever increasing influence on the entire historical process, affects the destiny of all countries and continents, and creates new, more favourable conditions for the transition to socialism for more and more peoples. As the 1960 Statement emphasizes, "the time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development." \*

### **Fusion of Internationalism and Patriotism in Conditions of the World Socialist System**

Of great importance in this connection is the question of the correlation of internationalism and patriotism, of the fusion of the international and the national in the relations between the socialist countries and in the world communist movement.

Outwardly patriotism and internationalism appear as forces operating in different directions, since patriotism implies love of one's country and people, whereas socialist internationalism means love for all the peoples comprising the socialist community, for the workers of the world.

But this contradiction is only apparent. Actual-

---

\* *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, p. 52.

ly there are no contradictions between patriotism and socialist internationalism, similar to those that exist between counteracting forces; on the contrary, they are united, and their unity is becoming increasingly firm and evident.

In conditions of socialism there exists a firm socio-economic and ideological basis for the organic fusion of socialist internationalism and patriotism. This is explained by a number of important objective and subjective factors:

1. The socialist countries have a common socio-economic and political system based on public ownership of the basic means of production. State power is in the hands of the working class closely allied with all working people in the country and guided by a Marxist-Leninist Communist or Workers' Party.
2. The dominant ideology is the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism, the ideology of friendship and brotherhood among nations.
3. The socialist countries are united by common goals—the building of socialism and communism and the safeguarding of world peace and security.
4. The socialist countries have a common enemy—imperialism, which strives to enslave and oppress peoples, to unleash aggressive wars against the socialist countries and other peace-loving states.
5. A tendency exists towards ever broader internationalization of social production and every-day life, owing to contemporary scientific and technological progress, the rapid development of communications and greater mobility of the population.

Proletarian internationalism as the ideology of the working class develops and becomes more powerful in the conditions of bitter struggle against the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, whose character varies depending on the interests of the bourgeoisie in a given country. Proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism imply two policies, two world outlooks on the national question. The bourgeoisie and its parties are the vehicles of the ideology of bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The workers and their internationalist parties are the standard-bearers of the ideology of patriotism and internationalism, the proponents of friendship among nations.

Over a hundred years ago Marx and Engels laid the groundwork for the organic fusion of internationalism and patriotism. The great teachers of the proletariat stressed the historical significance of the international solidarity of the working people and pointed to the community of interests of workers of all countries stemming from the laws of social development, and their coincidence with the fundamental interests of each nation.

The correlation of patriotism and internationalism was treated with great insight by Lenin in a number of his works. On the eve of and during the First World War, when a wave of chauvinism kindled the flames of national enmity and strife, Lenin came forward as a consistent internationalist and patriot.

Lenin performed a historically important task when, in the poisonous atmosphere of pseudo-patriotism, he assumed leadership of the struggle against bourgeois nationalism, courageously exposing the anti-popular character of social-chauvinism and showing how under the cover of pseu-

do-patriotic words and slogans the opportunists faithfully served bourgeois nationalism and betrayed the cause of proletarian internationalism. Lenin warned the proletariat and the working classes of all nationalities against the danger of being deceived by nationalist slogans of "their own" bourgeoisie about the "fatherland," which were mere high-sounding words used by the bourgeoisie to split the proletariat and divert its attention from their anti-patriotic machinations and their economic and political alliance with the bourgeoisie of other countries.

The Communist Party founded by Lenin led the heroic struggle for the realization of long-cherished national aspirations of the peoples of Russia. It is therefore quite logical that the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was an unparalleled patriotic feat on the part of the working class and toiling peasantry of our country, at the same time marked the triumph of the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The organic fusion of patriotism and internationalism became still more evident in the period of the defence of the gains of the October Revolution and of peaceful construction. A vivid example of this fusion is the Brest Peace Treaty. Lenin repeatedly stressed that in the period of the Brest Peace Treaty the Soviet people, as socialists and internationalists, had to give up their patriotic feelings for the sake of the great cause of the socialist revolution. "The bitterness, resentment, and violent indignation provoked by this peace were easy to understand," wrote Lenin in his article "The Valuable Admissions of Pitirim Sorokin," "and it goes without saying that we Marxists could expect only the class-conscious



vanguard of the proletariat to appreciate the truth that we were making and were obliged to make great national sacrifices for the sake of the supreme interests of the world proletarian revolution." \*

It was a temporary sacrifice which fully accorded with the interests of our country.

We could cite many other examples of the fusion of patriotism and internationalism from the history of our country, especially in the years of the Great Patriotic War and postwar socialist construction. Socialist patriotism, by promoting the development of each socialist country and of the world socialist system as a whole, turns into consistent internationalism. Such a merging does not take place at once and does not represent the highest stage of the fusion process, for the process is an unceasing and limitless one.

