

## Excerpts From Speech By Soviet Politburo Member Yuri Andropov

*April 24 (IPS) — Speaking on behalf of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union upon the celebration of Lenin's birthday April 22, Soviet Politburo member and head of the State Security Police, the KGB, Yuri Andropov delivered the most forceful and unambiguous statement to date of the existence of a Soviet "tripwire," which, if crossed will trigger massive Soviet nuclear retaliation. Andropov joined his reaffirmation of the nuclear war danger caused by Western provocations in such areas as Lebanon with absolute rejection of the "pluralism" of Western Europe's "White Communist" parties.*

*His speech contrasts sharply with the accomodating "soft" line which has dominated the Soviet official press since approximately the middle of March.*

*Andropov's speech is currently being studied at the highest levels of the Pentagon and U.S. Administration, sources in Washington, D.C. said this week.*

For the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and proletarian revolutionaries all over the World, Leninism remains the true science of victory, the science and art of creativity which opens new horizons to humanity....

The Soviet people know very well that the CPSU is doing everything in the name of the people, and for the well-being of the people. This is written on our banners and fixed in our party program. The significance of the activity of the party and of communists is in their realization of this program....

It is no accident that Lenin saw in alienation of the masses and in sectarianism, just as great a danger to the cause of socialism as in reformism and unprincipled compromises with the class enemy.

The responsibility of all the people does not at all contradict the fact that the leading role which the working class plays during the struggle for victory of socialism in our country is realized at a certain level as the dictatorship of the proletariat. This scientific concept is bitterly attacked, rejected and vulgarized by all those who seek to represent the dictatorship of the proletariat as contrary to democracy. In fact, Lenin counterposed the dictatorship of the proletariat not to democracy, but to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In Lenin's view, such a dictatorship actually exists, i.e., the political power of the bourgeoisie, based on the apparatus of force that they themselves have created even in the most advanced bourgeois democracies.

Lenin taught that democracy always has a class character. There is no such thing as democracy in itself. There is either bourgeois or socialist democracy. Obviously, the working class and the communists attach great significance to those democratic rights and freedoms which permit them to carry on the difficult struggle under capitalism. But this does not change the bourgeois character of democracy, nor the fact that only socialism can guarantee people's power. Socialism has always been for liquidating exploitation and repression....

The strengthening and fulfillment of the socialist way of life demands the struggle against all those who oppose Leninist principles and positions and oppose humanity. This is principally a struggle against bureaucratism, which Lenin called the worst internal enemy of the new society; a struggle to defend the Soviet people against heartless behavior and greed, against formalism and bureaucratic self-righteousness. The party is intolerant of all such phenomena, since there cannot be any place for them in a society which has achieved communism. The 25th Party Congress has once again underscored that criticism and selfcriticism are indispensable factors in our life. The party is of the opinion that a factual and public criticism in a healthy atmosphere helps to clear up the situation in many areas.

Our experiences are accessible to everyone. Without forcing anyone, Soviet communists are of course pleased if our friends, the fraternal parties, use our experience in their activities, use them creatively and thereby contribute to the common treasure chest of the world wide experience of the revolutionary struggle and enrich with their own experience the solutions to social and economic tasks. The Soviet communists well remember Lenin's words: "All nations will become socialist; that is inevitable, but none in precisely the same form and way. Each will have some form of democracy, some form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and some rate of social transformation of the various aspects of social life."

Life has shown how true and profound Lenin's thought was. At the same time, life has shown that in this historical process, with all the multiplicity of conditions, and all the different forms of socialist transformation, there is a fundamental lawfulness which one can neither get rid of nor circumvent. One aspect of that lawfulness is that socialist transformation, the establishment of state power of the working class and its allies, demands a power which is capable of defending the achievements of the revolution. A power which is in a position to carry out its functions creatively, to unleash the strong creative forces of the people and ensure itself the active support of the broadest masses of the working class.

### Socialist Foreign Policy

From the first days of the October Revolution, foreign policy and international relations became a most important question for us....And this question was raised to a completely new level by the victory of the October Revolution, as a question of upon what principles and preconditions the first socialist state in history should base its relations toward the capitalist world. The special acuteness of this question was determined by the fact that the country of the Soviets was put into "international isolation," as Lenin expressed it, and this was a question of life and death of the revolution, the very existence of the new born society.

