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**Speech by L. I. BREZHNEV
at the 5th Congress of the Polish
United Workers' Party
on November 12, 1968**

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Интернационализм в действии
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Dear Delegates to the Congress,
Dear Comrades,

It is with a feeling of deep satisfaction that our delegation conveys, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of 13,500,000 Soviet Communists, cordial, fraternal greetings to the 5th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, and to all the Polish Communists! We wish your Congress successful and fruitful work.

We, your friends and comrades, are genuinely happy that the PUWP has come to its 5th Congress with good results in all fields of socialist construction. The outstanding successes of People's Poland are the result of the major and persistent work done by the Polish working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, the result of the tremendous political and organisational work done by the Polish United Workers' Party, and its Central Committee, which is led by Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, a glorious son of the Polish working class, and an outstanding worker in the international communist movement.

The experience gained by the Polish United Workers' Party, and its activities, both inside the country and in the international arena, constitute a tangible contribu-

tion to the international experience of Communists. That is why the report on the activities of the PUWP Central Committee and the documents of the Congress are of such great interest for all of us.

Many countries of socialism are now solving similar problems of their further development. The creative utilisation of each other's experience, cooperation, mutual support and joint efforts in the decisive fields, help our fraternal Parties and countries to progress faster towards our great goal.

We are living, comrades, at a complex, turbulent and interesting time. The world revolutionary process, in the centre of which is the struggle between the two main social systems of our age—socialism and capitalism—is developing irresistibly.

We have already gained very much in this world-wide struggle. The world system of socialism has originated, been established, and has defended its right to existence. The economy of the socialist countries is developing. Their defences are becoming stronger, the social relations are being improved and the life of the working peoples is getting better. At the same time, the cooperation among the countries of socialism is being widened and our alliance with revolutionary forces throughout the world is being strengthened. The balance of forces on the world scale is continuing to change in favour of socialism and its allies.

The might of the socialist camp at present is such that the imperialists fear a military rout in the event of direct confrontation with the main forces of socialism. Naturally, as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war, which is inherent in imperialist policy, must not be discounted under any circumstances. However, it is a fact that, in the new conditions, the imperialists are more and more often resorting also to other, more insidious tactics. They seek for weak links in the socialist front, resort to subversive ideological work within the countries of socialism and strive to influence the economic development of these countries. They are making attempts to cause strife, to split these countries, to encourage and fan nationalistic feelings and tendencies, and to isolate individual socialist states, so as to

strangle them later on, one by one. In a word, imperialism is trying to undermine socialism as a world system.

The experience of the development and struggle of socialist countries in these new conditions in the recent years, including the recent galvanisation of forces hostile to socialism in Czechoslovakia, reminds the Communists of socialist countries with new force, of how important it is not to forget even for a single moment certain basic truths, tried and tested by time.

If we do not want to slow down our progress along the road of socialist and communist construction, if we do not want to weaken our joint positions in the struggle against imperialism, then it is necessary to preserve always and everywhere, when solving any problem of our internal and foreign policies, the unshakable loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to display a clear-cut, class-conscious, Party approach to all social phenomena, and to give a resolute rebuff to imperialism on the ideological front, without making any concessions to bourgeois ideology.

The tremendous successes in the social, political, economic and cultural development of the countries of socialism—successes the equal of which in rates of development, depth and range, history has never yet seen—have been achieved precisely on the principled Marxist-Leninist foundation.

Trying to compromise socialism, the ideologues of the bourgeoisie are trying to capitalise on the difficulties and errors in the development of this or that socialist country. What can we say in this respect? Yes, there have been difficulties in the development of socialist countries, they still exist and, apparently, there will be difficulties in the future, too—specific ones for each stage of development.

Some of them are of an objective nature and are conditioned by historical, natural and other factors. Others are of a subjective nature and are caused by the fact that not the happiest solution for this or that problem of development has been found, i.e., some sort of mistakes or errors have been made, and people have not as yet learned to utilise completely all the opportunities objectively inherent in the socialist system.

The question is how to react to the difficulties and the errors that have been made.