The relations between different peoples and countries show that it is not enough for two or several nations to share the same ideology or political aims over a more or less protracted period of time in order to establish durable meaningful cooperation between them. It is also necessary for them to promote mutually advantageous economic cooperation, and to create conditions in which the economy of one country complements the economy of another, thereby contributing to the development of the productive forces of all the countries involved, and to common progress.

The tendency towards international division of labour and towards ever closer economic ties between all countries is undoubtedly and essentially

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 187.

a progressive one. The development of all-round economic and cultural ties among the peoples contributes to the growth of the productive forces and makes it possible to use the natural resources of individual countries in the most rational way.

In recent years the tendency towards internationalization of production has become more pronounced. Anxious not to be left behind in the historic competition with socialism, the capitalist countries are adopting the path of "integration" and setting up diverse international associations like the Common Market, the European Coal and Steel Community, etc. But despite certain temporary successes in integration and the rise in industrial production in individual countries, the capitalist system of economy is increasingly becoming an impediment to the further economic cooperation between the capitalist countries and to the growth of productive forces.

The reason for this is that under capitalism the form of economic integration is in irreconcilable contradiction with the progressive essence of such integration. Economic integration under capitalism is not effected on the basis of voluntary agreement, equality and mutual benefit, but by means of coercion. With the development of imperialism the irreconcilable contradiction between the process of economic integration of peoples and the imperialist method of achieving this integration becomes more and more acute. And this inevitably leads to increasing enslavement and plunder of economically weak countries by the imperialist states, intensifies the struggle for markets and gives rise to ever sharper conflicts, crises and wars: all this eventually results in senseless des-

truction of the productive forces, in the disruption of normal economic ties among nations.

Socialism eliminates the very causes that lead to competition and rivalry, to the struggle for markets and the enslavement and oppression of peoples. For the first time in world history, socialism creates favourable conditions for equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between large and small nations, thereby contributing to the unification of nations, to their all-round and close cooperation.

In order to accelerate scientific and technological progress in the socialist countries it is necessary to strengthen cooperation between them, for at the present rate of scientific and technological development, when there is constant demand for new complex machines, instruments and mechanisms, it is difficult for any one state to provide all branches of its economy with an adequate number of designers and engineers, with financial and material resources by relying on its own forces.

In the final analysis, the socialist countries must work out such relations between them and such distribution of productive forces which, at a given level of production, will make it possible to expend the least possible amount of embodied and live labour on the manufacture of any product. For high labour productivity is the most important and essential condition for the triumph of socialism over capitalism.

The experience of fraternal socialist cooperation shows that only countries sharing the principles of socialist internationalism can offer disinterested assistance to one another. The socialist countries' policy of mutual assistance is motivated by a sincere desire to achieve progress for all.

All socialist countries supply each other with commodities at mutually advantageous prices stipulated by long-term agreements and contracts. The existence of a stable and constantly expanding market enables all the socialist countries to increase their volume of production and accelerate their economic development. It also tends to bring them closer together.

In speaking about the growing cooperation among the socialist countries, it is important to stress that the development of these countries is characterized by complete political and economic independence. Close economic cooperation founded on the principles of socialist internationalism opens up new opportunities for the most rational utilization of the productive and raw material resources and harmoniously combines the interests of each country with those of the entire socialist community. To carry out the principles of socialist internationalism in practice means to combine the common interests of the world socialist system with the particular national interests of every one of its members. Any attempt by one socialist country to enrich itself at the expense of another socialist state and, consequently, of the entire socialist community will ultimately do harm to that country.

Here we may recall the name of Georgi Dimitrov, the great Bulgarian patriot and true internationalist. When approaching the Soviet Government with one or another request, he always tried to make sure that its fulfilment would not adversely affect the building of socialism in the USSR. "When receiving any aid from the Soviet Union," Dimitrov used to say, "we must think not only of our own country but of the entire com-

munity, and above all of the Soviet Union, and its might, for the destiny of all socialist countries ultimately depends on this.”

The fusion of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism is clearly manifested in the system of defence organization operating in the socialist countries. The might of the Soviet Armed Forces and mutual assistance of the socialist countries enable each of them to cut its military spending and, consequently, to invest more in economic development and in the improvement of living standards.

A good example of joint action by the socialist countries for countering the threat to peace presented by the escalation of US aggression in Vietnam is provided by the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization held in Sofia in March 1968. The Meeting adopted a Declaration which reads in part:

“Reaffirming their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Warsaw Treaty countries express their fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam who are waging a selfless struggle against US imperialist aggression. They again solemnly declare their firm resolve to continue to give full support and the necessary aid, including economic assistance and delivery of modern weapons, technical equipment and specialists, to the fraternal socialist country—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the Vietnamese people.” \*

---

\* “Declaration on the Threat to Peace Presented by the Escalation of US Aggression in Vietnam,” *Pravda*, March 9, 1968.

