

ON PATRIOTISM

HISTORICAL REVIEW

The patriotic movement, which emerged during the Second World War in a number of countries, is a very broad movement embracing workers, peasants, intellectuals and their social organizations. However, here we have to talk most of all about one detachment of the patriotic movement, about its working vanguard and, in particular, about the supporters of communism and socialism, because their patriotism has been contested for a long time and is still being bombarded in some places by reactionaries.¹

In the ideological arsenal of the enemies of the labor movement, there was hardly ever a more widespread and - I must say frankly - more dangerous weapon than accusing the communists and all left workers of their lack of patriotism.² Even after the founding of the Soviet state, in which the **communists immediately showed themselves to be the most selfless and ardent standard-bearers of patriotism** [!!!], in other countries they continued to persecute the communists and the socialists acting together with them as "internal enemies of the fatherland", portraying the communist ideology as something directly opposite to patriotism. As the fascist movement developed in many countries, this reactionary persecution of the advanced people of the labor movement, covered by the flag of patriotism, intensified even more, assuming especially poisonous forms. Not only fascists, but all their descendants.

But soon the day came for a historic test of the patriotism of both the communists and their accusers. The plundering war of the German-fascist imperialists for the enslavement of peace-loving peoples forced various social strata and political parties to show with their own eyes who is ready to defend the fatherland in practice and who is ready to betray the fatherland. What turned out to be during this great test by fire?

It turned out, firstly, that in the German-occupied European countries the fascists and other extreme reactionaries became traitors to the fatherland, who shouted loudest about their "patriotism" and the "unreliability" of the communists before the war and even at the beginning of the war. Those who betrayed France were the most notorious enemies of communism: Pétain, Laval, Darlan and their companions, as well as the financial sharks from the Comite des forges of the Schneider-Creusot concern and other major concerns and trusts standing behind them. And who turned out to be a traitor to the fatherland in Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium? Who helped the Germans in Bulgaria turn this Slavic country, where the people are deeply attached to their liberator, Russia, into a military foothold for Germany against the Soviet Union? Who enlisted in accomplices of the German executioners and enslavers in Poland, Czechoslovakia,

¹ Especially by so-called "communists"!

² And if this is the most dangerous weapons of enemies, imagine what damage it can do when used by the "friends" of the revolution upon themselves.

Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece? Despicable quislings and greedy bankers and landlords standing behind them. As the temporary military successes of the German invaders in the first period of the war in all the countries occupied by them, the number of those reactionaries who showed a willingness to sell the independence of their homeland for lentil stew increased.

Secondly, the communists and many socialists turned out to be in fact unshakably loyal and selfless defenders of the freedom and independence of their countries against the assassination attempts of the German imperialists and their accomplices. Everywhere they stood at the forefront of the patriotic workers and peasants fighting against the tyranny of the German occupation.

With good reason, freedom-loving peoples admire and take pride in the patriotic feats of the heroic soldiers and partisans of the Soviet Union, as well as the valiant patriots of Yugoslavia, France, Poland, Greece and a number of other countries temporarily seized by the German invaders. And everyone knows that these feats, which will forever remain in history as unsurpassed examples of patriotic heroism and self-sacrifice, in very many cases were committed by the communists and their closest comrades in arms.

These irrefutable facts mean such a crushing ideological defeat of the malicious opponents of communism and socialism that it would seem that it is no longer profitable for them to argue about who is a patriot and who is not a patriot. However, not all of them know how to remain silent, and not all consider themselves already disarmed. For example, **in America, England, Sweden, some old champions of the anti-communist struggle are still trying to muddy the waters and sow suspicion, hoping for the vitality of anti-communist prejudices among an uninformed public.**³ Therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at the arguments that they still have.

PATRIOTISM AND WAR

Some enemies of the working people resort, for example, to the following kind of inferences. If it is true, they say, that the Communist Parties of the United Nations in the anti-Hitler war took a patriotic position, then this, they say, is just an accident; communist ideology by itself does not give any guarantees that its supporters will support their country in any war. This means that in another war they can take an unpatriotic position.

