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PATRIOTISM and INTERNATIONALISM

by
S. TITARENKO

A SOVIET NEWS BOOKLET

One Penny

1950

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PATRIOTISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

1. What is Patriotism ?

LOVE of country, of one's native land, we call patriotism. It is one of the deepest emotions found in the masses. Many songs are sung in praise of love for one's country; much has been written about it by poets and scientists, too. But not everybody understands or speaks of the concept of patriotism in the same way.

When a representative of the working people speaks about it, he identifies the sense of patriotic duty with the struggle for the happiness of the labouring people. The ideologists of the exploiting classes, however, as a rule try to use the love of the masses for their country in their own selfish class interests. The bourgeoisie usually substitute nationalism for patriotism, corrupting the minds of the common people by instilling in them chauvinistic, reactionary ideas.

Nationalism or chauvinism have nothing in common with the patriotism of the working masses. The bourgeoisie and their ideologists have always harboured nationalistic prejudices, but the minute their pocket is threatened they betray the national interest without the slightest hesitation.

The history of the rule of the bourgeoisie abounds in instances of national betrayal. Karl Marx's statement that ever since the bourgeoisie had become the ruling class its patriotism had degenerated into pure deception was not a casual remark.

It is known for instance that in 1871, during the Franco-Prussian War, when the French army had been routed and the country was in the grip of a profound political crisis that led to the rise of the Paris Commune, the bourgeoisie entered into a shameful compact with the Prussian victors.

The hangman Louis Adolphe Thiers, placeman of the French bourgeoisie, took a monstrous and bloody vengeance on the Paris proletariat for wanting to create a new, free France.

The Russian bourgeoisie, too, took the path of open betrayal of the national interests; that was in the 1917-1920 period after Russia's proletariat, in alliance with the poorest peasantry, had taken power into their own hands. The capitalists and landlords, who had been overthrown by the Socialist Revolution, entered into an alliance with the imperialists of Germany, France, Britain, America and Japan and were ready to sell Russia piecemeal and wholesale; they were ready to commit the most vicious crimes against the peoples of their country. And had not the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, then saved Russia it would have lost both economic and political independence and would have become a colony of foreign imperialist robbers.

Equally striking cases of infamous betrayal of their own countries by the bourgeoisie took place in 1938-40, when the fascist aggressors, aided and abetted by the notorious "Munich peacemakers", unleashed the Second World War. The French people will never forget the tragic summer of 1940 when a handful of contemptible cowards and traitors—Daladier, Reynaud, Petain and their kind—handed France over to the hitlerite cut-throats.

"Better Hitler than the victory of the People's Front," was the cynical cry of France's miserable rulers of that day.

Norway, Rumania, Bulgaria, and other countries directly or indirectly under Hitler's heel, were just as shamelessly betrayed by their reactionary ruling classes.

When hitlerite Germany had been defeated by the valorous Soviet Army, the ruling cliques of France, Italy and other countries of Western Europe made their peoples the vassals of the U.S.A. monopolists. Is there anybody now who does not know that the big bosses of Wall Street are lording it over the European capitalist countries as they do at home?

The United States imperialists have enslaved those countries economically and politically with the aid of the notorious "Marshall Plan". Crawling on their bellies before the money-bags from across the ocean, shedding the last vestige of national pride, the ruling circles of the European capitalist countries refuse to recognise the right of peoples to national sovereignty even in words. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie, including the right-wing socialist lackeys of imperialism, have worked out

"theories" on the need for Western Europe's slavish submission to the monopolists of the U.S.A.

Fearing and hating their peoples, the ruling classes of Europe's capitalist countries have trampled upon everything that smacks of patriotism. The words of the great Lenin that "where class profits are concerned the bourgeoisie will sell the country and will enter into shady deals against their people with any foreigner" (*Collected Works*, Russian 3rd ed., Vol. XXIII, p. 158) are in our days confirmed with exceptional force.

