Founder of Scientific Communism

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May 5, 1968, is the sesquicentennial of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism and leader of the world proletariat. Together with Frederick Engels, he held the same views and was his loyal comrade in arms, raised the banner of struggle for communism at the turning point of the history of mankind when the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in history, emerged as a force in the areas of social life. The entire theoretical and practical activity of Marx and Engels reflected the political and ideological development of the class.

The greatness of Marx lies in that he answers to the questions put on the face of the day by the entire course of history. Development. Marx effectuated the greatest revolution in the social consciousness of mankind. He elaborated the scientific world outlook of the proletariat which correctly reflects the world in all its utopias and realities.
May 5, 1968, is the sesquicentennial of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, brilliant thinker, fervent revolutionary, teacher and leader of the world proletariat.

Karl Marx, together with Frederick Engels, who held the same views and was his loyal comrade-in-arms, raised aloft the banner of struggle for communism at the turning point in the history of mankind when the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in history, emerged in the arena of social life. The entire theoretical and practical activity of Marx and Engels facilitated the political and ideological development of this class.

The greatness of Marx lies in that he furnished an answer to the questions put on the order of the day by the entire course of historical development. Marx effected the greatest revolution in the social consciousness of mankind, elaborated the scientific world outlook of the proletariat which correctly reflects the laws of historical development. He turned socialism from an utopia into a science and sub-
stantiated the inevitability of the fall of capitalism and triumph of communism. Marx armed the working class with an understanding of its historic mission as the grave-digger of the exploiting system and the builder of socialist society and indicated the ways for combining revolutionary theory with the mass working-class movement.

Struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat formed the main content of Marx’s life and work, he devoted himself to this struggle with all the fervour of his indomitable nature. Under the militant slogan “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” Marx and Engels initiated the organised international communist movement.

The life path of Marx was uncommonly hard. He was persecuted by the reactionary forces of all the European countries, he was hounded by the ideological henchmen of the bourgeoisie. But boundlessly loyal to the duty of a proletarian revolutionary, Marx bravely withstood all trials.

In the revolutionary struggle and in life’s hardships Marx always enjoyed the most dependable and effective support of his militant colleague and closest friend, Engels. They stood together in the centre of the revolutionary events of the epoch and jointly elaborated the revolutionary doctrine of the proletariat.

After the death of Marx and Engels their cause was continued by Lenin who developed Marxism in the new historical conditions.

The Marxist ideas demonstrated their vitality at all stages of the proletariat’s class struggle. These ideas played a tremendous part in the
epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism when the proletariat began to turn into an independent political force and the army of the proletarian revolution began to take shape.

The Marxist-Leninist ideas became a guide to practical action for proletarian revolutionaries and the working masses who rose to fight for their liberation in the epoch of imperialism, when after a period of relatively peaceful development of capitalism there came a period of stormy revolutionary upheavals ushered in by the Russian Revolution of 1905. The First World War aggravated to the utmost and laid bare the deepest contradictions of the capitalist system. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which for the first time in history established the power of the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry, opened up to mankind the road to socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine scored a new triumph in the contemporary epoch which began with the victory of the Great October Revolution, the epoch of transition to socialism on a worldwide scale. Social life on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism is being built in the Soviet Union, followed by a number of other countries. The formation of the world socialist system strikingly reflects the strength and vitality of this doctrine. At the same time, in the capitalist world contradictions keep growing ever sharper and class battles of the proletariat and all other working people against the monopoly bourgeoisie keep mounting and the colonial system of imperialism has collapsed under the blows of the liberation movement. In
the course of the struggle in the international arena the balance of forces is increasingly changing in favour of socialism. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism, having gripped the minds of millions, became a great material force.
1. The doctrine elaborated by Marx in cooperation with Engels represents an integral world outlook, a harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views. Marx and Engels created the dialectical-materialist philosophy, scientific-political economy and scientific socialism, which comprise the three inseparable parts of Marxism. Each of these parts results from the critical assimilation and further development of preceding social thought which reached its highest level in three of its main 19th-century trends: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French utopian socialism. Marxism arose not aside from the highroad of the development of science, but was the legitimate successor and continuer of all its finest achievements. Pre-Marxian social theories were primarily of a contemplative nature. In contrast to them, Marxism was born in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle and
became a mighty weapon not only in the cognition of the world, but also of its radical transformation.

a) Marx and Engels effected the greatest revolution in philosophy, having created dialectical and historical materialism, the science of the most general laws governing the development of nature, society and human thought.

In the pre-Marxian period many philosophers arrived at materialist conclusions. But their materialism was not comprehensive and consistent, was not organically combined with the theory of development and was not extended to cognition of human society. Marx and Engels resolutely overcame the idealism and metaphysics of various philosophical trends, combined materialism with dialectics, extended its propositions to the cognition of social processes, creating a new, genuinely scientific philosophical doctrine—dialectical materialism.

Having broken with the speculative nature of preceding philosophy, Marxism imparted an active, transformatory character to philosophy and closely linked it with the historical practical activity of society. "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it," Marx pointed out. (Marx and Engels, Selected Works, Vol. II p. 405.)