The elaboration of the fundamentals of socialist foreign policy proceeded in an extremely difficult international situation, which was complicated by sharp confrontations of different opinions and positions within the party itself. In order to work out the only correct policy and consequently to realize it, the genius of Lenin and his unbreakable will were required, the wisdom and political maturity of the party, which was educated by him: the policy of peaceful coexistence....Of course at that time one could not speak about abolishing war from the life of the people. As a great realist, Lenin realized that the imperialist powers would not leave revolutionary Russia in peace, that the peace, which was accomplished in a hard struggle, is only "a moratorium within a war," only a breathing pause of peace.

Our country got such a breathing pause. We won two decades. This helped us to gain victory in the war, the most disastrous and bloody of all wars which mankind has had to endure. The crushing of fascism and the subsequent deep social-political changes in the world have fundamentally changed the international position of our country and have led to the emergence of the world system of socialism.

Today, the Soviet Union, together with the fraternal states, is marching on the road of socialist and communist construction. We are united by our common goals and interests, the unity of ideals and policy....Unshakeable guarantees have been built and are becoming stronger from year to year, that neither a single aggressor nor a coalition of aggressors can triumph over socialism. However, the question of upon what principles the relations between the socialist and capitalist world should be developed — this question has lost nothing of its importance and sharpness, because this is a question of war and peace. As the 25th Congress of the CPSU has once again emphasized, this question is the main question of today.

Today, this far from new question is posed and will be solved in a new way. This is connected with the new phenomena which are emerging in international relations with the increase of the strength and the world-wide influence of socialism, with the further upsurge of the workers movement and with the victories of the national liberation struggle of the peoples. It is also connected with the fact that a new weapon with huge destructive powers has emerged, by which a war would have truly catastrophic results. Thus, on the one hand real preconditions have been created, but also, on the other hand, the absolute necessity, to reduce the danger of a new world war and to eliminate that danger in the long term — and if one might express it — of expanding the boundaries of peaceful coexistence. The Party now no longer aims to accomplish a peaceful breathing pause, but aims toward the creation of a lasting and just peace in the world. In the course of the years, a clear turn from "cold war" towards peaceful coexistence of states of different social orders was put into effect. This success was accomplished in a hard struggle, through intense and difficult work. As our party had expected, the road towards strengthening peace was not easy. But we took this road and will go further on it, without sparing our energies, without deviating from the aim we have defined. And this (Soviet Party Chairman) Leonid Brezhnev emphasized with new force at the 25th Party Congress....

Our foreign policy is also a class policy, because our Party follows a steady, persistent and honest peace policy, which simultaneously stands unshakeably on the principles of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and social progress. There is no contradiction in this. We do not expect that the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the governments which are executing their will will endorse under the conditions of detente the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat or the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Soviet Union does not put such demands on the West. But one should not demand of the Soviet Union to sacrifice its solidarity with those who are struggling against exploitation and colonial oppression. The Soviet Union does not intend to interfere in the affairs of other countries, it does not intend to "export" revolution. Revolution is the result of the internal development of society, said Lenin. Revolution cannot "develop on order or agreement from a foreign country" (Lenin). Each people determines its own fate. But if the people choose the road of struggle, if they are forced to struggle against the colonial rulers and to defend against the attacks of foreign interveners and paid murderers, then our sympathy was and will be ever on the side of that people....

But we have not agreed to endorse actions which are aimed at damaging socialism. The respective plans of the reactionary circles have nothing at all to do with the sections of the Helsinki documents concerned....

#### **The Forces Against Detente**

Our country holds that competition between countries of different social systems should be actually peaceful, free of military competition, and of a constructive rather than a destructive nature....

As for the ideological struggle, the communists are of the opinion that this cannot be 'transcended,' just as class struggle cannot be 'transcended.' The interests of classes are reflected in ideals, goals, and ideas of how society is to be developed. When these interests and ideas conflict, ideological struggle is inevitable....

Conflicts over detente have become a part of the internal political struggles which many Western countries are embroiled in. The enemies of detente are trying to step up their activities. At the heights of this, extreme declarations have come out, declarations reminiscent of the vocabulary of the cold war. Before, the world listened to them for a quarter of a century. And they only proved that the policy of the cold war, the 'policy of strength,' is senseless and dangerous. It is dangerous for everyone, dangerous for peace. It is dangerous and senseless for the West itself. Since the nuclear age began, there has been no rational alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, no matter in what direction events develop in the future. And it is without doubt that the interests of the peoples and the objective processes of international relations require the maintenance and deepening of detente, and realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The objective nature of this process does not free governments and politicians from their responsibility. A relapse in the development of the detente process and even an outright backsliding, even if only momentary, could have a great cost and would result not only in the loss of a lot of material means, but also a dangerous exacerbation of the international situation....