The whole world knows how despicably Chiang Kai-shek has behaved towards the Chinese people. Driven out of his country by the people, this traitor continues to appeal to the American imperialists to intervene against the Chinese People's Republic.

Against the shameful treason of the reactionary national bourgeoisie there stands out prominently the genuine patriotism of the common people, the working masses, by whose labour all the good things of life are created. Every worker and every working peasant may say with legitimate pride that his country is indebted to him, too, for its life and development, since a particle of his labour has gone into everything created by human hands.

To love one's country and to work for her good and prosperity does not mean to be an enemy of other peoples. On the contrary, a real patriot loves his people and respects other peoples. It is, of course, natural for a patriot to have national pride. He cannot help being proud of his nation's historic deeds. He is conscious of the fact that his country, too, has made a contribution to the development of world culture and civilisation. Patriotic pride, however, is the very antithesis of nationalistic arrogance.

Love for one's country cannot in any way hinder the solidarity of the working people of all nations, or the recognition of the equality, freedom and independence of other peoples.

The interests of national pride, but not as it is conceived by slaves, Lenin teaches us, are identical with the socialist interests of the proletariat of all nations.

True patriotism denotes such a love for one's country as cannot tolerate social and national enthrallment of one people by another.

The real patriots are the devoted champions of the cause of the working class and of all other working people; of peace

and socialism. Their love of country cannot be divorced from their practical endeavour to bring about a better future for their people.

In his remarkable article *On the National Pride of the Great Russians*, written in 1914, Lenin said: "Is the sense of national pride alien to us, Great Russian, class-conscious proletarians? Of course not! We love our language and our country, and our major effort is devoted to raising *her* toiling masses (i.e., nine-tenths of *her* population) to the level of the conscious life of democrats and Socialists. . . . We are filled with a sense of national pride because the Great Russian nation has *also* created a revolutionary class, has *also* proved that it is capable of showing mankind great examples of struggle for freedom and for Socialism. . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian 4th ed., Vol. XXI, p. 85.)

Nowadays the concept of patriotism merges with the concept of democracy and socialism. Only he who fearlessly and boldly acts against the traitorous, anti-popular policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie is entitled to regard himself as a true son of his country. In our times only the Communist and Workers' Parties, adhering to the platform of Marxism-Leninism, cherish and give expression to patriotic ideas.

During the years of fascist rule in Europe, the communists showed themselves to be true sons of their countries, for they fought fearlessly and with utter devotion for the freedom and independence of the peoples. To gain this freedom, communists did not hesitate to give their lives. Thousands upon thousands of them died in the hard struggle against the fascist hangmen.

The working class of France, and progressive men and women from among the other sections of the French people, showed during the fascist occupation of their country many an example of utter devotion to the struggle for the freedom of their native land. The nightmare of Gestapo prisons, mass executions, unprecedented humiliation—the communists and workers went through all these things to free the people from the shame of fascist slavery. It is not surprising, therefore, that the people have acquired profound confidence in, and respect for, the communists, regarding them as true and reliable champions of the cause of the working people.

Only the working class, together with the millions of working peasants and progressive intelligentsia, really care about the fate

of their countries and wage a determined struggle against the imperialist warmongers.

A patriot is one who exposes the aggressive plans of the Anglo-American imperialists and their accomplices, and who openly and dauntlessly raises his voice in defence of peace, democracy and socialism.

2. What is Internationalism?

Since the day the working class appeared in the social arena as an independent political force, its ideological weapon in the struggle against the bourgeoisie has been proletarian internationalism, that is, the idea of solidarity, of unity of all workers regardless of nationality or race.

"Proletarians of all countries, unite!" was the concise and effective way Marx and Engels expressed the essence of internationalism in their famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Proletarian internationalism is the antithesis of bourgeois nationalism, which represents the ideology and policy of the exploiting classes. Lenin pointed out that proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are irreconcilable slogans, corresponding to the two class camps of the capitalist world. They express two opposing ideologies and two different policies.