The socialist countries' cooperation enables them to uphold international peace and security, which is an essential condition for the successful building of socialism and communism, for economic progress and the well-being of the people.

The merging of the international and national interests of the peoples of the socialist community and of the world's progressive forces creates favourable conditions for educating the working people of the socialist countries in the spirit of socialist patriotism and consistent internationalism. However, this task involves a number of difficulties arising from the tenacity of bourgeois nationalism.

Manifestations of nationalism, national egoism, national narrow-mindedness do not disappear by themselves. Historical experience shows that these and other survivals of capitalism continue to exist for a long time after the establishment of the socialist system. They are used by the moribund social forces for combating all that is new and progressive, and are deliberately fostered by international and internal reaction. Recent developments in certain socialist countries are a fresh reminder of this.

New attempts are now being made to refurbish the bankrupt racial "theory," to counterpose socialist internationalism and patriotism to cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism, notably Zionism. Ideological subversion against the communist movement takes the form of flirting with young people and students and preaching nationalism. In Poland, for example, the enemies of socialism succeeded in deceiving a section of student youth and leading them to a perilous path. As the students gathered in the streets to demonstrate peace-

fully they were immediately joined by rowdies and criminal elements. The handful of reactionary adventurers sowed the wind but reaped a storm of indignation from the Polish people, who fully supported the United Workers' Party and the people's government. "With respect to the events which took place in the country," Wladyslaw Gomulka declared at a meeting of Party workers in Warsaw, "the dividing line runs between socialism and reaction of all colours and stripes, between the policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and the anti-Soviet policy of bankrupt reactionaries. . ."

Nationalism is often disguised as patriotism for the purpose of deceiving the masses; sometimes it is even clothed in the garb of internationalism or camouflaged with left revolutionary phrases.

The Communist Parties in the socialist countries bear especial responsibility for correctly combining the principles of internationalism and patriotism in their policy. They have won major victories and passed through severe trials. As a result they have accumulated a wealth of experience in directing socialist construction and in educating the working people in the spirit of internationalism and patriotism.

The Communist Parties tirelessly teach the working people to combine internationalism with patriotism and wage a resolute struggle to overcome persisting survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. In carrying out this noble task, which forms an integral part of communist construction, they rely on revolutionary theory and creatively elaborate the cardinal problems of scientific communism, including the problem of

organically fusing internationalism and patriotism.

Education of the working masses in the socialist countries in the spirit of internationalism combined with patriotism contributes to the advance of each fraternal country and of the entire socialist camp, strengthens their unity and cohesion and helps to promote friendly relations between them.

The strength of the world socialist system lies in the unity of its member-countries, in their close friendship and fraternal cooperation. That is why the promotion of unity of all the socialist countries and of the world's progressive forces is the supreme internationalist duty of Communists.



# The Principles of Internationalism and Peaceful Coexistence

The principles of the foreign policy of the socialist state formulated by Lenin are a major component of the Leninist legacy. For more than half a century, the foreign policy programme of building socialism elaborated by Lenin has been steadily carried out by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. The CPSU is developing and enriching this programme as applied to the changing conditions within the country and throughout the world.

Lenin proceeded from the premise that two basic principles must underlie the activity of the Soviet state in foreign affairs: the principle of proletarian, socialist internationalism in relations with other socialist countries and the working people of the capitalist world, and the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations with bourgeois countries.

In elaborating the question of proletarian in-

ternationalism, Lenin drew on the works of Marx and Engels.

The theory of Marxism provided scientific substantiation of the international solidarity of proletarians in different countries, the appearance and operation of which is an objective necessity. The need for this solidarity is dictated by the very conditions in which the proletariat lives and wages the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, against the exploiting society. Marxism bases itself on the principle that the living conditions of the working class in different states are almost identical; consequently, life itself confronts them with the same fundamental aims and tasks. Workers of different countries encounter a united class enemy, the international bourgeoisie. Since the workers are opposed by a united world front of the bourgeoisie, their class struggle becomes international even if it is waged in the concrete situation of a given state. Hence it is clear that such a struggle can be successful only given international solidarity of the working class. "As the condition of the workers is the same in all countries," Engels pointed out, "as their interests are the same, and their enemies are the same, they must fight together and they must counterpose to the fraternal union of the bourgeoisie of all nations the fraternal union of the workers of all nations." \*

The founders of Marxism held that the emancipation of the working class is a task of international scope. The emancipation of labour, they said, is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem embracing all countries in which mo-

---

\* Marx and Engels. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 373, Russ. Ed.

dern society exists. Marx and Engels considered proletarian internationalism one of the most important prerequisites for the success of the proletariat's class struggle, for the abolition of the capitalist system and the victory of the socialist revolution. Marx and Engels regarded betrayal of proletarian internationalism as betrayal of the cause of the working people, the cause of socialism.