Here, from a correct assumption, a fundamentally wrong conclusion was made. Of course, it is true that the supporters of communism are ready to support not any war, but only a just, liberation war. But this is the only war that is patriotic. After all, an unjust, aggressive war, no matter how its goals are presented, has nothing to do with patriotism. Moreover: **a war of conquest, started by the criminal rulers of any country, is an encroachment not only on the life of other peoples, but also on the life and honor of its own people.** Therefore, if the

³ And even some newer champions of the “communist struggle”.

reactionary rulers plunged their country into an unjust, aggressive war, then **true patriotism requires from the citizens of this country not only a decisive refusal to support this war, but also to fight against it.**

You don't have to look far for examples. There is no need to talk about Germany, because now any observer (even a blind one) sees that **if the majority of Germans were able to show elementary concern for the fate of their country, they would long ago have to rebel against the Hitler government and its monstrous imperialist adventure.** But as for the countries that were satellites of German imperialism - Romania, Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria - it is very characteristic that it is in these countries that for two decades the ruling authorities and the judiciary have always considered belonging to the Communist Party and the workers' organizations cooperating with it, as "treason to the fatherland", for which they were sentenced to many years in prison. When, at the beginning of the current war, the reactionary rulers of these countries, Antonescu, Ryti, Horthy, Filov and their companions opened the gates to the German troops and plunged their countries into the abyss of Hitler's war of conquest, then what was then the patriotic duty of those Romanians, Finns, Hungarians, Bulgarians who cherished the fate of their fatherland? Of course, not in support of the fascist war, but in the fight against it. After all, a war on the side of Hitlerite Germany could not but harm the vital interests of these countries, and in case of victory it would damage them even more than in case of defeat, since a victory for Germany would mean the loss of all independence.

The pro-Hitler rulers of these countries clearly acted in the interests of establishing German rule over all of Europe and brought their countries to the brink of ruin. But these executors of the will of the German imperialists, many times guilty of treason to the fatherland, covering their criminal activities with a false patriotic mask, tortured in prisons and executed real patriots - communists and others who selflessly fought to save their fatherland from German tyranny and the meat grinder of the fascist war.

Therefore, it has been proved by historical verification that **communism is the position of consistent, active and selfless patriotism.**

NO NATIONALIST PREJUDICE

Some enemies of the working people confuse patriotism with bourgeois nationalism and reproach the communists for the alleged half-heartedness of their patriotic position on the grounds that they do not put their nation "above all". Behind this plausible screen are far from harmless nationalist prejudices, but sometimes also imperialist aspirations, completely alien to genuine patriotism.

As you know, nationalist and racial prejudices regarding the superiority of their "God-chosen" nation or race have long been cultivated by reactionaries to attract the politically backward masses to their side in the struggle against the democratic movement. By constantly fanning

hatred and contempt for other nations and races, the reactionaries turn nationalist prejudices into a poisonous frenzy of chauvinism and fascism, and then through the methods of Jewish pogroms, lynching of blacks and attempts on the life of neighboring peoples, they demonstrate the alleged "superiority of their nation." But when a patriotic struggle was required in defense of the fatherland from foreign invaders, then the same chauvinists and fascists, as we saw, went to an agreement with the enemy, or formed pro-fascist circles like in America and England.

Nationalists and chauvinists like to hide behind the famous saying: "Right or wrong, but this is my country." Obviously, they believe that any encroachment on the rights and freedoms of other nations can be justified by referring to pseudo-patriotic solidarity with the government policy of their own country. This, of course, is a clear distortion of the concept of patriotism, which has no historical or political justification.

There has never been a single patriotic movement in history that aimed to encroach on the equality and freedom of any foreign nation. All major patriotic movements of the 18th and 19th centuries were aimed at the liberation of their own country from foreign dependence or at repelling a foreign invasion, such as the North American War of Independence of 1775-1783, the revolutionary wars of the French people of 1792-1794, the national liberation struggle Greeks (1821-1829), Poles (1830, 1846, 1863) and a number of other peoples.

