

Scientific Method and the Guide to Recognize and Transform the World

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Abstract: Focusing on *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* and *Selected Monographic Works of Lenin*, this paper mainly expounds five issues as follows: giving emphasis to acting as a revolutionist and constructor like Marx and Lenin, clarifying that the two selected works are the scientific tool of recognition, and discussing on that Workers and Oppressed People in the World Unite, that socialism means abolition of classes and exploitation, and that the Communist Party is the leader and organizer of the class.

Keywords: Marxism-Leninism, Proletarian Party, International Communist Movement, Proletariat, Abolition of Exploitation and Class

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The publication of *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* and *Selected Monographic Works of Lenin* is a gratifying and memorable event of the ideological and cultural circles in China. In the 1980s and 1990s, the international communist movement experienced a serious frustration and the spread of Marxism-Leninism in the world suffered unprecedented pressure. In such an international situation, the Communist Party of China launched and completed the edit and publication of the two large-scale Marxist-Leninist works, which was a substantial effort to disseminate and develop Marxism-Leninism and promote the recovery of the international communist movement which receded to the low ebb.

In the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China in 1954, Mao Zedong, in his opening remarks, solemnly pointed out to the Chinese people and the whole world that "the theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism".¹ It not only specifies the relationship between Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought guiding the thinking of the Communist Party of China, but also clarifies the relationship between Marxism-Leninism and the theoretical system of socialism adapted to Chinese conditions which serves as the guiding ideology of the contemporary Chinese socialist construction. It is undoubtedly of vital importance for us to scientifically understand Marxism-Leninism either in the wartime of the New Democratic Revolutionary or during the contemporary socialist revolution and construction in China. Obviously, if we fail to know or understand the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our Party and the state, we will neither understand nor apply and develop it scientifically.

The works of Marxism-Leninism come in a big number. Which articles and works should we read first in order to study the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, views and methods? The edit and publication of *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* and *Selected Monographic Works of Lenin* adds two more texts for Chinese people and Chinese theoretical researchers to deeply study and research Marxism-Leninism, and the two works are one more achievement of their study and research of Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese Marxists have to conduct the constant inheriting and opening-up exploration in integrating the history and experience

¹ Mao Zedong, *Strive to build a Great Socialist Country. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 6*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1999:350

of their predecessors in the study of Marxism-Leninism, continuously reading and grasping Marxism-Leninism, and answering new questions and solving new problems that constantly emerge in practice.

§ I Acting as a Revolutionist and Constructor like Marx and Lenin

“For Marx was in the first place a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival... And, consequently, Marx was the best-hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. The bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when compelled by extreme necessity. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow-workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.”¹ It can be said that the speech of Engels at the graveside of Marx is the comment on the lifetime cause, activities and ideas of not only Marx, but those proletarian revolutionary fighters like Lenin. To study and grasp Marxism-Leninism, we should do as men like them; only in this way can we learn Marxism-Leninism well.

In more than 100 years after the birth of Marxism-Leninism, people in many countries and from different social camps have repeatedly pondered on and debated about it, and a large number of popular thinkers from both within and outside the Marxist camp have again and again declared it obsolete or dead. However, every declaration that Marxism-Leninism is obsolete or dead seems just to proclaim that it is still vigorously existing and persistently struggling. Nothing can more intensively and more vividly reflect its flourishing vitality, its tremendous

¹ Engels. *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 3.* Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 602-603

impact through time and space and its profound significance in practice than these repeated assaults and negations from the anti-Marxism and non-Marxism camps. Nothing can more clearly indicate that some people need Marxism-Leninism and some others fear it than the fact that it has repeatedly aroused controversies. The attitude towards Marxism-Leninism can be used to identify and distinguish the two classes and the two camps that coexist and antagonize each other in the world, that is, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and socialism and capitalism.

After the drastic changes of the former Soviet Union and East Europe, the argument that Marxism-Leninism had been obsolete and that it had been bankrupt became popular once again in the Western ideological circles. However, no more than ten years later, when the financial crisis broke out in the United States in 2008, which further triggered the global economic crisis, the Western ideological circles had to attach importance to the classic writers' works of Marxism, especially Marx's *Capital*; they had to admit that the theories and the scientific prediction of Marx are of actual enlightenment and guiding significance to the analyses of the current crisis. Dramatically once again, the argument that Marxism revives has prevailed in the Western world which repeatedly proclaimed that it had been obsolete. Why can Marxism revive in the West? The reason lies in that as the revolutionary and constructive doctrine, Marxism is a scientific world outlook and methodology with great functions of recognition and practice (transformation). Its eternal theme about "human liberation" which has usually been talked about makes its revival a historical necessity. When studying these two selected works, we cannot lose sight of a series of far-reaching historical events after the birth of Marxism-Leninism, nor can we ignore the new changes and progress in the course of the world history. Currently, we especially need to study the two selected works which are the reflection of the essence of Marxism-Leninism so as to improve our capacity to apply Marxism-Leninism in the profound observation and scientific analysis of the current financial and economic crisis in the West and the new development direction of the world.