Lenin adhered to the same position, developing the idea of proletarian internationalism as applied to the new conditions. "Capital," he noted, "is an international force. To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed. We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists." \*

Lenin noted that, in order to undermine the international solidarity of the working people, the bourgeoisie frequently plays on nationalist and chauvinist sentiments and passions. He demonstrated the fundamental, profound difference between the "internationalism" of bourgeois nationalists and the solidarity of workers of different countries. "Petty-bourgeois nationalism," Lenin wrote, "proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. . . preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.” \*

Lenin repeatedly stressed the very close link between the national and international tasks of the proletariat. Struggle for the liberation of the proletariat, for socialism within a country was inseparable for him from the struggle for socialism throughout the world. In 1917 Lenin wrote: “There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *in one’s own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line in *every* country without exception.” \*\* The working class of any country, in solving its national revolutionary problems, thereby assists the international proletariat and thus discharges its internationalist duty. At the same time, the revolutionary movement in other countries creates for the working class of a given country favourable international conditions for revolutionary changes and the successful accomplishment of the socialist revolution within state and national bounds.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is a splendid example of dialectical combination of the national and international elements in the policy of the Bolshevik Party. When it was leading the working masses of Russia to overthrow the power of the landowners and capitalists, to establish a socialist system in Russia, it pursued not only national aims. Lenin and the Party under-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

\*\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

stood the tasks of the revolution in a much broader sense; the Russian revolution had to open the road to socialism to all peoples, to become the beginning of the world revolutionary process designed to put an end to capitalism throughout the world.

A year after the Great October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "The Bolsheviks' tactics. . . were the only internationalist tactics, because they did the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries.*" \*

Since then, the process of the revolutionary transformation of the world has spread all over the globe. In his book, *The Soviet Union: The Fifty Years*, Harrison Salisbury, an American journalist, wrote that, as the result of the October Revolution, "The social fabric of Western Europe, the life of painted warriors in Africa, the aspirations of men and women in the rice-fields of Asia. . . metamorphosed. The world of kings, emperors and czars. . . vanished." \*\*

Lenin was able as no one else to make a deep analysis of the objective processes of society's socio-economic and spiritual life, to examine from every angle the correlation of class forces and the concrete distinctions of each historical moment. He pointed out that the October Revolution, having divided the world into two systems, the socialist and the capitalist, has shifted the basic contradiction of the epoch, the contradiction between moribund capitalism and growing

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 292.

\*\* H. Salisbury. *The Soviet Union: The Fifty Years*, New York, 1967, p. 4.

socialism, into the sphere of international relations. Struggle between the two opposite social systems has become the principal process in world history. This basic contradiction in the world after the October Revolution impels the capitalist governments to set up a united front of bourgeois states to fight against socialism. Lenin stressed that contradictions between the imperialist powers operating in the contemporary world weaken the unity of the anti-socialist front of the bourgeoisie.

A comprehensive analysis of international relations after the October Revolution enabled Lenin to formulate the basic principles of the foreign policy to be pursued by the first socialist state in the world. In relations with other socialist countries—in the emergence of which Lenin had profoundly believed and with good grounds, as history has shown—and also with the working people of the world, it is proletarian internationalism. In relations with capitalist countries, which in a definite period of history—up to the world-wide victory of the socialist revolution—will exist side by side with the socialist states, it is peaceful co-existence. Since then, both these principles have determined the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Lenin headed the first socialist government in the world, and his understanding of proletarian internationalism was embodied in the foreign policy of the Soviet state. Lenin held that chatter about internationalism, solidarity in word, was not worth anything. He taught "to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying." \*

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 24, p. 82.

The position of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party on the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty is a model of internationalism at a desperate time for the young Soviet state. Lenin wrote: "... we were making and were obliged to make great national sacrifices for the sake of the supreme interests of the world proletarian revolution." \*

History proved how necessary the sacrifices made in those hard years were both for the interests of world socialism and ultimately for those of Russia's working people.

The decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of November 13, 1918 annulling the Brest Peace Treaty, signed by Lenin and Sverdlov, outlined some of the main features of future relations between socialist countries. The decision stated that such relations could be based "only on principles conforming to fraternal relations between the working people of all countries and nations. . . Relations between peoples established on these foundations will be not only peaceful relations. This will be an alliance of the working masses of all nations in their struggle for building and strengthening the socialist system on the ruins of the system of militarism, imperialism and economic slavery."