People of a petty-bourgeois outlook, when they meet with difficulties, go into hysterics and begin to doubt all and everything. The revisionists are prepared to cancel out, because of the existing difficulties, all the successes that have been achieved, to reject everything that has been gained and to give up all the positions of principle.

But the real Communists are confidently blazing the trail forward and seeking for the best solutions of the problems that crop up, taking support in the socialist gains. They honestly admit the errors made, analyse and rectify them, so as to strengthen the positions of socialism even more, and so as not to cede a single grain of what has already been gained, of what has already been achieved by the efforts and the struggle of the masses of the people, to the enemies of socialism. In a word, it can be said in full confidence that if a Party firmly adheres to the communist positions, and if it is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, then all the difficulties will be overcome.

Experience shows with great force of conviction of what exceptional and, it may be said, decisive importance for the successful building of socialism is the securing and constant strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Party, as the most advanced, guiding, organising and directing force in the entire social development under socialism.

A Party, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, and which expresses the will of the working class and of all working people, constitutes a decisive force in the struggle for socialism and communism. At the same time, it is the best guarantee that the interests of all the working classes and social strata of socialist society will be taken into fullest account and harmoniously blended in the development of such a society.

No wonder the enemies of socialism always choose the Communist Party as the first target for their attacks. No wonder the revisionists of all kinds—the conductors of bourgeois influence in the working-class movement—are always trying to weaken the Party, to undermine

its organisational basis—the Leninist principle of democratic centralism—and to preach the weakening of Party discipline. No wonder they put into circulation “theories”, according to which the Party must “divorce itself” from guiding the development of society in fields of economy, state affairs, culture, etc. A situation of that sort would naturally be very convenient for those who wish to turn back the progress in all these spheres in the direction of capitalism.

Such an important aspect of Party activities as ideological work, the moulding of the world outlook of a man of socialist and communist society, and the unmasking of bourgeois ideology, is acquiring an ever greater importance in the conditions of our time.

The Communists of the Soviet Union, and, we are sure, the Communists of the other fraternal countries as well, are drawing a very clear conclusion from all this: it is necessary to exert all efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, to increase, in every way, its leading role in developing society, and to improve the forms of its activities.

The experience of struggle and a realistic appraisal of the situation which has taken shape in the world, also clearly show that it is vitally important for the Communists of the socialist countries to carry high the banner of socialist internationalism and to be constantly strengthening the cohesion and solidarity of the countries of socialism. That constitutes one of the main conditions for the successful construction of socialism and communism in each of our countries, and for the successful struggle waged by the world system of socialism against imperialism.

The interests of defence of each socialist country, the interests of developing its economy, science and culture call for the widest cooperation among the fraternal countries, for the all-round development of ties among them, and for genuine internationalism.

In its struggle against us, imperialism places its main stake precisely on discord among the socialist countries, on weakening our unity. The solidarity of our countries is a blow to these hopes of the enemy. This solidarity is gaining outstanding victories. An exam-

ple of that is Vietnam, whose many-years-long heroic struggle against the armed forces of the largest imperialist power, would have been impossible without the active and effective assistance on the part of the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist states. The major victory achieved recently by the Vietnamese people, who forced the US ruling circles to stop bombing raids and other hostilities against the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is, at the same time, as the Vietnamese friends themselves, stress a major victory for the socialist camp and for all the peace-loving forces of the world. The example of the German Democratic Republic also speaks of the strength of our solidarity. It is clear to everyone that the successful building of socialism in the complex conditions of that country is inseparably linked to the active support and solidarity on the part of the other socialist countries, to broad-scale economic cooperation, and to our military alliance. Socialist solidarity is of tremendous importance also for the construction of socialism in other countries.

The socialist states stand for the strict respecting of the sovereignty of all countries. We are resolutely against interference in the affairs of any states, against the violation of their sovereignty.

The establishment and defence of the sovereignty of the states which have taken the road of socialist construction is of special significance for us Communists. The forces of imperialism and reaction are trying to deprive the people of one or the other socialist country of the sovereign right, which they have won, to secure the prosperity of their country, the wellbeing and happiness of the broad masses of the working people, by means of building a society which is free of any kind of oppression and exploitation. When the encroachments on this right meet with a concerted rebuff on the part of the socialist camp, the bourgeois propagandists raise a hue and cry about the "defence of sovereignty" and "non-interference". Obviously, it is pure deceit and demagoguery on their part. In real life all those windbags are concerned not with the preservation of socialist sovereignty, but with destroying it.