Underlying internationalism is the idea of class solidarity of the exploited and the toilers, the struggle for liberty and independence of all peoples, big and small. Nationalism is the ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie, a means for kindling animosity and distrust between peoples.

With the aid of nationalism, the bourgeoisie tries to divide and weaken the forces of the working people in order to strengthen its economic and political dominion. Nationalism has its origin in the false and reactionary premise that peoples are divided into superior and inferior races, into "perfect" and "imperfect", and that the "superior" races must rule over the others.

An especially detestable, man-hating form of bourgeois nationalism is racialism, which divides peoples into "born" rulers and slaves. Everybody knows that racialism was the official ideology of the German and Italian fascists and the Japanese militarists. The fascist bandits openly proclaimed the right of a "superior" race to enslave or exterminate other peoples.

Racialism served the Hitlerites as a justification of their wild plans to gain world dominion. It is characteristic, however, that

while by their words they declared the German people to be a "superior" race, by their deeds they regarded them merely as cannon fodder with which to achieve the German monopolists' predatory aims.

The ideology of racialism has now been inscribed on the banner of the new bidders for world supremacy—the Anglo-American imperialists. The venal pack of politicians and scientists in the service of the Wall Street and City bosses extol the imaginary superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race over all other peoples.

Under the banner of nationalism, the imperialists concoct plots against the freedom and independence of peoples, organise predatory wars, kindle national strife among the working people and rob and oppress the colonial peoples. Nationalism is the tainted weapon used by the bourgeoisie in its application of the old slaveowners' principle of "divide and rule".

"The capitalists and the landlords," wrote Lenin, "want to divide the workers of different nations at any cost, but they themselves, the world's mighty, get on splendidly together as stockholders in 'lucrative', millioned 'deals' . . ." (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian 4th ed., Vol. XIX, p. 72.)

In contrast to bourgeois nationalism, proletarian internationalism springs from the recognition that the working people of all lands have common vital interests. Underlying internationalism is the premise that abolition of capitalist exploitation and all related forms of political and national oppression is the urgent task of the working people of all nationalities.

The internationalists divide people not according to what nation they originate from or belong to, but according to their social status, drawing a sharp dividing line between propertied and propertyless, between exploiters and exploited. The internationalists are opposed to each and every form of national oppression of one people by another. Marxism teaches that a people oppressing other peoples cannot itself be free. Proletarian internationalism demands full freedom and equality for nations, as a basic condition for mutual trust and class solidarity among the working people of all countries.

"The workers," wrote Lenin, "oppose to the old world of national oppression, national strife or national isolation a new world of the unity of the working people of all nations, a world in which there is room neither for a single privilege nor for the

slightest oppression of man by man." (*Collected Works*, Russian 4th ed., Vol. XIX, p. 72.)

In fighting for the freedom and equality of nations, the internationalists never renounce the fundamental class interests of the proletariat, the interests of the international socialist movement. Any one who even for a moment loses sight of the tasks of international solidarity of the working people in the struggle against capitalism is not an internationalist.

An internationalist may never forget the class struggle, cannot and must not forget that the interests of the proletariat and those of the bourgeoisie are irreconcilable. Any heedlessness of the class tasks of the proletariat inevitably leads to betrayal of proletarian internationalism, to desertion to the camp of bourgeois nationalism. An internationalist is one who always and under all circumstances subordinates the national interests to the interests of the struggle for the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie, for socialism.

Internationalism places above everything else the interests of international proletarian solidarity, the interests of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation. But this by no means signifies that internationalism consigns the national interests to oblivion.

Being an implacable enemy of bourgeois nationalism, proletarian internationalism consistently defends the right of peoples to independence and freedom. Internationalists hold that free development of nations is the principal condition for eliminating strife among nations and for establishing enduring friendship among peoples.