Where shall we take a start to recognize Marxism-Leninism in the study of it? Marx once said: "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that

would-be universal reformer.”¹ Engels openly stated that Marxism never prepared for the Communists a “ready-made plan that will get things done once and for ever. Our view about the nature of the future non-capitalist society different from the modern society is the exact conclusion drawn from the historical facts and the development process. Any interpretation without integrating these facts and process will have no theoretical and actual value.”² Marxism, the theoretical essence of the proletarian revolution and construction, is not the fantasies of Marx and Engels sitting in their offices, but the recording and summary of their active revolutionary activities as well as “the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement” they engaged themselves in; this theoretical task is the historical condition for the in-depth investigation of the historical mission of the modern proletariat—the liberation of all humanity and the world—and the nature of the cause, “to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish”³. Leninism is by all means the same.

“The Marxian doctrine, which directly serves to enlighten and organize the advanced class in modern society, indicates the tasks facing this class and demonstrates the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order—no wonder that this doctrine has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life.”⁴ What is acquired through the fight can only be understood and applied in the fight. We should understand and grasp how Marx and Lenin consider and solve problems through their social activities. Should we, divorced from their social activities, make simple or academic interpretation in ideology or in text, we would be farther away from Marxism-Leninism.

In the history of Chinese people studying Marxism-Leninism, an argument has often been heard even today to blame that mistakes are made owing to the

1 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 44

2 Engels. *To Edward Pease. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 10*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 548

3 Engels. *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 567

4 Lenin. *Marxism and Revisionism. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 148

insufficient theoretical preparation. Such an argument is unscientific because it cannot answer such questioning as what the so-called “theoretical preparation” is, how to make the preparation? To what extent the preparation is made enough? Has there been any case of “prepared theory” in the history of the revolutionary struggle? Can those who put forward this argument prepare the necessary theories in the future? Obviously they can not because it violates the common sense of life and of history. Mao Zedong criticizes this situation: “A Communist Party’s correct and unswerving tactics of struggle can in no circumstances be created by a few people sitting in an office; they emerge in the course of mass struggle, that is, through actual experience.”¹ Such recognition scientifically answers the question where the revolutionary theories of Marxism come from and shows how they are “prepared” . The theory emerges through the practice, and the significance of the theory is to answer questions put forward in the practice. The combination between theory and practice serves as the source of life for Marxism and gives an impetus to its development. Therefore, the founders of Marxism have repeatedly affirmed that the theoretical principles of Communists “express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes” ; “The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing”² . Do not “treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way, as something which has got to be learnt off by heart but which will then supply all needs without more ado” . Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action.³

The socialist and communist revolution and construction have not been completed in China and in the world. On the contrary, we have a long way to go. Undoubtedly, if we fail to “contribute to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat” in our lifetime as Marx and Lenin did, and if we study and research Marxism-Leninism just in our office divorced from the

1 Mao Zedong. *Oppose Book Worship. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 1*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991:115

2 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 45, 5

3 Engels. *To Friedrich Adolph Sorge. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 10*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 557

revolutionary struggle of the proletariat replacing capitalism and from the actual socialist revolution and construction predominated by the masses of the people, then Marxism-Leninism will become a lifeless antique. More seriously, we may go to its opposite.

§ II Scientific Tool of Recognition

In order to get rid of the endless exploitation and oppression as well as varieties of sufferings, men, through a thousand years of hardships, have never stopped their pursuit of “Utopia” or “Stateless World” . However, all the researches made by modern capitalist economists and the great utopian socialist critics are only the grope in the dark, and they have never found an effective way to an ideal society. Before the birth of Marxism, the best treatment to the proletariat was no more than being regarded as the piteous and most suffering class by capitalist scholars and utopian socialism critics. Or they were taken as the poor people in need of charities and assistance from some social philanthropists. The perseverant cooperationist reformers like the British Owenites established the new social experimental zones such as the Rational Community, the Harmony Society and the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers for the purpose of eliminating poverty of the workers caused by the irrational production system (in their views), but they eventually failed to find the way for the proletariat to quickly get out of dilemma. The reason is that they neither fully clarified the nature of the wage-slavery under the capitalist system, not fully discovered the law of the capitalist development and the social forces of the new society creators.

Marxism has achieved a complete revolution in the field of human thought. Having inherited and developed the materialism, Marxism extends its recognition of the nature to include understanding of the human society, and thus thoroughly implements the materialism. The historical materialism that they discovered and created, as one of the greatest achievements in the scientific thought, is a very complete and rigorous scientific theory that replaces the disordered and arbitrary theories dominant in the historical and political outlook in the past. The historical materialism reveals and clarifies a simple fact which has been concealed in miscellaneous ideologies, that is, people must feed, drink, shelter and clothe

themselves before they engage themselves in politics, science, art, religion, etc.; therefore, the production of the direct material means of subsistence at each historical stage constitutes the social basis at this stage. People's views of state institutions and the law as well as the concepts of the arts and religion develop from this basis, and they must be interpreted by this basis. With the historical materialist way of thinking, Marx and Engels have researched all of the human history and people's social lives, found the surplus-value hidden in the commodity production, revealed the secret of the capital exploitation of labor, and thus discovered the modern capitalist mode of production and the movement law of the capitalist society it has brought into being, and illuminated, since the breakup of the primeval communal ownership of land, "all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between the exploited and the exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social evolution; that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class (the bourgeoisie) which exploits and oppresses it, without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression, class struggles"¹.