It is well known that the Soviet Union has done a lot for really strengthening the sovereignty and independence of the socialist countries. The CPSU has always stood for each socialist country determining the concrete forms of its development along the road of socialism, taking into account its own specific national conditions. But it is also known, comrades, that there exist common laws for socialist construction, the ignoring of which could lead to a retreat from socialism as such. When the internal and the external forces, hostile to socialism, are trying to turn the development of some socialist country in the direction of the restoration of capitalist order, when there is a threat to the cause of socialism in that country, a threat to the security of the socialist community as a whole—all that becomes a problem not only for the people of the given country, but also the common problem, the concern of all socialist countries.

Naturally, such an act as rendering military aid to a fraternal country to do away with the threat to the socialist system is an emergency measure, an act forced upon us, and it can only be the result of the direct activity of the enemies of socialism both inside the country and outside it, activity which tends to create a threat to the common interests of the camp of socialism.

Experience tells us that the victory of the socialist system in this or that country can be considered, in the conditions of our time, as ultimate, and the restoration of capitalism excluded only if the Communist Party, as the leading force of society, is firmly conducting a Marxist-Leninist policy in all fields of social life; only if the Party is indefatigably strengthening the defence of the country, the defence of its revolutionary gains; only if it maintains vigilance itself, and fosters it in the people in respect to the class enemy, and encourages an irreconcilable attitude towards bourgeois ideology; and if the principle of socialist internationalism is strictly adhered to, and unity and fraternal solidarity with the other socialist countries is strengthened.

It can be said in full confidence that the policy conducted by the PUWP is a good example of high-principled, Marxist-Leninist policy, and loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism.

Comrades, world imperialism and, above all, the imperialists of the USA and their main ally in Europe, the ruling circles of the FRG, are continuing its aggressive policy, and is taking quite a few steps which lead towards the deterioration of the international atmosphere.

The imperialists create hotbeds of tension in various areas of the world, intensify the arms race, and try to return the world to the times of the cold war. Revenge-seeking sentiments, which threaten the peace and security of European nations, are being openly encouraged in the FRG.

The states of the socialist community are counterposing to this reactionary and aggressive political trend their own policy, which is flexible and realistic, but irreconcilable in respect to aggressors and revenge-seekers. This policy is permeated with the spirit of resolute class support for revolutionary forces, forces of socialism and progress all over the world. At the same time, this policy defends the principles of peaceful coexistence, works for the rejection of attempts to settle problems of relations between the two opposing social systems by military means, and is consistently adhering to the course of relaxing international tensions.

We are achieving tangible successes in our struggle for peace and the security of nations, and for the mutually beneficial cooperation of states with different social systems, especially when the socialist countries act jointly in a united front.

But the situation demands from all of us a high degree of vigilance in respect to our class enemy in the world arena. Because of that, the work to strengthen and perfect the military mechanism of our alliance of fraternal countries, which is now being done by the Warsaw Treaty states in answer to the military preparations of NATO, is of great importance.

Let those who are prone to forget the lessons of history, and who would like to start re-shaping the map of Europe again, know that the borders of Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, or any other Warsaw Treaty country, are stable and inviolable. These borders are defended by the entire armed might of the socialist community. We advise all those who are fond of violating the borders of

other countries to remember this well!

Comrades, the tasks of the further development of the economy of the socialist community, in the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution now taking place, demand that we get down to the job of expanding and improving the economic ties between our countries. This was very well put in the report by Comrade Gomulka. These urgent problems are to be considered soon at the conference of the leaders of the Parties and Governments of the socialist countries—members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The wider international socialist division of labour, cooperation and specialisation of production will make it possible to utilise much more effectively the advantages of socialism, to develop the national economy of each of our countries at an even greater rate, and to achieve new successes in economic competition with capitalism.