In this connection it is necessary to call attention to the truly internationalist stand taken by those strata and groups of working people in France who resolutely protest against the war conducted by the French imperialists in Viet Nam and demand that the people of Viet Nam be granted full freedom and independence.

From all that has been said it follows that proletarian internationalism not only does not deny patriotism but, on the contrary, is indissolubly connected with it. Only he can be an internationalist and a genuine patriot who loves his people and respects other peoples, who knows how to combine love for his country with burning hatred for the oppressors of peoples.

An internationalist cannot be indifferent to the fate of his country or to the fate of other peoples. When towards the end

of June 1950 President Truman of the U.S.A. launched the intervention against the Korean people, a meeting of 18,000 New York workers and progressive members of the intelligentsia shouted "Hands off Korea!" They acted as patriots and internationalists.

A disdainful attitude towards national interests is utterly alien to proletarian internationalism. Internationalism has nothing in common with so-called cosmopolitanism. The latter denies love of country, fostering indifference toward one's native land and to the national forms of culture, and propagating "world citizenship".

Cosmopolitanism, like nationalism, is a reactionary ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Propaganda of cosmopolitanism is now employed by Anglo-American imperialism as an ideological weapon spearheaded against the peoples fighting for national independence and freedom. Cosmopolitanism is a method used by American as well as British imperialism to camouflage their aggressive, annexationist plans to gain world supremacy.

At one time the German fascists, dreaming of enslaving the peoples of the world, openly pursued a policy of racialism. As a result of the military defeat of fascist Germany this man-hating ideology was dealt a serious blow.

The present bidders for world supremacy—the Anglo-American imperialists—are following the same policy, although they conceal their mercenary, imperialist aims by employing the deceitful phrases of "world citizenship", and "world government". To maintain their dominating position in colonial and dependent countries the American and British imperialists, and their junior partners in other capitalist countries as well, are forced not only to resort to open suppression of the oppressed peoples but also to propagate the ideas of cosmopolitanism, which are designed to undermine and corrupt the national consciousness of the peoples.

Cosmopolitanism also serves the objects of the struggle of the imperialists against the international labour movement. More than anything else, the bourgeoisie fears international solidarity, the unity of the working people, the awakening class consciousness of the proletariat. Lenin pointed out that capital places the preservation of the alliance of the capitalists of all countries against the working people above the interests of country, the people and everything else.

The leaders of the right-wing socialists, who are the watchdogs of capitalist law and order, have also come out as zealous

champions of cosmopolitanism. Currying favour with the American capitalist monopolies and shamelessly betraying the national interests of their countries, the right-wing socialist leaders scorn the patriotic feelings of the people and belittle the principle of national sovereignty.

The right-wing "socialists" call upon the peoples to renounce national sovereignty, accusing all those who resist the predatory plans of American imperialism of "economic nationalism".

The propagandists of cosmopolitanism not infrequently wear the mask of internationalists. In 1949 the *Arbeiterzeitung*, organ of the Austrian Social-Democrats, wrote as follows in answer to the question: "What is a Cosmopolitan?"

"Literally it means a man who belongs to the universe, to the entire world; that is, a world citizen whose thoughts and feelings are turned towards all the peoples of the earth; in other words, one who aspires to internationalism."

That is a brazen lie, for internationalists have never been people without kith or kin. Proletarian internationalism is irreconcilably opposed to bourgeois cosmopolitanism, which denies the right of the peoples to independence and preaches the policy of assimilation of nations, their forced "merger" at the hands of the big imperialist powers.

Cosmopolitanism is merely the reverse side of bourgeois nationalism. Both cosmopolitans and nationalists are enemies of the peoples. It is not by accident that imperialist intelligence services recruit their agents from among adherents of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. A vivid illustration of this is the nationalistic Tito clique, which has completely gone over to the Anglo-American intelligence service and which has turned the state administration of Yugoslavia into a tool of that service.

Both nationalists and cosmopolitans help the imperialist bourgeoisie to disrupt the unity of the working class and suppress the national liberation movement. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism are weapons used by the warmongers, ideologies of the enemies of peace, the enemies of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. To fight resolutely and relentlessly against bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism is an urgent task of all Communist and Workers' Parties, of all genuine internationalists.

Now more than ever the Communist and Workers' Parties are faced with the task of conducting a struggle against the danger

of a new war and national enslavement of peoples by the Anglo-American imperialists, against bourgeois nationalism and its counterpart—cosmopolitanism. It is of prime importance to educate the working class and all other working people in the ideas of socialist internationalism.

3. *Soviet Patriotism is an embodiment of Internationalism*

That patriotism and internationalism do not exclude but complement each other is evidenced by the patriotism of the Soviet people. The working people of the Land of Soviets have from the first days of the Soviet State's existence been educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. At the same time the Soviet people cherish a deep affection for their country.

The Bolshevik Party instilled in Soviet men and women national pride, a lofty consciousness of national interests, a sense of responsibility for their socialist state and a readiness to stand up staunchly for its independence and freedom. Love for the socialist Motherland inspires Soviet people to perform great deeds and heroic exploits.

Soviet patriotism, however, is in no way a manifestation of national bigotry. Nationalism and chauvinism are alien to Soviet patriotism.

In describing the nature of Soviet patriotism, J. V. Stalin said the following:

"The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but upon the profound devotion and loyalty of the people to the Soviet Motherland, on the fraternal co-operation of the working people of all the nations inhabiting our country. Soviet patriotism is a harmonious blend of the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism does not disunite but unites all the nations and nationalities inhabiting our country in a single fraternal family." (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1946, p. 165.)

Soviet patriotism has developed on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Such patriotism could develop only as a result of the abolition of capitalism with all the forms of class and national oppression inherent in it, on the basis of the emergence and consolidation of the new, socialist nations.

Soviet power wiped out Russia's former régime of national oppression and denial of rights to the people, recognising the right of every people to free national development. All the peoples of the Soviet Union constitute a single fraternal family. In Soviet society the ideology of the equality of all races and nations, the ideology of friendship among the peoples, is triumphant.

The victory of the Soviet ideology of friendship among the peoples is secured by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the Stalin Constitution—which proclaims that: "Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity, is an infeasible law."

In the U.S.S.R. live sixty-odd nations, national groups and nationalities, all of them together making up a single fraternal family of free and equal members of socialist society. The interests of the socialist native land are equally dear to all the peoples of the Soviet Union. In 1942, during the siege of Leningrad by the Hitlerite troops, a note was found on the dead body of Kayum Rakhmanov, a son of the Uzbek people who had died the death of a hero. The note read as follows:

"Life is the Motherland. The Motherland is my family, my village, all of my Soviet Land. When the enemy takes an inch of the native land he cuts off a piece of my body. I came here from a territory abounding in sunshine, in rich land, cotton, grapes, vast herds, where life is happy. When the fascists invaded Soviet soil I could feel Ferghana Valley quake. And everyone in whom beats the true heart of an Uzbek said to himself: 'Go ahead, stop the enemy, defend your home, your family!' And so I came to Leningrad. Without Moscow, without Leningrad, without Soviet Russia there can be no free Uzbekistan."

It is precisely the consciousness of the community of, the indivisibility of, the vital interests of the working people of all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. that imparts immense force to Soviet patriotism. Soviet men and women do not divorce their national interests from the interests of the working people of other countries. They regard the cause of the building of communism in the Soviet Union as an integral part of the common cause of the world proletariat.

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is a part of the world

proletariat, its advanced detachment, and our republic is the child of the world proletariat," it was pointed out by Stalin.

In fighting for the independence and freedom of the U.S.S.R. the Soviet people at the same time help the cause of freedom and independence of other peoples, for the Soviet Union is the stronghold and centre of the struggle for emancipation of the entire international proletariat.