In 1872, the first year after the failure of the Paris Commune, Marx, facing the powerful capitalist world where the capital defeated the labor, republished *Capital, Volume I*, declaring in public that *Capital* represents the relentless critiques of a class to the capital. "It can only represent the class whose historic mission is the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the final abolition of all classes — the proletariat."² With the standpoint of the proletariat, Marx and Engels found from a fact hidden in the capitalist social lives a development trend any force is unable to stop, that is, "the proletariat is not only a suffering class; that it is, in fact, the disgraceful economic condition of the proletariat that drives it irresistibly forward and compels it to fight for its ultimate emancipation. And the fighting proletariat will help itself. The political movement of the working class will inevitably lead the workers to realize that their only salvation lies in socialism. On the other hand, socialism will become a force only when it becomes the aim

1 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 9

2 Marx. *Capital. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 5*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 18

of the political struggle of the working class.”¹ Therefore, when many dreamers, some of them geniuses, who turned away from the proletarian movements and thought that it was only necessary to convince the rulers and the governing classes of the injustice of the contemporary social order, and it would then be easy to establish peace, harmony, freedom, democracy, equality, justice and well-being on earth, and when they dreamt of socialism without struggle, it was Marx and Engels who pointed out that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organizes the proletariat. It is not the well-meaning efforts or the charitable acts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organized proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. Socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the motive power, ultimate goal and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of the rule and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and of class domination—private property and anarchic social production—disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction of private property, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organized workers must be directed against it.² The destruction of private property and its concept is the essential difference between the communist movement emphasized in *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other social movements.

The historical materialism and the surplus-value theory are the two epoch-making historical contributions Marx and Engels made to humanity. Marx’s philosophical materialism has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which it has hitherto languished for the deception of the capitalist and Marx’s economic theory has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism³, which “taught the working class to know itself and

1 Lenin. *Friedrich Engels. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 55

2 Lenin. *Friedrich Engels. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 52

3 Lenin. *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 71

be conscious of itself, and they substituted fantasy with science'¹.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical basis guiding all the thinking of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China while the complete world outlook of materialist philosophy made up of the dialectical materialism and the historical materialism is the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, the grasp of which is essential and indispensable to the command of Marxism-Leninism.

In the 1960s, Mao Zedong, in an academic material published by the Central Propaganda Department, made such a remark as: "We will not succeed in our work if we are not concerned with philosophy."²—It was the first time in the history of Marxist ideas that the concern for philosophy, the improvement of philosophical thinking and analysis and the success of the Communists' cause were combined. Mao Zedong made such an argument and declared it to the whole party, which was by no means to make a fuss, but spread the experience and lessons drawn from the historical practice of the international communist movement and the Chinese revolution.

The Second International socialist movement started in the 1880s went bankrupt in the early 20th century after the climax in the 1890s. This historical result started from the Second International Theorists, led by the German Social Democratic Party, tampering and betraying the philosophical materialism of Marxism. After the death of Engels, the bourgeois thinkers made a wide range of attacks on the Marxist philosophy. At that time, bourgeois professors, represented by Bartel and Simmel, publicly opposed the historical materialism, and they belittled and distorted the Marxist ideas of historical materialism in terms of the determining relationship of social existence on social consciousness, the law of the society, the role of the masses of the people and the individual in history, the nature of various forms of social awareness (art and religion) and their interactions, and the relative independence of the ideological development. These public opponents of Marxism in the debate were supported by the revisionists of the Second International who totally accepted the idealist world outlook,

1 Lenin. *Friedrich Engels. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 53

2 Mao Zedong. *Remark on Two Academic Materials. Scripts of Mao Zedong since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, Volume 11*. Beijing: Central Party Literature Press, 1996: 148

vulgar evolutionism and “critical” historical materialism of these enemies. The revisionism tied itself in the chariot of the idealism in an attempt to “reconcile” any kind of idealist doctrine with Marxism. A number of Second International theorists, represented by Bernstein, appealed for people to go back to Kant, claiming that Marxism should reconcile itself with the Kantianism and the “social Darwinism” , and integrate with the New Kantianism and Machism.

Lenin made a heated debate with the Second International theorists, mercilessly exposing and criticizing them: “In the sphere of philosophy revisionism followed in the wake of bourgeois professorial ‘science’ .”¹ The philosophical front is one of the battlefields of Bolshevik led by Lenin fiercely struggling against the Second International opportunism. It was in this struggle to criticize the idealist philosophy of bourgeoisie and to defend the materialist philosophy of Marxism that Lenin wrote philosophical works such as *Marxism and Revisionism* and *Materialism and Empirio-criticism* which eliminated the contamination of bourgeois idealist philosophy and defended the theoretic basis of the Marxist troops in Russia. In contrast, “Inside the Second International, the attack of revisionism against Marxist theory often encountered no significant resistance. The revolutionary Marxists—LaForge, William Liebknecht, Merlin and others—underestimated the danger of the revisionist trend, in particular the struggle of Bernstein against Marxist materialism. LaForge thought of Bernstein’s ‘critique’ of Marxism as the result of the ‘intellectual over-fatigue’ . William Liebknecht said Bernsteinism was the process of the intellectual development, which could be ignored. According to Merlin, revisionism was by no means generated by the social and historical conditions in the development of the proletariat movement. ‘Except for the mood of the revisionism, there has never been revisionism in Germany.’ ”² Their narrow philosophical vision and low ideological level would inevitably result in the failure of the revolutionary Marxists within the Second International when the revisionist trend of thought spread without restriction. The bankruptcy of the Second International is a typical case of what Mao Zedong says “we will not succeed in our work if we are not concerned with philosophy” . Chinese Marxists, in the study of Marxism-Leninism, should repeatedly consider

¹ Lenin. *Marxism and Revisionism. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 150

² *Selected philosophical works of Plekhanov, Volume 2*. Beijing: Joint Publishing, 1962: 5

the historical practice and learn the historical experience of the sharp struggle of Lenin against the Second International revisionism in the battlefield of philosophy.

Having studied and inherited the Leninist fighting style and intellectual heritage in defense of the theoretical basis of Marxism, the Chinese communists, represented by Mao Zedong, have taken the inculcation and popularization of the world outlook of Marxism within the Communist Party of China as an important and non-neglectable aspect of the Party construction. As early as in the pioneering period of the revolutionary war in the early 1930s, Mao Zedong, to prevent the encroachment of dogmatism to the construction of the revolutionary bases, wrote an article *Oppose Book Worship*, pointedly putting forward that “we must wipe out idealism and guard against all opportunist and Putschist errors before we succeed in winning over the masses of the people and defeating the enemy. The only way to wipe out idealism is to make efforts to investigate the actual situation” , and shouting out the slogan “no investigation, no right to speak” .¹ Shortly before the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japan, Mao Zedong meticulously wrote *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, laying the cornerstone of philosophical theory for the ideological transformation and the formulation of new strategies of the whole Party.

Lenin and Mao Zedong share one common characteristic: attaching importance to the study of the Marxist methods. Lenin stressed that “the Marxists only borrow from Marx’ s theory its invaluable methods, without which an elucidation of social relations is impossible” .² In the years of arduous struggle when Mao Zedong led the revolution and construction of the CPC, he attached special importance to CPC’ s innovation and construction in thinking and working methods. He personally formulated *Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Working Methods* which was adopted following discussion, which was the first and the only one decision on methods in the history of the CPC; he wrote countless methodological works in terms of politics, economy, society and military affairs

1 Mao Zedong. *Oppose Book Worship. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 1*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991:112, 109

2 Lenin. *Excerpts of Important Remarks. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin: On Marxism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 300

such as *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, *How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas*, *Be Concerned with the Well Being of the Masses*, *Pay attention to Work Methods*, *Strategic Issues in China's Revolutionary War*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership*, *Work Methods of Party Committees*, *Sixty Articles Concerning Work Methods*, etc. Mao Zedong was fully aware that the method is not a small issue, especially in the sphere of philosophy, because the method is the soul of each philosophical system and it is of decisive significance in every serious system.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Mao Zedong put the task of promoting the study of the Marxist philosophy by the whole CPC and all people in the country to a more important position, the position of socialist construction and development. In 1955, when the full-scale socialist revolution and construction started, Mao Zedong, clearly putting forward the issue to establish a common language among the whole Party and the people of the whole country in the National Conference of the CPC, sharply pointed out: "I therefore recommend that you comrades read philosophy. Quite a few people are not interested in philosophy and have not cultivated the habit of reading it. They can begin by reading pamphlets or short articles and, after their interest is thus aroused, tackle books running to a length of seventy thousand or eighty thousand and then even several hundred thousand characters. Marxism consists of several branches of learning: Marxist philosophy, Marxist economics and Marxist socialism or the theory of class struggle, but the foundation is Marxist philosophy. If this is not grasped, we will not have a common language or any common method, and we may keep on arguing back and forth without making things any clearer. Once dialectical materialism is grasped, a lot of trouble will be saved and many mistakes avoided." Mao called on the whole Party: "We must draw up a plan for the formation of such a contingent with several million people taking up the study of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the theoretical basis of Marxism, and combating all shades of idealism and mechanical materialism. At present there are many cadres doing theoretical work, but there is still no contingent of theoretical workers, much less a powerful one. Without such a contingent, the cause of the entire Party, the socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of our country, the modernization of our national defense and our