The principle of proletarian internationalism was embodied in the mutual assistance and support which the working people of Soviet Russia and other countries began to render each other immediately after the October Revolution. The Soviet state was prepared to render even armed aid to its class brothers in their revolutionary

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 28, p. 187.

struggle. This position was both reasonable and just, because the international bourgeoisie had no compunction in helping with troops and arms the capitalists of countries where revolutions broke out. A striking example was the defeat of the Hungarian revolution in 1919.

During the years of the Civil War and intervention, the international solidarity of the working people of Soviet Russia and other countries was of great importance for the cause of socialism and progress. The gains of the October Revolution were preserved in the USSR, and the first socialist state in the history of mankind was firmly established. In the bourgeois world, the working people scored big victories in the struggle for their political and economic interests, which clearly would not have happened had there been no October Revolution in Russia.

After the end of the Civil War, the Soviet Union was engaged for about twenty years in building socialist society. In that, its people made an inestimable contribution to international revolutionary proletarian solidarity. The building of socialism created conditions for the further development of the socialist revolution. The Party and the Soviet people fulfilled the directive of Lenin, who as early as 1921 said: "We are now exercising our main influence on the international revolution through our economic policy."\*

Simultaneously, the Communist Party invariably carried out its internationalist duty, rendering assistance to the working-class and revolutionary movement in foreign countries. The 14th Party Congress, held in December 1925, instruc-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll Works*, Vol. 32, p. 437.



ted the Central Committee "to strengthen to the utmost the alliance of the proletariat of the USSR, as the basis of world revolution, with the West European proletariat and the oppressed people." The same line was pursued in the decisions of all subsequent congresses. On the eve of the Second World War, the 18th Party Congress called for "strengthening the international ties of friendship with the working people of all countries."

The Soviet Union supported all the major actions of the proletariat. We can recall such instances as the Soviet support of the 1926 general strike in Britain and the great assistance rendered to the revolutionary people of China from 1924 to 1927. When the people of Spain rose to fight a national revolutionary war, they received every assistance from the Soviet Union. The USSR has always supported the peoples of the colonial world in their struggle for national liberation.

Lenin held that the principle of peaceful co-existence must underlie relations between the Soviet state and bourgeois countries. This idea was elaborated by Lenin even prior to the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. Peaceful co-existence was proclaimed by the Communist Party as one of the principles of its foreign policy immediately after the victory of the October Revolution.

When the Decree on Peace was adopted at the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Lenin noted that the secret treaties concluded by the bourgeois government of Russia also included economic agreements and various other clauses on good-neighbourly relations. In this connection he said: "We shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all eco-

conomic agreements: we cannot reject these." \* This means that, in laying the cornerstone of its foreign policy, the Bolshevik Party in the very first hours of the Soviet state's existence was thinking of the forms of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries. Later on, many bilateral and multilateral agreements of Russia with other countries were confirmed by the Soviet Government, and a number of them remain in force to this day.

The Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence provides first of all for peace in relations between states. But this does not exhaust its content. Coexistence means not only renunciation of war as a means of resolving disputed questions, but also cooperation. Lenin had in view cooperation of socialist and bourgeois states in the political, economic and cultural spheres. He attached particularly great importance to international trade, considering it a prime means for consolidating peace and peaceful coexistence.

Even when the imperialists compelled the young socialist state to defend, arms in hand, its right to existence, the Bolshevik Party did not rule out the possibility of cooperation, in the interests of socialism, between socialist and bourgeois states on definite conditions, not only in the political, but also in the military sphere.

At the beginning of 1918, when Germany was mounting an offensive on the Russian front, Lenin was ready to negotiate with the Entente countries to get arms and military assistance from them. On February 22, 1918, when the Central Committee of the Party discussed the offer of the French and the British to help the Soviet Govern-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 255.

ment in the war against the Germans, Lenin spoke up "for accepting potatoes and weapons from the brigands of Anglo-French imperialism."

In 1918 Lenin and the Party took a fundamental decision on the possibility of cooperating with bourgeois states even in the military sphere. This possibility was translated into reality more than 20 years later, during the Second World War, when the USSR entered into a military and political alliance with other members of the anti-Hitler coalition to defeat Nazism.

When the Civil War ended, a period of peaceful coexistence of the Soviet state with the capitalist world began during Lenin's lifetime. It was a new stage in implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence. Lenin said: "we are in a position of having won conditions enabling us to exist side by side with capitalist powers."\*

The activity of the Soviet Government at the 1922 Genoa Conference offers an outstanding example of struggle for the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet delegation declared: "Adhering to the principles of communism, the Russian delegation recognizes that in the present historical epoch, which makes possible the parallel existence of the old system and the incipient new social system, economic cooperation between states representing these two systems of property is an imperative necessity..."

To preserve and strengthen peace, the Soviet Union took steps to establish normal diplomatic relations with the capitalist countries. The Soviet Government kept up its efforts in this sphere for many years and they were successfully con-

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 412.

summed in 1933, when diplomatic relations were established with the United States.

The Soviet Union's consistent and constructive disarmament campaigns in the 1920s and the 1930s are generally known. To facilitate its struggle for peace, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations in 1934. Treaties were concluded with some bourgeois states and definite measures were taken with the object of setting up a united front to curb fascist aggression. The Soviet Union advocated the development of broad economic cooperation with the capitalist countries, acting on the principle that trade, as a factor consolidating peace, is in this case not only of economic, but also of political significance.

The successes of Soviet foreign policy in the 1920s and 1930s are indisputable. The USSR succeeded in preserving peace for 20 years; during that time it built socialist society and prepared for the impending armed clash with the most reactionary imperialist forces. This was in both the national interests of the Soviet people and the supreme interests of the socialist revolution, as was conclusively demonstrated by the Second World War.

Even the most inveterate enemies of the Soviet Union must recognize the grandeur of the feat performed by its people in the Great Patriotic War, a feat without equal in history. The immense sacrifices made by the Soviet people for victory preserved the national freedom and sovereignty of the USSR. Thereby a reliable bulwark of all the forces fighting for freedom, progress and socialism, a bulwark of the world working class was preserved. To gain an idea of the importance of the Soviet Union's victory in the

Second World War for the cause of progress, it is enough to ask: what would have happened without that victory, what fate would have been in store for the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe, and not only Europe? Fascist barbarity would have descended on many countries for long years. The Soviet Union dispelled this danger and therein lies the revolutionary and international importance of its feat.

The Soviet Union made big sacrifices to liberate a number of countries in Eastern and South-eastern Europe from the Nazi invaders and their allies. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers laid down their lives to free the peoples of Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Austria, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia from the fascist yoke. As many as 144,000 Soviet servicemen perished only in battles for the freedom of Czechoslovakia. This also was fulfilment by the Soviet people of their internationalist duty.

No other country would have made such sacrifices. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, for example, feared that the Soviet Army, having expelled the enemy from its territory, would stop at the border, preserving its forces. Probably the government he headed would have acted that way had it been faced with such a problem. But the Soviet forces continued the offensive and did so not for the sake of conquest, but to enable the peoples of a number of countries to take their destiny into their own hands and to steer the development of their countries onto the road of freedom, progress and socialism.

After the Second World War, the main line of historical development was determined both by the triumph of the ideas of the October Revolu-

tion and the defeat of the fascist states in that war. This created conditions for the conversion of socialism into a world system, for the rise of a socialist community of states, and the disintegration of the colonial system.

The Second World War brought about a sharp change in the balance of world forces. The Soviet Union emerged from the war more powerful than it had entered it, whereas the most aggressive imperialist powers were defeated. As a result, the positions of socialism were greatly strengthened. The wave of socialist revolutions which unfurled after the war led a number of European and Asian countries onto the socialist road. This was also facilitated by the colossal successes of the Soviet people in developing their economy, science and technology and in building up the state. The consolidation of socialism simultaneously meant the weakening of imperialism's positions, which, moreover, were greatly undermined by the disintegration of the colonial system and the spread of a powerful revolutionary democratic movement in the capitalist world. All this is objective reality.

But it is just as much of a reality that capitalism still possesses huge material and technical resources and military strength, displays cunning ingenuity in fighting the revolutionary forces and remains a powerful and dangerous enemy of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist community.

The history of the Second World War and the postwar period conclusively shows that, as socialism grows stronger, the hostility of the imperialist forces mounts. This intensifies and deepens the main contradiction of our time, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, in consequence

of which the class struggle in the sphere of international relations grows much sharper. As capitalism is weakened, it by no means becomes less aggressive; it grows more vicious and hostile towards progress and socialism.

Representatives of the Western political and scientific world speak directly and openly about the deepening of contradictions between the two socio-economic systems. US President Kennedy wrote in 1963: "Two great forces—the world of communism and the world of free choice (i.e. capitalism—*Ed.*) have, in effect, made a 'bet' about the direction in which history is moving." \* The innocuous word "bet" implies struggle between communism and imperialism, a struggle "viewed as mortal," US Prof. H. S. Dinerstein remarks. \*\* Another American expert on foreign affairs, R. Osgood, stresses that American foreign policy has been dominated by the general objective of containing communism. Intervention is the means for achieving this end. "Intervention is here defined," Prof. Dinerstein explains, "as the use of force by the United States, directly or indirectly, in order to prevent... communist assumption of power in a state, or in order to overthrow an established communist regime." \*\*\*

Nor is there a lack of such admissions by British bourgeois leaders. Foreign Secretary and subsequently Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stated in 1955 that the ultimate aim of the British

---

\* *Look*, January 15, 1963, p. 18.

\*\* H. S. Dinerstein. *Fifty Years of Soviet Coexistence*, Washington, 1967, p. 8.