It is clear that the willingness to fight for the freedom of your nation is one thing, but the willingness to fight for the suppression of the freedom of another nation is completely different. The first is patriotism, the second is not. For example, dominion over the colonies, the preservation of privileges that allow the metropolis to oppress, exploit colonial nations, in no way, frankly, can be motivated by patriotic considerations. In essence, it seems to me that the policy of colonial and national oppression does not correspond to the national interests of the entire people of the metropolis, but only to the interests of certain, upper strata and classes, to whom the exploitation of the colonies provides material means to strengthen their dominant position both in their own country and in the colonies and who are prone to narrow-minded selfish politics at the expense of the interests of other nations, to politics,

Even moderate bourgeois nationalism means opposing the interests of one's own nation (or its upper strata) to the interests of other nations. But **even the most ardent patriotism, ardent love for one's homeland is fully consistent with respect for all peace-loving nations and with the position of upholding the equality of nations.** Even in the last century, the largest Russian publicists-democrats felt and strongly emphasized this important aspect of patriotic ideology. "True patriotism," said Dobrolyubov, "does not get along with hostility to certain nationalities." And Belinsky exclaimed with inspiration:

"To love your homeland means to ardently desire to see in it the fulfillment of the ideal of humanity and, to the best of your ability, to advance this. Otherwise, patriotism will be

Cynicism, which loves its own only because it is its own, and hates everything that is alien for the fact that it is alien, paying no mind to its own ugliness and flaws. "

So, **genuine patriotism is free from any nationalistic arrogance, self-interest and hatred of foreign peace-loving peoples.**

COSMOPOLITANISM IS AN IDEOLOGY ALIEN TO THE WORKING PEOPLE

Enemies of the working people also often try to challenge the patriotism of the supporters of communism and socialism by referring to their position of international working people's solidarity. This position is portrayed by our opponents as cosmopolitanism - an indifferent and disdainful attitude towards the fatherland.

This is already a clear slander. **Communism has nothing to do with cosmopolitanism.** Fighting under the banner of international workers' solidarity, the communist movement of each country, as the vanguard movement of the working masses, stands firmly on the soil of our country. **Communism does not oppose, but combines genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism.**⁴

Only confused scholastics or enemies of the labor movement⁵ can argue that the working class, if it loves its homeland, cannot strive for fraternal solidarity with the working class of other countries. And only falsifiers or slanderers can argue that if the working class strives for international solidarity of workers, then it does not love its homeland, but becomes some kind of cosmopolitan, torn away from its homeland, from its nation. **It is ridiculous to suppose that the working class could break away, renounce its nation.** After all, the modern working class is the main backbone of the living body of the nation, and not only in terms of its size, but also in terms of its economic and political role.⁶ The entire future of the nation rests, first of all, on the proletariat's shoulders. **And since the working class is so closely united with the nation, then the communist party, like the party of the working class, cannot renounce its nation.**

Cosmopolitanism is an ideology completely alien to the working people. This is the ideology that is typical for representatives of international banking houses and international cartels, for the largest stock speculators, world arms suppliers ("merchants of death") and their agents. These circles really operate according to the Latin proverb: ubi bene, ibi patria (where it is good, there is the fatherland). They are patriots of their safe. And many of them argue that they are not at all supporters of any political ideology. "We are business people who stand outside of politics," they often declare.⁷ But this "non-political" of them cannot be taken at face value. True, they really are businessmen who are engaged in buying and selling as a profession.

⁴ How can one be an "inter-nationalist" if they have no nation? Inter-nationalism requires nations.

⁵ "Confused scholastics or enemies of the labor movement" – that is what anti-nationalist "communists" are.

⁶ Like Marx said in the Manifesto, "The proletariat must constitute itself [as] the nation."

⁷ How often liberals, the cosmopolitans, make this protest today.

Moreover, precisely because of their irrepressible pursuit of the golden calf, **international speculators not only willingly sell, but are also easily sold to those foreign imperialists who offer more.** Because of this, so many financial cosmopolitans, not only in neutral countries, but also in France and in the Anglo-Saxon countries, turned out to be ready for any service as accomplices of the German fascist aggressor. On the basis of their cartel and other agreements with the Germans, they directly or indirectly participated in strengthening the military might of Hitlerite Germany, and during the war many of them slowed down the war production of their countries in the interests of German imperialism...