research in atomic energy cannot move along or succeed.”¹

Philosophy, as the cornerstone of the formation and development of a nation's thought, is the direct manifestation of the nation's theoretical thinking ability. The history of human thought shows that philosophy is the provision and pusher to turn the people from passive spirit into the active one and that a nation without the advanced philosophy is a nation without the future. Lenin, based on his command and application of thinking methods of the Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, continued to develop the field where these thinking methods could be scientifically applied. He created Leninism, achieved the great victory of the October Revolution, and ushered in the new era of the development of human history. The history that China was reduced to a semi-colony is the history that Chinese philosophical thoughts and ability decayed. With its impressive glories and brilliance, China was a nation with no shortage of philosophy. However, by the early 20th century, it had been “hard to save the Tang Dynasty with the power of a single man”, and “tears of the aged shed before the battle drums and horns”². The country was poor and weak, and the nation was endangered, so the Chinese realm of thought had no choice but to shout “Down with Confucius” and rose up to dig their “ancestral graves”. At that time, the Chinese philosophy, represented by those who advocated the worship of Confucius, the study of the Confucian canon and the old ethical code, was no longer the match of the Western capitalism. It was unable to lead the Chinese people to move along; on the contrary, it “formed a reactionary cultural alliance against China's new culture”³ in opposition to the new ideas and new culture. The world history has repeatedly shown that in the era of imperialist expansion and hegemony, the rise and fall of the philosophy shares weal and woe with that of the nation. The experience of Leninism in the Soviet Union is also the history of the rise and fall of the Soviet Union. The tragic realities of Yugoslavia and other East European countries are all the footnotes to the history of the honor and disgrace of philosophy.

1 Mao Zedong. *Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist party of China. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 6*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1999:112, 396

2 Yan Suicheng (Qing Dynasty). *Sanchui Ridge*. Reprinted from *Scripts of Mao Zedong since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, Volume 102*. Beijing: Central Party's Literature House, 1996:225

3 Mao Zedong. *On New Democracy. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1991:695

The histories of Marxist development and Marxist theories reveal such an ideological phenomenon that in the construction and innovation of theoretical ideas, a writer knowing no dialectics and having no mind of a philosopher can hardly manage to write good economic works. Marx could write *Capital* and Lenin could write *Imperialism* because they were also philosophers with the mind of a philosopher and the weapon of dialectics. Only the innovation in methods is the sign of the generation and development of a philosophy or a philosophical system. The perfect philosophical materialist world outlook of Marxism is a great tool of recognition. Marx gave this great tool of recognition to humanity, especially the proletariat, showing them the way to get rid of spiritual slavery that all the oppressed classes have so far suffered. Marxism-Leninism is the great tool of recognition for humanity, the ideological telescope and microscope for the proletariat to observe and transform the world.

§ III On “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!”

Anyone who has carefully read *Manifesto of the Communist Party* will not forget its last sentence “Working Men of All Countries, Unite” . Marx, Engels and the comrades of the Communist League in 1848 “proclaimed these words to the world on the eve of the first Paris Revolution in which the proletariat came out with the demands of its own” ¹. Sixteen years later when the International Working Men's Association, the First International, led by Marx was established in London, Britain, Marx personally drafted the *Inaugural Address of the International Workers Association*, of which the last sentence was still “Working Men of All Countries, Unite” , the words he proclaimed first in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Since then, when all proletarian revolutionists who firmly believe in Marxism publish their works, from Marx and Engels to Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, and Deng Xiaoping, they solemnly print the slogan of “Working Men of All Countries, Unite” on the first page of their works. This prescriptive act has become a tradition of the Marxist revolutionists and a badge publicly declaring their identities and beliefs. This slogan is a part of the quintessence of Marxism, best showing the essence of Marxism and its uncompromising revolutionary character.

¹ Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 21

The proletariat, confronted with the strong capital, has no other alternatives but to unite to fight together against the capital so as to completely change its social position of being exploited, oppressed and enslaved by the capital. Such consciousness of the proletariat is entirely attributable to Marx and Engels, and to Marxism.

In the 20th century, the European non-monopoly capitalism developed into the monopoly capitalism, which more publicly resorted to military force for hegemony of the world. Lenin, using the telescope and microscope of Marxism, intensively re-examined and analyzed the world and various nations dramatically disintegrated by the struggle of the monopoly capitalists for hegemony, and hence found that the uneven economic and political development of all the countries has become a universal phenomenon and an absolute development law of capitalism. He made sure that the world had been come into the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Breaking through numerous barriers set by the Second International revisionists on Marxism, he put forward the argument that “the victory of socialism is possible first in several capitalism countries or even in one capitalist country alone”¹.

We are not going to discuss the multi-faceted significance of the epoch-making October Revolution in the history of mankind. As for the study of Marxism-Leninism, one of the most important and successful experience is that Lenin, adhering to Marx's slogan and program of “Working Men of All Countries, Unite”, enriched and developed it into “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” This great programmatic slogan is one of the most important and most vivid characteristics of Leninism and the era of the proletarian socialist revolution initiated by the October Revolution.