\*\*\* H. S. Dinerstein. *Intervention Against Communism*, Baltimore, 1967, p. V, 3.

policy is "reconversion of the communist world,"\* that is, the destruction of socialism as a state system and the restoration of the capitalist order throughout the world. Another British ex-Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, firmly believed that "in a contest for the survival of a free civilization... the communist threat is absolute."\*\*

The exacerbation of contradictions between socialism and capitalism prompts bourgeois governments to look for ways and means of somehow settling and easing the international squabbles disuniting the imperialist countries in order to maintain and reinforce the anti-communist front. It goes without saying that even the wisest bourgeois leaders are unable to abolish the inter-imperialist contradictions. But it would be short-sighted to underestimate their efforts aimed at pooling efforts to fight communism.

After the Second World War, the sharpening of the class struggle on the international arena made the policy of peaceful coexistence more difficult to pursue. Soviet readiness to maintain relations with the United States and Britain in the spirit of the anti-Hitler coalition after the war was answered by the cold war against the USSR and other socialist countries.

But Soviet successes in science, technology and industry, which resulted in the development of the most modern means of defence, restrained the imperialist politicians from turning the cold war into a hot one and compelled the bourgeois world to accept peaceful coexistence or at least coexis-

---

\* *The Times*, September 23, 1955.

\*\* *Foreign Affairs*, January 1961, p. 170.



tence with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. American Professor D. F. Fleming writes: "We cannot conquer or rule the Soviet Union, any more than she can subdue or control North America. . . We literally have no alternative except to live on the same. . . planet with the Soviet Union and learn to adjust our differences with her without war. It is a matter of life and death to us." \* Strausz-Hupé explains the spread of such a view of peaceful coexistence in the United States and other capitalist countries by the USA having lost its "freedom of decision" whether "to stay at peace or go to war." \*\* With the development of the Soviet nuclear-missile technology, the right of decision went over to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government, pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence in the interests of the USSR, the other socialist countries and the entire international communist movement, is trying to save mankind from the threat of a devastating nuclear war. It acts on the principle that peaceful coexistence of countries with opposite socio-economic systems means renunciation of war as a means of resolving disputed issues between states.

But peaceful coexistence is a dialectical phenomenon which contains elements both of cooperation and of struggle. For us it is above all a specific form of the class struggle in the international arena. Lenin described concessions as a form of an economic war between socialism and capitalism. As for the ideological sphere, here any co-

---

\* D. F. Fleming. *The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-60*, Vol. 1, London, 1961, p. 3.

\*\* *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*, New York, 1960, pp. 46, 48.

operation whatsoever is precluded; here consistent and persistent class struggle is waged with ever increasing intensity. On ideological questions there can be no compromises for Marxists.

Such an interpretation of the concept of peaceful coexistence rules out any contradiction between it and proletarian internationalism. Moreover, peaceful coexistence facilitates the provision of conditions for realizing the principles of proletarian internationalism. The policy of peaceful coexistence is aimed at preserving world peace, at securing peace for all the peoples of the socialist countries and providing the external political conditions necessary for the constructive labour of the peoples in the socialist community building socialist and communist society. This fully meets the aims pursued by all true Marxist internationalists.

Since the Second World War, the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism has been strikingly embodied in the relations of the Soviet Union with other countries of the socialist community. Part and parcel of these relations is fraternal mutual assistance, which is a powerful manifestation of the principle of socialist internationalism. When the peoples of these countries undertook to carry out a socialist revolution, it was the political and military might of the Soviet Union that protected them from the export of counter-revolution from the West and ensured favourable external political conditions for the victory of the revolution. The USSR played a similar part when people's rule was asserting itself in the young socialist states. Soviet economic assistance facilitated the building up of the economy in other socialist countries. The economic

achievements of the socialist countries are also due in large measure to the Soviet Union's assumption of a considerable share of the expenditure for the joint defence of the socialist community, including the development of nuclear-missile weapons, which involves tremendous material outlays and the efforts of scientists, technicians and workers.

The formation of the socialist system of states signified that the principle of socialist internationalism preserving all its old functions, the operation of which has been greatly extended in the new conditions, became a principle regulating relations between states in the socialist community.

The relations of the Soviet Union with the working people of the capitalist countries continue to be based on the principle of proletarian internationalism. But with the Soviet Union increasingly influencing world development, the spread of socialist and national-liberation revolution, the rise in the political consciousness and activity of the masses and the further expansion of the various streams of the mass progressive movement, the international ties between the USSR and the working people of the non-socialist states have assumed a truly unparalleled scope. The principle of proletarian internationalism also regulates relations of other socialist states with the working people of the capitalist world.