Having applied materialism to the understanding of historical development, Marx demonstrated the determining role of material production in social life. According to Marx, history is a law-governed process in the course of which one socio-economic formation is replaced
by another. Marx substantiated the decisive role of the masses in history and the enhancement of this role in the course of social development. Recognising the objective nature of the historical process, Marxism assigns a big part to conscious human activity and attaches tremendous importance to revolutionary theory.

b) *Marx created a scientific political economy and furnished an economic substantiation of the revolutionary struggle and victory of the working class.*

In his main work *Capital* and other works Marx revealed the economic laws of movement of bourgeois society and the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, proving that it is effected through the appropriation by the capitalists of the product of the unpaid part of the labour of wage workers. Thereby he disclosed the deepest basis for the irreconcilable class antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The theory of surplus value became the keystone of Marx's economic doctrine.

The liberation of the working class can be achieved only through the revolutionary destruction of the capitalist mode of production. Marx proved that as capitalism develops production undergoes capitalist socialisation and the material prerequisites are prepared for a higher social system—socialism. Marx revealed the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations of bourgeois society, between the social nature of production and the private capitalist appropriation of its results. This contradiction underlies the aggravation of all other contradictions of capitalism and is an
objective prerequisite for the socialist revolution. The conclusion about the inevitability of the socialist revolution thus directly follows from the Marxist economic theory. It is this theory and the materialistic understanding of history that have imparted a scientific character to socialism. The economic doctrine of Marxism formulated the major principles of the political economy of socialism.

c) **Scientific socialism created by Marx and Engels is the theory and programme of the revolutionary working-class movement.**

Study of the laws governing the development of capitalism enabled Marx and Engels to perceive in the proletariat the social force to which history entrusted the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks—the abolition of capitalism and all exploitation in general and the building of communist society. Substantiation of the epochal mission of the proletariat is the greatest service rendered by Marx.

Marx and Engels elaborated the doctrine of the socialist revolution as the only possible way for the proletariat to win political power and create conditions for the building of a new society. They attached the greatest importance to the revolutionary creative efforts of the masses, opposed a stereotyped approach to problems of the socialist revolution and put forward the idea that it can be achieved in diverse forms.

Marx and Engels resolutely rejected the right-wing opportunist replacement of the theory of the revolutionary class struggle by advocacy of class collaboration between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, exposed the reformist supposi-
tions about the possibility of capitalism peacefully growing into socialism and also the assertion that it is supposedly possible to eliminate the vices and contradictions of capitalism, while preserving its socio-economic foundations. At the same time the founders of Marxism implacably criticised the adventurist tactics and pseudo-revolutionary phraseology of petty-bourgeois “left” opportunists and sectarians. They served warning against attempts “to make” a revolution, without regard for the actual situation and stressed that a “radical social revolution is connected with definite historical conditions of economic development”. (Works, Vol. 18, p. 612., Russ. Ed.)

Marx and Engels explained that the revolutionary remaking of society is an intricate and prolonged process which cannot be limited to a bourgeois-democratic revolution. The revolution must be continued until all the propertied classes are removed from the helm, until the proletariat wins state power. In this struggle the working class expresses the interests of all the working people exploited by capital and above all the peasantry. “Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the urban proletariat, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order.” (Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 338.)

The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat holds the central place in the theory of scientific socialism. According to Marx, the new things he introduced in the understanding of the class struggle consist in:

1) that the existence of classes is only bound
up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." (Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 452.)

Establishing its rule, the proletariat, as Marx and Engels proved, cannot utilise the ready bourgeois state machine, but must demolish, break it up and create a new system of state power. The dictatorship of the proletariat performs the historic mission of expropriating the expropriators, suppresses the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and abolishes the conditions on which the existence of antagonistic classes was based, destroys everything that protected and secured private property and organises the building of socialist society.

Marx and Engels proved that the succession of capitalism by socialism is a law-governed historical process which passes through a number of stages. They sagaciously foresaw the following stages in the emergence of communist society: the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the first phase of communism—socialism, and the higher phase—communism proper.

The supreme mission of Marxism is to ascertain the conditions and indicate the ways for the complete emancipation of the masses from all kinds and forms of social oppression and inequality, the most expedient organisation of social life, the all-round development of the individual and the attainment of man's domina-
tion over the forces of nature. Communism presupposes the harmonious combination of the interests of the individual and entire society. Communism is the real embodiment of humanism.

2. Marx determined the major principles of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat's class struggle. He considered it necessary to ensure at all stages of the revolutionary movement:

- exercise of the leading role of the working class headed by its political party in the entire liberation movement;
- combination of the struggle for the ultimate aim of the movement with the accomplishment of the immediate economic and political tasks of the working class;
- establishment of a strong alliance of the proletariat with broad sections of the working people, the peasantry above all;
- uniting the class movement of the proletariat with support of the struggle for democratic freedoms, for national liberation of the oppressed peoples;
- loyalty to proletarian internationalism;
- loyalty to the principles of scientific communism and flexibility of tactics.

Marxism teaches us that the working class must counterpose its international unity to the international force of capital and the attempts of the bourgeoisie of various countries to crush the proletarian movement by combined effort. International solidarity of the working class is an indispensable condition for its victory. "Past experience," Marx wrote, "has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought
to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent effort.” (Selected Works, Vol. I., p. 384.)