The Chinese people and the Chinese communists have always felt particularly genial to the slogan of “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” It was Lenin who sent this call and mobilization to the East and illuminated with the brilliance of October Revolution the Chinese nation who suffered wrongs and insults from the imperialist powers. The enlightened thoughtful Chinese people, now with dignity and bravery, re-planned the future

¹ Lenin. *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Socialism.* Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 4

of the nation. The Communist Party of China is the direct product of this great slogan that was proclaimed by Lenin and shocked the contemporary world.

The two slogans, “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” and “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” represent different revolutionary eras, showing the expansion of the revolutionary scope and force and the deepening of the revolutionary contents and theme.

Marx and Engels proclaimed “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” in 1848 when European bourgeois revolution would soon move toward its later stage. This call was proclaimed through the Communist League, for one thing, to unite and organize the disintegrated proletariats of European countries; for another, to emancipate and separate the organized proletariat from the bourgeois revolutionary movement led by the bourgeoisie and influenced by the bourgeois ideology for a long time so as to enable the proletariat to unite with the still revolutionary bourgeoisie as an independent political power and thoroughly conduct the anti-feudal bourgeois revolution. Only in this way can the proletariat enjoy the fruits of victory of the bourgeois revolution for which they fight dauntlessly, and when it succeeds, they can immediately develop the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution of the proletariat, and thus achieve its own emancipation. Obviously, it was a very difficult task when the proletarian revolution was just under way and mixed with the bourgeois revolutionary movement. The slogan of “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” is a direct reflection that the proletarian revolutionary movement in 19th century just took place in Europe and that Marx and Engels formulated the corresponding strategy and tactics. Marx and Engels, on the one hand, took an active part in the revolutionary movement in the continental Europe; on the other hand, had to use more energy to study, formulate and create ideological system and theoretical program for the proletarian revolution so as to enlighten and educate the young proletariat. The latter was more urgently needed by the tender proletariat and its revolutionary movement at that time. The research and writing of *Capital* profoundly shows that it was determined by the history that the task they completed in their limited lifetime was to lay the foundations of ideological theories and organizational institutions for the subsequent proletarian revolutionary movement.

Different from the 19th century, the time of Lenin saw both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat undergo tremendous changes. To the early 20th century, the European non-monopoly capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism, which completely lost its anti-feudal revolutionary nature at its early stage and became the ruthless imperialism. The European proletarian movement, having experienced decades of tempering under the First International and the Second International, has formed organized revolutionary parties in European countries. The mature and flexible ideological program and the tight and vigorous organizational institutions were first reflected in Bolshevism of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party led by Lenin. In 1917, shortly after the success of the bourgeois February Revolution, Lenin immediately led the Bolsheviks to be the first to “cast off the ‘dear old’ soiled shirt” and determined to call themselves Communist Party instead of Social Democratic Party¹ so as to make a fresh start and completely broke with the social-democracy of the Second International. At the same time, Lenin, firmly grasping the opportunity of the First World War where the imperialists fought and injured each other, changed the international war into the civil revolution and successfully made the February Bourgeois Revolution evolve into the October Socialist Revolution of the proletariat. Sticking to and applying the Marxist idea and method of permanent revolution, Lenin established the Communist International, the most extensive revolutionary united front. Without a stop, he opened up the battlefield of the proletarian revolution around the world and systematically extended the revolution to the colonial and semi-colonial countries so as to expand the victory of the October Revolution and defend and expand through the development of the October Revolution its direct achievement—the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin is indeed a revolution master who can maximize the development of revolution and the expansion of the revolutionary achievements.

Through the October Revolution, Lenin led the Soviet Russia and the Communist International, on the basis of sticking to the slogan of “Working Men of All Countries, Unite!” , to proclaim to the world the call and mobilization of “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” which tremendously

¹ Lenin. *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution. Selected Works of Lenin, Volume 3*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995: 68

inspired and mobilized the courage and strength of the oppressed nations and people in the world to fight for their own emancipation. Deeply imprinted with the brand of the times, this slogan eloquently and brilliantly embodies the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution which best represents Leninism. The wisdom of this programmatic slogan lies in that it firmly grasps the most important and most fundamental economic facts and characteristics in the era of monopoly capitalism and imperialism: “the prosperity of the exploiters belonging to a few chosen nations [was built] on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, in the colonies in general, and in the small countries”¹; “the whole world... (is) divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces.”² It was this basic fact and the contrast of the class forces it reflected that determined the proletarian revolutions in various countries should adopt the strategy and tactics totally different from the past ages, and that the specific and feasible revolutionary policies should be formulated based on this fact. Under Lenin’s leadership and inspiration, the Communist International and the communist parties rapidly adjusted their principles and policies to support the bourgeois-democratic movement in backward countries, and first changed, in concept and in name, the “bourgeois-democratic” movement into the national revolutionary movement³. The re-definition of the bourgeois national revolutionary movement in backward countries, especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries has very important significance in practice and theory.

The slogan of “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” is a part of the quintessence of Leninism, including the Leninist significant development of Marxist theories of proletarian revolution, especially the theories on the issue of peasants. First in practice it directly influenced, initiated and set off the magnificent national emancipation movement in the world, which in itself was a particularly significant contribution to the proletarian revolutionary movement and the emancipation of human society. Lenin clearly saw “the overwhelming

1 Lenin. *How to Organize Competition? . Selected Works of Lenin, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995: 387

2 Lenin. *Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Capitalism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 278

3 Lenin. *Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Capitalism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 278

masses of the population in the backward countries consist of peasants”¹, and the main body and substance of the national emancipation movement should be the peasant movement led by the proletariat. Therefore, Lenin attached great importance to the fact that peasants were exploited and oppressed aspect of the peasant, explored and enhanced peasant’s long-neglected and-repressed revolutionary potential and infinite strength, and regarded the peasants as the firm ally of the proletarian revolution. In this way, the peasant movement which used to be attached to the bourgeois for a long time was admitted to the proletarian revolutionary movement, which proved that the proletariat could lead the bourgeois revolutionary movement with the peasant as the main body. Since then, this bourgeois national democratic revolutionary movement “is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.”² The great slogan of “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” directly reflects that the exploited and oppressed peasants have become an main body of the revolution on equal footing with other revolutionary segments and an extremely important and colossal revolutionary force in the proletarian revolutionary movement so that a consolidated proletariat-peasant alliance can be formed in the socialist revolution and construction. It was because Lenin really regarded the peasants as an extremely important and colossal revolutionary force of the proletariat and relied on them that finally not only in theory but also in practice solved the question that Engels “seems to realize” and that the whole First International and Second International, including Marx and Engels “have not got the right leverage” to “bring the peasant under their influence”.³

It is shown in history that the close combination and the mutual support between the proletarian revolutionary movement and national liberation

1 Lenin. *Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Capitalism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 278

2 Mao Zedong. *On New Democracy. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 2*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991:668

3 Engels. *The Peasant Question in France and Germany. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 4*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 523

movement under the leadership and influence of Leninism have opened up the widest range of battlefields to attack and weaken the imperialism. Such a national liberation movement, an enormous power to support the socialist Soviet Union in the imperialist encirclement in the first half of the 20th century, also provided the strategic space with unparalleled depth for the survival and development of the socialist Soviet Union to maneuver among various states. Lenin put forward the new doctrine on the theory of peasant question: “If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among backward peoples, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal—in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants’ Soviets and strive to adapt them to the pre-capitalist conditions, but the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.”¹ This new doctrine advances the socialist theory of Marxism energetically.

Undoubtedly, Leninism has both in theory and in practice solved the question of the relationship between the proletarian revolution and the bourgeois revolution and realized the connection and transition between the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian socialist revolution. Leninism is a powerful ideological weapon for the people in colonies and semi-colonies to achieve their own liberation, especially in Russia and China, where the assumption of Engels has been realized that efforts should be made to prevent the peasant from being actually reduced to the proletariat, and the social transformation will be faster and easier if we can win over a bigger population of the peasant when they are still the peasant. It was through the stage of Leninism that the Marxist and the Leninist theories on the peasant issue were carried forward in China, the land with a vast population of peasants, and developed into a mature system in the practice

¹ Lenin. *Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Capitalism*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 281

of Chinese revolution and construction by Mao Zedong, The system is now spreading and applied among the vast areas of the Third World.

The Leninist call and idea of “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite!” still has very important practical significance in the contemporary world in the 21st century. Because the world economic situation and political pattern— “the whole world……(is) divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces” —which the great slogan reflects and rests on have not changed fundamentally. Therefore, there is no doubt that to uphold and implement this programmatic slogan and its strategy and tactics is the obligatory task of all the real contemporary political parties of Marxism and Marxists.

§ VI On That Socialism Means Abolition of Classes and Exploitation

For what do “Working Men of All Countries, Unite” and “Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite” ? They unite to eliminate capitalism and establish socialism. In the 1840s when the scientific socialism was generated, communism was socialism for Marx. Then what is socialism? This used to be very clear but it became indistinct in the contemporary time because the collapse of Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union made the international communist movement recede to the low ebb. We are engaged in the cause of socialism under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism rather than any other socialism under the influence of any other ideology. Firmly keep in mind some most concise and understandable viewpoints stated by Marxist classic writers about the definition of socialism, and we can identify counterfeit socialism of all shades

—In 1846, Engels stated in his letter to the Communist Correspondence Committee: “What communism really was?……I therefore defined the aims of communists as follows: 1. to ensure that the interests of the proletariat prevail, as opposed to those of the bourgeoisie; 2. to do so by abolishing private property and replacing it with community of goods; 3. to recognize no means of attaining these aims other than democratic revolution by force.”¹

¹ Marx. *On the Jewish Question. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 1*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 40

—In 1848, Marx and Engels Wrote in *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: “The distinguishing feature of communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property.” “The theory of the communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.”¹