Comrades, the ideas of communism have become the leading ideas of our age. The bourgeois propaganda has, probably, never before taken such a keen interest in the problems of communism as it does in our time. It is absolutely clear that the bourgeoisie is afraid of the further growth of the communist movement which has already developed on a world-wide scale, has achieved major victories and, having established socialism in countries situated on three continents, has demonstrated its ability to implement its goals and ideals.

The large-scale class battles in the capitalist countries show that there, too, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard are intensifying the offensive against capitalism, and are forming an army of socialist revolution.

Operating in difficult conditions, quite often working underground, and being subjected to persecutions and terror, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the capitalist countries are conducting a selfless struggle for the cause of the working class, of the entire working people. Many of them have developed into a formidable political force. They are actively strengthening their contacts with the masses, and are bringing the ideas of scientific socialism, the ideas of revolution to the masses.

The ranks of the allies of the working class in the struggle against imperialism are growing in the world.

This brings nearer the time of the social and national liberation of the oppressed peoples. At the same time, the various other strata of the population which take part in the revolutionary movement alongside the working class, bring their own views and ideas, which are different from proletarian ideology, and which at times give food to rightist opportunism and to "leftist" adventurism in individual detachments of the communist movement.

It would be wrong to underestimate the danger and the harm of these trends. We know that the revisionists of both the rightist and the "leftist" variety, irrespective of their outer differences, agree on the main thing—both distort Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution and belittle the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Party, in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. They both retreat from the principles of proletarian internationalism, thus weakening the struggle against imperialism, and slow down the development of the revolutionary process. A feature of both of them is the nationalist narrow-mindedness in the appraisal of many of the more important problems of revolutionary struggle, narrow-mindedness which sometimes sinks into veritable chauvinism. To what extremes the revisionists acting under the cover of "leftist" phraseology can go in this respect can be seen from the policy of Mao Tse-tung's group.

Naturally, all these distortions are completely alien to real Communists, who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism. Internationalism has always been an important source of strength for the communist movement. Lenin taught us that the interests of the working class and its struggle against capitalism call for the complete solidarity and the closest unity among the workingmen of all nations, and for a rebuff to nationalistic policy. These interests imperatively demand that the Communists consolidate their ranks in defence of our militant ideological weapon—the revolutionary teaching of Marx-Lenin.

The Communist Parties which operate in different conditions may develop different approaches to some problems. We would be wrong if we failed to see the existing differences in the views on individual problems. Some of these differences, in our opinion, have only a temporary

nature and will disappear as the course of events makes clear the essence of the disputed problems, while others may, probably, turn out to be more lasting, but they must not, in our opinion, hinder our joint struggle against the common enemy, for our common great goals.

The main thing is that even if there do exist differences on some problems, the Communist and Workers' Parties are seeking the ways and means to develop international ties, and aspire toward the strengthening of the unity of their ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. We, on our part, have always considered a comradely exchange of opinions to be useful, and are prepared for a frank discussion of the questions which exist among the fraternal Parties. We are sure that it is precisely on the road of the strengthening of our ties and cooperation that the existing problems will be solved in the interests of the unity of the international communist movement. And that is only natural because we have a common ideological basis—Marxism-Leninism, a common enemy—imperialism, and a common goal—the triumph of communism.

It is in this light that we consider the preparations for the new international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party highly values the role of international conferences of representatives of Communist Parties, and, together with the other fraternal Parties, it favours the convocation of the new conference in the near future. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union will do everything it can for the successful preparations for and holding of it.

The situation demands the consolidation of fraternal Parties, so as to go over to a more powerful attack against imperialism. The immortal slogan of our movement—"Workers of all countries, unite!"—sounds with a new force today for the Communists.

Comrades, we listen with great interest to the Polish Communists posing at their Congress the problems of development of socialist society. We know very well, from the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, how important it is to see these problems in their entire complexity and variety.

A modern economy has been created in our country by the many-years-long heroic labour of the Soviet people

who have solidly gathered round the Party of Lenin. It has long since emerged to the second place in the world for gross output, and to the first place for a number of important indices. The results of the first three years of the Five-Year Plan show that the current economic tasks are being successfully solved in our country, both in industry and in agriculture. The planned rates of increase in industrial output are being overfulfilled. Large-scale measures to raise the living standards of the working people have been implemented. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals are working with great enthusiasm. The moral and political unity of Soviet society, its consolidation round the Party, is being strengthened all the time.