Thus, it can be considered proven that the cosmopolitanism of international monopolists and speculators is by no means “non-political”. No, it is closely connected with the anti-democratic fascist policy, that is, with that most dangerous policy⁸ that gave rise to the Second World War and which, of course, if it is not curbed, will cause the danger of new devastating wars.

Against this pernicious policy of international predation, against chauvinism and fascism, the class-conscious workers put forward a policy of international friendship and unity, which begins with the unity of action of the workers' organizations and ends with close cooperation of all democratic peoples in the struggle against fascism, for ensuring peace, freedom and independence of peoples. Isn't this political line fully consistent with the patriotic aspirations of each individual people?! Let the enemies of the working class try to prove that, for example, the decisions of the World Conference of Trade Unions, adopted in London in February 1945, do not correspond to the national interests of the peoples of all democratic countries! Let them try to make people believe that the free development and prosperity of individual democratic peoples will not be best ensured on the basis of the lasting cooperation of democratic countries in the eradication of fascism and the protection of the freedom and security of all peace-loving nations! The nations are unlikely to believe them.

But **this is precisely the line of combining patriotism with international cooperation, which is resolutely defended by the supporters of communism,** as well as by all progressive people from the working class, peasants and intelligentsia...

PATRIOTISM AND DEMOCRACY

During the Second World War, many bourgeois countries experienced a revival and an unprecedented upsurge of militant patriotism, which, of course, on the day of the victory over Nazi Germany did not cease to exist, but will develop further.

As you know, the historical beginning of the patriotic movement was closely connected with the revolutionary movements of the young bourgeois democracy. French patriots a century and a half ago spoke under the slogan "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." Only during the second half of the 19th century did patriotism in most capitalist countries completely lose its living

⁸ Cosmopolitanism – the most dangerous policy, anti-democratic, fascist policy.

democratic spirit and, in the hands of the ruling classes, turned into a fetish used to deceive the masses. Today, **the revived genuine patriotism of the masses manifests and develops the best traditions of the great patriotic movements of the past centuries.** It combines a selfless readiness for a liberation struggle against foreign oppressors with a deeply democratic and progressive orientation of its political aspirations.

In our days, when fascism has become the main enemy of the freedom of the fatherland everywhere, **there can be no genuine patriotism that does not have a sharply expressed anti-fascist, anti-reactionary character.** The **defenders of the fascists, acting under the guise of patriotism, are in fact pseudo-patriots** of a particularly dangerous sort, for they frustrate the implementation of the most important task for peace-loving peoples - the destruction of the last traces of fascism and Nazism.

The revived patriotism of our days is not an idle ceremony, but a selfless struggle for a free, happy future of our people. In a number of countries temporarily occupied by the Germans, we have seen examples of civic courage and military nobility not only on the part of the workers, but also on the part of such strata of the population that in a number of countries have not shown the ability or inclination to seriously fight for ideological goals corresponding to public progress. For example, **many partisans from the democratic intelligentsia and peasant youth, fighting hand in hand with the workers, have shown themselves in practice in a new, noble guise of true patriots who are able to be inspired by lofty ideals and are ready, if required, to sacrifice their lives in the struggle for these ideals.**⁹

It is quite natural that in the front ranks of such a patriotic movement, communists were and are marching everywhere. After all, **communism, like no other ideology, arms and inspires its adherents with the ideals of both national and social liberation of the people.** Communism of our days is the deepest community of advanced workers with the ideological world of the broad masses of the people - workers, peasants, intellectuals - with their daily life, with their memories of the heroic past and aspirations for a bright future. And it is not surprising that the popular masses, for their part, are now giving the communist parties such strong support and confidence, as has already been revealed, for example, in France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria and even in Italy, Finland and Romania.

In the great country of the victorious working class, **in the Soviet Union, the development of patriotism is, of course, at a much higher level.**¹⁰

The brilliant teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question and the successful practical implementation of this teaching by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government acquired enormous significance for the development of Soviet patriotism. **The rapidly achieved**

⁹ Even the bourgeois nationalists were capable of proving themselves as worthy allies to the proletarian internationalists; nationalism brought the best elements from the bourgeois intelligentsia to the side of the proletariat.