Waging a determined struggle against bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism, Marx stressed that the genuine national interests of the working class, far from running counter to the international interests, on the contrary, are organically combined with them. Disregard of the principles of internationalism inflicts harm not only on the world working-class movement as a whole, but above all on the national interests of the working class in the given country.

Marx revealed the interconnection of the proletariat’s class struggle with the struggle against militarism, against predatory wars. He called for joint action of the proletarians of all countries against the exploiters and their militarist policy who, pursuing criminal ends, play on national prejudices and shed the people’s blood and squander their wealth in piratical wars.

“...The working class enters the arena of history already not as a meek executor of orders, but as an independent force which is aware of its responsibility and is capable of dictating peace, where its so-called masters shout for war.” (Works, Vol. 16, pp. 372-373. Russ. Ed.)

3. Substantiating the epochal role of the proletariat, Marx arrived at the conclusion about the necessity of its class organisation. He
attached great significance to trade unions as mass organisations of the workers in the struggle for their economic interests. But, according to the teaching of Marx, only the revolutionary party of the working class can be the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat, its advanced leading force.

Marx tirelessly stressed that the ideological unity and cohesion of a proletarian party were the source of its fighting efficiency. He elaborated the foundations of the organisational structure of the party, the principles of proletarian partisanship: obligatory compliance with the rules and programme, subordination of the minority to the majority, combination of strict discipline with broad democracy within the party and observance of the rights of every party member. Having debunked the idealistic theory of heroes who supposedly make history, Marx and Engels resolutely called for collective methods of leadership and opposed the glorification of individual leaders.

Marx and Engels founded the first international communist organisation, the Communist League, which became a school for the training of proletarian revolutionaries and went down in history as the embryo of the proletarian party, as the predecessor of the First International. The Manifesto of the Communist Party, written by Marx and Engels, was the programme of the Communist League.

The revolution of 1848-1849 practically confirmed the conclusions of the Marxist theory of the class struggle. Members of the Communist League, headed by Marx and Engels, took a
most active part in the spreading revolutionary-democratic movement, upholding the interests of the proletariat. The Neue Rheinische Zeitung which Marx edited became not only the rostrum of progressive democracy, but also an organising revolutionary centre. In the period following the defeat of the revolution, Marx’s activity in rallying together the proletarian revolutionaries and further elaborating his scientific theory played a tremendous part in preparing the new, higher stage of the proletariat’s struggle for liberation.

4. The founding in 1864 of the First International, the International Working Men’s Association, was an outstanding achievement in the practical revolutionary activity of Marx. He was the heart and soul of the International, its true leader, the author of all the most important documents which determined the main trends of the struggle of the international proletariat. The First International became a big landmark in the development of the international solidarity of the proletariat, an important stage in the process of uniting Marxism with the working-class movement.

Marx and Engels trained a splendid pleiad of proletarian revolutionaries such as A. Bebel, J. Ph. Becker, E. Varlin, W. Wolff, F. Sorge, P. Lafargue, W. Liebknecht, L. Fränckel and others.

Within the bounds of the First International Marx and Engels waged a determined struggle against various trends of non-proletarian socialism, reformism and “left” sectarianism. Of special importance was the ideological defeat of
and organisational dissociation from petty-bourgeois “revolutionariness” voiced by anarchists—M. Bakunin and his followers. Marx denounced the disbelief of the anarchists in the revolutionary potentialities of the working class, their failure to understand the objective conditions for a victorious revolution. He showed that the attempts of anarchists to skip over objectively necessary stages of the revolutionary struggle, their advocacy of spontaneous rebellion, denial that the Party is the leading force of the working-class movement in effect led to surrender to the bourgeoisie. Marx branded the splitting actions within the working-class movement, characteristic of “left” sectarianism, as betrayal of the cause of the proletariat.

Under the banner of the First International the international proletariat came out for the first time as a mighty revolutionary force which proclaimed that “a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labour!” (Selected Works, Vol. I, p. 490.)

The International ideologically prepared the working class for the first attempt in the history of mankind to create a proletarian state—the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx and Engels warmly acclaimed its birth and sought to help the leaders of the Commune with their advice. Summing up the lessons of the Commune and analysing its successes and mistakes, Marx graphically demonstrated the need for an advanced theory and independent political party of the working class and developed the doctrine
of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensable condition for the revolutionary transformation of society.

After the Commune Marxism gradually became the prevailing trend in the working-class movement. A new epoch of world history began, the epoch of the extensive spread of Marxism and the establishment of mass socialist labour Parties.

5. At the end of the 19th century, when independent political parties of the working class had already been set up in most of the capitalist countries, the task of organising an international proletarian association again came to the fore. It took the form of the Second International founded in 1889 with the direct participation of Frederick Engels.

After the death of Karl Marx, on March 14, 1883, Frederick Engels continued to be a leader of the international proletariat. He rendered outstanding services in popularising and further developing Marxism. Engels waged a resolute struggle against petty-bourgeois socialist doctrines and attempts to distort and vulgarise Marxism. He came out vigorously both against opportunist conciliating trends and against "revolutionary" phrase-mongers. Upholding the revolutionary essence of Marxism, he saw great danger in the dogmatic understanding of its basic propositions, in the inability of applying it in practice in various conditions. Engels developed and strengthened contacts with leaders of the working-class movement in different countries, constantly helped them with advice, and shared with them his great experience and knowledge.
In the initial period of its existence, the new International, in the main, adhered to the position of Marxism. It facilitated the further consolidation of Marxism and its spread among the broad masses of the fighting proletariat. It promoted the development and strengthening of the trade union, cooperative, women’s, youth and other mass organisations of the working class, and also the use of bourgeois parliamentarism in the interests of the working people.