In the war against the fascist enslavers Soviet men and women displayed uttermost self-sacrifice and unparalleled mass heroism in defending their country. Neither did they spare their strength or life in the struggle for the freedom and national independence of other peoples. No sincere man or woman anywhere in the world can now deny that without the heroic effort of the Soviet people which defeated German fascism and Japanese imperialism, there would be no People's Democracies in Europe and Asia, and there would be no mighty camp of socialism and democracy, no camp of peace opposing the camp of the fomenters of war.

A remarkable example of the internationalism of the working people of the U.S.S.R. is the selfless, brotherly help rendered by the Soviet people to the People's Democracies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania—which are building socialist economy, and also to the Chinese people in their effort to bring about the economic regeneration of their long-suffering country.

In friendship with the U.S.S.R., the working people of the People's Democracies see an earnest of their successful development towards socialism. In his message of greetings to N. M. Shvernik, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Co-operation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, Klement Gottwald, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, wrote as follows:

"The Czechoslovak people are becoming more and more deeply aware of the fact that the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union is their only guarantee of real independence. They are becoming convinced of it with particular force at this time when world imperialism is conducting a progressively growing attack on the independence and sovereignty of small

nations. Our people understand, too, that only the assistance rendered by the fraternal Soviet Union, the firm stronghold of socialism, guarantees their success in building socialism, that only the support, experience and example of the Soviet Union indicate and pave the tried road for building a better and happier tomorrow."

The policy whose guiding principle is aggression and suppression of the national sovereignty of other states is completely alien to the Soviet Union. There are no classes or groups in the U.S.S.R. interested in wars of aggrandisement. And it is no accident that it is precisely the Soviet Government that always has pursued, and continues to pursue, a foreign policy of peace, a policy of friendship and co-operation with all peoples.

The Soviet people respect the freedom and national independence of other peoples. This feature of the Soviet national policy was characterised by Stalin as follows:

"Many people do not believe that the relations between a big and a small nation can be equal. But we, Soviet people, hold that such relations can and must exist. Soviet people hold that each nation—whether big or small—has its own distinguishing qualitative features, its own specific nature which it alone possesses and other nations lack. These distinguishing features constitute the contribution that each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture and that supplements and enriches it. In this sense all nations—big or small—are in a similar position, and each nation is equivalent to every other nation."

Bourgeois politicians, who are in the habit of judging others by themselves, are disseminating slanderous inventions of a threat emanating from the U.S.S.R. However, no honest person can help admitting that the Soviet State is steadfastly working for peace among peoples, for friendship and co-operation among all peoples, both big and small.

It is this which explains the constantly growing sympathy of the working people of all countries with the Soviet Union, despite the many intrigues and false rumours spread by the imperialists and their agents. The international ties of the working people of the Soviet Union with the people of other countries have grown immeasurably stronger, for every intelligent plain person in any part of the world understands that the consolidation and development of the socialist system in the U.S.S.R. is the surest guarantee that the struggle of the working people of

all countries against reaction and imperialist oppression will be successful.

The Communist and Workers' Parties regard the fostering of love for the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of all working people—as one of their cardinal tasks. Devotion to the Soviet Union, the birthplace of socialism, a determined struggle against any anti-Soviet machinations by the enemies of the working class is the touchstone, the criterion of true proletarian internationalism.

As early as 1927, the great leader of the peoples, J. V. Stalin, said that an internationalist is one who is ready to defend the Soviet Union unreservedly, unhesitatingly and unconditionally.

History has confirmed the wisdom of this thesis of Stalin. Embarking on the road of anti-Soviet activity, the bourgeois-nationalist Tito clique in Yugoslavia betrayed the cause of proletarian internationalism and sold itself to the Anglo-American imperialists. Today the fascist-Gestapo Tito band is a shock detachment of international reaction, an agency of the imperialist intelligence services.