A characteristic feature of postwar world politics is the concentration of forces of the bourgeoisie for struggle against socialism and the revolutionary movement, a concentration without equal in the past. The numerous aggressive military blocs built up by the main counter-revolutionary force of our time, the United States, consti-

tute an important element in contemporary international relations.

Political leaders of the bourgeois world are driving for further integration of the economic, military and political resources of the principal capitalist states. As early as 1961 Anthony Eden demanded: "Faced with this challenge, the free nations must unite and integrate more closely than ever before in war or peace" for "we are engaged in a conflict for the survival of a free civilization (that is how Eden qualifies capitalism—*Ed.*)" \*

Another British political leader, Douglas Home, assured the public in 1962: "Our one purpose is to try to create the interdependence of nations and bring the communist nations into the fold with the free peoples." \*\* What he implies is the abolition of the socialist states and the restoration of the capitalist system on their territory.

The foreign policy pursued by the bourgeois states requires that the socialist countries, and the entire world communist movement, further extend and strengthen revolutionary internationalist ties and joint action. The bourgeois counter-revolutionary front, which is stepping up its activity, must be met by the mighty revolutionary force of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet Union is carrying out its internationalist duty by fulfilling the plans of building communist society in the USSR. Thereby, the Soviet peoples are not only accomplishing their national task, but also stimulating the working

---

\* *Foreign Affairs*, January 1961, p. 169.

\*\* *The Times*, October 24, 1962, p. 13.

people in other countries to struggle for the socialist revolution. "...we have said, and still say, that socialism has the force of example," Lenin wrote. "...We must show the significance of communism in practice, by example."\*

The successful building of communism in the Soviet Union shows the working people of the world the direction of world social development. It also reveals the historic doom of capitalism. Our constructive activity raises the economic and political might of the world socialist system, helps it to outstrip capitalism in material production. Our economic achievements reinforce the defence potential of the socialist camp and create more favourable possibilities for averting another world war and cutting short the export of counter-revolution and neo-colonialism by the imperialist powers. Achievements in building communism, the growth of the economy and culture, the extension of democracy and improvement of the living standard of the Soviet people enrich the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the experience of transition from socialism to communism. The world revolutionary process is thereby accelerated.

The working-class movement in the capitalist world in recent years has been largely indebted for its gains to the achievements of the Soviet people. In face of the growing might of socialism, the bourgeoisie is compelled to manoeuvre and make concessions to the working people, who are stepping up the struggle for democracy, for their economic rights.

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 457

The CPSU is working for the international unity of the revolutionary vanguard of the world working class, for unity of action by all Communist Parties. The loyalty of the Soviet Union to proletarian internationalism is displayed in the great moral, political and material support the Soviet Union is giving the national-liberation movement and the peoples of new states which have won national independence.

The relations of the Soviet Union with other countries of the socialist community are based on fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, strict consideration for the interests of every country and their proper combination with the general interests of the world socialist system. But to assert these relations is an intricate and none too easy task. Numerous difficulties of an objective and subjective nature must be eliminated. It is impossible to create at once a voluntary alliance of socialist nations, based on full confidence and clear awareness of the need for fraternal unity. For this purpose it is necessary gradually and patiently to eliminate "distrust inherited from centuries of landowner and capitalist oppression, centuries of private property and the enmity caused by its divisions and redivisions." \* Nationalism and chauvinism are among such adverse consequences of capitalism.

Besides objective difficulties, the establishment of internationalist relations within the socialist community is also impeded by the greatly intensified intrigues of socialism's enemies. By political, and ideological propaganda and, at times, also

---

\* Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

economic means, they try to set the socialist countries against each other, and especially against the Soviet Union, aware that the USSR is the bulwark of the entire world socialist system. They doggedly carry on subversive work to disunite the socialist countries and the world communist movement from the national-liberation movement.

Contemporary Right-wing Social Democracy, that longstanding and consistent enemy of internationalism, plays an unseemly part in this respect. Betrayal by the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders helped the imperialist forces to unleash two world wars. Today, Right-wing Social-Democracy, hand in hand with the imperialists, participates in the campaign against socialist internationalism.

The splitting activity of the Mao Tse-tung group is doing great harm to the cause of socialist solidarity. It can hardly be doubted that had the group not weakened the united socialist front, the United States would have not been able to pursue its aggressive policy in Southeast Asia and especially to start the piratical war in Vietnam.

The results of the Soviet Union's half-century development conclusively demonstrate the correctness and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the correctness of the road followed by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party. These 50 years put to the test the Leninist principles of the foreign policy of the socialist state—proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence. The half-century experience has revealed the vital importance of these principles for socialism. The successes of the Soviet Union in socialist and communist construction

clearly prove the correctness of the internal and external political course charted by the founder and leader of the first socialist state in the world.



**Ленинизм  
и единство международного  
коммунистического движения**  
*на английском языке*

Цена 13 коп.