But after the death of Frederick Engels, and with the advent of the era of imperialism, opportunist trends grew stronger in the activities of the Second International. The opportunism, which prevailed in the leadership of the Second International, ultimately led to its ideological and political degeneration and downfall.

6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels deeply believed in the revolutionary possibilities of Russia. Marx made a thorough study, with the use of originals, of the socio-economic situation in Russia and the alignment of class forces. He highly valued the works of the revolutionary democrats—Nikolai Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov. Marx was acquainted with many Russian revolutionaries and maintained close contact with them. Engels had every right to declare that he had met nobody who knew Russia and its internal and external position as Marx did.

Marx and Engels believed that a Russian revolution would be of the greatest importance for Europe, for victory of proletarian revolutions in the West. Assessing the prospects of the revolutionary movement in Russia, Marx wrote
that it “maybe after long and violent struggles, must ultimately and certainly lead to the establishment of a Russian Commune.” (Selected Correspondence, p. 414). History fully confirmed this scientific foresight of Marx.

7. The further development of Marxism, the growth of its historical role in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, and the unity of the revolutionary forces on the basis of internationalism are linked with the theoretical and practical work of a loyal follower of Marx, a brilliant continuer of his cause and teachings—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Leninism in the new historical era was a live source of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action.

Leninism is a new, highest stage of Marxism, its creative development in new historical conditions, in conditions of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism and communism. The continuity of the theory and practice of proletarian revolutionary struggle was reflected in Leninism. The new things which Lenin introduced into Marxism were based on the essence and the method of the teachings of Marx and Engels. Lenin was irreconcilable in the struggle against bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, who tried to make the revolutionary essence of Marxism insipid on the plea of its improvement, under the guise of overcoming obsolete propositions. But Lenin also resolutely rebelled against a dogmatic attitude towards Marxist theory. A creative approach to the teachings of Marx enabled him to comprehensively develop
and enrich the theory, strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle.

Leninism is a single international teaching. It is a generalisation of the entire experience of the world liberation movement and scientific knowledge accumulated after Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. All the component parts of Marxism—philosophy, political economy, scientific communism—have been developed by Lenin. He enriched and concretised the Marxist theory of revolution; drew the conclusion of the possibility of the victory of socialism, at first in a few or even in one, separately taken country; elaborated the theory of the development of a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, and developed the idea of uniting the proletarian revolution with the national-liberation struggle. An outstanding contribution to the treasury of Marxism was the elaboration by Lenin of an integral and systematic teaching of a proletarian party of a new type. The Bolshevik Party, set up by Lenin, became the first Party of a new type, became its model.

Lenin was a worthy successor to Marx and Engels not only as a great theorist, but also as a great organiser of revolutionary struggle. The leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution and founder of the Soviet State, he was the first to elaborate problems of socialist construction, and guided their translation into life.

The theoretical and practical work of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party facilitated the revolutionary education and unity of the international working class, and the formation of Communist Parties in other countries.
Bolshevism acquired international significance. Lenin wrote that it "has created the ideological and tactical foundations of a Third International, of a really proletarian and Communist International, which will take into consideration both the gains of the tranquil epoch and the experience of the epoch of revolutions, which has begun". (Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 293.)

Founded on Lenin's initiative in 1919, the Third Communist International united the foremost, most revolutionary elements of the working class of the entire world, and greatly helped to spread the ideas of communism among the masses.

The Leninist stage in the development of the revolutionary theory is Marxism of the 20th century, Marxism of the modern epoch. The Leninist stage is not limited to the period of Lenin's life. This stage continues without interruption through the theoretical work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Parties. It is being embodied in the programme directives of the world communist movement.

Highly important achievements of Marxist-Leninist thinking in our time are the definition of the character of the present epoch, the main motive forces and the prospects of the world revolutionary process, the elaboration of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement, the urgent problems of the working-class and national-liberation movements, and the ways and forms of the transition
of different countries to socialism in modern conditions.

On the basis of the generalisation of the vast practical experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the main laws and the motive forces of socialist society have been revealed, and the Marxist-Leninist propositions on the economic and cultural construction of socialist society, on the changes in the class structure and the ways of overcoming class differences, on socialist statehood and democracy, and on the tasks and conditions of the gradual development of socialism into communism have all been developed and concretised.

The further elaboration of revolutionary theory by the collective effort of Marxists is a vital international task of world communism.
II. Victory of Socialism in USSR and Formation of World Socialist System—Great Triumph of Marxism-Leninism

8. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, gained victory under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Socialism which mankind's best minds had been dreaming of for centuries, socialism, which Marx and Engels had turned from a dream into science, turned into the concrete content of the life of millions of working people in the Soviet Union. Implemented and developed in the course of the revolution were the most important ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the ways and forms of the realisation of the revolution, on the strategy and tactics of the proletarian Party and on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The October Revolution showed the great force and viability of the conclusion of the founders of scientific communism about the guiding role of the proletariat and its party in the revolution, the alliance of
the working class and impoverished peasants under the guidance of the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin restored the views of Marx and Engels on the state, views which were distorted by opportunists. He developed and made more concrete the Marxist teaching on the state, on the need for scrapping the old state machine and setting up a new state apparatus. The proletariat uses its political power in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people for overcoming the desperate resistance of the overthrown classes, for defending the gains of the revolution from outer enemies and for organising socialist construction. V. I. Lenin showed the social foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the alliance of the working class with working peasants; he showed that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the highest type of democracy, a democracy for millions of working people.