¹⁰ Under the Soviet Union, patriotism reached its *highest level*, rather than diminishing.

flowering of the national culture of all the peoples of the Soviet Union in the strongest way contributed to their rallying with inviolable bonds of mutual friendship into a single, fraternal family.

The Stalinist Constitution, built on the principles of socialist democracy, became a solid foundation not only for the state system of the USSR, but also for the further development of Soviet patriotism. And at the same time, this only fully democratic Constitution in the world turned out, as Comrade Stalin foresaw when adopting this Constitution, moral help and real help for all those who in other countries fought and are fighting against fascist barbarism.

The elimination of the exploitation of man by man and all the historical achievements of socialist construction in the USSR served a constant rise in Soviet patriotism among the millions of working people of the Soviet Union. As a result, the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War were able to withstand all incredible tests with valor. Soviet patriotism proved to be an all-conquering force. And no one can doubt that in the coming new period of peaceful construction, Soviet patriotism will be able to work new miracles.

In other countries, the patriotic movement will undoubtedly continue the struggle to eradicate fascism and reaction, to democratize the fatherland and ensure its security and independence. The genuine patriotism of workers, peasants and intellectuals everywhere is ready to rebuff all imperialist inclinations and help build relations between peoples on the basis of justice and peaceful cooperation. **True patriots will also support the right of all oppressed nations to full national independence and fight for a decent human existence for the working masses.**

OTTO VON KUUSINEN, 1945

ABOUT COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism (from the Greek “kosmopolítēs”, “world-citizen”) is the ideology of the so-called "world citizenship"; a reactionary bourgeois ideology, preaching the rejection of national traditions, culture, patriotism, and state and national sovereignty.

Since its inception, the concept of cosmopolitanism has had a different content, determined by specific historical conditions. Some forms of cosmopolitanism justified the expansion of the sphere of exploitation (Alexander the Great, Marcus Aurelius). The cosmopolitanism of the cynics Antisthenes and Diogenes of Sinope expressed a negative attitude towards the *polis*¹¹... The Cyrenaicists expressed themselves in the words: "ubi bene, ibi patria" ("wherever it is good, there is the fatherland").

In the era of feudalism, the main bearer of reactionary cosmopolitan tendencies was the Catholic Church. During the Renaissance, the ideas of world citizenship were directed against feudal fragmentation (Dante, T. Campanella). The abstract-humanistic ideal of world citizenship in the Age of Enlightenment expressed the idea of freeing the individual from feudal shackles. In Germany, opposed to feudal-particularistic "patriotism"¹² and princely despotism, the ideas of world-citizenship were developed by Goethe, Schiller, and Kant.

Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism reflects the nature of capital, which tends to where the greatest profit is expected.

“The bourgeoisie, through the exploitation of the world market, made the production and consumption of all countries cosmopolitan.” (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 1848)

Cosmopolitanism is an integral part of the ideology of imperialism: bourgeois political science (preaching world political integration¹³, supranational and interstate monopoly organizations); economic theory (reactionary-utopian projects for the creation of a planned world capitalist economy¹⁴); law (theories of international legal personalities¹⁵ and the so-called world law, based on the denial of national and state sovereignty). The cosmopolitan ideas of creating a world state or a world federation are also put forward in modern conditions by representatives of humanistic pacifism (for example, the proposal to transform the UN into a world state). However, such theories are clearly utopian in nature, since they do not take into account the existence of states with different social systems.

Proletarian internationalism is the opposite of bourgeois cosmopolitanism [!!!!]. Cosmopolitanism calls for the fusion of nations through violent assimilation. Marxists, on the

¹¹ The city.

¹² The “patriotism” of Kings and Emperors.

¹³ The ideal of the “melting pot” and world-state.

¹⁴ EU, NAFTA.

¹⁵ “Identity politics”.

other hand, consider the prospect of gradual and voluntary rapprochement, and then the merger of nations from the point of view of the objective course of social development, which indicates that this is a long process that occurs as a result of the liberation and flourishing of nations.

THE GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA