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JPRS 83926

19 July 1983

# Southeast Asia Report

No. 1313

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 5, May 1983

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## MARXISM, OUR IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] This year, with a feeling of profound gratitude, all progressive mankind is celebrating the 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of K. Marx, the great scientist and thinker, the father and most outstanding leader of the world working class. The enemy's of Marxism celebrate these days in their own way, that is, by distorting and attacking Marxism.

In the eulogy delivered at Marx's grave in Highgate Cemetery in London on 17 March 1883, F. Engels observed that "in his lifetime, no one was scorned or vilified more than Marx...but now that Marx is gone...everyone respects Marx, loves Marx and laments the loss of Marx...

The name of Marx and his work will live for 1,000 years!"

During the 100 years since the death of Marx, this observation made by Engels has been verified by reality. The name and the work of Marx have lived through extremely large changes in world history and even in Marxism itself. First, today, Marxism is Marxism-Leninism; it has been developed upon and enhanced by Lenin and his followers. Secondly, today, Marxism is not merely a doctrine, rather, it has become historic reality. This reality is the materialization of the great thoughts of Marx and has become the new factor of decisive significance in the history of mankind. Thirdly, Marxism-Leninism has become the ideological banner of the revolutionary forces of today.

During the past 100 years, not one concept of world history has emerged that does not include the role and influence of Marxism.

During the past 100 years, no doctrine has emerged that can compare with Marxism.

Marxism is a unified, complete doctrine consisting of three parts: philosophy, political economics and socialism. As V.I. Lenin said, the doctrine of Marx "was cast from a single piece of steel"; "the doctrine of Marx is all-powerful because it is correct. It is a balanced and complete

doctrine; it gives us a comprehensive world view..."(1)

The socialism of Marx is scientific socialism. Prior to Marx, there were thinkers who saw the opposing antagonisms of capitalist society and wanted to build a more beautiful society. They were the utopian socialists. However, they did not understand the true laws of development of society, did not find a path that would lead them to genuine socialism and did not discover forces that could be used to achieve this ideal.

In the 1840's, in the face of the reality of the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels created the scientific theory on socialism. "The full measure of the genius of Marx lies in the fact that he answered questions raised by the progressive thinking of mankind"(2) and brought about a very profound revolution in man's concept of the specific involved in and the prospects for the development of society.

Marx was able to do this because he had established the methodology of dialectical materialism and had applied it in the analysis of contemporary capitalist society to discover the law of surplus value and expose the system of exploitation of capitalism; at the same time, he developed a materialist concept of history, historical materialism.

Marxism is not only a scientific theory, it is also a revolutionary theory that guides the revolutionary actions of the working class and each and every laborer, is the foundation for the establishment of revolutionary political parties and international organizations of the working class to struggle against capitalism and for socialism. "Ancient philosophers only explained the world in different ways, but the problem lies in transforming the world"--this famous thesis presented by Marx in the "Thesis on Feuerbach" indicates the revolutionary spirit of Marxism. Marx, himself, was not only a scientist and thinker, he was also a revolutionary militant who immersed himself in the fierce struggle of the proletariat. When he was alive, Marx personally directed and guided their struggle. Marx showed them that the history of Mankind, with the exception of primitive society, has been the history of class struggle; class struggle is the moving force behind social progress in societies that have classes and it inevitably leads to the use of revolutionary force to topple the bourgeoisie and put the proletariat into power. "The death of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are inevitable," this was the historic judgement handed down to capitalism in "The Communist Manifesto" in 1948. Marx also pointed out that the class struggle would inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that it would only be a form of transition to a society without classes.

Marx not only pronounced judgement on capitalism, but also saw which force would execute this sentence. It was the world proletariat who would "dig the grave of capitalism." Marx said that in order for the proletariat to complete its historic mission, it must possess political awareness, must change itself from "a class of itself" into "a class for itself," must be highly organized and must establish a revolutionary, militant political party of its own and make proletarian internationalism its ideological banner and the slogan of

revolutionary action. "Proletariat of all countries, unite!", this was the appeal made by Marx.

Under new historic circumstances, V.I. Lenin creatively developed upon the doctrine of Marx while protecting its purity against all sorts of enemies, against the influences of rightist and "leftist" revisionism. In his work "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," V.I. Lenin proved that imperialism is "parasitic, corrupt capitalism in the throes of death," that "capitalism has grown to maturity, has grown beyond maturity and has entered the night of its collapse, has matured to the point where it must give way to socialism." Lenin also pointed out that "state monopolistic capitalism is the fullest possible preparation for socialism, is the door to socialism, is one of the rungs in the ladder of history to socialism." On the basis of discovering the law of the uneven development of imperialism, Lenin revealed that the socialist revolution can win victory first in one or a few of the weak links in the chain of imperialism. He created the theories on the revolutionary situation, on the strategy and tactics of armed uprisings, on the transition from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, on building the new style party of the working class, on the various forms of revolutionary struggle, etc. The October Socialist Revolution in 1917 was the epic that ushered in the age of the doctrine of Lenin. Following that revolution, Lenin made additional priceless contributions to the storehouse of Marxism through his arguments on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on protecting the revolution against domestic and foreign enemies, on building the state and building socialism, especially through his theory concerning the national liberation movement. For this reason, Leninism is Marxism in the modern age; Marxism-Leninism is the pinnacle of the intelligence of mankind.

One hundred years after the death of Marx, Marxism-Leninism has revolutionized the entire world, has survived and won victory through the brilliant achievements of real socialism, of the national liberation movement and through the decisive class battles fought within the very strongholds of capitalism.

Today, imperialism no longer controls the development of history. It has been forced to withdraw from one position after another. It has become mired in a comprehensive and deep crisis. Its true identity has been exposed and it is now in the throes of death. The factor that is now determining the course of history is socialism. The socialist countries now account for more than 40 percent of the total industrial output of the world and possess national defense forces that are strong enough to block the hands of the bellicose imperialists. And, most significant is the fact that these countries have built a social system of utmost beauty, one that represents the right of collective ownership of man, the rights of true democracy and freedom of the laborer and social relations and relations among the nationalities that are characterized by equality and friendship. The Soviet Union, which is the pillar of world socialism and more powerful than ever before, is opening the way to communism, is building a classless society even within the framework of developed socialism. Many other socialist countries are steadily advancing down the path of building developed socialism. The three socialist countries that have emerged on the Indochina peninsula are eloquent proof of the victory

of Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, socialism has even been spread to Latin America and Africa. It has also won the hearts and minds of millions of persons in the capitalist countries. Its impact has even reached into the strongholds of world imperialism.

Socialism and peace are inseparable. The origin of war is always imperialism. As for socialism, the maintenance of peace creates better conditions for socialism to be built and developed; the impact of socialism upon the world revolution is further heightened. Therefore, the socialist countries always pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence, of preventing war and safeguarding peace. Today, socialism has the strength needed to implement this policy. Its strength plus the strength of all forces of peace and progress in the world have made it possible to defeat the insane counter-attacks by imperialism and remove world war from the life of society even before capitalism perishes.

In the course of history, Marxism has had to wage a decisive struggle to survive, a decisive struggle against all sorts of bourgeois enemies and enemies within the worker movement. Today, as in the past, enemies are incessantly slandering and attacking Marxism, denying its value and even conducting a "crusade" to bury it. And, should someone be unable to look the other way in the face of the irresistible attraction of Marxism, they make Marx out to be a saint to be worshipped on the alter of history or a great scholar who belongs to the past.

When Marxism was born, all the forces of old Europe gathered together to hunt down the "spectre" of communism. Today, the opponents of Marxism are even more numerous, extending from the imperialists with their network of lackeys of all types to nationalist reactionaries, traitors to socialism and Marxist impersonators.

There are some who say that Marxism has become "outmoded," that capitalist society is "post-industrial" society, is a society of "universal happiness" and that the working class is becoming "de-proletarianized" and "joining" the capitalist system of production. Such arguments are designed to negate Marx's theory on surplus value, negate the struggle by the working class and, in the final analysis, defend capitalism. The bleak picture of the capitalist economy, which is experiencing a serious crisis, and the decisive class struggles being waged in the capitalist countries directly refute these arguments.

There are some who point out contradictions between the early works written by Marx from 1841 to 1844 and "Capital," "The Communist Manifesto" and other later works of Marx in order to turn Marx into an abstractionist "philosopher" or, better yet, into a humanist deserving of admiration. It is their deliberate intention to remove from Marxism its revolutionary and practical content. However, Marx has always been the thoroughly revolutionary theorist of the working class.

There are also persons who, in the name of "the creative development" of Marxism, set Leninism in opposition to Marxism, deny the significance of the great October Socialist Revolution, set the thinking of Marx in opposition to

the implementation of this thinking, set theoretical socialism and real socialism in opposition to each other, do not recognize the experiences of the socialist countries and even deny the existence of Marxism-Leninism, deny the role played by revolutionary violence, deny the leadership role of the communist party, deny the dictatorship of the proletariat and deny the existence of proletarian internationalism. All of these efforts are designed to reject Leninism, narrow the content of Marxism in the age of Marx and Engels and, in the final analysis, defend Marxist aberrations.

As Lenin pointed out, "the victory of Marxism in the realm of theory forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists." (3) Today, there are more than a few who have donned the garb of Marxists; they have advanced such theories as "neo-Marxism," "western Marxism," "pluralist Marxism," "democratic Marxism," etc. The worst are the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are using the name of Marxism-Leninism to undermine Marxism-Leninism and defend their line of collaborating with the imperialists and opposing the three revolutionary currents of our times. "Maoism" is the most reactionary doctrine of modern times.

The enemy has frequently proclaimed the "death" of communism but, each time that they have, communism has spread more widely and deeply among the laboring masses, has been tempered and gained increasingly robust vitality.

In addition to remembering Marx, communists, as Lenin said, "always seek counsel in Marx." This means that we must use the scientific methodology of Marx to recognize and analyze every issue from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. This means that we must have a firm grasp of the fundamental principles of Marxism, of the spirit and essence of Marxism so that, on the one hand, we remain absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and do not seek to "discover" truths that were established by Marx long ago and, on the other hand, know how to apply these principles in a creative manner consistent with specific historic conditions.

Ever since it was born, our party has done this, has always "sought counsel" in Marx and Lenin. In the past, there were many patriots in our country who searched for the path of national salvation, who travelled far and wide in their search but never achieved success. With the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Marxism-Leninism began to spread throughout the world, even to the colonies and dependent countries. The first Vietnamese communist to see this light and bring it to our nation was Ho Chi Minh. With this, the genuine path of national salvation opened before us.

Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, our party was born in 1930 and undertook the historic mission of leading the liberation struggle of our people. Since then, our country's revolution has continuously advanced and won brilliant victories of epochal significance.

When it was 15 years old, our party led the successful August Revolution.

When it was 24 years old, our party led the resistance against France to victory.

When it was 45 years old, our party led the people in winning victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, reuniting the entire fatherland and advancing the entire country toward socialism.

Today, after defeating the two wars of aggression unleashed by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists on the southwestern and northern borders of the fatherland, our party is leading socialist construction and the work of defending our beloved fatherland.

On the basis of the specific conditions of our country, a country that was once a colony, a poor and backward country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that was ravaged by a long war and is advancing to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development, our party, at its 4th and 5th Congresses, set forth a correct line on the socialist revolution and on building the socialist economy in order to lead our people in successfully building socialism and firmly defending our socialist fatherland.

The victories of our country's revolution are victories of Marxism-Leninism in a former colony that has an underdeveloped economy. The lines adopted by our party on liberating the nation and building socialism are genuine Marxist-Leninist lines. They are so because our party firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism, possesses a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, wholeheartedly serves the interests of the working class and the nation, is always loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and always struggles against every manifestation of opportunism, always struggles to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

In memory of Marx, all of our cadres and party members, with a feeling of profound gratitude to Marx, are making every effort to learn Marxism-Leninism in conjunction with intensifying research on theory and summarizing the experiences of the Vietnamese revolution and cultivating the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and absolute confidence in the line of our party, the party of ever victorious Marxism-Leninism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, p 14.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p 11.

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THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX AND SOME MATTERS PERTAINING TO SOCIALIST  
CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION\*

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 7-24, 46

[Article by Y. V. Andropov]

[Text] One hundred years have passed since a person named Karl Marx died. It has been an entire century, a century of violent upheavals, revolutionary storms and fundamental changes in the destiny of mankind. It has been a century in which many philosophical viewpoints, many social doctrines and many political theories have been overturned and swept away. And, it has also been a century of continuous victories for Marxism, a century in which Marxism has had an increasing impact upon the development of society.

With the passage of time, we have become increasingly aware of the significance and stature of Marx's life as a meritorious service.

Mankind had spent thousands of years in search of a way to transform society in accordance with the principle of fairness, to escape exploitation and violence, to free itself from material and spiritual poverty. Distinguished minds participated in this search. Generation after generation of militants struggling for the happiness of the people sacrificed their lives for this cause. However, it was in the great activities of Marx that we first saw the labors of a great scientist blend with the realities of the selfless struggle waged by a leader and organizer of the revolutionary movement of the masses.

We may rightly consider Marx to be the inheritor of all the outstanding achievements of classical German philosophy, British political economics and French utopian socialism. However, Marx viewed these achievements with a critical attitude and went far beyond them. This was primarily because he turned his hands to performing a task that he himself raised in the profound and simple manner that we still see in men of great talent: "The philosophers have done nothing more than explain the world in many different ways, but the problem lies in transforming the world."<sup>(1)</sup> And, Marx devoted the full measure of his extraordinary mental powers, devoted all of his life to the revolutionary cause of transforming the world.

The oneness between consistent scientific theory and revolutionary practice is the special characteristic of Marxism. The creative scientific activities of Marx could not have been carried out had they not been closely related to the independent appearance on the political scene of the proletariat, a class which, at that time, was still in its historic infancy. And, Marx had the good fortune to witness how the prophecies that he made while still a youth were being implemented, how they were becoming reality: "Just as philosophy views the proletariat as its material weapon, so, too, the proletariat views philosophy as its spiritual weapon."(2)

The philosophy that Marx brought to the working class brought about an entire revolution in the history of social thinking. Prior to then, mankind did not even know a small portion of the facts about itself that it learned through Marxism. Placed within the organic whole consisting of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, political economics and the theory of scientific communism, the doctrine of Marx represents a true revolution in world view and, at the same time, has been a beacon lighting the way for social revolutions of the most profound nature.

Marx revealed the objective, materially based laws of the process of development of history. He discovered those laws in places in which it was previously thought that everything occurred by accident or through abuse by individuals or in things that were considered to be manifestations of a concept of a supernatural universe. Marx saw through to the essence lying behind that which was visible, behind the exterior, the phenomenon. He stripped away the facade that concealed the secrets of capitalist production, of capitalist exploitation of labor. He showed us how surplus value is created and who owns this surplus value.

Friedrich Engels, the great militant friend and comrade of Marx, attached special importance to these two greatest discoveries by Marx: the viewpoint of historical materialism and the theory of surplus value. And, it is easy to understand why he did. These discoveries helped us to turn utopian socialism into scientific socialism and provide us with a scientific viewpoint concerning class struggle. It was these discoveries that laid the foundation for that which V.I. Lenin called the main aspect of the doctrine of Marx: "Clarifying the proletariat's role in world history as the builder of socialist society."(3)

True, Marx was the greatest scholar but, at the same time, he was also the greatest practical revolutionary. And, we are surprised when we see how many things he did to achieve the goals that he himself established.

Together with Engels, Marx founded the League of Communists, the first political organization of the revolutionary enlightened proletariat in history. Thus, in the modern meaning of the term, Marx was the first communist party member and was the founder of our worldwide movement of today.

Marx wrote: "Only with an international alliance of the working class is it possible to guarantee its ultimate victory."(4) And, Marx himself, the founder of the 1st International, spared no effort to forge international unity among his worker brothers. We cannot appreciate the political legacies

of Marx and Engels to the communists of the world if we overlook the stirring appeal: "Proletariat of all countries, unite."

As a steadfast and loyal internationalist, Marx, more than anyone else, delved deeply into the characteristics of the situations of widely diverse countries, from Great Britain to India, from France to China, from the United States to Ireland. At the same time, while diligently learning about the lives of the people of each country, Marx constantly looked for the reciprocal relations between their lives and the life of the entire world. And, here, he always raised one fundamental question: who will be the one to launch the revolution to topple the capitalist system and who will lead the way into the communist future of mankind?

History has answered this question. The proletariat of Russia became the militants in the vanguard of the revolution. Yet, even today, there are still "critics" of the October Revolution. They contend that the outbreak of that revolution was contrary to all of Marx's expectations. They pretend that Marx only spoke in generalities in his revolutionary predictions and did not mention Russia. In fact, however, Marx paid very much attention to the Russian situation. To understand that situation better, Marx studied the Russian language. As one who held an unrelenting attitude against the czarist regime, Marx viewed it in the spirit of a prophecy of the future of the social movement that was developing in Russia at that time. He saw that that movement contained within itself the seed of "an extremely large social revolution"(5) of importance to the entire world. In fact, Marx even predicted events that would occur in the future with greater accuracy than some of the "critics" of our times predicted events that occurred in the past.

Engels said that after Marx died, a serious vacuum developed within the ranks of the militant proletariat. The loss was truly incalculable. However, the banner of Marx was still in the hands of trustworthy persons. Engels himself brandished this banner when he led the revolutionary worker movement that was gaining strength. Even while Engels was still alive, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin entered the arena of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Lenin was the faithful disciple of Marx and Engels. According to his own admission, Lenin could not tolerate any criticism, even the slightest, of his great teachers. Such an attitude could only be seen in a person who had contributed more than anyone else not only to the cause of protecting, but also to the cause of creatively developing, under the new circumstances of history, all the constituent components of Marxism, to the process of implementing this philosophy in practice. Lenin elevated Marxism to a new pinnacle. The name of Lenin is inseparable from the name of Marx. Leninism is Marxism in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the age of the collapse of the colonial system, the age of the transition by mankind from capitalism to socialism. Today, there truly can be no Marxism without Leninism.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Party founded by him led the first victorious socialist revolution and fundamentally changed the socio-political face of the world. As a result, a new era was ushered in, the era of the tremendous

victories and historic achievements of the working class, of the masses. As a result, the scientific socialism founded by Marx coalesced with the living realities of the millions of laborers building the new society.

Today, the very profound contents of the doctrine of Marx that we face are much broader and deeper than those faced by the contemporaries of Marx. Because, on the one hand, this doctrine has incorporated the thinking concerning the historic inevitability of socialism in theory, but participating in and witnessing the implementation of this thinking is an entirely different matter.

The specific historic paths followed in the course of the formation of socialism have not been entirely the same as predicted by the founders of our revolutionary theory. At first, socialism only won victory in one country, and in an economically underdeveloped country at that. Here, the crux of the issue lies in the fact that the October Revolution broke out under new historic circumstances that had not yet emerged when Marx was alive; in the age of imperialism, this development was embodied in Lenin's doctrine on the socialist revolution, a doctrine that has been proven completely correct by life.

Even today, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and revisionists are continuing to fabricate a host of clever reasons to prove that the new society, as has been built in the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, has turned out not to be like the socialism envisioned by Marx. They maintain that the reality is different from the ideal. However, either by design or through a lack of understanding, they have ignored one fact, namely, that when formulating his doctrine, Marx, himself, relied only in the slightest way upon abstract requirements of some pure and polished "socialism." Marx developed his concepts of the system of the future by means of analyzing the objective antagonisms of large-scale capitalist production. This single scientific method enabled him to precisely define the basic features of the society that would be born amidst the flood tide of the social revolutions of the 20th century.

According to Marx, the foundation of the socio-economic system that would replace capitalism is the public ownership of the instruments of production. The strong words written in "The Communist Manifesto" emphasize the significance that Marxism placed upon this inevitable revolution in production relations: "...Communists can summarize their theory in a single formula: abolishing private ownership."(6)

The historic experience of real socialism has shown that turning that which is privately owned by "me" into that which is publicly owned by "us" is not a simple matter. The revolution in ownership relations is absolutely not a matter of merely taking a single action, the result of which is that the primary instruments of production become the property of all the people. Enjoying the right of mastery and becoming a true and wise master who knows how to plan--these two matters are not one and the same. After completing the socialist revolution, it takes a long time for the people to firmly occupy their new position as the supreme and sole owners of all social wealth, a long time to firmly occupy it economically, politically and, it can even be said,

psychologically, that is, forging collective consciousness and collective behavior. Because, a person who has been educated in the spirit of socialism can only be a person who is concerned not only with the achievements he records in his work, with his own comfort and prestige, but also with the situation of the comrades with whom he works, the situation of the collective of workers and the interests of the entire country as well as the interests of the laboring people of the entire world.

When we talk about turning that which belongs to "me" into that which belongs to "us," we should not forget that this is a long and multifaceted process, one that cannot be simplified. Even when socialist production relations have been established everywhere, some persons still retain or even go back to the habits of individualism and want to live life on the backs of others, on the back of society. To borrow a term from Marx, all of these habits can be called the consequences of the alienation of labor and these consequences do not suddenly disappear from the consciousness of man even though the alienation that caused them has been eliminated.

Today, we have become clearly aware of all of these facts through the realities of socialist and communist construction. However, we have learned other things as well. Specifically, precisely as Marx predicted, at all those places at which the proletarian revolution has won victory and the public ownership of the instruments of production has been established in one of many different forms, this ownership has become the basic factor underlying the existence of socialism and the base of socialism as well as the main source of its progress.

On the basis of the socialist system of ownership, our country has built a strong, planned economy, an economy that permits us to adopt and carry out national economic and social tasks that are large in scale and complex in nature. Of course, these capabilities of ours cannot be employed at will. In this area, we have seen the emergence of many problems as well as significant difficulties. They have different origins, origins that are not related to the essence of the system of collective, public ownership that has been established and has proven its superior qualities. To the contrary, the majority are the result of mistakes, which have sometimes impeded normal activities within certain sectors of our national economy, and some are the result of violations of the regulations and requirements of economic life, the main foundation of which is the socialist ownership of the instruments of production.

For example, let us examine the matter of practicing frugality, of making efficient use of the various sources of supplies, finances and labor. How well this problem is resolved will determine, to an important degree, how well the tasks of the present 5-year plan are completed and determine the prospects for development of our country's economy. If we think about it carefully, the matter that is really being discussed here is the consciousness of complying with the necessary regulations in economic activities that are demanded by the system of socialist ownership and which, in essence, require an attitude of maintaining the property of the people and taking positive steps to increase it. All society must pay the price for the violation of these regulations; therefore, society has the right to severely punish anyone who, through

negligence, incompetence or mercenary motives, squanders the wealth of society.

At present, our concerns center around the matter of increasing the efficiency of production, of the entire economy. The party and the people fully recognize the important nature of this matter. However, if we discuss how well this task has been performed in reality, we find that our efforts have not been as successful as required. What are the obstacles that stand in our way? Why is it that we have invested huge sums but not achieved the necessary results; why are the achievements of science and technology not being applied in production at a rate that satisfies us?

Of course, there are more than a few reasons that can be cited. First, we must realize that the work that we are performing in the field of perfecting and reorganizing the economic apparatus and the forms and methods of management is behind the times compared to the requirements that have been raised by the level of material-technological, social and spiritual development that Soviet society has achieved. This is the main problem. It is, of course, a problem that has been exacerbated by various factors, such as the following: the large shortfall in the output of agriculture over the past 4 years and the need to invest more and more money and materials in the development of sources of raw materials, fuel and energy in the northern and eastern regions of the country.

We can repeat and repeat the principle of Marx that to promote the advance of production forces, it is necessary to have forms of organization that are suited to economic life; however, the situation will not improve as long as the truth of this theory is not translated into the specific language of practice. Today, we face one fundamental task: to think about and implement, in a consistent manner, measures that will provide a tremendous capability to the huge creative forces that are contained within our economy. These measures must be carefully prepared and must be practical in nature; most importantly, when they are adopted, they must always be based on the laws of development of the socialist economic system. The objective nature of these laws demands that we abandon each and every scheme to manage the economy by means of methods that are foreign to the nature of the economy. Here, we should recall the warning voiced by Lenin concerning the danger that lies within the naive attitude on the part of some cadres that they can use "communist decrees" to perform all of these tasks.(7)

On the other hand, once the necessary measures have been agreed upon and the necessary decisions have been made, work should not be left unfinished. Every job concerning which a decision has been made must be completed. This is the Leninist tradition of our party and it would be unworthy of us to stray far from this tradition.

The interests of all society are the most important starting point in the work of developing an economy based on the socialist system of ownership. Of course, this should not be taken to the point where socialism suppresses or fails to take into consideration the interests of the individual, the interests of the locality or the special needs of the different groups in society for the sake of the ideal of the happiness of all. As Marx and Engels

stressed, an "ideal" is sure to be discredited when it is separated from "interests." (8) One of the most important tasks in our work of improving the economic apparatus is to accurately calculate these interests and coordinate them, in an optimum way, with the interests of all the people and, in this manner, use these interests as a moving force in developing the Soviet economy, increasing the efficiency of the economy, raising labor productivity and consolidating the economic and military might of the Soviet state in every area.

Of course, when examining the efficiency of the socialist national economy, it is not only necessary to consider standards of a purely economic nature, but also necessary to consider social standards and give attention to the ultimate objective of social production. Under capitalism, this objective is the profits of the capitalist; under socialism--as Marx proved in theory--the ultimate objective is serving the interests of laborers and creating the conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual. Real socialism has turned this argument of Marxist doctrine into reality.

In fact, in the final analysis, although the tasks facing the Soviet economy are extremely diverse, all of them are but part of one task: insuring that the welfare of laborers is improved, that the material conditions needed for their spiritual and cultural lives are created and that their social activism continues to bear fruit. These requirements have also determined the general guidelines of the economic line of the CPSU, as reflected in the proceedings of the 26th Party Congress, in the grain and food program now being carried out and in the resolutions of the party concerning specific problems of the national economy. Clearly, these requirements determine very much, even our viewpoint concerning the matters of rationalizing production and developing production in depth. In other words, we resolve the problems involved in increasing the efficiency of the economy not by harming the interests of laborers, but by serving their interests. This does not make our work any simpler but it does permit us to perform it by relying upon the inexhaustible forces, the knowledge and the creative energies of all the Soviet people.

Marx saw that the historic mission of the form that would replace capitalism would be manifested in changing labor from a painful and compulsory obligation into the number one vital need of the individual. Today, through experience, we have learned just how many efforts must be made along the long path that leads to the full implementation of this thinking. However, the decisive milestone has already been passed. We have put an end to the situation that was in the nature of a law of capitalism, the situation in which the products of labor were opposed to labor like some foreign substance, even hostile toward labor; the situation in which the worker only serves to increase the strength of his ruler when he put more energy and devotion into his work. The very great and irrefutable achievement of socialism lies in the fact that it has created the conditions for guaranteeing everyone the right to work. In our country, it is labor, conscious, loyal and creative labor, labor performed for the sake of the welfare of society, that is recognized as the supreme measurement of the dignity and social prestige of the individual.

Facts have proven that the process of socializing the instruments and objects of labor is a necessary and effective factor in the formation of the social

atmosphere that characterizes socialism, an atmosphere in which the senses of man are not so dull that he fails to have confidence in tomorrow and in which rulers are the collective spirit, mutual help given in the spirit of comradeship, wholesome virtues and the spirit of social optimism. Viewed as a whole, all of these factors reflect, in principle, a new quality of life for the laboring masses; this new quality is not solely the result of material conveniences, it also encompasses all aspects of the rich life of man.

Of course, all of these things cannot be achieved as soon as the system of public ownership is established. Therefore, we cannot consider the mere establishment of public ownership to mean that socialism is "in place" and complete. The revolution in ownership relations cannot, of itself, eliminate all the negative factors that have accumulated over hundreds of years in the public life of man. The matter lies elsewhere, that is, if we do not carry out such a revolution, every "model" of socialism, no matter how attractively it is packaged, will lack vitality and exist only in the imaginations of those who created it. This is an elementary truth of Marxism. This truth is as valid today as it was 100 years ago.

Generally speaking, it is necessary to possess an attitude of respect for the truths that are called the elementary truths of Marxism because anyone who does not understand or forgets these truths will be harshly punished by life. For example, man has expended more than a small amount of effort and has even had to pay the price of mistakes to understand the meaning of the viewpoints expressed by Marx concerning distribution. Marx steadfastly pointed out that in the initial stage of communism, every working person "receives from society the equivalent of that which he creates for society" or, in short, receives what the quantity and quality of his work are worth<sup>(9)</sup>, which is consistent with the basic principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." A faultless democrat and humanitarian, Marx resolutely opposed the thinking of distribution based on averages; in particular, he rejected the demagogic and naive lines of reasoning that were often encountered in his time, which considered socialism to mean "broad equality" in distribution and consumption.

Today, both the realities and the experience of many socialist countries not only show the socio-economic strength, but also the tremendous political strength of these predictions made by the founder of scientific communism. Because, distribution relations directly touch upon the interests of each and every person. In essence, the nature of distribution is one of the most important indications of the degree of social equality that can be attained under socialism. Every scheme to use willpower to exceed this attainable degree and take a leap forward directly to the forms of distribution of communism without precisely calculating the contribution in the form of labor to be made by each person to the material and spiritual welfare of society can and is giving rise to undesirable phenomena.

For example, it is completely clear that we cannot violate the objective economic requirement that labor productivity must increase ahead of everything else. Although they make an initial favorable impression, wage increases that are not closely linked to this factor of decisive significance ultimately and inevitably have a negative impact upon the entire life of society.

Specifically, they give rise to demands that cannot be fully satisfied under the existing level of production, impede the effort to overcome scarcities with all their strange consequences and cause legitimate indignation on the part of the laboring people.

Naturally, correct solutions to the problems of distribution under socialism demand that there be an in-kind assurance that gives value to the money held by the people, assurance in the form of many types of consumer goods and various types of services. However, the determining factor here is the level of development of production. Of course, we cannot satisfy needs that lie beyond our capabilities. At the same time, we have had and continue to have an undeniable obligation to work in two areas: one, to constantly develop social production and, on this basis, raise the material and spiritual living standards of the people; secondly, to make every effort to raise the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet citizen.

Complete social equality does not emerge immediately or in a perfect form. As society moves forward, it achieves this equality through a rather long and arduous process, through tremendous efforts. Society must develop its production to the level where it can create the material-technical bases of communism. Society must cultivate on the part of each laborer a high level of awareness, a certain cultural level, occupational consciousness and the ability to make reasonable use of the benefits of socialism.

As long as these conditions do not exist, distribution relations, that is, the strict control of labor and consumption, must be the center of attention of the party in its leadership of socialist society. And, the CPSU is constantly concerned with how to implement the principles of socialist distribution that were discovered by Marx in a widespread and strict manner, how to apply them in practice better and more fully. If we violate these principles, we will see the emergence of types of income not earned through labor and the emergence of persons who think that "the grass is greener on the other side," squander their time, are lazy and stupid, of persons who are actually social parasites who live off the faithful laboring masses. This is a phenomenon that cannot be tolerated; it is a kind of parasitism upon the humane spirit of our system.

Labor, and only labor, only the actual results of labor, not the subjective desires of someone or good will, can determine the degree of welfare of each citizen. This viewpoint is totally consistent with the spirit and content of the viewpoints of Marx concerning distribution in socialism.

In our country, material and psychological incentives for labor have existed for many years. They have been and are of great assistance in the struggle for socialism and communism. However, it has become apparent that this system of incentives and its various forms, even the implementation of this system, must be further improved. Of importance here is not merely the need for good work to receive a good wage and be recognized by society in worthy manner. Besides this, we must insure that the application of the system of material and psychological incentives is coordinated with the level of organization of labor in a model way in order to maintain and develop on the part of everyone a consciousness of the beneficial and necessary nature of their efforts, of

the products they produce. This system must ultimately cultivate within them the consciousness of being closely connected with the work and the plans of their collective, of all the people. And, this consciousness must be a stronger source of motivation and a greater source of discipline than every attempt at persuasion, than every appeal.

While perfecting the relations in distribution, consideration must be given to all the relations involved in the process of labor. And, what is the matter of foremost importance here? It is the strengthening, in a consistent manner, of "regulation and order," in the words of Marx, in all fields of the national economy; Marx considered regulation and order to be the forms of "social consolidation of this mode of production."<sup>(10)</sup> Especially opposed to the efforts made toward this end are purely administrative orders, authoritarianism and substituting empty words for practical work. The leader who does not understand this, who, instead of making systematic and steadfast efforts in organizational work, plans to issue appeals that will make an impression but not yield any returns will only achieve meager results himself. The significance of the efforts of the party to improve management, heighten the sense of organization, improve job skills and heighten the sense of plan discipline, state discipline and labor discipline--this significance lies not only in correcting certain shortcomings and difficulties--which is naturally of major importance--but also in ultimately strengthening the principles that are used as the basis of the socialist lifestyle.

At the same time, of course, the party bases its actions on the actual conditions faced in the management of labor and the conditions that exist in the present stage of development of Soviet society. At present, these conditions are causing the economic law that Marx considered to be the number one law under collective production--the law of making efficient use of work time--to have less than a full impact in our country. The main cause of this situation is that there are still very many kinds of strenuous, uninteresting and monotonous manual jobs, the mechanization and automation of which are proceeding at a slow pace.

Moreover, one need only look at the tight supply of labor and the country's population to clearly see that, from an economic point of view, it is not possible to permanently maintain a large percentage of manual labor that has not been mechanized; however, in industry alone, this figure stands at 40 percent. As a result, the very pressing task we face at this time is to make every effort to increase the rate at which scientific-technological advances are made and to make more positive use of the achievements of science and technology, beginning first in those sectors that consume especially large amounts of labor. We have the foundations needed to do this. They include the high level of development of the socialist national economy. They include the occupational experience and the special skills of the Soviet working class. They also include the respected specialists and leadership cadres of the national economy and the powerful scientific and intellectual potentials, the production capacity of which is growing ever larger under today's conditions. The problem lies in how to make better and faster use of all of our capabilities and raise the level of labor and the level of organization of production.

The tasks of mechanizing and automating production must also be strongly promoted by us because of the socio-political significance of these tasks. Because, once freed from exhausting, strenuous manual labor, man usually exhibits a greater spirit of initiative and a higher spirit of responsibility for the work assigned to him. Man has additional conditions for continuing his education, relaxing and participating in social activities and the management of production. As a result, man is capable of more fully exercising the political and democratic rights that have been brought to workers by the socialist revolution, namely, the rights of masters who exercise full authority in their society, in their state.

Long before the start of the process of formation of the society to replace capitalism, Marx revealed the essence of the various forms of political activity of that society. In "The Communist Manifesto," he pointed out that "the first step in the worker revolution is to turn the proletariat into the ruling class and achieve democracy."<sup>(11)</sup> It is impossible to establish socialism without a stable and solid state government, the class nature of which was defined by Marx in the concept "dictatorship of the proletariat." According to the doctrine of Marx, the dictatorship of the proletariat opens the way for the process of political development that will inevitably lead to the system of self-management of communist society.

Does the living history of socialism bear any relationship to these predictions by Marx?

In our country and, generally speaking, wherever political power is in the hands of the working class, in the hands of the laboring people, it signifies the victory of democracy in the truest and most accurate meaning of this term, that is, the true victory of people's government. In the end, the laboring people achieve the rights and freedoms that capitalism always refused to allow them to enjoy, if not in form, then in practice.

Soviet democracy, which encountered especially fierce resistance from both domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary forces and truly permeated life does not conceal its class nature and has not hesitated to legitimize the special rights that the working people have compared to the representatives of the exploiting classes who opposed the new government. In essence, Soviet democracy is and continues to be the democratic system that provides the broadest rights and protects the interests of the laboring people; it stands ready to bring to order those who dare to violate the socialist achievements of the people.

In the process of building socialism, the specifics involved in the socialist system of democracy have become increasingly profound, the historic limitations of the past are disappearing and the forms of people's government are becoming increasingly diverse. This process has unfolded in a manner closely related to the process of developing the socialist state system, which itself has undergone substantive changes. The most important change has been the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat state into a state of all the people. This was a change of major significance to the political system of socialism. It is reflected in the Constitution of the Soviet Union

that was ratified by all the people in 1977. It is laying the legal basis for further strengthening the system of socialist democracy.

We do not idealize that which has been done or is being done in our country within this field. The Soviet democratic system has, is and surely will encounter difficulties in the course of its development, difficulties that arise from the material capabilities of society, the level of enlightenment of the masses, their political level and also from the fact that our society has not developed under classical conditions or in isolation from the world that is hostile toward us, rather, it has developed in the face of the cold winds of the "psychological war" unleashed by imperialism. The task of perfecting our system of democracy demands that we abolish the bureaucratic "establishment" and formalism, abolish everything that suffocates or undermines the initiative of the masses or impedes the creative thinking and dynamic actions of the laboring people. We have been and will continue to wage a stronger and more steadfast struggle against these phenomena.

We sometimes hear people say that the present day structure of the socialist state and the socialist system of democracy are not consistent with the prospect of the system of communist self-management proposed by Marx. However, the course that we have followed and the experiences that we have gained prove otherwise.

For example, let us examine Marx's views that managing the new society is the undertaking "of the people organized into communes" and that the essence of the new government is the management of the people through the people themselves."(12)

Everyone knows that these ideas arose from life, from the heroic character of the militants at the Paris Commune. However, these ideas only embody the most general guidance concerning social goals. Only with the truly revolutionary creative spirit of masses is it possible to develop concrete methods for approaching these goals. And, on the night before the October Revolution, this creative spirit provided the material that permitted Lenin to chart a practical course by which to implement Marx's formulas under the conditions of our country: "...The people assembled within soviets are the ones who must manage the state."(13)

The people never know any power other than the power of themselves united. This thinking of Marx, Engels and Lenin is embodied in the activities of the soviets, which are the agencies that perform the legislative, management and supervisory functions. This thinking is embodied in the activities of the trade unions and other social organizations, in the activities of the labor collectives and in the development of the entire political system of our society. And, the matter does not lie entirely in finding differences between this thinking and the ideal of communist self-management--a good many such differences can be cited by us, differences caused by the historic gap between our times and the second stage of communism. Much more important is the difference, specifically, the fact that this system operates and is improved as we look for more and more new forms and methods through which to develop the system of democracy and broaden the right of ownership as well as increase the ability of laborers to exercise this right in production and in all

practical socio-political activities, from the committees of representatives and the supervision provided by the people to the regularly scheduled production conferences. This is true socialist self-management of the people, self-management that is being developed in the process of building communism.

The experiences that have been gained in developing our democratic system in a manner consistent with the new Constitution of the Soviet Union must be given special attention and summarized. This effort is primarily related to more strongly developing and making wider use of the initiative of the localities and gaining the closer participation of all labor collectives in our activities of a national nature. In recent years, the authority of the local soviets over the enterprises, agencies and organizations within their territory has been very greatly expanded. The capabilities of the soviets of the districts, provinces, regions and republics (the autonomous soviet socialist republics) will also be increased in the process of implementing the resolution of the May, 1982 plenum of the CPSU on establishing agro-industrial federations under the management of these soviets. Thus, the role of the representative agencies in fulfilling the most important function they have, namely, the socialist state's function of organizing the economy, is increasing. Mention must also be made of the form of production management on the basic level that was developed by the masses themselves, the production unit that practices cost accounting.

Of course, explaining self-management as leading to ungoverned trade unionism, to the division of society into corporations that are not dependent upon one another in any way and that compete with one another, to undisciplined democracy or to authority without responsibility is a way of explaining self-management that is totally foreign to us. One tested principle for organizing all the activities of socialist society is the system of democratic centralism, a system that permits the successful coordination of the free creativity of the masses with the superiority of the system of scientific leadership, planning and unified management.

The socialist system makes the implementation of the collective rights and the fulfillment of the collective responsibilities of the laborer the dominant force behind social progress. At the same time, light attention is absolutely not given to the interests of each person. Our Constitution has brought to the Soviet citizen broad rights and freedoms; at the same time, it emphasizes that the interests of society have priority and that serving these interests is the highest expression of the consciousness of the citizen.

The gap between the interests of the state and the interests of the citizen that exists under the capitalist system has been abolished in our country. However, it is regrettable that there are still persons who concern themselves solely with their own selfish interests to the exclusion of the interests of society and the interests of the other members of society. In this light, it is clearly necessary to educate and sometimes even transform a number of persons, necessary to struggle against violations of the socialist system of law and violations of the standards of our collective life. And, this is not a "violation of human rights" as the bourgeois propaganda apparatus has hypocritically stated time and time again; to the contrary, it is humanism and

the purest form of democracy, that is, management based on the will of the majority for the interests of all laborers.

The CPSU places the interests of the people, the interests of all society, in general, above everything else. The party has constantly given its attention to creating the conditions for tapping the creative activities of laborers and their social activism and broadening the framework of the independence of the industrial enterprises, state farms and collective farms. This activism, initiative and creativity reflect the practical nature of the plans of the party, tap the strength of the party and, in the final analysis, insure the implementation of the program for communist construction.

As the nucleus of the political system of Soviet society, the party itself is a model of democratically organized activities; the party has set forth and developed upon the principles of democracy, principles that are found in each and every field of our socialist life. This is one of the most important manifestations of the leadership role of our party in social life, of the inspirational impact of the party upon the masses.

Years ago, when analyzing the viewpoints and methodology employed by Marx to clarify the fundamental characteristics of the new society, Lenin wrote: "In the documents of Marx, we fortunately do not see any intention to fabricate illusions, to make vague predictions of things that man cannot know... Instead of "imaginary" definitions of a chronic and artificial nature and in place of useless debate and terminology (what is socialism, what is communism), Marx analyzes that which can be called the steps in the economic growth of communism."(14)

As everyone knows, it was on the basis of such analysis that Marx developed his doctrine on the two stages of development of a pure communist system, a doctrine that the CPSU and the other fraternal parties use as their weapon. It was also on this basis and the basis of summarizing the new experiences in history that Lenin developed his comprehensive theory on building socialism and communism. And, today, we still use these arguments as our starting point when resolving that problem which, in the opinion of Marx, Engels and Lenin, is one of the most difficult: the problem of determining the specific forms of the transition to communism.

The most important characteristics of Soviet society at this time are embodied in the concept "developed socialism." This concept eloquently expressed the dialectical oneness between the real achievements that have been recorded in socialist construction, in the performance of the economic, social and cultural tasks of the initial stage of communism and the strengthened rudiments of the communist future as well as the problems remaining from the past that we have yet to resolve. This means that a certain amount of time is needed in order to stimulate backward areas and continue to make progress. We must visualize exactly where we are in this process. Rushing forward would only result in the establishment of tasks that cannot be achieved but stopping with what we have achieved would result in not using all that we have. Examining our society in its present dynamic development with all its capabilities and needs--this is the present requirement.

The defining of the concept "developed socialism" was considered by the 26th Congress of the CPSU to be foremost among the achievements that have been recorded in recent years in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory. On the basis of this concept, the party has established its strategy and tactics for the years ahead and, looking every farther ahead, the party has taken precautions against over-evaluating the level of development of a country that is approaching the high stage of development of communism. All of these factors permit us to accurately and specifically define both the course to be followed and the deadlines for achieving the goals that are in the nature of a platform to us.

The party and the people face important, large-scale tasks in the final decades of the 20th century. Taken in their entirety, these tasks entail that which we call the perfecting of developed socialism, on the momentum of which the gradual transition to communism will be made. Our country is in the initial period of this long stage of history, a stage that will, in turn, involve its own periods and stages of development. Only experience and the realities of life will show us how long these periods and stages of development will be and which specific form they will take. However, one of the major guidelines, a guideline that can be called one of the qualitative guidelines to be followed along this course, was clearly pointed out by the 26th Congress of the Party when it presented the arguments on establishing a fundamental social structure which, in its main aspects, is a classless society within the historical framework of developed socialism.

Deserving of attention is the fact that this conclusion is a conclusion drawn on the basis of real practice that is identical to Marx's concepts of socialism as a society with no class distinctions.(15) May another point also be stated here, namely, the need to appraise the correctness of the viewpoints of Marx not only on the basis of the experience of the past several decades, but also from the perspective of longer range prospects.

Today, anyone who asks himself "what is socialism?" and first seeks an answer in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin acts correctly. But we should not limit ourselves solely to these works. Today, one cannot define "socialism" without directing attention to the very abundant practical experiences of the Soviet people and the people of the other fraternal countries. This experience shows that many of the problems that arise in the course of socialist construction are very complicated problems. But it also shows us that only socialism can resolve the most complicated problems of social life.

Socialism has brought down the long-standing barriers between labor and culture and created an extremely solid alliance among manual workers, farmers and intellectuals and between all manual and mental laborers and the leadership role of the working class. It has brought to the laboring masses the achievements of science and technology, of literature and art and insures that the creative activities of intellectual circles are recognized by society more than ever before. It is socialism that has untied the nationalities--which were once divided by national hatreds--within a harmonious family, thereby insuring the correct resolution of the nationalities problem caused by the system of exploitation. It is socialism that, while creating favorable conditions for the lives of the nationalities to develop in a brilliant

manner, also creates new style relations among the nationalities, among nations, a style of relations that abolishes every form of inequality and is based on fraternal cooperation and mutual aid.

When the period of transition from capitalism to socialism concludes and the new, socialist style of life has been consolidated, the extremely sharp conflicts in society--the basis of which, in the final analysis, is the division of society into hostile classes--are also overcome. However, the conclusion of this period is not in any way similar to the commonly held, politically naive concept that socialism bring total emancipation from every antagonism and injustice, from all petty quarrels. Here, I would also like to point out that our ideological enemies also use this concept to suit their tastes when they attempt to discredit the new system by stating that under this system, man's life is still a life of difficulties and disappointments, of struggle, sometimes very difficult struggle between the new and the old.

True, we have contradictions and difficulties as well. But I think that any other course of development would have led us far astray from firm ground, even though we have sometimes faced harsh realities and been a renunciation of the fundamental teachings of the Marxist dialectic. From a theoretical perspective, Lenin, relying upon the doctrine of Marx, clarified this matter. He wrote: "An antagonism and a contradiction are not one and the same thing. Under socialism, antagonisms disappear but contradictions still exist." (16) However, this is no reason to conclude that we can give light attention to antagonistic contradictions and ignore these contradictions in politics. Life teaches us that if we do not give them our attention, even contradictions that are not antagonistic contradictions by nature can give rise to serious conflicts. Another aspect--and this is the most important aspect--of the issue is that we must make correct use of the contradictions within socialism to stimulate the development of socialism.

Our experience has shown us that when the policy of the communist party in power is firmly based in science, socialist construction will record achievements. Every underestimation of the role played by Marxist-Leninist science, every underestimation of the creative development of this science, every explanation of the tasks of this science that are superficial and pragmatic in nature, all light attention given to the fundamentals of theory, to the control exerted by the habit of opportunism and every creation of theory that reflects scholasticism--all of these things hold serious political and ideological consequences. Experience and fact have frequently confirmed the correctness of the following teaching of Lenin: "He who turns his hands to specific problems before resolving general problems cannot help but unconsciously 'encounter' these general problems with each step that he takes. And, blindly dealing with these problems in each separate case that one encounters means that your policy has been brought to the point of the worst kind of vacillations and loses all basis in principle." (17)

The CPSU attaches very much importance to developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism, as its creative nature demands. This is of vital importance in the performance of the practical tasks we face. For example, we see an increasing need for serious research projects in the field of the political economics of socialism. And, here, our science, Marx's "Capital," has been and continues

to be an immortal model of how to delve into the essence of the phenomena of economic life.

The varied experiences of the fraternal socialist countries and the fact that they are not identical to one another in every respect provide us with a large source of material through which to gain an understanding of theory. Here, we cannot help but recall Lenin's teaching that "only through a series of pilot projects in which each project, if examined separately, is an aspect of the whole, an aspect to which none other corresponds, is it possible to build complete socialism through the revolutionary cooperation of the proletariat of all countries."(18) Today, this task is being performed in practice in vast regions of the world, within the scope of the world socialist system, the system that has become the factor determining the social progress of mankind. And, it is being carried out in accordance with the guidelines in the nature of principles that were set forth by Marx.

Lenin frequently said that he always compared all his activities to Marx. The CPSU compares each step that it takes to Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Making comparisons with Marx, with Marxism-Leninism in no way means mechanically "comparing" life as it is developing to one set of formulas or another. We would be poor students of our teachers if we satisfied ourselves with merely repeating the truths that they discovered, if we merely relied upon the magical power of quotations committed to memory.

Marxism is not dogmatic, rather, it is the living compass for actions, for carrying out in an independent manner the complex tasks that we face at each new turning point in history. And, to avoid becoming backward compared to life, communists must develop upon and enhance the doctrine of Marx in every respect and creatively apply it within the realities of the methodology of the material dialectic revealed by Marx, a dialectic that can rightfully be called the soul of Marxism. Only with such an attitude toward our priceless ideological heritage, of which Lenin was a model, only by constantly updating this revolutionary theory under the impact of the realities of the revolution is it possible for Marxism to become the true science and art of revolutionary creativity. This is the secret of the immortal strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism.

We sometimes hear it said, as though the new phenomena in social life are "inconsistent" with the concepts of Marxism-Leninism, that Marxism-Leninism seems to be experiencing a "crisis" and must, they say, be "revived" by incorporating within it ideas borrowed from Western sociology, philosophy or political science. However, the problem here does not lie in some imagined "crisis" of Marxism. Rather, it lies somewhere else--in those theoreticians who proclaim themselves to be Marxists but who do not have the ability to bring themselves to the true level of the theoretical thinking of Marx, Engels and Lenin and in the inability to apply the extremely large intellectual power of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the process of researching specific matters in detail. It would not be superfluous to say in addition that a good many bourgeois theoreticians in the fields of philosophy, sociology and political economics make names for themselves by turning Marxist thinking inside out in their own way.

Communists should not allow themselves to be deceived by the caustic remarks of all sorts of "improvers" upon Marxism and should not seize upon the products of bourgeois science. Instead of eroding Marxist-Leninist doctrine, they must struggle to maintain the purity of this doctrine, must creatively develop it--this is the path to understanding and solving new problems. Only such an attitude is consistent with the tradition and spirit of our doctrine, with the needs of the communist movement.

We communists of the Soviet Union are proud to belong to the most influential school of thinking in the entire history of world civilization, Marxism-Leninism. Embodying all that is outstanding and progressive in modern science and culture, Marxism-Leninism now stands in the center of the spiritual life of the world and is controlling the intelligence of millions and millions of persons. This is the ideological confidence of an ascending class, a class that will liberate all mankind. This is the philosophy of social optimism, the philosophy of the present and the future.

A long distance has been travelled along the path of changing the world socially, along the path of achieving the revolutionary goals and implementing the thinking of the working class. The political map of the world is being changed. Science has made truly great discoveries and technology has recorded achievements that have dazzled man. At the same time, mankind has many new concerns, some of which are very complex. The concerns of mankind over raw materials, energy, food, the ecology and other global issues that have become serious, are well-founded concerns. And, the most important issue causing concern on the part of nations at this time is the need to maintain peace and prevent nuclear holocaust. To our party, to the Soviet state, to all nations on this planet, there is no more important international issue.

Shedding light on all the complex issues being faced by the world now and both organizing and guiding the revolutionary creativity of an historic social nature of the working class and all laborers--these are the extremely important tasks that the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of the struggle for the progress of mankind are performing today. The tasks that Karl Marx set for himself, for those who share his ideological and political goals and for his successors are to explain and transform the world.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* Article printed in THE COMMUNIST JOURNAL, USSR, No 3, 1983.

1. Marx and Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, National Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, Volume 3, p 4.
2. Ibid., Volume 1, p 428.
3. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, National Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, Volume 23, p 1.
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7. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, National Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, fifth printing, Volume 44, p 173.
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11. Ibid., 1955, Volume 4, p 446.
12. Ibid., second printing, Volume 17, pp 344 and 390.
13. Lenin: "Complete Works," Russian version, National Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, Volume 31, p 188.
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15. Marx and Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, National Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, second printing, Volume 12, p 19.
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## KARL MARX AND OUR TIMES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 25-36

[Article by Nguyen Vinh]

[Text] Of all the great persons in the history of mankind, Karl Marx was the brightest star. By means of his brilliant intellect, Karl Marx promptly, accurately and creatively answered the largest, most basic and most pressing questions placed before progressive mankind by our times. Crystallizing within himself the intellectual achievements of mankind and critically incorporating all the very best of the theory of German classical philosophy, British political economics and French socialism, Karl Marx, together with Friedrich Engels, his close friend and comrade-in-arms, comprehensively and systematically researched all fields of social life and nature and founded the philosophy of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Marxist political economics and scientific socialism. These are the three components of Marxism, are the theory, the torch lighting the way for every revolutionary activity of the communists, working class and laboring people of all countries in the struggle to liberate themselves and liberate mankind from the rule of capital, win freedom and happiness and win the right to be the masters of their own destiny.

The doctrine of Marx is a complete entity. The basic characteristics of this doctrine are its revolutionary and scientific nature and its international universality. Lenin wrote: "The doctrine of Marx is a universal doctrine because it is a precise doctrine. It is a complete and tightly structured doctrine; it provides us with a complete world view and does not compromise with any superstition, any reactionary power, any behavior that defends the oppression of capital."(1)

With the thorough and most comprehensive world view of dialectical materialism, "Marx revolutionized all concepts of world history"(2); he opened the way for the scientific and deep research of the various socio-economic forms and the replacement of one socio-economic form by another in history; he pointed out the reasons and the objective conditions that are the base of every activity in the history of man; he discovered the laws of development of man and society and the objective conditions as well as the subjective factors that have an impact upon the consciousness of man when writing history. By

means of precise, irrefutable scientific theories, Marx proved that man writes his own history, that economic conditions are the basis of every activity of man. As Engels confirmed: "As Darwin discovered the laws of the organic world, Marx discovered the laws of the history of man, that is, discovered the simple truth that had previously been concealed behind a pile of ideologies: man must first eat, drink, have a place to live and clothe himself before he can concern himself with politics, science, art, religion, etc."(3) The chaos and confusion in the history of each nation and nationality or in the relations among the nations and nationalities were clearly and correctly explained and presented by Marx's theory on class struggle. "Since ancient times, history (Engels later said: except the history of the primitive commune--N.V.) has developed amidst antagonisms and class struggles."(4)

Marx conducted much painstaking research to discover the economic laws underlying the birth, development and destruction of capitalism. Capitalism is not eternal, it only exists during a certain stage in the history of man. Marx formulated the theory on surplus value, which is the foundation of Marxist political economics and the absolute law of capitalism. Objectively analyzing the class situation within modern society and the conditions underlying the formation and development of these classes, Marx concluded that all classes are struggling with the bourgeoisie but only the proletariat is truly revolutionary. Lenin wrote: "Only the materialism of Marx shows the proletariat the path that it must follow to liberate itself, and all oppressed classes that ever lived, from spiritual enslavement. Only the economic theory of Marx explains the true position of the proletariat in all capitalist systems."(5) Through the discovery of the principle of historical materialism and the theory of surplus value, Marx advanced socialism from utopianism to science. The revolutionary realities of the world over the past 100 years, ever since the publication of "The Communist Manifesto," has proven that only the scientific socialism of Marx provides the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited persons with a path and a method of struggle for liberating themselves from the rule of capital and successfully building the new, beautiful society--civilized socialism and communism.

The systems of laws of nature, society and human thinking that were discovered by Marx are universal truths. It has been very correctly observed that we can only develop upon and enhance these universal truths of Marxism in the way that man discovered new chemical elements and filled in the blanks of the periodic table developed by Mendeleyev; we cannot revise, abridge or change their basic laws.

The revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism created an invincible strength and toppled scores of anti-scientific and reactionary theories concerning philosophy, political economics and socialism. The ever victorious strength of Marxism is the strength of truth, the strength of the dialectical oneness between theory and practice. When summarizing his critique of previous philosophies, Marx said that philosophers only explained the world in different ways but that the problem was to transform the world. The doctrine of Karl Marx is the doctrine of transforming the world. This doctrine demands that we establish a oneness between theory and practice, closely link theory to the revolutionary movement of the working class and the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples and determine the laws governing the

transformation of society and the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat, the liberation of the laborer from all forms of oppression and exploitation and the liberation of man. As the first person to explain socio-historical processes in a precise and scientific manner, Karl Marx was also the first person to prove the objective need to turn the old, capitalist society into communism by means of revolution. The first historic service that Marx performed was to spiritually liberate the working class and all progressive mankind by means of scientific theory. This was the first prerequisite to the proletariat and the laboring people embarking on the path of struggling to achieve their own social liberation. As F. Engels said: "To Marx, science is a force stimulating the advance of history, is a revolutionary force."(6)

Having permeated the movement of the working class and laboring people, the doctrine of Marx has become an invincible material strength, become the strength of solidarity, organization and unity, become the revolutionary actions of millions and millions of workers and laboring people on all continents. When it permeated the laboring masses, the doctrine of Marx revolutionized the world. Its most vivid symbols lie in the intense, profound revolutionary movements and the tremendous achievements of these movements in our times.

When they brought socialism from utopianism to science, Marx and Engels armed the proletariat with the basic principles of the proletarian revolution. The first person to reveal the historic mission of the proletariat, Marx was also the first person to research the revolutionary strategy and tactics for the proletariat and show the proletariat the only correct course for liberating itself. He emphasized that only the proletariat can apply revolutionary theory in practice and turn this theory into the most determined and thorough of revolutionary actions. He pointed out the indispensable leadership role played by the communist party, the revolutionary vanguard unit of the proletariat; the proletariat must use revolutionary force to throw off the yoke of bourgeois rule, seize political power and "organize itself into the ruling class"; the proletariat must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to transform the old society, build the new society and advance to socialism. Lenin said: "The greatest service, a service of world historical significance, performed by Marx and Engels was that these two gentlemen showed the proletariat of all countries that it is their role, their task and their mission to first arise in revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and to assemble around themselves, in this struggle, all laborers and all oppressed persons."(7)

Although they were great thinkers who brought about a revolutionary turning point in the history of social thinking, Marx and Engels were also persons who educated, organized and led the proletariat in the struggle to liberate the class and liberate mankind from all oppression and exploitation. General Secretary Le Duan has stressed that "the most important characteristic of Marxism is the oneness between theory and practice, and Marx himself was a model of this oneness."(8) Marx was the perfect combination of a brilliant scholar and an outstanding proletarian revolutionary filled with bravery and zeal. And, it was in the process of struggle and testing within these

realities of the revolution that Marxism was challenged, tempered, developed and perfected and became the invincible weapon of the world working class.

From the time that he was a student active in the "Young Hegel Group," Marx constantly set for himself the task of discovering and recognizing the truth. When he was 24 or 25 years of age, Marx, in his work "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Jurisprudence," irrevocably and publicly adopted the stand of materialism; "Marx became Marx," he joined the ranks of the proletariat and his life of revolutionary activities became increasingly intense, rich, noble and beautiful. Marx became the leader of the international communist and worker movement. Through his 40 years of revolutionary activity, Marx personally led the revolutionary struggles of the working class in Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and the United States and closely observed and assisted worker movements in many other countries. Marx founded the first International of the world proletariat. Under his leadership, the worker organizations of many other countries were reassembled and brought within a unified revolutionary orb, thereby bringing about major developments within the international worker movement. He was the soul, the leader and the most experienced and challenged trusted advisor of that movement.

Marx devoted his entire life and that of his family to the international communist and worker movement. In his theoretical research as well as his practical activities among the laboring masses, Marx fought with an extraordinary revolutionary bravery, with boundless enthusiasm, with revolutionary optimism and unshakeable confidence in the inevitable victory of the proletariat. Despite being terrorized, arrested, exiled and threatened by the rulers of the capitalist countries and despite the deprivation, illnesses and difficulties encountered in their lives, Marx and his family always considered the revolutionary struggle to be their *raison d'etre*, to be the source and the objective of theoretical creativity, to be their greatest source of happiness throughout their lives. As F. Engels confirmed, Marx was not only a great thinker and a brilliant theoretician, "he was first a revolutionary. The true mission of Marx was to contribute, in one way or another, to toppling the capitalist social system and the state regimes created by capitalist society, to participate in the liberation of the modern proletariat, who were first made aware of their position and needs, aware of the conditions needed to liberate themselves by Marx. Struggling was the essential factor in the life of Marx. And, Marx waged an intense, steadfast struggle and recorded rare achievements."(9)

The most outstanding student of Marx and Engels, the person who most tenaciously protected the doctrine of Marx and Engels as a complete organic entity, as the only scientific and revolutionary world view of the international communist and worker movement, protected it against every distortion of a bourgeois and petty bourgeois nature and constantly enhanced this doctrine was V.I. Lenin.

On the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism, Lenin precisely and comprehensively answered the new questions of our times and creatively and profoundly developed the doctrine of Marx and Engels on the basis of its very own foundation, that is, the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat. Lenin

not only applied Marxism to the specific historic conditions of Russia, he also enriched Marxism in all of its constituent components: philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism, thereby bringing Marxism to a new pinnacle of development and causing it to become Marxism-Leninism. He successfully solved a host of major theoretical and practical problems of our times. He made theoretical contributions on imperialism, the final stage of capitalism; on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the alliance of workers and farmers; on the nationalities issue and the national liberation revolution in the age of the proletarian revolution; on the strategy, tactics, forms and methods of revolutionary struggle; on the new style political party of the working class and so forth. Leninism is Marxism in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, is Marxism in the age of the victory of socialism. It is the banner and the tested weapon of struggle of communists, the working class, the oppressed peoples and all progressive mankind in the cause of liberating themselves and building the new society, socialism and communism. Lenin and his party led to victory the first socialist revolution of the proletariat, the most difficult, the most complex and the greatest revolution, thereby ushering in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the victory of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale. He organized and led the struggle of the working class and people of the Soviet Union to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, landowners and reactionary powers within Russia and the armed intervention of the imperialist countries, thereby protecting the newly won fruits of the proletarian revolution. Loyal to the thinking of Marx and Engels concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and creatively developing upon, in a manner based on principle, the initial outlines of socialist society and communist society that were made by Marx and Engels, Lenin led the building of the first worker-farmer state in history within a country encompassing many different nationalities. He set forth the program for socialist construction in the Soviet Union, on the basis of which the CPSU successfully carried out socialist construction amidst the hostile encirclement by imperialism. Today, socialism has developed from one country into a world system, from a doctrine into a great reality, an invincible and powerful material strength. Lenin founded the communist international, organized and united the vanguard units of the working class of all countries and unified the goals and the actions taken to achieve them in the struggle against capitalism, the imperialists and the international reactionary powers, thereby creating a new and unprecedented strength for the international communist and worker movement.

Of course, in the international communist movement in later years, genuine leaders of communist parties, while applying Marxism-Leninism, have also made efforts to apply it in a concrete and creative manner suited to the specific historic conditions of each country. However, nothing can compare to the loyal, creative and comprehensive developments that Lenin brought to Marxism, developments that have caused Marxism to display its full revolutionary and scientific nature in a manner suited to an entirely new age. Developments brought about by such an eminent Marxist can only be found in V.I. Lenin.

The present age is the age of full-scale and intense revolutionary storms, the age of major scientific discoveries and a great technological revolution in all fields. Practice is always the highest standard against which to test

truth. The realities of history have proven that Marxism-Leninism, the pinnacle of man's intelligence, has been and is playing an extremely large role in the course of development of mankind as the theoretical foundation of the international communist and worker parties and that Marxism-Leninism has answered in a comprehensive and precise way the most basic and important questions of our times. The historic lessons of the October Socialist Revolution, the historic experiences and the outstanding achievements of socialist construction and the building of the material-technical bases of communism in the Soviet Union and the experiences that have been gained by the other fraternal socialist countries today are brilliant and living manifestations of the victory of Marxism-Leninism in practice. They are achievements of historic significance and lessons of universal value to the entire world. In today's age, the appeal that was made by Marx and Engels in "The Communist Manifesto" and developed upon by Lenin under the new conditions of history, "proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!", has been and is a tremendous force awakening and inspiring the working class, the laboring people and the oppressed nations to arise and win victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The realities of the revolution are making the all powerful vitality, the international significance and the perfect unity of Marxism-Leninism increasingly clear. Marxism-Leninism not only provides the working class and laboring people of all countries with the correct path to follow and supplies to them the most effective and strongest weapons for defeating every enemy, even enemies that possess ultra-modern material-technical bases or huge populations. Marxism-Leninism also shows the working class and all nations the path that they should follow to build the new society, to build socialist and communist society, in order to win back the true independence, freedom and happiness of man and restore a stable and lasting peace to the planet.

The salient characteristic of our times is the existence and development of the system of socialist countries, which is the factor determining the direction of development of mankind. It was the October Socialist Revolution that opened the way for the birth of this system. It also opened a new path in the development of Marxism-Leninism, the path of struggling to build socialism and communism, a path of importance to the entire world. The existence and the strong, stable development of the Soviet Union in the face of every challenge posed by history over the past 65 years and the positive impact of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics upon the course of history that have been the important factor in the formation and development of the world socialist system and in broadening the impact of Marxism-Leninism to all continents.

Developing in a faithful manner upon the theoretical heritage of the classical scholars of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of summarizing the practical experiences gained in building socialism within the various countries, the fraternal parties have confirmed the universal laws of carrying out socialist transformation and building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the firm alliance of workers and farmers and the absolute leadership of the revolutionary political party of the working class. Today, the problems facing the socialist countries are to develop upon and concretize the theory behind socialist construction in each period and stage of development; constantly improve the social system of each country and tap the

revolutionary dynamism of the laboring people in the successful construction of developed socialism and the advance to communism; and establish coordination and mutual cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries within the socialist community, thereby creating new conditions for the growth of each country and the entire new world in the spirit of the proletarian internationalism of Marxism.

Today, the oppressed nations also face the problem of choosing which course they should follow in order to achieve total liberation and win lasting independence and freedom. History provides negative examples in those nationalist countries that have fallen or are falling into the neo-colonialist trap of imperialism. History also provides positive examples, examples which prove that the liberation of the oppressed nations can only be successfully completed when they follow the path of Marxism-Leninism, when they grasp and brandish the banners of national independence and socialism. This truth has been tested in the realities of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half-century, both in the course of the people's national democratic revolution and in the process of advancing from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

The possibility of developing countries advancing to socialism, without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, through the assistance of the proletariat that has won victory in the advanced countries has become living reality at many places in the world. Summarizing and concretizing this process in the form of models of the various types of countries within the different regions of the world, countries that have different levels of development, is the burning issue in the theoretical work of the national liberation movement as well as the cause of socialism.

Today, the largest and most dangerous reactionary strongholds of capitalism continue, of course, to be the developed capitalist countries in North America, Western Europe and Japan. In the face of the offensive momentum of the revolutionary currents of our times, the bourgeois monopolists and the multi-national monopolistic capitalist groups, who are the greatest violators of human rights and the most flagrant violators of the sovereignty of nations and nationalities, are looking for ways to evade the attacks that the laboring masses are directing against them. Wolves in sheep's clothing, they pretend to "brandish the banners of national independence and democracy" in a vain attempt to redirect the attacks being launched by the laboring masses against them toward the communists. They distort proletarian internationalism and practice "anti-Sovietism" in a vain attempt to divide the international communist and worker movement.

Holding high the banners of genuine national independence and democracy, practicing socialist internationalism and proletarian internationalism and opposing manifestations of chauvinistic nationalism and the trends of bourgeois and petty bourgeois democratic socialism are the pressing problems that history is placing before the communists of the world. Marxism-Leninism holds that the struggle movements of the proletariat to win democratic rights assembly the proletarian masses for the advance to the proletarian revolution and the establishment of proletarian democracy or a dictatorship of the proletariat. However, Marxism-Leninism is totally different from bourgeois

and petty bourgeois revisionist democratic socialism; these opportunistic tendencies, which substitute bourgeois democracy for proletarian democracy, raise the slogan "achieving democracy" in order to cause others to foresake the struggle to establish a proletarian democracy or a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels wrote: "The proletariat of each country must seize political power, build itself into the ruling class within the nation and become the nation." However, Marx and Engels also stressed that this concept of nation "is not at all to be understood in the bourgeois meaning of the term."(10)

When founding scientific socialism, Karl Marx revealed the international nature of the proletariat, developed a complete theory on proletarian internationalism and set forth the principles underlying the strategy and tactics in the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat. The fundamental and long-range interests of the working class in all countries are identical. The interests of the working class and the oppressed and exploited laboring masses in all countries are basically the same. In the face of the alignment of the monopolistic capitalist groups of various countries as a reactionary power of an international character that is counter-attacking socialism and counter-attacking the revolutionary movements of our times, solidarity and unanimity of the international communist and worker movement in the spirit of proletarian internationalism are extremely important at this time. Of course, this international solidarity that is in the nature of a principle does not preclude the possibility of assembling forces of different inclinations within the worker movement as well as within different progressive forces for the purpose of establishing broad fronts struggling against the reactionary monopolistic capitalist groups in order to gradually achieve the specific revolutionary goals of each period or each country.

The revolutionary movement of the working class and laboring people is governed by general, basic laws. Socialist transformation, socialist construction and communist construction also have general, universal laws that apply to all countries. Waging the revolutionary struggle to build a new world in which there are no classes and is no exploitation is the common historic mission of the international working class.

Of course, we would render Marxism-Leninism to the realm of the ordinary, fall into dogmatism and turn Marxism-Leninism into useless words were we to ignore the specific historic conditions and the economic, political, social, ethnic and cultural characteristics of each country. However, it would also be bad and harmful to deny, in the name of "national characteristics," the general laws of revolution and place so called "national interests" in opposition to the interests of the international communist movement.

Marxism-Leninism faces new challenges but never before has it won victories as large as those it enjoys today and never before has the scientific, precise and thoroughly revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism been so clearly proven by the abundant realities of the revolution.

The tremendous attraction of Marxism-Leninism and its ever-victorious strength have caused the reactionary powers to continuously and savagely "criticize" and attack it. Today, the scholars of the bourgeoisie are continuing to voice arguments that deny the value of or reject Marxism-Leninism, saying that Marxism-Leninism is "outmoded." They preach that with the emergence of state monopolistic capitalism and under the impact of the new scientific-technological revolution, capitalism has become "wholesome" and been "changed in character" so that the tragedies associated with the capitalist economy, such as the impoverishment of the proletariat, ungoverned production, economic crisis, imperialist war and so forth, have been and are being "eliminated"; that the proletariat has been "dissolved" and is no longer the central character of the age, the character representing a new and more progressive mode of production. That is, they are trying to prove that the economic doctrine of Marx as set forth in "Capital" and his theories concerning scientific socialism are no longer correct. However, facts have totally rejected the distortions to which they have resorted in a vain attempt to cause the struggle being waged by the working class and laboring people in the capitalist countries to take the wrong direction. Facts have also shown that state monopolistic capitalism is exacerbating to an extreme degree the inherent tragedies and inherent contradictions of capitalism. These tragedies, these contradictions can only be resolved by means of waging a proletarian revolution, abolishing capitalism, building socialism and advancing to communism. On the other hand, the imperialist and reactionary powers are making every effort to support revisionists and opportunists of all shades who have donned Marxist garb to distort Marxism-Leninism and attempt to refute the scientific and revolutionary contents of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin often pointed out: the dialectic of history lies in the fact that the victory of Marxism in theory and practice forces its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists in order to oppose Marxism. He wrote: "Today, the doctrine of Marx is in a situation which the doctrines of the revolutionary thinkers and of the leaders of the oppressed classes struggling to liberate themselves have frequently encountered in history. When the great revolutionaries were still alive, the oppressor classes usually showed their gratitude by constantly hunting them down; they greeted their doctrine with an attitude of enmity of the utmost savagery, an attitude of the most insane hatred and with campaigns of the most brazen lies and slander. After they died, they looked for ways to turn them into harmless icons, so that they could say that the great revolutionaries had joined the ranks of the saints and their names could be associated with some small amount of glory in order to 'console' or deceive the oppressed classes; at the same time, they stripped revolutionary doctrine of all its content... At present, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the communist movement are in agreement with one another about how to 'change' Marxism." (11) These tendencies are occurring at many places in the world, but the worst is the "adaptations" that were made by Mao Zedong in past years and are being made now by the disciples of Mao in China. Citing requirements of the times" and "national characteristics" as their reasons, the Mao clique adopted the argument of "Sinoizing" Marxism-Leninism by changing the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, distorting Marxism-Leninism, denying the universal laws of the proletarian revolution and the experiences of real socialism and confusing the statements of Marxism-Leninism with pragmatic, reactionary and anti-scientific viewpoints. Their scheme is to borrow the glory of Marxism-Leninism to sell

Maoism, the essence of which is Chinese great nation expansionism and hegemony.

Today, mankind faces the threat of a destructive nuclear war. Marxism-Leninism has clearly shown us the origin of wars in the present age. Mankind has witnessed cruel wars of aggression waged by imperialism, from limited wars to world wars. The objective of these imperialist wars has been none other than to divide and redive colonies and spheres of influence in the world among the imperialist powers with a view toward achieving maximum profits for the huge monopolistic capitalist groups.

In the face of the danger of nuclear war posed by imperialism at this time, safeguarding world peace is the most pressing task of the people of the world. Safeguard world peace not only means safeguarding the conditions needed for the progress of society, but also safeguarding the conditions needed for the survival of mankind. Y.V. Andropov, the general secretary of the CPSU, has very correctly stated: "At present, there is no more important task than that of blocking the hands of those who would unleash war. The survival of all nations demands this."(12)

In order to block the hands of the imperialists in their attempts to start wars, we must widely develop the potential for revolutionary struggle of the working class, the laboring people and all other persons of conscience, give them a clear understanding of the "international political secrets" of the governments of the monopolistic capitalists and mobilize them to struggle to control the foreign affairs activities of the bourgeois governments. It is necessary to teach them how to arise and seize control of their own destinies, unite in broad international forces, unite within the strong revolutionary currents in the world and struggle to defeat each war of aggression, gradually thwart the schemes and acts of war of imperialism and ultimately topple the gendarme of imperialism and all imperialism, which is the origin of every tragedy of war in today's age.

The unstoppable development of the revolutionary currents in the world today not only refutes the assertion that Marxism-Leninism has become outmoded, but further illuminates the brilliant theory of the founders of scientific communism as well. Creative and developing Marxism-Leninism is the banner of the laboring people of the entire world struggling for the total victory of communism.

The Vietnamese, as a result of their historic experience in more than one-half century of revolutionary struggle that began with the founding of the party, clearly understand the tremendous value of Marxism-Leninism in the cause of national liberation, the cause of liberating the laboring people and bringing back freedom and happiness to man.

The first great service of historic significance that Uncle Ho performed was to bring the light of Marxism-Leninism to the Vietnamese revolution, thereby bringing about a great turning point in the Vietnamese revolution, leading the Vietnamese from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism and bringing the national liberation revolution within the orb of the world proletarian revolution.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past half century and more has been "the victory of Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of a semi-feudal colony." Under the light of Marxism-Leninism, the people's national democratic revolution of Vietnam led by the Vietnam Communist Party won tremendous and complete victory, thereby going beyond the scope of an ordinary national liberation movement. The victorious conclusion of the people's national democratic revolution in our country opened the way to socialism. The people's democratic government shifted to the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus ushering in the period of the transition to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

Loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying the arguments of Marx and Lenin on the socialist revolution to the specific conditions of the Vietnamese revolution, our party has adopted lines that resolve the problems of our country's revolution in the new stage.

While stressing the special characteristics of the socialist revolution in our country, the Marxist-Leninist platform that was adopted by the 4th and 5th Congress of the Party always affirms the value of the principles and the universal laws that have been tested in the realities of socialist construction in the fraternal socialist countries in past decades.

Marx and Lenin attached importance to confirming the essential need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and defining its extremely large and indispensable function and task in the process of carrying out the revolutionary transformation of all society along socialist lines. In the platform of the socialist revolution in Vietnam, our party asserted that "the decisive prerequisite of foremost importance is to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people"(13), considering this to be the first essential element in insuring compliance with laws in the entire process of socialist transformation and socialist construction as well as the process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in order to build the new system, build the new economy, develop the new culture and mold the new, socialist man, that is, in order to successfully build socialism in our country.

The transition from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is the fundamental and most important characteristic of the socialist revolution in our country. Although we have the experiences gained in the several decades of socialist construction in the North and the experiences of the fraternal countries, this is, generally speaking, still a very new matter, one that involves many difficulties and complications. Although Marx and Lenin did talk about the possibility of developing without experiencing the stage of capitalism and although Marx, in particular, discussed the matter of "the Asian mode of production," what they said does not provide us with specific, direct or ready answers to the questions encountered in advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. The classical works of Marxism-Leninism provide us with models of a methodology by which we can thoroughly examine and analyze the socio-economic processes that occur in the first stage of large-scale, capitalist industrial production and with the principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

As we study the Marxist-Leninist method of analyzing these socio-economic processes and make comparisons, we have been and are discovering the laws, forms and stages of birth of large-scale socialist production in our country. Now, more than ever before, truly serious and effective research of the valuable heritage of theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin concerning these matters is an important task facing each of we communists.

Loyal to proletarian internationalism, the Vietnam Communist Party always places its revolutionary undertaking within the common tide of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the world. The Vietnamese revolution has received immense support from the international communist and worker movement and the revolutionary currents in the world. At the same time, we have made our own positive contributions to the common revolutionary cause of the working class and people of the world. This proletarian international solidarity is most evident in the relations of solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between the Vietnamese Communist Party and the CPSU, between the people of Vietnam and the people of the Soviet Union as well as the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries. This proletarian international solidarity is also evident in the relations of special cooperation and mutual assistance among the communists and peoples of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam on the Indochina peninsula. Today, this proletarian international solidarity is one of the important, indispensable prerequisites enabling the Vietnamese revolution to bypass the stage of capitalist development and advance directly to socialism. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "Our victories in the fight to defend ourselves and build the country cannot be separated from the comprehensive cooperation and positive assistance of the Soviet Union, the special solidarity of Laos and Kampuchea, the wholehearted support of the other socialist countries and the sympathy and support of the forces of revolution and peace in the world." Strengthening our friendship and broadening our cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are the foremost elements of the foreign policy of our party and state.

One hundred years have passed since K. Marx died. During this brief period of history, mankind has witnessed countless extremely large changes on our planet. These profound and widespread revolutionary changes have proven the great and brilliant thinking of Karl Marx, have proven the strength that Marxism has, a strength that Lenin inherited, preserved and developed, to thoroughly transform the world. Countless enemies of Marxism have insanely distorted and demanded the rejection of the great scientific thinking of Marx. However, the light of the truth that he revealed illuminates everything and cannot be extinguished by any sinister reactionary power. Today, Marxism is being implemented and developed upon in a loyal and creative manner by genuine disciples of Marx. Life is eloquently proving that mankind is following the course charted by Marx.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 23, p 50.

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CSO: 4210/10

## THE PATH THAT LED KARL MARX TO COMMUNISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 37-46

[Article by Nguyen Van Phung]

[Text] All nations advance to socialism and communism. "The collapse of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (1) This objective law of development of the history of man, which is recorded in "The Communist Manifesto," is an irreversible trend.

However, "each country completes this process of development by its own method." (2) In the end, mankind will advance to communism but each nation and each revolution will advance to communism by a separate method and will begin its advance in a manner consistent with the historic circumstances and the level of development of each country. There have been cases in which a democratic revolution has led to communism. There have been cases in which a national liberation revolution has led to communism. And, there have also been cases in which the daily struggle by the working class to achieve their rights has brought them communist awareness.

Marx and Engels belonged to that category of persons whom Lenin called democrats turned socialist. Beginning by participating in the bourgeois democratic revolution, these two gentlemen went on to create the doctrine of scientific communism. This was also the path that led Lenin and many other democratic revolutionaries to communism. However, not all democrats become communists nor do all patriots become communists. History shows that many progressive, outstanding democratic revolutionaries who were contemporaries of K. Marx and made brilliant predictions did not become communists. History also shows that there have been many great patriots who did not become communists. This is because those revolutionaries lacked many conditions and did not "recognize, in theory, the entire development of history" (3) as revealed by Marx and Engels.

"Modern socialism, when examined as a whole,...must first be based on the ideological materials accumulated before it, even though it has its underlying origins in material economic events." (4) Socialism has its roots in the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Socialism is also a product of incorporating the very best of the intelligence of mankind,

accurately summarizing and analyzing revolutionary movements and discovering the laws of "the entire development of history."

Lenin said: "...The socialist doctrine...arises from the theories of philosophy, history and economics developed by learned persons within the propertied classes and by intellectuals."(5) Therefore, only those revolutionary intellectuals who have a profound understanding of science, who combine theory with practice within the worker movement and the revolutionary movement and who struggle as hard as they can for the interests of the working class and laboring people are capable of advancing to communism. Marx and Engels explained the law on the evolution of a progressive bourgeois thinker into a communist thinker as follows: "As the class struggle nears its decisive hour, the disintegration of the ruler class, of the whole of the old society, assumes such a savage and violent nature that a small component of the ruler class separates itself from this class and joins the revolutionary class, joins the class that holds the future in its hands. As in the past, when a component of the aristocracy ran to the ranks of the bourgeoisie, today, a component of the bourgeoisie is running to the ranks of the proletariat. This component consists of bourgeois thinkers who have come to recognize, in theory, the entire process of development of history."(6)

Communism was born of the inevitability of the destruction of capitalism. Marx and Engels realized this inevitable trend and learned the laws of history.

What was the age in which Marx was born, grew up and conducted his activities?

By the start of the 19th century, capitalism had existed in the world for more than 300 years. The ruling system of the bourgeoisie had replaced the ruling system of feudal class. This was a major step forward in the history of man. However, mankind had still not been emancipated from oppression, misery or shame. Engels spoke about the aversion of the masses for the bourgeois ruling system as follows: "Compared to the bright promises of the French philosophers, the social and political systems that have resulted from the victory of reason are nothing more than a satirical picture that causes them to feel bitter disappointment."(7)

In the mid-18th century, the first industrial revolution in the world began in Great Britain and later opened the way in many other countries for the formation of large-scale, mechanized industry in Europe, thereby replacing the traditional production system. Two new and totally opposed classes emerged in the arena of history: the modern bourgeoisie and the modern proletariat. The development of production forces made the bourgeoisie more wealthy and pushed the proletariat to the point of abject poverty. Production forces were "clashing" with capitalist production relations like ghostly soldiers arising from the dead to beat their sorcerer. The antagonistic contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat became increasingly sharp and could not be resolved.

"Their struggle against the bourgeoisie began the moment they were born"(8) and developed more with each passing day. In the 1830's and 40's (the period during which Marx began to understand the history of the world), the

proletarian movement reached a new level of development, one symbolized by the uprising of the workers of Lyon in France (1831-1834), the Charter Movement in Great Britain (1835-1848) and the uprising of the workers of Silesia in Germany (1844). These uprisings expressed the indignation of manual workers and signalled that a new social force was entering the arena of history. However, these were only spontaneous struggles. Workers were not aware of their historic mission, did not realize the forces that they had and had no precise line to follow in order to liberate themselves.

The emergence of a worker movement intermixed among the spreading democratic movements raised the objective need for a revolutionary theory, an effective ideological weapon for liberating workers and the laboring people. This historic need was recognized by some progressive thinkers. They denounced the injustice of the capitalist system, demanded the abolition of capitalism and proposed socialism. They proposed the establishment of a new society of equality and fraternity by means of persuading the bourgeoisie. Their doctrines were of many different shades but all of them lacked a basis in science. Theirs was utopian socialism. Marx and Engels highly praised the achievements of Fourier, Saint-Simon, and R. Owen, considering them to be the greatest intellects of that time. However, Engels observed: utopian socialism is "a theory that has not matured, a theory suited to a system of capitalist production that has not matured and class relations that have not matured." (9) Analyzing the limitations of utopian socialism, Lenin also wrote: "Utopian socialism does not chart any true course. It does not explain the essence of the working-for-hire slave system within the capitalist system and does not reveal the laws of development of this system or reveal which social force is capable of becoming the creator of the new society." (10) Thus, the history of the early decades of the 19th century raised the pressing need for a new scientific revolutionary theory that could open the way for the worker movement. In the 1830's and 40's, the situation changed. The objective premises that did not exist during the previous period began to emerge during this period. Marx and Engels began their scientific and revolutionary activities in the middle of this period. However, Marx did not immediately fully "grasp" this essential need or immediately discover the laws of history. Although a genius, Marx still had to engage in a process of theoretical research and participate in real struggle in order to learn that this need existed and gradually resolve the problems caused by this historic need.

Marx was born and grew up in Rhine Province in Prussia where capitalism was the strongest. Due to the direct influence of the French bourgeois revolution, bourgeois democracy was implemented in Rhine Province in the 1890's. However, when it was annexed to Prussia, the capitalism there was placed under the regulation and control of the Prussian aristocratic feudal state. The resolution of the main antagonisms of Prussian society at that time demanded the abolition of the fragmented and divided feudal system and demanded a bourgeois democratic revolution. The historic conditions of his homeland, his country, his family and his school caused Marx, who was initially influenced by French bourgeois democratic revolutionaries, to advance from the democratic revolution to communism; this was the path followed by Marx. Lenin observed: "Both gentlemen turned from democrats into socialists." (11) Marx's father, Heinrich Marx, a lawyer, was a bourgeois

intellectual who adopted the thinking of the French and German enlightenment movement. When he entered the Gymnasium in the city of Trier, Marx was influenced by the liberal thinking of the progressive teachers there, especially the school's principal, Vittenbach. Marx's liberal and democratic viewpoints, his hatred of the aristocracy and his humanism was first publicly expressed in the Gymnasium graduation dissertation that he presented in August, 1835; Marx wrote:

"A person who works only for himself can become a famous scholar, a great scientist or a poet without equal but he can never become a truly perfect and great man." "If a person selects an occupation in which he can contribute the most to mankind, that person will not feel the heavy burden of that occupation because it is a sacrifice being made for everyone; when what that person feels is not a selfish, narrow or petty joy, his happiness belongs to millions." "Experience has shown that those persons who bring happiness to the most people are, themselves, the happiest of persons."(12)

Marx expressed these great ideals when he was only 17 years of age. However, these were only viewpoints that reflected a love of freedom and the general humanism of democratic revolutionaries, not the humanism of communism. For which millions of persons would he sacrifice himself and try to make happy and by which method would this be done?

What was it that led Marx to subsequent stages of development and brought him to the pinnacles of the intelligence of mankind? It was none other than his desire to learn, a desire that was expressed in his serious scientific attitude, in his thoroughly revolutionary spirit.

The first important milestone along the path that led Marx to communism was his study of the philosophy of Hegel and his acceptance of the scientific theory and the revolutionary spirit of the dialectic.

In Hegel's doctrine of continuous change and development, Marx found a new source of vitality. This was the important turning point in the life of Marx, was the starting point in his formulation of the theory of scientific communism. Marx joined the Hegel group of young revolutionaries in Berlin and became the spiritual leader of the "Doctorate Club" established by that group. The other members of the group, who were older and had achieved some social prestige, admired Marx and considered him to be a person who combined within himself Resser, Vogt, Hochberg, Lessing, Heine and Hegel.

However, Hegel's philosophy was based on idealism. It did not respond to the points about which Marx was still concerned. Marx did not stop at the young Hegel group, rather, he continued his studies and research in a critical and creative spirit.

In 1839, Marx began to study ancient philosophy, especially the Epicurian school. In his first scientific projects, Marx directed his efforts toward formulating a world view that answered the questions that bothered him: how to liberate from dependence upon others and how to make man free. Marx ridiculed those philosophers whose "daily work is to lament their powerlessness and the strength of things."(13) Marx praised the aspiration of

the Epicurians to seek to achieve spiritual freedom and independence, to seek to escape the shackles of religion and superstition. Marx also endorsed the atheistic conclusions, which were a factor of materialism, of these philosophers.

In 1841, in the thesis he presented for his Doctor of Philosophy Degree, Marx dealt with matters of theory from the standpoint of philosophy actively intervening in life and transforming the unjust world and emphasized the principle of the oneness between philosophy and life. Marx wrote: "To the extent that the earthly becomes philosophy, philosophy also becomes that which is earthly." (14) Marx wanted to say that when implemented, philosophy raises life to a higher level; at the same time, it is no longer merely pure theory, but has become embodied in practical work. These were the first rudiments of the doctrine on the oneness between theory and practice. From an overall point of view, Marx was still an idealist. However, he publicly stated atheistic viewpoints and voiced the principle concerning the positive attitude of philosophy toward reality. Marx's militant atheism facilitated his later transition to materialism.

During the year that Marx finished writing his thesis, Feuerbach's book "The Essence of Christianity" was also published. Feuerbach was the first philosopher to begin to correct the idealism of the young Hegel group. He criticized religion from a materialist viewpoint when he stated that nature exists independent of the consciousness of man. Marx considered Feuerbach's book to be a manifesto of absolute atheism and took Feuerbach's side entirely. "The endorsement of Feuerbach's materialist viewpoint was another leap forward in the process of Marx achieving awareness. It was the second important milestone in the process that led him to communism." Lenin observed: "By 1841, materialism totally dominated Marx." (15) Describing that process, Engels concluded: "Immediately, we became members of the Feuerbach faction." (16) However, Feuerbach had the shortcoming of not appropriately evaluating the dialectic of Hegel. Feuerbach's viewpoint of historical idealism did not help Marx to answer the question: what is it that determines the development of mankind?

Not content to stop at the matters concerning which Feuerbach did not achieve success, Marx, displaying an inquisitive, creative and critical mind, moved ahead to overcome the weaknesses of Feuerbach and, at the same time, go beyond the limitations of Hegel.

The third important milestone of Marx came during the period that he participated in the political struggle in the RHINE RIVER Newspaper (1842-1843). This period marked a fundamental step forward in Marx's evolution from idealism to materialism, from revolutionary democracy to communism.

In July, 1841, Marx went to Bonn and prepared to teach philosophy at the University. However, the political situation in Prussia at that time did not permit Marx to realize his intention. The Prussian government, headed by Wilhelm IV, intensified its campaign of terror against the democratic movement. All professors who held progressive viewpoints were driven from schools. In the face of this reality, Marx irrevocably decided where he would stand: as a revolutionary militant participating in the direct struggle

against the Prussian autocracy, a militant demanding freedom and democracy and combining theory with practice.

In October, 1843, Marx began serving as the editor-in-chief of the RHINE RIVER Newspaper, the newspaper of the progressive bourgeoisie. The objectives of the paper were to attack the reactionary autocratic monarchy and struggle for freedom and democracy. In actuality, under Marx's leadership, the newspaper sought to achieve even larger objectives: Marx opposed the censorship of the Prussian government and closely linked his criticism of censorship to his resolute and absolute denunciation of the entire Prussian state system. "For censorship, the only true and thorough way to put out the fire is to destroy it, because it is a system that is useless." (17) This conclusion showed readers the need to transform the entire social order beginning at its very foundation, not merely transform a part of it. Marx also independently reached the conclusion that if the struggle being waged were only a philosophical struggle, it would be impossible to fight the reactionary system, rather, the struggle had to be a political struggle as well, had to closely link theory to revolutionary practice.

A series of articles by Marx on all political, economic and social problems that were occurring in Prussia at that time clearly reflected Marx's revolutionary democratic viewpoints: hatred of the feudal class structure; appeals for a struggle to win freedom and democracy for all people, not merely win special rights for individual classes; criticism of the restrictive nature of German bourgeois liberalism... Defending the interests of the masses, of persons who were oppressed, became Marx's goal. His desire to learn and defend the true interests of the people propelled Marx to communism.

The revolutionary tendencies of the RHINE RIVER Newspaper became a major concern to the Prussian government. It strengthened its control over and ultimately stopped publication of the paper.

The reactionary attitude of the Prussian government and the cowardly and compromising attitude of the liberal bourgeoisie accelerated Marx's advance down the thoroughly revolutionary path. He decided to delve deeply into the questions of which social force is the true moving force of the revolution and which measures and forms should be employed to change the world. From then on, the causes and the moving force of revolution became, in essence, the main issues that Marx researched. In more than 1 year of practical activities, Marx learned two important lessons. The first was that material interests play a very large role in the life of man. Idealism and bourgeois democracy could not be the philosophical weapons and were not reliable in the struggle for the interests of the unpropertied masses. Marx also realized that he did not know much about economics and began to deeply study economics. Later, Engels recalled: "I frequently heard Marx say that his study of the law on the theft of timber and the plight of the peasants in Minden caused him to shift from pure politics to the study of economic relations and, as a result, to socialism." (18)

Secondly, the state was not at all an embodiment of world reason, the embodiment of common interests based on private interests, as Hegel asserted.

Having reached these two conclusions, Marx crossed the threshold of historical materialism and communism.

Once again, Marx's revolutionary spirit and scientific attitude demanded that another question be answered: what new kind of state would truly serve the interests of the people? Answering this question required re-examining Hegel's viewpoints concerning the state and society and re-examining Hegel's philosophy concerning jurisdiction.

This historic mission was completed by Marx (between May and October, 1843) in the city of Kreuznach in Rhine Province. During these months, the brightest months in his great life filled with difficulty, Marx performed a very urgent, creative academic chore of tremendous historic significance, one that marked an important milestone in the development of his world view. He wrote the draft to "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy Concerning Jurisdiction." In this work, Marx completely severed himself from the idealism of Hegel and the shortcomings of Feuerbach; at the same time, he amended and improved upon some viewpoints that he previously held that were not truly correct or were onesided.

Marx confirmed: it is not ideas or the "world spirit" of Hegel that control history, rather, it is economic and social relations that have played the decisive role in social life. The central thinking of the draft concerned the relationship between the state and material interests and the social relations associated with them, which Marx then called by the term "communist society."

According to Hegel, the state lies at a higher level of development than the society of its citizens and determines the society of citizens. Marx, on the other hand, maintained that the society of citizens is the premise of the state and presented a brilliant thought concerning the decisive role that the system of ownership plays vis-a-vis the political system. "At its highest level, the political system is...private ownership." (19) Correctly resolving the relationship between material interests and the state provided the key to understanding the basic causes underlying the entire process of history and led Marx to arguments of a decisive nature.

Through his study of the histories of the countries of Europe and North America, especially his study of the French bourgeois revolution in 1789, Marx clearly saw that the political line of the bourgeoisie was dependent upon economic factors, especially upon ownership relations; he clearly saw that bourgeois revolutions were incapable of bringing about true equality and that true equality could only be achieved by changing all ownership relations; only by abolishing private ownership could true equality and freedom be achieved for man. These conclusions brought Marx beyond the framework of revolutionary democracy and to the viewpoints of communism. This was the fourth important milestone in the path travelled by Marx to communism.

In the course of criticizing Hegel, Marx outlined a new society that would liberate man and bring true equality to man: genuine democracy. Although he was still influenced by the humanism and humanitarianism of Feuerbach, his concept of a democratic system represented a step toward communism. The remaining questions that had to be answered were: which forces of society

could build a system of "genuine democracy" and true equality? Which forces of society could overcome the limitations of a bourgeois revolution and thoroughly liberate man? Answering these questions provided Marx with the main points of his doctrine. This was the fifth important milestone, the final milestone in the process of his evolution from revolutionary democracy to communism and from idealism to materialism. This final step was seen in the work "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy Concerning Jurisdiction--Preface."

After he turned down an invitation to work for the Prussian government (October, 1843), Marx and his family moved to Paris. Commenting on this period, Lenin said: "In Paris, Marx was influenced by French socialists and French life and became a socialist." (20) According to Lenin, there were two objective factors that inspired Marx to irrevocably take the stand of communism: socialist theory and French social life at that time. Lenin observed: Paris was seething with politics and the debate of different social theories. Paris provided opportunities found nowhere else to study the antagonisms and class conflicts that had shaken the bourgeois world. It was also there that Marx established his first political contacts with representatives of the proletariat.

In his work "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy on Jurisdiction--Preface," Marx, on the basis of analyzing the experience of previous revolutions, reached the conclusion that a class could only undertake the role of liberator of all society when, in objective terms, "the requirements and interests of that class are truly the interests and requirements of society itself." (21) The class that can carry out the liberation of all mankind must be a class that is in contradiction to all society, as a result of which this class cannot liberate itself if it does not liberate all society. This class is the proletariat.

The theory of Marx concerning the worldwide historic mission of the proletariat assumed very large significance. Marx had gone beyond the limitations of the bourgeois revolution; the malady of utopianism had been cured. Lenin said: "Marx first presented his doctrine in 1844"... "The main point in the doctrine of Marx lies in its clarification of the role played in world history by the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." (22) "These two gentlemen taught awareness and consciousness to workers and replaced dreams with science." (23)

Marx had thus taken the final step in his evolution from democrat to communist.

In the work cited above, Marx also presented an extremely important argument, an argument concerning the tremendous revolutionary significance of vanguard theory and the role of this theory as a powerful factor in the struggle to basically transform society. He wrote: "Of course, the weapon of criticism is no substitute for criticism by weapons; material forces can only be toppled by material forces; however, theory becomes a material force once it has permeated the masses." (24) Marx considered the proletariat to be the social force that has the mission of truly using the conclusions of revolutionary theory and implementing these conclusions; "just as philosophy views the

proletariat as its material weapon, so, too, must the proletariat view philosophy as its spiritual weapon."(25) This is what Marx wrote.

For the first time in the history of mankind, the masses had a scientific ideology that charted the course for them to enter the era of freedom and become the masters of nature, the masters of society, the masters of themselves; it replaced legends, miracles and utopian dreams, ended the crisis of scientific theory of the proletarian movement and brought the worker movement from spontaneity to awareness.

From the time that he first indicated his desire to serve mankind (1835) until he discovered the correct path for liberating mankind (1844), K. Marx underwent a 10 year historic process. This 10 year process was the process of Marx developing from a liberal democrat into a communist and founding scientific communism. This evolution embodied both objective and subjective factors. Objectively, in addition to the factors of the times and needs, mention must be made of the achievements that had been recorded by mankind in the natural and social sciences. These achievements provided Marx with the premises of his doctrine. Without German philosophy, British political economics and French socialism, there would be no Marxism. Genius was also an historic fact that caused Marx to do what he did. "The entire genius of Marx lay in the fact that he answered questions that had been raised by the progressive thinking of mankind."(26) This observation by Lenin indicates the tremendous service performed by Marx and represents a correct evaluation of the genius of Marx.