The October Revolution proved the soundness of the Marxist forecast about the inevitability of mankind's historic transition from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world. Capitalism ceased to be an all-embracing and dominating system. The world split into two opposing systems—the capitalist and the socialist.

9. Lenin creatively developed the Marxist theory on the construction of socialist society. He showed the laws and the main features of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Of world historic significance is Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR, the plan providing for the industrialisation of the coun-
try, for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture and for the realisation of the cultural revolution.

The first most important socio-economic measure of the working class, which comes to power, is the expropriation of the expropriators and the socialist socialisation of the means of production. Taking the place of the production relations based on private property of the means of production, relations which existed for millennia and were for that reason regarded as eternal and inviolable, are socialist relations. In the course of these transformations the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man are abolished, anarchy of production and crises are eradicated, and material prerequisites are created for the establishment of planned management of economy.

Of decisive importance for the victory of the new social system is the setting up of its material and technical basis. In the course of socialist construction in the USSR the industrialisation of the country was carried out in a short historical period and without any outside aid.

For the first time in the history of mankind socialism ensured the solution of the peasant problem. The way pointed out by Marxism-Leninism for strengthening the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the way of co-operation of small producers, organically combines the interests of the peasants with the basic interests of entire society. The Soviet Union's experience shows that the pooling of small peasant holdings and the setting up of state farms helped not only to reorganise agriculture
on the basis of socialism but also to carry out radical changes in all spheres of life in the countryside.

The period of socialism sees the further improvement of socialist production relations, the growth of the role and importance of public property, the development of collective farm and cooperative production and the preparation of conditions for the formation subsequently of single communist property.

An inseparable component part of the construction of socialist society is the cultural revolution. The cultural revolution includes: the general spread of literacy and, subsequently, scientific knowledge among the working people, the critical mastery of the cultural heritage accumulated by mankind and the formation of a higher culture, national in form and socialist in content; the alteration of the spiritual aspect of man, the affirmation of socialist ideology in the consciousness of the masses and the formation of a new intelligentsia loyal to the cause of socialism.

The experience of the Soviet Union and other countries confirmed the soundness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that socialism wins in acute class struggle against the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes, against international imperialism. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against nazi aggression was the biggest military clash of socialism with the crack detachments of imperialism. The victory of the Soviet Union was a vivid demonstration of the viability and advantages of the socialist system and of the unparallelled heroism of the
Soviet people, both at the front and in the rear.

10. Having built socialism, the Soviet people entered a new stage—the stage of construction of communism. The communist phase, Marx pointed out, comes after a long development of socialist society, when, within it, the economic, social and cultural prerequisites of communism mature.

Carrying forward and concretising the precept in the present-day conditions, the CPSU defined in its Programme adopted at the 22nd Party Congress the main tasks of communist construction: the laying of the material and technical basis of communism, the moulding of communist social relations, and the education of a new man. These tasks were thoroughly substantiated and developed in the resolutions of the 23rd Party Congress, of the October 1964 and subsequent Plenary Meetings of the Party’s Central Committee. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, guided by the teaching of Marx and Lenin, works to bring about the most effective use of the economic laws of socialism in the building of a communist society.

At present the main efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet people are concentrated on building up the material and technical basis of communism. The Party plans a further rapid expansion of the productive forces and high rates of economic growth of the country on the basis of progress in science and engineering, mechanisation and automation of production, and raising its economic efficiency.

The Party substantiated the need and the pos-
sibility of raising the technical standard of agricultural production to that of industrial production and overcoming on this basis the essential distinctions between life in town and country, between industrial and agricultural labour.

On the basis of a broad development of public education, the raising of the cultural and technical standards of the working people, and the application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, the essential distinctions between physical and mental labour are gradually being eliminated in the USSR.

A basic part of the programme of communist construction is the plan of further improving the material and cultural life of the working people. The best possible conditions are being created for an all-round development of the individual as the supreme value in the world. Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man—such is a slogan of the Party.

The economic reform, now being carried out in the USSR, increases the possibilities of a scientifically substantiated application of the laws of socialism through a proper and effective combination of centralised administration and local initiative and more intensive use of economic methods of management. It is promoting and improving the production relations of socialism, helping more fully to express the socialist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". The Party is translating into life the Marxist-Leninist idea of raising labour productivity through a proper combination of public and personal interests, of moral and material stimuli of labour.
Owing to profound socio-economic reforms, socialism is creating a new type of society, a society consisting only of working people united by socialist public ownership, by identity of their vital interests. The vestiges of social inequality are being overcome and actual equality of nations and nationalities, of men and women is being effected. All this makes for the socio-political and ideological unity of the people. The working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia have drawn much closer in the economic, socio-political and cultural fields. At the same time the leading role of the working class as the most advanced and organised force of Soviet society is being preserved in socialist society.