We are happy at the successes already achieved, but we understand that there can never be such a situation in a living, developing socialist society, when all the problems are solved and when there would be no need to seek something better. The construction of socialism and communism has its own dialectics: the very course of development sets ever new tasks; the higher the level already achieved, the greater are the demands which are made on the Party, the state and on all working people, in order to secure a well organised functioning of the complex mechanism of economic and social life of the country.

That is why our Party attaches great significance to the evolution of a scientifically substantiated policy in all spheres of life. We give great attention to the improvement of methods of economic management, planning, and control, to the task of the introduction of the achievements of science and engineering into all branches of the economy on the greatest possible scale. Now the source of strength and the further growth of Soviet economy lies not only in the increase in the number of industrial enterprises, or the reclamation of new land, but, to an ever greater extent, in the raising of the efficiency of socialised production, the constant growth of labour productivity, the improving of the fertility of the soil and the raising of the quality of output.

A scientific and engineering revolution, unprecedented in its rates and scope, is developing in the world. Who else but we, Communists, who have achieved the great-

est social revolution, should be in the front lines of revolutionary transformations in science and engineering. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that one of our more important tasks today is the acceleration of scientific-engineering progress, the equipment of the working people with modern scientific-engineering knowledge, and the quickest possible application of the results of scientific discoveries. This will provide the opportunity of utilising more completely the tremendous creative potential of our socialist society, and will considerably accelerate the building up of the material and technical basis of communism.

Our society itself has gone through major changes. Its social composition and the relations among the classes have changed. The people of whom it is composed have also changed. The opportunities of our society are developing at a rapid rate, but its requirements are increasing at the same rate.

It is necessary that development of the political life of society should keep in step with these processes. We attach decisive importance to the further increasing of the leading role of the Party. The improving of Party leadership is necessary for the successful solution of the grandiose tasks which the Soviet people, who are building communism, have posed themselves.

The increasing of the leading role of the Party by no means leads to it replacing, for example, the Soviets, or the economic bodies, or the trade unions and other mass organisations of working people. Quite the contrary, one of the Party's tasks in guiding society consists precisely in achieving an all-round activation of all the links of social life, to improve their work and to raise their responsibility.

Our Party is consistently following the course for the further development of socialist democracy. We Communists are adherents to genuine democracy and do not see any movement forward without it. We understand democracy as the involvement of the greatest number of working people in social and political life, and the creation of such conditions, under which they would really be taking part in managing the affairs of society and the state. We are in every way developing, and will continue to develop,

such a democracy.

Comrades, we are inspired by the knowledge that the successes of the Soviet people in communist construction, just like the successes of all the nations which have taken to the road of socialism, are increasing the strength of the fighters for freedom, peace and social progress throughout the world.

We see the greatness and the scope of the tasks which are facing us and are constantly seeking for the most reliable ways of coping with them. It is with such thoughts that the Soviet people approach the birth centenary of Lenin, the founder of our Party and the Soviet state.

Dear Polish comrades, our Parties and nations have traversed together a long and glorious path. In complete mutual agreement, in close unity, the nations of Poland and the Soviet Union are building a new society. We cooperate effectively and on a broad scale in all fields of life.

Our Party values highly the contribution which the Polish Communists have made to strengthening the friendship between the nations of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. Everything which has been achieved by us in this sphere is the result of the sincere trust which exists between our Parties and our nations, it is the result of the practical utilisation of the principles of socialist internationalism, it is internationalism in action!

In close alliance with the Parties and peoples of the other fraternal countries, the Communists and all the working people of Poland and the Soviet Union are marching ahead along the glorious path of the struggle for the implementation of the great ideals of communism. At the time of your Congress, and on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Polish United Workers' Party and the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Poland, the Communists of the Soviet Union heartily wish you, Comrades, fresh successes, and new major victories in the construction of socialist Poland!

Long live the Polish United Workers' Party, the vanguard of the working people of Poland, which is leading the country along the road of socialism!

Long live and prosper the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union!

Long live communism!