However, most important were the subjective factors. In the course of his inquiry, research and creativity, Marx exhibited two basic characteristics:

The first was the oneness between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Between 1835 and 1844, while researching his theory, Marx also directly participated in the democratic movement against the autocracy in Prussia and the worker movement in Paris. He drew conclusions from the realities of history and present realities and then applied his theory to practice and tested it in practice. Marx quickly seized upon the needs of his times, quickly incorporated the very best of the intelligence of mankind, discovered the laws of history and created scientific communism. He quickly overcame the shortcomings of German philosophy, British economics and French socialism because he always linked theory to practice. Whereas the oneness between theory and practice was the starting point of the path that led Marx to communism, it is precisely this oneness that is the special characteristic of Marxism, is one of the attributes of the communist.

The second was the coordination between a thoroughly revolutionary spirit and a profound scientific attitude. The thoroughly revolutionary spirit of Marx was manifested in his hatred of the absolute monarchy, his hatred of the cowardice, lies and deceptions of the bourgeoisie and his selfless struggle for the interests of the working class and people. The entire life of Marx was an unparalleled example of sacrificing oneself for an ideal, for the happiness of mankind. Rejecting the honors of academia and rejecting the comfortable life of a scholar filled with promise, Marx voluntarily chose the difficult fate of a political exile. Marx and his family had to live the life

of vagabonds, a life of deprivation and illness in which they were always the target of police terror. But nothing caused Marx to submit. His thoroughly revolutionary spirit was also evident in the fact that Marx "did not compromise with any superstition, any reactionary force, any behavior that defended oppression by the bourgeoisie." (27) Marx constantly and ardently researched theory in a serious spirit of self-criticism and criticism; he always sought to be creative, was not superficial or vague, did not recognize as true anything that had not been proven, kept abreast of reality and attached importance to summarizing experiences. These also reflected Marx's coordination of a revolutionary spirit and a scientific attitude. It is truly difficult to differentiate between Karl Marx, the great revolutionary, and Karl Marx, the eminent scholar.

Lenin profoundly and correctly evaluated the coordination between the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the serious scientific attitude of Marx as follows:

"The irresistible attraction that has drawn socialists in all countries to this doctrine lies in the fact that it combines a strict and very high scientific character (it is the latest achievement of social science) with a revolutionary spirit and combines them in a way that is not accidental, not only because the founder of that doctrine combined within himself the qualities of a scholar and revolutionary, but also because they were combined in an inherent and inseparable way within his doctrine itself." (28)

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## THE PATH THAT LED UNCLE HO TO MARXISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 47-53, 70

[Article by Hong Quang]

[Text] Uncle Ho, the first Vietnamese Marxist-Leninist to bring Marxism-Leninism to the worker movement and the patriotic movement of Vietnam, founded the Vietnam Communist Party and gradually led the revolution to victory. "By means of his intellectual genius and revolutionary activities"(1), Uncle Ho excellently fulfilled the historic needs of the class and the nation.

In his journey to Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho followed the path of Marx: uniting revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice and "researching Marxist-Leninism theory while performing practical work." (2) This was his recollection of the period during which he was searching for the path of national salvation. From 1911 to 1920, he researched and learned about the situation and experiences of the 1776 democratic bourgeois revolution in the United States, the 1789 bourgeois revolution in France and the national liberation movements in many countries of the world while directly participating in the French worker movement, trying to gain an understanding of the Russian October Revolution and researching Marxism-Leninism, primarily the works of Lenin. From the realities of the national liberation movement in Vietnam, he drew conclusions; from the realities of the French and American bourgeois revolutions and the Russian October Revolution, he learned useful lessons; then, on the basis of these lessons, he analyzed the events of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. The great achievement resulting from this process of unifying theory and practice was that Uncle Ho found Marxism-Leninism and quickly accepted the truth of our times that "only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and laborers of the world from slavery." (3)

Along the path that led him to Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho closely combined a thoroughly revolutionary spirit with a serious scientific attitude. When he was a youngster, Uncle Ho detested the colonial system and quickly developed the desire to liberate his compatriots. As a result of coming into contact with workers and laboring masses of all races, he deeply sympathized with their suffering as though it were the suffering of his own people and himself and saw the bankruptcy of feudal ideology and the impotence of bourgeois

ideology. From the time that he first left in search of the path of national salvation up until he found Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho was a clear and constant example of the virtues of dedicating oneself to the cause of national liberation, to the cause of achieving independence and freedom for the fatherland and of seeking to bring to the people the rights to life and happiness. Foresaking the life of a teacher, Uncle Ho worked at such hard jobs as kitchen assistant, shoveling snow, developing photographs, sketching pictures and so forth. When tempted by immediate material interests, he never forgot his goal of searching for the path of national liberation. He did not fear the threats or terror of reactionary governments. It was his determination that "poverty cannot cause me to change my mind, wealth cannot seduce me and brute force cannot cause me to submit" that led Uncle Ho to the most revolutionary truth of our times, Marxism-Leninism. It was his eagerness to study, conduct research and learn, his critical and creative attitude that helped him reach the necessary conclusions from the defeats of the Can Vuong Movement, the Dong Du and Tay Du Movements and the Hoang Hoa Tham guerrilla war and from the limitations of bourgeois revolutions and rapidly reach the pinnacle of world civilization, scientific communism.

However, the path that led Uncle Ho to Marxism-Leninism also bore the imprint of the times, of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies and of the revolutionary struggle in colonial, semi-feudal Vietnam.

Whereas Marx began his advance to communism in the democratic revolution, 76 years later, Uncle Ho began his advance to Marxism in the national liberation revolution. Marx was a democratic, liberal intellectual who became a communist while Uncle Ho was a patriotic intellectual who became a Marxist-Leninist.

In the article entitled "The Path That Led Me To Leninism," Uncle Ho recalled:

"At first, it was patriotism, not communism, that made me a follower of Lenin, of the 3rd International."(4)

Being a follower of Lenin, of the 3rd International meant being a follower of Marxism. Uncle Ho found Marxism primarily through the works of Lenin and through the October Revolution. Because, it was through Lenin and the October Revolution that he gained a deep understanding of Marxism. This characteristic, however, was not peculiar to Uncle Ho, it was also the initial characteristic of the worker movement and the patriotic movement in Vietnam.

Le Duan has said:

"The first great service performed by President Ho was to closely link the Vietnamese revolutionary movement to the international worker movement and lead the people of Vietnam along the path that he, himself, had travelled, the path from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism."(5)

Which historic circumstances led Uncle Ho from patriotism to communism?

The period of time during which he was searching for the path of national salvation was a time when the face of the world was undergoing many large

changes. In its 76 years of existence and development (1844-1920), Marxism had taken long strides forward: from not being the dominant factor to being the dominant factor within the worker movement following the Paris Commune (1871); from developing in a peaceful manner to breaking out in revolutionary storms, beginning with the 1905 revolution in Russia, the Turkish revolution, the Chinese revolution and the Persian revolution; and from the outbreak of a number of revolutions to the total victory of the socialist revolution in the first large country in the world, the Soviet Union. Testing in the living realities of world revolutionary history, Marxism was constantly supplemented and developed into Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution ushered in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale and opened the way for the true liberation of the proletariat of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the world. Socialism and national independence became closely associated with each other. The new age directly influenced Uncle Ho in his search for truth, helped him to avoid going around in circles and enabled him to advance directly to socialism and communism.

Marxism is the theory of liberating the working class and liberating mankind. However, Marxism was brought to Vietnam not for the purposes of immediately carrying out a socialist revolution, abolishing all private ownership and liberating the working class, but for the purpose of illuminating and resolving the most pressing issue of the working class and the entire nation: saving the country and winning independence and freedom. The Vietnamese first looked upon Marxism as an answer to their most pressing question: how to save the country. This need to save the country, to win independence and freedom was an historic need of the country. It arose from the social circumstances of colonial and semi-feudal Vietnam.

In Vietnam, the feudal system, which had begun to encounter crisis in the 16th century, had seriously declined and disintegrated by the 19th century. It was at that time that the French colonialists invaded our country. The Vietnamese feudal class surrendered to the imperialists and betrayed the interests of the nation. Once an independent, unified and sovereign feudal country, Vietnam became a semi-feudal colony that was not independent, not free and had been cut up into many fragments.

In order to exploit maximum profits in the colony, the French imperialists collaborated with the Vietnamese feudal class in the implementation of a very conservative and reactionary colonialist economic policy: maintaining the feudal mode of production in coordination with the limited establishment of capitalist production. Although it was not the dominant mode of production, capitalist production did determine the direction of development of the national economy. In Vietnam, this mode of production was first and primarily the capitalist production of the colonialists. Nevertheless, a totally new class emerged in Vietnam in the late 19th century: the proletariat.

The French colonialists also established economic monopolies and, in particular, attached importance to medieval forms of non-economic exploitation. This took the form of a system of extremely heavy and very unreasonable taxes. The inevitable results of this entire policy was that the Vietnamese economy became dependent upon the economy of the "mother country" and could not develop fully and the Vietnamese people became impoverished.

Besides the reactionary economic policy were the policy of political dictatorship and the policy of keeping the people ignorant, which caused Vietnamese society, which had been lagging behind the times for centuries, to be trapped in a cycle of backwardness by the colonialist system.

This situation led to two fundamental antagonisms within our country's society: the antagonism between the entire nation of Vietnam and imperialism and the antagonism between the people of Vietnam, primarily the peasantry, and the feudal class. These two antagonisms were inseparably linked. In order to move forward, Vietnamese society had to simultaneously resolve both of these antagonisms. The toppling of the imperialists had to go hand in hand with abolishing the feudal system; the struggle to win independence could not be divorced from the struggle to win democracy and freedom and meet the requirements of peasants, who wanted to be the masters of their land, of workers, who wanted to be the masters of their enterprises, of intellectuals, who wanted the right to develop the national culture, and of all the people, who wanted to be the masters of their country. In our country, independence and freedom were inextricably linked and were the pressing, immediate requirement of the entire nation of Vietnam.

The socio-economic situation in Vietnam at the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th century demanded that we win independence and freedom and this situation also gave rise to the premises needed to meet this demand.

Prior to the time that the Vietnamese working class entered the political arena and assumed the right to lead the revolution, our people had waged continuous and very brave struggles to win independence and freedom but none resulted in victory.

The Can Vuong Movement met with defeat at the end of the 19th century because it lacked a correct political line and was not consistent with the trend of development of the age, with the aspirations of the people. The defeat of the Can Vuong Movement marked the end of the period of struggling for independence under the motto "Help the King Save the Country." Our people had to fight for a full 38 years (1858-1896) and pay very high prices just to reach one valuable conclusion: the feudal system was the reason why our people were backward and had lost their country. The historic role of feudal ideology had come to an end.

At the start of the 20th century, the Dong Du and Duy Tan Movements, which were launched by Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh and so forth, were immediately crushed by the French colonialists. Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh wanted to find a path of national salvation based on bourgeois democratic theory, a path which they searched for by studying Japanese modernism, the 1911 Tan Hoi revolution in China and the bourgeois parliamentary system in the Western countries. However, bourgeois democracy had become historically outmoded and could not be the theory that charted the course of liberation for our people. The defeat of the two Phans marked the bankruptcy and ineffectiveness of bourgeois democratic theory in our country. From the defeats of these national salvation lines, a major question faced our people at that time: which path should be followed to bring the cause of national salvation to victory?

The patriots within the national movements, who either subscribed to feudal ideology or bourgeois democracy, failed to understand that, in the new age, "a totally different class had, in broad historic terms, become the ascending class." (6) The class that stood in the center, the class that determined the direction and the essence of the development of the times was not the feudal class nor the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat.

As observed by Le Duan: "In the 1920's, after the uprisings of Can Vuong had been crushed, the intense liberation movement of our people faced a profound crisis concerning which path to follow." (7) The essence of this crisis was a crisis involving the leadership role of a progressive class in our country's society.

At a time when the situation seemed so bleak as to be inescapable, Uncle Ho quickly determined the needs of the country and promptly met the pressing demands of history.

However, he did not find the correct path for national salvation, for saving the people, that is, the path of the proletarian revolution and the theory of Marx and Lenin, at the very outset. He, too, spent many years searching for this path and, through his intellectual genius and extraordinary energies, overcame the limitations of his contemporaries, researched theory and participated in the real struggle. As a youngster, due to the influence of national tradition and the tradition of his birthplace and family, most directly the influence of his father, who was a patriotic, feudal Confucian scholar who loved the people and was dissatisfied with the system, Uncle Ho acquired patriotism and became determined to drive off the enemy and liberate his compatriots. During the years he spent studying at the Dong Da Franco-Viet School and the National Academy in Hue, Uncle Ho came into contact with French culture and wrestled with what he had read in books and what he had witnessed in contemporary society. When he was born and as he grew up, the final gunshots of the Phan Dinh Phung and Hoang Hao Tham uprisings were heard, thereby signalling the end of the effort to save the country on the basis of feudal ideology. The subsequent Dong Du and Duy Tan Movements, which were based on bourgeois democracy, were also crushed. Going beyond the limitations of contemporary patriots, Uncle Ho accurately analyzed the reasons for the defeat of these movements. This analysis, we later learned, was as follows: "Phan Chu Trinh only demanded that the French make reforms... This was no different than asking the enemy to show compassion." "Phan Boi Chau hoped that Japan would help drive off the French." This was a very dangerous step, one that was no different than "bringing a tiger to the front door and welcoming a panther at the back door." "Hoang Hoa Tham was more practical because he directly struggled against the French. However, according to others, his manner was decidedly feudal." (8)

Historic circumstances led Uncle Ho to these analyses and conclusions. Phan Boi Chau encouraged him to go to Japan to study. Going to Japan to study, "Dong Du" was the aspiration of virtually every patriotic youth of that time. Phan Chu Trinh also encouraged him to follow his path. However, Uncle Ho declined. Although he admired the patriotic spirit of contemporary patriots, he did not endorse any of their lines. He decided to go in search of a

different path of national salvation. This was the first turning point in the path that led him to Marxism-Leninism.

In 1911, Uncle Ho went overseas with the intention of learning about the other countries of the world and then returning to help his compatriots. But where would he go? He said: "I wanted to go overseas to see France and the other countries." (9)

By then, Marxism was 67 years old but not one victorious socialist revolution had occurred in the world. The slogan "liberty, equality and fraternity" of the French bourgeois revolution urged him to go to countries that had experienced victorious bourgeois revolutions. He travelled to France, the United States and Great Britain. In France and the United States, he studied the revolutions that had achieved success in the most developed capitalist countries. He admired the determination of the American people to win independence and freedom but he realized that it was impossible to follow the path of the American bourgeois revolution (1776). Because, the revolution had achieved success more than 150 years ago but workers and farmers still lived miserable lives and were considering another revolution. He also admired the spirit of the French bourgeois revolution (1789) but did not follow its path. According to him, the French revolution as well as the American revolution were "incomplete revolutions." Several years later, he wrote this about these two revolutions in his work "The Revolutionary Road." At that time, although he had not yet joined the ranks of the vanguard revolutionary unit of the working class, Uncle Ho saw that the bourgeoisie was no longer the progressive class of the age.

Not following the paths of the French revolution or the American revolution and searching, instead, for another revolutionary path was the second important milestone for Uncle Ho.

World War I broke out. This living reality helped him to understand the true character, the cruel, corrupt and dying nature of capitalism.

In 1917, he returned to France and participated in the French worker movement. He joined the most progressive organization in France at that time, the French socialist party. Within this organization, he had a chance to learn more about the worker movement and a chance to meet and receive the assistance of many famous revolutionaries of the French working class. Through his eagerness to learn, his spirit of waging a steadfast struggle to overcome every difficulty and deprivation, Uncle Ho made long strides forward in his search for the path of national salvation.

In November, 1917, the Russian October Socialist Revolution achieved success, thereby ushering in a new age in the history of mankind, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The Russian October Revolution also brought about a turning point in the national liberation movement by closely associating independence and freedom with socialism through Lenin's famous slogan: "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" The victory of the October Revolution shook the revisionism of the 2nd International at its very foundations and led to the founding of the Communist International. All of these important events in

political life directly and decisively influenced the revolutionary path followed by Uncle Ho.

Although he did not yet fully understand the Russian October Revolution, Uncle Ho rejoiced as a citizen of an oppressed nation to see another nation achieve its freedom, to see the working class and laboring people liberated. Later, he recalled: "Emotionally, I felt unity with the Russian Revolution and the leaders of that revolution, but I had not read even one work of Lenin." (10) He had a strong desire to go to Russia and learn more about the October Revolution. He participated in the campaign conducted by the French people to help the Russian people overcome the famine. He distributed leaflets of the French Socialist Party appealing to the people of France to oppose the armed intervention by the imperialist countries and the French government in revolutionary Russia. He participated in the campaign to protect the seamen who had protested the war in the Black Sea.

At this point, although Uncle Ho was still a patriot, he did embody some of the factors of communism. And, this was the third important milestone. Uncle Ho took his next step very shortly thereafter.

In the face of the birth of the Communist International, a deep division occurred within the international worker movement. Two paths faced the international working class: the path of the 2nd International, which had become bankrupt and committed betrayal, or the path of the 3rd International of Lenin, which was following the revolutionary path charted by Marx and Engels. Within the French Socialist Party, a sharp struggle occurred over which international to support. The struggle between the two different paths within the French socialist party had a decisive influence upon the process of Uncle Ho's search for the path of national salvation. Later, describing that process, he wrote: "...When I raised the question: 'Which has irrevocably stated that it is united with the nations being oppressed by colonialism?', they answered: the 3rd International. Then, one comrade gave me Lenin's 'Thesis on the Colonial and National Questions,' which had just been printed in L'HUMANITE Newspaper... It was then that I made my choice: to endorse the 3rd International and place my complete trust in Lenin." (11)

Lenin's thesis answered the questions that Uncle Ho was trying to understand and helped him confirm the fact that only socialism, only communism can liberate the oppressed nations and laborers of the world from the yoke of slavery. There was no other path by which to save the country and liberate the nation than the path of the proletarian revolution, the path of the October Revolution, the path of Marxism-Leninism.

This was the fundamental turning point in Uncle Ho's search for the truth of liberation: his patriotism had become communism. This transition was completed in the action of historic significance that he took at the congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours in December, 1920. At that congress, along with 3,208 leftwing delegates, he voted to endorse the Communist International and endorse the founding of the French Communist Party; 1,022 rightwing delegates opposed the founding of the communist party.

Through the historic action of joining the Communist International and participating in the founding of the French Communist Party, Uncle Ho opened the way for the Vietnamese revolution to overcome the crisis concerning which path to follow and closely linked the Vietnamese revolutionary movement to the world revolutionary movement; he was the first Vietnamese to closely associate national independence with socialism, thereby opening the way for Marxism-Leninism to spread to Vietnam.

Here, we see a very interesting historic coincidence. Whereas Paris was the scene of the important historic turning point in the revolutionary and scientific life of Marx, that is, the scene of his shift from democracy to communism, Paris was also the scene of the important historic turning point in the active life of Uncle Ho, from patriotism to communism.

After 10 years of searching (1911-1920), during which he overcame countless adversities and sacrifices, crossed many oceans, travelled through many different countries and examined revolutionary experiences, including the latest experiences of Europe and America, Uncle Ho had found the correct path for saving the country and the people, the path of the proletarian revolution, the path of Marxism-Leninism. Which factors led him so quickly and irrevocably to Marxism-Leninism? One factor was the new age that began with the Russian October Revolution, the age in which national independence is inseparable from socialism, the truth of which Uncle Ho was the first Vietnamese to learn. One factor was the pressing need of Vietnamese history to win back independence and freedom for the entire nation. He was the first person to realize this need and meet this demand of history. One factor was the coordination of theoretical research and practical activities within the national liberation movement, within the movement of workers of all races. This was the combination of a thoroughly revolutionary spirit and a serious scientific attitude. From the time that he was young until he passed away, Uncle Ho dedicated his life to the cause of the nation, of the class, to the cause of independence, freedom and socialism. His life was an example, an immortal epic.