In the process of communist construction all spheres of economic and cultural life of the peoples of the USSR are being levelled out more quickly, the socialist nations are drawing closer together and enriching each other, and the common features of their culture, their spiritual makeup are being constantly developed. Alongside this the vital forces and abilities of each nation and nationality are being developed more fully, their economy is growing and their culture is thriving. Educated on the ideas of proletarian internationalism, all nations and nationalities of the USSR are showing an example of all-round cooperation and fraternal mutual assistance in the building of a new society, in the safeguarding of their common homeland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR is becoming ever stronger.
The ideas of Marx and Lenin on socialist statehood and democracy and the promotion of people's government in socialist society are being implemented in the course of socialist construction.

As distinct from bourgeois democracy which serves the interests of the privileged minority, socialism guarantees genuine democracy for the working people, for the people as a whole. On the basis of public ownership of the means of production the socialist system provides practical guarantees for the realisation of the democratic rights of citizens and opens broad vistas for their creative initiative in all spheres of social life. The right to work, education, leisure, maintenance in old age, freedom of speech, the press, assembly and social activities have been realised in practice in the USSR. At the same time the working people of the Soviet Union fulfil with honour their obligations, their duties to the homeland. The broadest masses of the working people are being drawn into running society, the affairs of the state. With the final and complete victory of socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a political organisation of the entire people with the leading role of the working class. The state of the whole people means a further development of socialist statehood on the road to communist self-government.

The role of the Communist Party as the guiding force of Soviet society is rising at the present state of communist construction. Equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU is confidently leading the So-
viet people along the road of communist construction and is successfully fulfilling its role of organiser and political leader of all Soviet people.

In 1967 the Soviet people, all peoples of the world observed the 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. It has been the first half-century of humanity's real history, following a period of pre-history, the first half-century of the communist era.
III. Marxism-Leninism and the World Revolutionary Process of Our Time

11. Marxism-Leninism discloses profoundly the substance and regularities of the present world revolutionary process. The following are the basic forces of this revolutionary process:
— the peoples building socialism and communism;
— the working class of the capitalist countries heading the struggle of the masses against monopoly rule;
— the national-liberation movement of oppressed nations and of the peoples of the developing countries.

Revolutions, which Marx had aptly qualified as the locomotives of history, were and remain to this day the objective law underlying the development of a class-antagonistic society. Each and every revolution undoubtedly has its own specific features resulting from the given historical and national conditions and from the specific features of the alignment and correlation
of class forces. But the road of any nation to socialism passes through the revolutionary breakdown of the capitalist system and of relations of exploitation in general.

Revolution is the cause of all working people and is performed by the people under the leadership of the working class which is the principal motive force of socialist revolution. The guiding nucleus of the working class is the Communist Party which performs the great task of organising the masses and ensuring unity of will and coordination of action.

Lenin proclaimed international solidarity of the working class of all countries with the national-liberation movement to be the immutable law of revolutionary struggle. The present world revolutionary process is developing under the slogan: “Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!”

A most important condition for the victory of the proletariat in the struggle against exploiters is a revolutionary situation which is prepared both by the objective process of the aggravation of political and social contradictions, and by the maturing of subjective factors. Experience has shown that all attempts of the vanguard to act without due consideration to objective and subjective prerequisites for revolution may cause grave damage to the liberation movement of peoples.

The present scope of the class struggle and its content also bear out the profound truth of Marx’s and Lenin’s repeated thesis on the close bonds of the struggle for socialism with the struggle for democracy.
targets are becoming more and more closely interrelated today. The struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism are integral parts of a single process. Mass action for attaining democratic aims extends the sphere of the revolutionary related movement and makes it possible to unite the broadest strata of the population and build up a mighty political force for attack on the forces of reaction and war. Prerequisites are created for the formation of a united militant international anti-imperialist front.

12. The building of communism in the USSR and the consolidation of socialism in the countries of the socialist community are a most important part of the world revolutionary process. Erecting the majestic edifice of communist society, the Soviet people do not only solve their national problems, but also perform their international duty, multiplying the forces and strengthening the basis of the revolutionary liberation movement.

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. Under the impact of the ideas of the October Revolution and of the successes of socialism in the USSR, as a result of the rout of the shock forces of imperialism during World War II, the forces of socialism have gained scope and strength all over the world and the positions of world capitalism have grown weaker. Socialist revolutions triumphed in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The peoples of these countries have embarked upon the road of socialism. A world
socialist system—the creation of the international proletariat and its main gain, its pride and hope—came into being. The world system of socialism proved within less than a quarter of a century of its existence its great superiority over the degenerating system of capitalism in all spheres of human activity. As the socialist system develops and grows stronger, Marxism-Leninism exerts an ever greater influence on world development, changing more and more decisively the conditions and international situation in favour of the forces struggling for the socialist remaking of society and for communism.

Bringing closer the countries progressing along socialist lines and consolidating the unity of the world socialist system—such is the international duty of Communist and Workers' Parties. Marx bequeathed to workers, when they came to power, to work for the "harmonious national and international coordination of social forms of production". (Works, Vol. 17, p. 553, Russ. Ed.)