The international position of the Communist Parties was clearly expressed by the gallant son of the French people, the leader of the Communist Party of France, Maurice Thorez, in his famous statement that the French people would never fight against the U.S.S.R., and that in the event of imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union the communists of France would do everything in their power to help the U.S.S.R. defeat the imperialists.

In fighting for the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the Communist and Workers' Parties are at the same time fighting to foster among the working people love for and devotion to the Soviet Union, for firm friendship among the people of the U.S.S.R. and the working people of all countries.

The Soviet people, educated by the Party of Lenin and Stalin in the spirit of socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, are an example of devoted and consistent champions of peace and of the vital interests of the common people the world over.

4. The Fight for Peace is the Patriotic and International Duty of the Working People

Patriotism and internationalism are the sign of our times. The struggle of the peoples for the freedom and independence of their countries and against encroachment by the imperialist robbers is

indissolubly connected with international solidarity, the unity of all progressive and democratic forces.

It is impossible to love one's country, to serve her interests and defend her national sovereignty without the unity of the working people of all countries, without close friendship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

In present-day conditions, when the American imperialists and their Western European accomplices are cultivating and propagating the pernicious, ultra-reactionary ideas of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, there can be no more honourable task than that of strengthening the unity of the working people, and of fostering among them the idea of international duty and patriotic responsibility for the fate of their country.

The bosses of the imperialist camp are trying to unleash a new war which, they believe, will help them to extricate themselves from the contradictions of the capitalist system. With this in view the imperialists want to corrupt the broad masses of the people by implanting in them hatred for one another and indifference to the interests of their country, hoping thereby to convert the peoples into an obedient tool for waging war.

The imperialist robbers harbour the criminal thought that they will succeed in buying the conscience of the peoples for a mess of pottage, that the youth of France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, West Germany and other countries will serve as cannon-fodder in a piratical war for world dominion by the American imperialists.

That is why it is especially necessary now to heighten the vigilance of the peoples against the intrigues of the warmongers. The fight for peace, democracy and socialism is the cardinal patriotic and international duty of every upright worker, peasant and intellectual in any country.

Peace can be maintained, provided all the forces of the peace adherents are united and the handful of warmongers and their accomplices are isolated. The unity of the working class and other working people inside individual countries as well as internationally is of decisive importance in the struggle for peace, for democratic freedoms and socialism. In order to attain the unity of the working class it is necessary to wage a persistent and ruthless campaign against the right-wing socialist leaders, who are the worst enemies of peace, direct accomplices of the Anglo-American fomenters of war.

Frightened by the growth of the forces of democracy and socialism, the right-wing socialist leaders are sparing no pains to hand the peoples over as slaves to the American imperialists, and to plunge humanity into a new war. The recent congress of the French "Socialist Party" showed clearly that this party's leaders are vehemently opposed to the withdrawal of the French expeditionary force from Indo-China, that they are in favour of a continuation of the colonial war and of even more intensified preparation of an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The right-wing socialist agents of imperialism are doing their utmost to disrupt the campaign of the peace partisans collecting signatures to the Stockholm appeal of the World Peace Congress Permanent Committee. To cite an example, the right-wing socialists in France keep demanding of the French Government that it intensify the repressions against the peace champions.

No infamy is too great for the right-wing socialist leaders in their efforts to split the ranks of the working class and the rest of the working people. Present day Social-Democracy, Lenin and Stalin teach us, is an ideological support of capitalism, its agency in the working class. Without smashing Social-Democracy, without exposing and isolating the right-wing socialist lackeys of imperialism from the masses, it is impossible to achieve real unity of the working class, its international solidarity.

To enlist all the working people into the united ranks of the defenders of peace and democracy and to expose the right-wing socialist accomplices of the warmongers is one of the most important international tasks.

The patriotic and international duty of all upright men and women in the capitalist countries now is to prevent their countries from becoming enslaved to American imperialism and tirelessly to combat the instigators of a new war.

Fraternal union with the working people of all other countries, and particularly with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, is a pledge of enduring peace and freedom for the peoples.

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