Proud of our party, our people and the great Uncle Ho, we are even more deeply grateful to Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, the person who gave to the proletariat and the laboring people of the entire world an effective weapon with which to struggle for and win victory in the cause of building a new and beautiful society: communist society.

To state his evaluation of the tremendous role played by Marxism-Leninism in the process of development and transformation of the revolution in our country, Uncle Ho used one very easily understood but very profound comparison:

"In our country and in China as well, there is an ancient tale about a 'bag' filled with marvelous powers. Whenever major difficulties were encountered, the bag would be opened and a solution would immediately be found. To us, to the revolutionaries and people of Vietnam, Leninism (that is Marxism-Leninism--H.Q.) is not only a marvelous 'bag,' a compass, it is also the sun that illuminates our path to final victory, to socialism and communism."(12)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 8.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "For Independence and Freedom, for Socialism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 229.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 176.
4. Ibid.
5. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner....," p 8.
6. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1980, Volume 28, p 179.
7. Le Duan: "Advancing Under the Glorious Banner....," p 7.
8. Tran Dan Tien: "Short Stories on the Active Life of President Ho," Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 13.
9. Ibid.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 519.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp 176-177.

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## THE ECONOMIC DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX AND THE REALITIES OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 54-59

[Article by Professor Dao Van Tap]

[Text] As V.I. Lenin observed, the economic doctrine of Marx deals with the birth, development and death of the production relations of a specific society in history. This scientific research project was thus presented in the book "Capital," in which Marx profoundly and thoroughly applied his dialectical materialism to "dissect" capitalism and reveal the laws governing its birth, growth and inevitable death. At the same time, on the basis of scientifically analyzing the objective contradictions of capitalism and the level of development achieved by it, Marx brilliantly defined the basic characteristics of the communist society that would inevitably be born, that would replace capitalism through the proletarian revolution.

Marx inherited the outstanding achievements of French utopian socialism as well as German classical philosophy and British classical political economics. However, Marx was not like the utopian socialists, who criticized capitalism primarily from an ethical point of view and who advocated the creation of a society of equality and fraternity based on this viewpoint. Marx based his doctrine of communism on the material-technical foundation and the social force that had been created by capitalism itself or, more broadly speaking, by the results of successive stages of development in history. This material-technical foundation is large-scale, capitalist production, the nucleus of which is heavy mechanized industry. The social force is the proletariat, the class which Marx revealed has the historic mission of worldwide significance of digging the grave of capitalism.

The close link between Marx's doctrine on communism and large-scale production means: 1) large-scale production was formed and developed within capitalism, with all of its sharp contradictions, mainly the contradiction between the social nature of production and capitalist private ownership, which made the birth of socialism an inevitability; and, 2) socialism could only be established and strengthened on the basis of a corresponding system of large-scale production; this large-scale production is the result of the transformation, improvement and further development of large-scale socialist production in cases in which the socialist revolution wins victory in a

developed capitalist country. This large-scale production can also be the result of consciously building large-scale production from the very outset or near the very outset through socialist industrialization, in cases in which the socialist revolution wins victory in a country that has not experienced the stage of capitalist development.

Countries of this last type could be seen in the economic doctrine of Marx (primarily in "Capital") and later in many works of Lenin, which provide valuable instructions, such as the guidelines and principles involved in establishing, organizing and managing large-scale socialist production. One overriding matter that emerges from these instructions is the need to understand and apply the laws or, strictly speaking, the matters that are in the nature of a law in the process of gradually advancing from small-scale to large-scale production. Concerning this point, the element of special significance is the very clear and persuasive presentation by Marx of the various stages of development of capitalism in industry, from simple cooperation through cooperation based on a division of labor within manual labor worksites to heavy mechanized industry in which the workshop is the universal form of organization.

The process of the formation and development of large-scale production was researched by Marx in all of its main aspects. From the overall perspective of the formation of a system of social production, Marx researched the development of production forces, the establishment of corresponding production relations and the organizing of management to suit the production forces and production relations that had been established.

Examining the formation of large-scale production as the result of a process of socio-economic development characterized by cooperation in labor and a division of labor, Marx thoroughly researched the cooperation and division of labor within a handicraft shop or workshop and within a sector as well as on a society-wide scale.

Examining the formation of large-scale production as the result of a revolution in the instruments of labor, especially work tools, that resulted from the application of scientific achievements and technological advances, Marx presented, in a detailed and fully persuasive manner, the process of labor developing from manual labor to labor using machines and machine systems together with the socio-economic problems that arose from the revolution in production tools, in particular, and the revolution in all production forces, in general.

Making the analogy that a soloist performs by himself but an orchestra requires a conductor, Marx attached special importance to and very deeply researched the organization of the leadership and management of large-scale production. Leadership or management are always clear reflections of the social aspect of production and must, in addition, be suited to the specific level of development of production forces. At the same time, leadership or management involve the process of organizing and managing the factors of material production. Examined in light of the first standard, there can be no one management system for all social systems. Examined in light of the second standard, it is clear that there are features that are common to the

production systems of the different social systems, features that they can incorporate in their organization and management. Examined from this perspective, the principles of political economics, in general, and the principles of organization and management, in particular, that were presented by Marx in "Capital" still provide guidance to us today and "Capital" is still the textbook for all economic researchers and managers. As Y.V. Andropov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said: "To our science, Marx's 'Capital' has been and continues to be the immortal model of how to delve into the essence of the phenomena of economic life."(1)

The leadership and management of production were researched by Marx on two scales: on the scale of an individual production unit and on a society-wide scale. The first scale was the immediate object of his research in the work mentioned above. The second did not exist during Marx's times and could not be an immediate object of his research because, in the capitalist society that he studied, private ownership and, corresponding to it, private capitalist business (and, to a significant degree, collective capitalist businesses in the form of corporations) occupied the dominant position. On a society-wide scale, the law of competition and ungoverned production still dominated. However, through analysis of the contradictions of capitalism and the inevitable trend of history, that is, that capitalism would be replaced by socialism, Marx revealed that production is controlled by society, that is, once society has "usurped the usurpers" and established public ownership, social production is managed and regulated in accordance with pre-determined plans. Marx's sharp analyses of the organization of the workshop and his theories concerning the process of direct production, concerning the process of circulation of capital and, later, concerning the various forms of the existence and change of capital—all of these fruits of his research must be considered the theoretical premises of the subsequent planned organization and management of the economy. Of these theoretical premises, Marx's doctrine concerning the reproduction of social capital is of especially important significance, is of value as a theory and a methodology in planning the building, development and improvement of the structure of social production.

Workers are always the masters of every system of social production but their position varies from one social system to another. In Marx's research, we see a very important line of thinking: large-scale production demands persons suited to it. Examined from the viewpoint of the capitalist, this person must first be a "free" person (free to sell his labor...), a person who submits himself to the discipline of the workshop and, more importantly, a person who has a skill that will provide the capitalist with maximum profit. As regards the stratum of managers who work for hire for the capitalist, besides other requirements, the basic requirement is that they be dynamic and adapt to the constantly changing conditions in production and on the market.

With his vision directed toward both the system of production and the worker in future society, Marx did not stop at analyzing the workers or the managers in contemporary society. Through his research on large-scale mechanized industry, especially on the workshop system under capitalism, Marx pointed out the rudiments of the future system of education, a system basically characterized by the need to coordinate productive labor with the education and physical conditioning of the young generation, which is, as Marx and Engels wrote in "The Communist Manifesto," the principle of "coordinating

education with material production"(2), that is, with productive labor. Marx considered this not only a way to increase the volume of products for society, but also the only way to train fully developed persons. These "fully developed" persons are the model of the persons of the communist society that Marx envisioned. How to train these persons, this is a very important task of the proletariat once it has seized political power.

As we have seen, this task has been and is being performed through the ideological and cultural revolution with all that it entails in our country and the other socialist countries.

Deeply imbued with and comprehensively developing upon Marx's thinking concerning the organic relationship between socialism and large-scale production, V.I. Lenin established the theories on socialist industrialization and building the material-technical bases of socialism. The dominant component of these material-technical bases is a large-scale machine industry capable of transforming agriculture and the entire national economy. Lenin stated: "The economic base of socialism can only be a large-scale machine industry. Anyone who forgets this is not a communist."(3)

Socialist industrialization was the nucleus, was the most decisive component of Lenin's famous socialist construction platform. The two other components were the collectivization of agriculture and the cultural revolution. Together with socialist nationalization, the collectivization of agriculture is designed to establish socialist ownership of the main instruments of production of society and achieve what Marx and Engels wrote in "The Communist Manifesto": "...Communists can summarize their theory in a single formula: abolishing private ownership."(4)

The cultural revolution that was launched and personally guided by Lenin during the first years of the Soviet government was primarily designed to mold and train new persons who possessed socialist and communist awareness, were educated in science, possessed a special skill or occupation and could perform the labor and work tasks found in large-scale socialist production and in all other fields of social life.

We know full well that when he revealed the law of the inevitable destruction of capitalism and the inevitable victory of communism, Marx never maintained that capitalism would destroy itself and that communism would automatically be established as a result. To the contrary, Marx, who possessed the thorough viewpoint of historical materialism, was clearly aware of the fact that the laws governing the development of society are objective in nature but that they have an effect through the activities of man.

The persons whom Marx revealed as acting in accordance with laws were mainly the proletariat with its historic mission of not only digging the grave of capitalism, but also organizing and leading the laboring people in building the new society. On the other hand, Marx did not say that communism could be born instantaneously by means of merely one revolutionary action or one decision by the state; rather, a specific period of history must occur first: the period of transition. The nature of this period was defined by Marx as the period of "revolutionary change from capitalist society to communist

society, the period of political transition, in which the state can be none other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."(5) Nor did Marx say that mankind could, at the conclusion of this period of revolutionary change, advance directly to communism in the full sense of the term; rather, it is first necessary to experience the "initial stage" (that is, the low stage of development) of the communist mode of production. In this initial stage, because the level of production is still not very high, because the level of awareness of workers is not uniform and because of a number of other reasons resulting from the fact that socialist society only recently emerged from the old society following a "lengthy labor," the new society has no choice but to scrupulously implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. On the basis of this thinking, Lenin proposed and led the implementation of inventory and control practices under the supervision of the working class. The stern slogan adopted when the economy encountered difficulties was "he who does not work, does not eat."

The Soviet Union opened the path to socialism. Today, from the pinnacle of the stage of developed socialism and faced with the task of perfecting socialism, the leaders of the Soviet Union, when looking back over the course that has been travelled, stress, on the basis of the above mentioned Andropov article, on the basis of their own personal experiences and perhaps on the basis of the experiences of the other fraternal socialist countries, the significance as a principle of thoroughly applying the law of distribution in accordance with labor in the stage of socialism in order to combat distribution based on averages and combat the tendency to place sole emphasis upon raising the level of income with no regard for the principle that wages must increase at a slower rate than labor productivity or the principle that the interests of society, the interests of the collective must be placed above partial interests and individual interests. The teachings of Marx and the experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries concerning this matter are very deserving of our thought and reconsideration in the work that we are now performing.

Lenin made an immortal contribution by putting in concrete form the great thinking of Marx concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and the period of transition and made this thinking a separate theory within Leninism, that is, Marxism in the age of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The socialist construction platform was not only suited to the conditions of the Soviet Union during and after the great October Revolution, but is also of universal significance to all countries that have advanced to or are heading toward socialism, regardless of whether they have experienced the stage of capitalist development, as in eastern Europe, or have not experienced this stage, as is the case with the other socialist countries in Asia and Latin America, Vietnam included.

The documents in the nature of the platform of our party that emanated from the 3rd Congress, the 4th Congress and the 5th Congress reflect a thorough understanding and the creative application of the economic doctrine of Marx and Lenin to the specific circumstances of our country, a country which, prior to the revolution, was a colony and semi-feudal country, a country which has advanced directly to socialist construction without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. The general line and the economic line that were set

forth by the 4th Congress and reconfirmed by the 5th Congress are an organic entity in which the following matters are of key importance: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, building the system of collective ownership of the laboring people and carrying out socialist industrialization. These key elements are consistent with the great thinking of Marx that socialism is the product of large-scale production and of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. These key elements must be consistent with the spirit of the famous formula proposed by Lenin: "Communism equals Soviet government plus nationwide electrification."

The establishment of the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy, the key elements of which are the matters mentioned above, has been of important significance in the struggle within the field of theory and ideology to protect Marxism-Leninism against every argument and trick of hostile ideological and political powers to distort or deny the scientific nature, the revolutionary nature and the realistic value of Marxism-Leninism.

The developments in the socio-economic situation of our country both before and following the 5th Congress of the Party prove that it is totally correct and necessary to emphasize the key matters that must be given special attention in the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy. The proceedings of the 5th Congress and the resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee have pointed out and deeply analyzed shortcomings that reflect the failure to give full attention to these matters, especially our laxity with regard to maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat in some areas, and the negative consequences of these shortcomings. Because, now more than ever before, we must have a deep understanding of the viewpoint of Marx and Lenin concerning the close relationship between politics and economics; here, this close relationship is the close relationship between the dictatorship of the proletariat and collective ownership, socialist industrialization, the building of large-scale socialist production and the thorough implementation of the line of the party in both thought and action so that our socialist construction takes place in an organized and disciplined manner, yields the desired economic and political, material and spiritual results and so that the factors of socialism gain clear superiority and ultimately dominate the whole of social life.

The 5th Congress of the Party and the resolution of the Political Bureau on the science and technology policy face those of us who are engaged in the research of Marxist-Leninist theory with very large tasks. The party requests that we not stop at explaining the correct and creative line of the party—an area in which we must, admittedly, still make very many efforts—but, more importantly, that we participate, on the basis of our function and task, in researching and concretizing the line of the party in the form of a strategy for socio-economic development that consists of the most effective goals, policies, measures and methods of organizing and guiding implementation.

There are countless points within the economic doctrine of Marx that we should research and discuss together in order to relate and apply them to the present situation. Constantly developing our research efforts in depth, firmly adhering to the essence and fundamentals of the economic doctrine of Marx and

improving our ability to propagandize and apply the economic principles of Marx to life, these are the pressing tasks that face us.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, this issue, p 23.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 49.
3. V.I. Lenin: "On Heavy Industry and Nationwide Electrification," Su That Publishing House, 1962, p 219.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume I, p 38.
5. Ibid., Volume II, pp 31-32.

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## KARL MARX AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 60-63

[Article by Nguyen Thanh]

[Text] Karl Marx entered the arena of political struggle at a time when capitalism had developed and capitalists were constantly taking aggressive actions in search of "living space." Practically all of the backward countries were conquered one after the other. The European bourgeoisie's national oppression, which was closely coordinated with its racial oppression, of the peoples of the colonies was one of the salient features of the age of capitalism.

K. Marx researched the struggle by the proletariat in all countries against capitalism; at the same time, his research on the struggle of the colonial peoples against the rule of foreign capitalism and his research on the fight waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie demanded that he deal with the matter of the colonial peoples resisting capitalism and the matter that the victory of the proletarian revolution must be closely linked to abolishing national oppression. K. Marx and F. Engels made a famous observation: a nation that oppresses another nation is, itself, not free and "if the exploitation of man by man is abolished, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be abolished."(1)

K. Marx waged a resolute struggle against the oppression of nations by the autocratic aristocracy and foreign capitalism. He researched the process of capitalism using weapons to change society in other countries, such as the destruction of the ancient social order in India which, to some extent, had itself developed production forces in colonies by barbarously exploiting those nations and laying the social foundation for the emergence and development of national liberation forces. K. Marx observed that the liberation of the colonial peoples can occur in one of two ways: it can be the result of the impact of the forces within the colony struggling for the colony's liberation or it can be the result of a successful socialist revolution in the mother country, as a result of which the colony is liberated, because the source of colonial oppression has been buried by the proletariat in the mother country. In 1847, K. Marx firmly believed that the British working class led by the Charter Faction would carry out a revolution and that this revolution would

resolve the national question in Europe, especially in Poland. He wrote: "For this reason, the liberation of Poland must not occur in Poland, but in Great Britain. Consequently, you, the members of the Charter Faction, should not limit yourselves to well intentioned appeals for the liberation of nations. Defeat the enemies within your own countries and then you can be proud of the fact that you have crushed the whole of the old society."(2)

K. Marx pointed out the internal relationships of the national and social changes in Asia by, on the one hand, stressing the inevitability of the consequences of a revolutionary nature stemming from the fundamental economic and social changes that were occurring under the impact of capitalist exploitation in the colonies; on the other hand, he stressed the influence of the revolutionary changes occurring in Asia upon social relations in Europe.

The mutual dependency between Europe and the colonies would inevitably lead to either direct or indirect revolutionary political consequences: the proletariat struggling to liberate the oppressed peoples and the ripening national liberation movement helping to stimulate the struggle by the European proletariat.

In his presentation of a specific solution to the question of liberating Ireland, K. Marx expressed his view, his basic thinking that the colonial peoples struggling to liberate themselves is the first prerequisite to liberating the proletariat within the aggressor country. At first, he thought that a victorious revolution by the British proletariat would bring freedom back to and liberate Ireland; later, however, on the basis of the development of the Irish national liberation movement and the changes in the arrangement of forces and class relations within Britain, he reconsidered the issue and reached the conclusion that the national liberation of Ireland was the prerequisite to the liberation of the British proletariat.

In a letter to L. Kugelmann dated 29 November 1869, K. Marx emphasized that it was necessary to make the British proletariat conscious of the fact that they could never take a decisive step forward as long as they did not completely sever themselves from the policy of the ruling classes regarding the Irish issue.(3)

In a letter to S. Meyer and O. Pho-go-to [Vietnamese phonetics] dated 9 April 1870, K. Marx wrote: "Having researched the Irish question for many years, I have reached the conclusion that a decisive blow to the ruling classes in Great Britain (a blow which would also be of decisive significance to the worker movement in the world) can only be delivered in Ireland, not in Great Britain."(4)

In a letter to P. Lafargue dated 5 March 1870, K. Marx wrote: "To accelerate social development in Europe, it is necessary to accelerate the defeat of official Britain. And, to do this, it must be dealt a blow in Ireland. This is its weakest point. With the loss of Ireland, British imperialism will come to an end and the moribund class struggle in Great Britain will become fierce in nature. Because, Great Britain is the mother country of the system of large landowners and worldwide capitalism."(5)

K. Marx also wrote: "The British bourgeoisie has not only taken advantage of the poverty of Ireland to impoverish the British working class by forcing the migration of poor Irish farmers, it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps."(6)

K. Marx referred to the relationship between Great Britain and Ireland as the compulsory association brought about by the British bourgeoisie through enslavement. Only when the British proletariat and the people of Ireland had toppled the rule of the British bourgeoisie and landowners would it be possible for them to align with each other on the basis of equality and freedom, if this benefited both sides, or separate themselves from each other, if such were considered necessary. This is the thinking concerning the right of nations to self-determination applied in the form of a guideline for the policy of aligning on the basis of equality and freedom within federated nations or separating into independent and equal nations of free peoples.

K. Marx saw that the oppressed peoples, in terms of their social makeup, consisted primarily of peasants; therefore, national liberation was an issue closely associated with the liberation of peasants and had to be achieved on a democratic basis by carrying out the national liberation revolution in a manner closely linked to the agrarian revolution in Ireland. The same was true in Poland: the stand taken by the Polish people against the oppressor forces was, at the same time, a stand against the upper strata of the aristocracy within the country of Poland. "In Poland, the communists support the party that considers the agrarian revolution to be the pre-requisite to national liberation, that is, the party that staged the uprising in Cracow in 1846."(7)

K. Marx attached importance to the agrarian revolution of the Russian peasants, considering it to be the revolution that marked the coordination of the revolutionary movement of the Polish peasants with the revolutionary movement of the Russian peasants.