The fraternal cooperation of socialist countries promotes the most rational utilisation of material resources and development of the productive forces. Being considerably ahead of the capitalist world in the rate of economic development, the socialist system has steadily increased its share of world industrial output, it has substantially weakened the forces of capitalism and undermined the imperialist system of plundering the developing countries. Historical practice has confirmed Lenin's thesis that the socialist movements of advanced work-
ers in all countries and the national-liberation movements rally around socialist republics. Socialist countries are a reliable defender of the young states following the road of social progress. The socialist community is rendering the latter extensive economic, scientific and technical assistance and helping them to train their own national personnel. The relations between socialist countries and newly-independent progressive states are considerably narrowing the sphere of imperialism's economic and political domination, while the ideas of socialism are steadily spreading in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The genuinely peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries directed against the reactionary, aggressive actions of the imperialists, in defence of everything progressive and democratic, in defence of the vital interests of the people, is a serious factor of social progress.

13. The working-class movement in the capitalist countries in the present era has immensely increased. Marx's words that the revival of mankind is in the hands of the working class, that this class comes out against the bourgeoisie as the sun against darkness, acquire militant practical importance.

Intricate and contradictory processes are characteristic of present-day capitalism, and lead to the further deepening of its general crisis. The monopoly bourgeoisie is compelled to resort to state regulation of the economy, to manoeuvres in the economic and social spheres.

The objective trend, established by Lenin, of monopoly capitalism developing into state-
monopoly capitalism, uniting the forces of the monopolies and the bourgeois state into a single mechanism, is of cardinal importance for the struggle of the working people. State-monopoly capitalism operates in the interests of enriching the monopolies, of robbing the working people, of suppressing the working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle, of unleashing aggressive wars, thus aggravating all the contradictions of capitalism. Today the economy of the USA, Britain and a number of other capitalist countries is experiencing serious upheavals, an expression of which in particular is the acute crisis of the monetary-financial system.

The monopoly bourgeoisie seeks to increase to the maximum the rate of surplus value at the expense of intensification of labour, the overstrain of the physical strength and nervous system of hired workers. The workers, in their turn, as Marx pointed out, constantly exert pressure in the opposite direction. "The matter resolves itself into a question of the respective powers of the combatants." (Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 444.)

Under present-day conditions when a world system of socialism exists, when the bourgeoisie's fear of revolutionary actions of the proletariat has increased, and the scope and tension of the class struggle have grown, the working class succeeds in wresting certain concessions from the factory owners.

The successes of world socialism, the deepening of the crisis of capitalism, the development of the democratic movement in capitalist
countries and the strengthening of the influence of Communists have greatly changed the conditions of the class struggle in favour of the working class:
— the struggle of the proletariat in capitalist countries is at present organically linked with the achievements of the world system of socialism;
— under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, when not only individual factory owners and their amalgamations but the bourgeois state itself comes out as the direct opponent of the proletariat in the sphere of economic relations as well, the economic struggle of the working people is directed against this state;
— opportunities for using the democratic rights won by the working class in the capitalist countries for the struggle against the domination of monopolies have increased;
— the general democratic struggle of the workers and of all working people against the power of the monopolies, against the aggressive and reactionary policy of imperialist governments, for democracy and social progress, undermines the position of the imperialist bourgeoisie and makes easier the forming of a wide anti-monopoly front and the victory of socialist revolution;
— objective prerequisites have increased for the transition from capitalism to socialism, the arsenal of the means of the socialist revolution, of the forms and methods for winning power has been enriched;
— ever more new detachments of workers are rallying under the banners of Communist Par-
ties, the prestige of Communists, these genuine leaders of the working class, is growing.

All this marks the beginning of a new period of class struggles in the capitalist countries and exposes the bankruptcy of social-reformist conceptions on the attenuation of the class struggle and the evolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism.

A major requisite for successes of the international working class is the unity and cohesion of its ranks. The undermining of the cohesion of the working class is profitable for imperialist reaction only. The political and ideological servitors of the ruling classes, the right-wing leaders of social-democracy and the trade unions are interested in preserving the split in the working-class movement.

An indispensable condition for the final victory of the international working-class movement is close unity of all its detachments, the consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism. "Only the international alliance of the working class," Marx teaches, "can ensure its final victory." (Works, Vol. 16, p. 336.)

14. The era of the liberation of the peoples from colonial oppression has arrived as a result of the revolutionary victories of the international proletariat, the implementation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The crisis of the colonial system of imperialism started following the victory of the Great October Revolution which in practice carried out the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin on the unity of the socialist revolution with the national-liberation movement. The
successful and just solution of the national question in the USSR on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism gave new impetus to the liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. The victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War, the setting up of a world system of socialism provided a favourable atmosphere for this struggle. Under the pressure of national-liberation revolutions the colonial system of imperialism collapsed. A new detachment of the international proletariat appeared in the world arena—the young working class of the newly-free countries. The national-liberation revolutions are in the main spearheaded against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Imperialism, and US imperialism in the first place, has been and remains the chief enemy of the national-liberation movement. Imperialism strives to keep the young national states in the system of capitalist economy in an unequal position, to hamper and undermine the revolutionary movement of the peoples. The United States is waging a criminal war in Vietnam. The struggle of the Vietnamese people against US aggression is a remarkable example of the heroism, staunchness and courage of a people fighting for freedom and independence. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are giving the Vietnamese people comprehensive assistance in their righteous struggle.