K. Marx criticized the bourgeois tainted and incorrect concepts of the workers of the ruling country and the workers of the oppressed countries. "The workers of Great Britain generally detest Irish workers, viewing them as competitors who have reduced their standard of living. They feel that they are the representatives of the nation that has gone to rule Ireland and, for this reason, they have become tools being used by the capitalist aristocracy of their country against Ireland, thereby consolidating the rule of the aristocracy over themselves." As for the Irish proletariat, "it views the British worker as the blind accomplice and tool of the British rulers in Ireland."(8) As a result, the proletarian parties must teach proletarian internationalism to the working class and must propagandize and organize a fraternal, class-based alliance of the working class struggling together against capitalist exploitation, against the international alliance of the bourgeoisie.

K. Marx criticized the Proudhon faction for giving light consideration to the national question, especially the national independence of Poland. He also criticized the Maldini faction for failing to recognize the popular nature of the national liberation movement and only considering it to be a scheme on the

part of some persons to throw off foreign domination. And, this mass movement, of course, was a movement in which "class differences have a place in the national uprisings against the dictatorial regimes of foreign countries." (9) This is the strategy of the working class aligning itself with the various classes and strata of society to form a common front struggling for the cause of national liberation.

Along with Marx, his closest and most loyal comrade-in-arms, F. Engels, made theoretical and political contributions of historic significance in the struggle against national oppression. All of K. Marx's arguments in the nature of principles concerning the colonial question were developed with the participation of F. Engels. F. Engels delved deeply into the history of the development of the nation of Ireland and began to write a book on the history of the Irish people in 1869; however, because many other tasks absorbed his efforts, this work of his was never completed. Nevertheless, the pages that he did write a very valuable heritage to the people of Ireland, to the proletariat of all countries and to progressive mankind. In particular, F. Engels delved into military matters pertaining to the wars of aggression fought by the colonialists and the resistance by nations against them, such as "The New Expedition of Great Britain in China," written in early August, 1857, "The British Army in India," dated 4 June 1858, etc. F. Engels also talked about the invasion of Vietnam by the French colonialists in a letter to K. Kautsky in Stuttgart dated 18 September 1883 and in the "Preface" to "Capital," Book III, Volume I in 1894-1895.

Shortly after F. Engels died, the opportunist leaders of the 2nd International and within the socialist parties comprising it drifted far from the revolutionary arguments of K. Marx concerning the colonial question. After the 6th Congress of the 2nd International in Amsterdam in 1904, especially after the 7th Congress held in Stuttgart in 1907, a strong negative trend developed in the face of expanded acts of colonial aggression, a trend that culminated in sympathizing with the colonial policy of the imperialists.

In the period of imperialism, the imperialist countries have made every effort to more cruelly exploit the colonial peoples while competing with one another for colonies, thereby causing the contradiction between the colonial peoples and imperialism and the contradiction among the imperialists themselves over the colonial issue to deepen.

V.I. Lenin, the brilliant inheritor of the cause of K. Marx and F. Engels, developed upon the theory of Marxism concerning the colonial question and developed the strategic slogan "Proletariat of All Countries, Unite" into "Proletariat of All Countries and All Oppressed Peoples, Unite." In the field of theory, V.I. Lenin rejected the opportunistic viewpoints of the leaders of the 2nd International and, in practical terms, he led the great October Socialist Revolution, abolished the colonialist rule of the Russian czar, liberated the peoples oppressed by the czarist regime and then advocated the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first voluntary union of many equal and free nations in the world. V.I. Lenin also set forth the strategy and tactics for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world and defined the tasks of the Communist International and all communist parties in this great undertaking.

When the French imperialists first invaded and began to plunder Vietnam, the Vietnamese constantly arose in brave struggle and endured countless sacrifices. However, these bloody fights did not yield the desired results. It was only when the nation's most outstanding son--Nguyen Ai Quoc--accepted the theory of K. Marx and V.I. Lenin and applied it to Vietnam, thereby charting a correct course for liberating the nation, that the Vietnamese waged a victorious struggle against imperialist aggression, won independence and reunified the country. This glorious victory proves the remarkable strength of Marxist-Leninist theory.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 48.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Concerning Poland," "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 4, p 372.
3. Marx and Engels: "Concerning Colonialism," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, French version, 1977, p 349.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 32, p 556.
5. Ibid., p 549.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 16, p 406.
7. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 64.
8. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Complete Works," Russian version, Volume 32, p 549.
9. Ibid., Volume 8, p 573.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: DARING TO THINK, DARING TO ACT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 64-66

[Article by Chinh Truc]

[Text] Daring to think and daring to act are a very necessary quality of each cadre, especially of each leadership cadre. President Ho said: "He who is afraid of taking charge and does not take the initiative is not a leader."(1)

This quality, of course, does not tolerate a conservative, hesitant attitude or the habit of being too lazy to think. In our work, in the apparatus of our party, we frequently encounter persons who are too lazy to concentrate, who never want to change the way that they think, who want to continue doing things the way they were done in the past. Their work is inefficient, the factory or store at which they are in charge of production or business operates at a loss, the revolutionary movement within their unit or locality has been lagging behind for many years and so forth, but they remain indifferent. They evaluate the situation and explain the causes of it in a superficial and doctrinaire way, repeating old arguments that they heard many years ago. Every "cause" has its "effect." Because of this style of thinking, the policies and measures that they adopt to improve the situation are general in nature, are less than thorough and fail to meet requirements; they are arrows that miss the mark. This stagnation in their soul has caused stagnation in their work. When society is developing at a normal rate, this stagnation is an obstacle deserving of concern. At times when society faces a turning point or the revolution is in an intense period, this stagnation is even more of a crime because it is a dangerous form of inertia.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out that it is necessary to "encourage and help the sectors, localities, units and cadres to take the initiative and boldly conduct pilot projects in the new or change that which is backward within the scope of their authority."(2)

The failure on the part of cadres and party members to "dare to think" can be due to many reasons. Some persons, because their revolutionary zeal has cooled and their will to fight has declined, give little attention to public matters but much attention to personal matters; when it comes to doing things for themselves, they will go to any length and are very resourceful and quite

talented but, when it comes to performing public work, they "do what they are told" and try to push this work off onto others. They maintain that thinking of new things only serves to complicate matters: if they are correct, they only serve the common good but, if they are incorrect, it brings them "difficulties," besides which the whole effort is mentally strenuous, time consuming and so forth. Some persons, because of their very narrow view and shallow knowledge, do not see or think beyond that which every ordinary person sees or thinks.

Thinking that is not deep or bold prevents us from adopting good measures or initiatives and causes us to get nowhere as a result of adhering to the old way of doing things and makes it difficult to overcome stagnation. To the contrary, when thinking is correct, when ideas are bold and filled with revolutionary-offensive power, they lead to good initiatives, to creative actions and will quickly reverse the situation.

Daring to think is a practice that is the total opposite of sloppy thinking, reckless thinking and disregard for laws. Those who search elsewhere and in others for thinking and thoughts that are opposed to the viewpoints and thinking of the party, to the common thinking of society, to the progressive school of thinking and so forth are, in actuality, persons who are going against the revolutionary movement. Those who only know how to raise contrary opinions, who deny all that has been confirmed by reality, has been proven correct by history and science, fall into the swamp of skepticism. And, those who thinking is sloppy and careless, whose thinking shows no regard for the actual situation, for laws, for science and so forth, are persons who lack knowledge. Because, correct, revolutionary thinking is not something that occurs by accident. It must be the combined result of many factors. To think correctly, we must have a firm grasp of the guiding thinking of the party, have a firm grasp of the situation, understand the essence of events, know the laws governing the development of things and, on this basis, use one's profound revolutionary knowledge and experience to develop optimum plans. Without revolutionary zeal, it is impossible to bring about a change in one's thinking. However, without the necessary knowledge, one does not know what to do and this, in turn, leads to incorrect thinking. The incorrect thoughts that result from a lack of knowledge frequently have considerable destructive force.

Daring to think must go hand in hand with daring to act. The strength, the qualities and the value of man are expressed in actions. The results of actions prove the correctness of thinking and have the effect of elevating man's thinking. Some persons think correctly and boldly but never go any further, that is, never dare to take action to test their ideas, their plans. Their ideas and plans ultimately remain in their heads, in their words or on paper. They lack the courage to take action; they are afraid of losing time, afraid of difficulties, afraid of differing opinions, afraid of responsibility. As Lenin said, persons who refuse to take concrete, practical actions are persons who "only engage in empty debate and never do anything of substance."

Daring to act means acting with intense enthusiasm, with a full sense of responsibility, daring to face difficulties squarely, to overcome every

difficulty and be determined to achieve high results. Daring to act means daring to admit mistakes and shortcomings and being determined to correct them. The person who dares to act does not fear hardships or difficulties and is always firmly confident that he can perform every job better with each passing day. The person who dare to act is not arrogant in victory nor dejected in defeat; he is alert in the face of complex changes in the situation and does not blame objective circumstances or others.

Cadres who dare to act are valuable assets of the party. President Ho often taught: "We must train a corps of cadres who have the courage to take responsibility, the courage to work, the desire to work. Only in this way can the party achieve success."

"It would be a setback for the party were we to train a corps of cadres who are faint-hearted and docile, who 'stand there and take it.'"(3)

At present, we face acute difficulties with the economy and living conditions. As our difficulties mount, the more necessary it is for us to think of good ways to work, the more necessary it is for us to have the courage to take action. Any sector or unit that allows the long-standing stagnation to persist is deserving of reprimand and commits a crime against the common cause. Therefore, now, more than ever before, the organizations of the party and all cadres and party members must fully display the workstyle of "daring to think, daring to act" and quickly bring about new, beautiful changes, especially on the economic front. In actuality, new factors, which are the results of daring to think and daring to act, have emerged in many units and localities, thereby signalling the start of a new period. In order to cause more and more of these factors to blossom, the organizations of the party and the various party committee echelons must adopt the attitude of providing incentive for and encouraging cadres and party members to dare to think and act and must provide them with sincere counsel and assistance when they encounter problems and difficulties.

Of course, daring to act in no way means acting in a careless and sloppy fashion. Reckless, haphazard actions that are contrary to laws, contrary to policies, contrary to principles, that is, working in a careless and sloppy manner inevitably leads to poor results, which frequently cause very much harm. This frequently happens to cadres and party members who lack knowledge, who lack a sense of organization and discipline, who lack collective consciousness, etc. There are persons among us who know absolutely nothing about the science of water conservancy but who issue orders to dig ditches and build dams in an indiscriminant manner, persons who know nothing at all about economic management who "create" plans that can only lead to failure and so forth. There are also persons who do not have a grasp of the essence of the three economic interests or a grasp of the positions and policies of the state and have made mistakes, have stolen from the state to get things for themselves, thereby harming the economy and so forth. And, there are also persons who overemphasize the special characteristics of their unit, their locality or their sector and use "daring to think, daring to act" as an excuse to enact policies and regulations that are contrary to those of the party and state. This is not the correct attitude toward "daring to act." It is nothing more than reckless, careless actions. Acting in a reckless, careless

manner inevitably leads each individual to mistakes, to poor quality work and the decline of good qualities. As regards units, localities and so forth, acting in a reckless and careless manner is even more dangerous: it creates very bad habits and very dangerous confusion for which it is frequently necessary to pay a very high price.

Therefore, in order to "dare to act" in the correct manner, I think that it is necessary to always remember Lenin's teaching: "We must firmly adhere to the following principle: only take action when the thinking behind it has been fully considered."(4)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 43.
2. "The Proceedings of the 5th National Congress of Delegates," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume III, p 52.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Party Building," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 50.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 444.

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## A NEW STEP FORWARD FOR THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 5, May 83 pp 67-70

[Article by Vu Hien]

[Text] The 7th High Level Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi has come to a successful conclusion. The conference marked a victory of the will and aspirations of the peoples of the non-aligned countries, of the progressive people of the world and a bitter defeat for the imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and their lackeys, as well as a bitter defeat for the Beijing reactionaries and the opportunists within the movement.

The New Delhi conference directly answered the fundamental questions being raised by our times: how to safeguard peace; how to prevent the tragedy of nuclear war caused by the arms race of the imperialists; and how to free the developing countries from the exploitation, the plundering of their raw materials and the trampling of their dignity by the imperialists? The final proceedings of the conference concerning political and economic issues are documents of historic significance that reflect the common determination to struggle for peace, detente and military disarmament, to struggle against the arms race, to continue brandishing the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner, to continue to struggle for the independence and sovereignty of all nations and eventually achieve a new, fair and reasonable international economic order. The positions taken by the conference concerning safeguarding peace are basically consistent with the peace initiative of the Conference of the Political Consultation Committees of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact held in Prague early this year and consistent with the ardent and deeply held aspirations of progressive mankind. The conference strongly supported the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, both old and new, expansionism and hegemony to win back and maintain their independence and freedom. The conference demanded the promotion of comprehensive negotiations concerning a new world economic order and the intensification of the struggle against the schemes of the United States and other powers that are continuing to maintain unequal relations with and bringing economic pressure to bear upon the developing countries. The conference demanded the establishment of a fair and reasonable new world structure in which the developing countries occupy a worthy position. There can be no doubt that "this was a conference that achieved good results. The

results achieved were better than those expected by the participants in the non-aligned movement. The would be saboteurs met with tragic defeat." This was Chairman Pham Van Dong's evaluation following the conference.

These results reflect an important step forward by the non aligned movement.

First, the basic goals of the movement have been maintained. A sharp and long struggle has occurred between the two tendencies within the movement: on the one side are the progressive forces determined to maintain their stand based in principle against imperialism and colonialism and for national independence and sovereignty; on the other side are the negative forces of opportunism that advocate steering the movement "between the two blocs" with a view toward leading the movement from its course and striking a compromise not based on principle with imperialism. In recent years, Washington, in collaboration with Beijing and through the powers that support it within the non-aligned movement, has made frantic efforts to divide, weaken and disorient the movement, thereby causing it to encounter more than a few difficulties. However, at the 3rd High Level Conference in Lusaka (Zambia) and then at the high level conferences in Algiers and Colombo, especially at the conference in Havana, in the face of the resounding victories won by the Vietnamese in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation and in the face of the increasing power of the struggle by the nations of the world in the "post-Vietnam" period, the struggle between the two tendencies within the movement reached an important stage of development: the struggle against imperialism, the struggle to win back and maintain national independence became the dominant tendency of the non-aligned movement. At the New Delhi conference, this trend was further confirmed; as Indian Premier Indira Gandhi, the new chairperson of the movement confidently declared: "Being non-aligned does not mean being vague, negative or neutral, being non-aligned means being independent and free. Ours is the policy of peace and equality among nations and the democratization of international relations, both economically as well as politically."

Secondly, the non-aligned movement has a clearer picture of itself and of the objective of its struggle. With 101 official member countries, which account for two-thirds of the countries and 40 percent of the population of the earth, the movement has truly become a large international organization, one that is occupying an increasingly important position in world political life. The strength of the movement has also been increased by the support and inspiration of the socialist system and the progressive trends on this planet. The strength of the movement has developed to the point where even the imperialists and the reactionaries have had to change their tune and pretend to be "close" to the movement. However, the movement has increasingly seen these "close supporters" for what they really are. They are old-style colonialists and neo-colonialists who annually take as much as 90 percent of the diamonds, 80 percent of the gold and cobalt, 60 percent of the platinum and 90 percent of the manganese produced in Africa. They are the ones who created the underdeveloped state of the developing countries: these countries account for two-thirds the population of the world but only produce 15 percent of the world's gross product and owe foreign countries 630 billion dollars in debts; in these countries, nearly 800 million persons live in "abject poverty," 1 billion persons do not have enough food to eat and 900 million

persons are illiterate. Meanwhile, 600 multi-national corporations of the capitalist countries annually earn 100 billion dollars in profit from the developing countries. For this reason, the New Delhi conference denounced the reticent, selfish and insincere attitude of the developed capitalist countries toward full-scale negotiations within the framework of "North-South relations." There was a high degree of unanimity at the conference with regard to protesting the malicious methods employed by the imperialists and the colonialists against the developing countries in the fields of economics, monetary affairs and trade. In particular, the political resolution of the conference exposed the U.S. imperialists for what they really are and placed them in the defendant's chair: in the Middle East, the United States has become the strategic ally of the Israeli war criminal; in Africa, the United States is maintaining preferential relations with the racist regime in Pretoria; in Central America, the United States is grossly interfering in the independence and sovereignty of countries. America was also strongly criticized concerning issues related to peace and disarmament and the strategic weapons and nuclear weapons arms race. The United States is truly the natural enemy of the movement of non-aligned countries.

Thirdly, through the New Delhi conference, the non-aligned movement has achieved even greater solidarity. For many months preceding the conference and during the course of the conference, Washington and Beijing conducted frenzied activities: trips were made to Africa by leaders of China to win support and practice deception; the loudspeakers of Washington and Beijing blared propaganda designed to create hostility, sow division, create differences of opinion and exacerbate the disagreements within the movement; actions were taken to exert pressure upon and encourage lackeys and their followers at the conference, actions which even included various enticements, etc. In particular, they made a fuss about the so called "Kampuchean issue" and the "Afghanistan issue" and successfully demanded that Sihanouk be allowed to attend the conference. They further provoked issues that are being debated and resolved by the movement, such as the Iran-Iraq war, thinking that because these are difficult issues, the conference would fall into endless debate over these issues and take "meaningless" stands concerning the main issues. However, all of these sinister schemes met with tragic defeat. Regardless of how diverse the movement of non-aligned countries is and regardless of its differences, even disagreements, all of the countries in the movement are in agreement concerning the general guidelines and seek a common voice on the basic issues of the movement. The brilliant victory of the New Delhi high level conference proves that the movement "is more united than ever before, more independent than ever before and belongs to us more than ever before," as Fidel Castro pointed out. The lonely voices of truculent types such as the clique from Singapore are nothing more than a case of "the pot calling the kettle black" and those who stand on the sidelines "poking sticks into the spokes," the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, have also had to "swallow the medicine." In contrast to the desires of Beijing, the resolution adopted in Havana on the right to represent Kampuchea was, instead of being repealed, further strengthened in legal terms. The corpse of Pol Pot genocide and the hodgepodge "coalition government" of Sihanouk, whom the Beijing clique embraces, did not receive much attention. Through the New Delhi conference, the dialogue between the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indochina, a dialogue which Beijing seeks to undermine, has been further strengthened.

The source of strength of the non-aligned movement is the fact that its basic objectives are consistent with the basic goals of our times, with the trend of development of history, and the fact that it has rallied every patriotic and progressive force to struggle against imperialism, against colonialism, both old and new, against apartheid, zionism, expansionism and hegemony. The success of the New Delhi conference stemmed from the change in the balance of power in the world, especially the emergence of national independence, democratic and progressive forces in the third world over the past several years. The determined struggle waged by the activist forces of the movement, such as Vietnam, Cuba and so forth, and the distinguished role of India in the international arena and at the conference made important contributions to the success of the conference.

Loyal to its ideals, the non-aligned movement steadfastly supported the just struggle of the Vietnamese for many years. The resolutions and appeals of the various high level conferences strongly inspired our people in the resistance against the United States for national salvation and in the present work of building and defending the fatherland. At a time when the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage, intensifying their hostile policy toward the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and creating a tense situation in Southeast Asia, the resolutions of the recently included 7th High Level Non-Aligned Conference are a source of tremendous inspiration to our people. Through the New Delhi conference, the just cause of Vietnam and the countries of Indochina has been further illuminated. The stand of our people has the sympathy and support of the vast majority of the non-aligned countries. As for themselves, our people have made positive contributions to strengthening and developing the non-aligned movement and have, together with the revolutionary and progressive forces within the movement, resolutely struggled against every scheme and action to divide and undermine the movement. The brilliant victory of New Delhi high level conference and the fact that the Republic of India, one of the founding countries of the movement, will assume the weighty responsibility of serving as chairman of the movement for the next 3 years are factors that will stimulate the advance by the non-aligned movement to new and larger victories.

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