The instigation and support of the Israeli aggression against the Arab states, the United States' armed interference in the home affairs of the countries of the American continent,
South-East Asia and Africa with the aim of suppressing the liberation movement, are also a manifestation of the aggressive policy of imperialism.

True to Marxism-Leninism, the Communist and Workers’ Parties always consistently come out for granting independence to the oppressed nations, for complete abolition of colonialism. The Marxist slogan: “A people oppressing other peoples cannot be free!”, has become a programme demand of the communist movement.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries, all progressive forces of our time work for a complete and final abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism, give utmost support to the young national states in their struggle against imperialism, for complete political and economic independence, come out against imperialists’ interference in the home affairs of young national states.

The developing countries are getting the opportunity of following the road of social progress without having to go through the capitalist stage of development. In many newly-free countries the stress is being switched to tackling tasks of profound socio-economic transformations. The constantly growing striving of the peoples of many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for socialism is the natural outcome of the national-liberation movement. The young revolutionary-democratic parties of national states strengthen their ties with the international communist movement, and some of these parties adopting the positions of socialism
are an authoritative force which leads wide sections of working people.

15. The Communist Parties of today are the militant vanguard of the working class, heading the liberation movements of the working people. The revolutionary process has assumed a truly worldwide scope in recent decades. Lenin's brilliant forecast that the most varied forces and movements will join in one stream in the struggle against imperialism is coming true. The world communist movement is fulfilling a great historic mission, unifying, consolidating and directing towards a common goal all detachments coming out against imperialism. The world communist movement is the politically organised, guiding nucleus of the world revolutionary movement, the most influential political force, the most important factor of social progress. Communist Parties have proved their ability not only to propagate but also to implement the great ideals of scientific communism.

The Marxist-Leninist teaching, which has proved its rightness and viability, is developing, maturing and growing stronger in resolute struggle against its ideological opponents. The bourgeoisie cannot counterpose a single integral concept to Marxism-Leninism. Anti-communism, slander of the socialist system, of the policy and aims of the Communist Parties is the main weapon of reaction in its struggle. But nothing can check the spread of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the masses, nothing can weaken the transforming power of the revolutionary theory. The united forces of imperialist reaction
are unable to hamper the growth of the international communist movement, its successes.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties are the guiding, leading force in the socialist world. They have accumulated a tremendous wealth of experience in directing socialist construction, in applying the general laws of this construction to the concrete conditions of their countries.

Communists, heading the working class in the developed capitalist countries, are steering the movement of wide sections of the people against the arbitrary rule of the capitalist monopolies, the growing exploitation of the working people, against the entire system of state-monopoly capitalism.

In the colonies and young national states the Communists are fighting for complete national liberation, for carrying to the end the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution and for the development of those countries along the non-capitalist road.

In the countries that have embarked upon the non-capitalist road of development, the Communists are actively cooperating with the democratic parties expressing the interests of the broad strata of working people and of the progressive part of the national bourgeoisie. In the countries that have fallen under the influence of foreign capital the working class, headed by the Communists, together with other democratic forces, is struggling against imperialist domination and those ruling groupings that are betraying the interests of the nations.

The international solidarity of the working class and its communist vanguard is a vital con-
dition and a most important factor for the development of the world revolutionary process. That is what Marx, Engels and Lenin always said. The world communist movement is faithfully fulfilling these behests. The undermining of the international unity of the Communists is a grave crime against the world working class. Guided by great-power chauvinism under the guise of "leftist" phraseology, the Mao Tse-tung group is trampling underfoot the principles of internationalism, coming out against the Marxist-Leninist Parties, carrying on splitting activity in the world communist movement. Marxists-Leninists are resolutely opposing the attempts of the Peking leaders to replace scientific communism by the anti-Marxist "ideas of Mao Tse-tung".

The strength of the Communist and Workers' Parties lies in their fidelity to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The defence of the purity of the revolutionary theory, the struggle against anti-Marxist views—such is the vital ideological task of the Communist Parties.

Communists the world over are united by the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the joint struggle for the triumph of its ideas. The Communist and Workers' Parties proceed from the conclusions and appraisals they worked out together at their conferences, pertaining to the common tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The recent Consultative Meeting of 66 Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest found it necessary to call a new international Confer-
ence of Communist and Workers' Parties in November-December 1968. The aim of the Conference is to strengthen the unity of the communist movement, to help bring all the forces of socialism and democracy together in the struggle against imperialism, for national and social liberation of the peoples, for world peace.

Fidelity to proletarian internationalism is a law of the Marxist-Leninist communist movement.

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Being the highest achievement of world social thought, Marxism-Leninism is of a critical, revolutionary and profoundly creative character. It is not a dogma, not a code of rigid propositions, but a guide to action. The continuous enrichment of the revolutionary theory, the abandonment of outdated theses and the advancement of new ones, corresponding to the changing reality—such is the vital feature of Marxism.

The idea of development permeates the entire teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin. This teaching is a genuinely scientific theory and a true method of studying and transforming live and developing reality.

In the course of more than 100 years historical development has been following the road foretold by the Marxist theory. At every turning point of history Marxism won ever new victories.
The truth of life is on Marxism's side, and it will go on winning victories and bringing nearer the time of the full triumph of communism on our planet.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
«Тезисы к 150-летию со дня рождения Карла Маркаса»
на английском языке
Цена 5 коп.