—In 1850, Marx pointed out in his summary of the class struggles in France from 1848 to 1850 that the proletariat should “rally more and more around revolutionary socialism, around communism, for which the bourgeoisie has itself invented the name of Blanqui. This socialism is the declaration of the permanence of the revolution, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations.”²

—In 1875, Engels pointed out in his critique of Russian populists: “The revolution that modern socialism strives to achieve is, briefly, the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a new organization of society by the destruction of all class distinctions.”³

—In 1880, Engels stated in *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*: “Socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Its task was no longer to manufacture a system of society as perfect as possible, but to examine the historic-economic succession of events from which these classes and their antagonism had of necessity sprung, and to discover in the economic conditions thus created the means of ending the conflict.”⁴

—In 1894, Engels stated in *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*:

1 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 45

2 Marx. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 166

3 Engels. *Refugee Literature. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 389

4 Engels. *The Peasant Question in France and Germany. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 4*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 518

“Socialism is particularly opposed to the exploitation of wage labor.”¹

—In 1894, Lenin said in his critique of liberal populists: “Socialism, as we know, is the name given to the protest and struggle against the exploitation of the working people, a struggle for the complete abolition of this exploitation.”²

—In 1905, Lenin stated in *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism* that “the socialist struggle is waged by the workers against the whole of the bourgeoisie.”³

—In 1916, Lenin emphasized in *The “Disarmament” Slogan* that “whoever expects that socialism will be achieved without a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a socialist” .⁴

—In 1919, Lenin Stated in *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* that “Socialism means the abolition of classes” .⁵

We do not have to make much explanation for the above statements, as it is not difficult to understand them even for workers and peasants without much education. They recognize and study socialism based on their own lives, as Mao Zedong reveals, “Clear proof of this is provided by the fact that whole batches of Chinese Communists who confined themselves to books in their study of the social sciences have turned into counter-revolutionaries.....whereas illiterate workers often grasp Marxism very well.”⁶

The contemporary Chinese people are familiar with the words of Deng Xiaoping: “The essence of socialism is liberation and development of the productive forces, elimination of exploitation and polarization, and the ultimate

1 Engels. *The Peasant Question in France and Germany. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 4.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 518

2 Lenin. *What the “Friends of the People” Are and How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats. Collected Works of Lenin, Volume 1.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1984:237

3 Lenin. *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism. Selected Works of Lenin, Volume 1.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995:657

4 Lenin. *Experts of Important Remarks. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Socialism.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 385

5 Lenin. *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Socialism.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 158

6 Mao Zedong. *Oppose Book Worship. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 1.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991:111

achievement of prosperity for all.”¹ We say that Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory are born of the same origin, and then what is this “origin”? Where is it? We believe that the origin is what Deng Xiaoping says “elimination of exploitation”. It can be easily found in the texts available in the market interpreting Deng Xiaoping Theory that the intellectual circle in China often talks about “liberation and development of productive forces” and “prosperity for all”, which are taken as the most important and most essential in Deng Xiaoping’s outlook on socialist essence. On the other hand, they skirt the “elimination of exploitation and polarization” and make no interpretation of them. Such understanding is extremely erroneous and harmful. Whoever has this understanding needs to learn the basics of socialism.

This erroneous understanding dissects Deng Xiaoping’s outlook of Socialist Essence and blights its distinctive principles of Party spirit, the nature of class and revolution. Covering up the social directivity and revolutionary spearhead of Deng Xiaoping’s outlook of socialist essence, this mistaken understanding changes the Marxist doctrine into the vulgar sociology which the non-Marxism or the anti-Marxism can accept and dally with. Why? The reason is not complicated; doesn’t the bourgeoisie liberate and develop the productive forces? If any idea and viewpoint about the definition of socialism does not take the “elimination of exploitation” as the most essential thing, it makes an error with the nature as Matlock, the former U.S. Ambassador in the Soviet Union, stated in *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador’s Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union* when he sharply analyzes the revisionist program of the Soviet Communist Party: “The Soviet leaders are willing to abandon this concept (i.e. the theory of class struggle—noted by the author), then it doesn’t matter whether they continue to call their guiding ideas ‘Marxism’. This has become a different ‘Marxism’ implemented in a different society which we can all accept.”² Obviously, any discussion of Deng Xiaoping’s outlook of socialist nature, if intentionally or unintentionally evading the core of the “elimination of exploitation”, that is, the elimination of exploitation caused by the private ownership of property, is to

1 Deng Xiaoping. *Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991:373

2 Matlock, Jack F., Jr. *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador’s Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Beijing: World Affairs Press, 1996: 169

obliterate the essential difference between the proletarian socialism of Marxism and the bourgeois socialism, and to blaspheme Deng Xiaoping's outlook of socialist essence.

“Liberation and development of the productive forces” are the material basis for “elimination of exploitation and polarization”, “elimination of exploitation and polarization” is the basis of ownership for “Liberation and development of the productive forces” and “the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all”, and “the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all” is the common goal and result of the development of productive forces and public ownership. The more profound content of Deng Xiaoping's outlook of socialist essence lies in that since the “essence of socialism” is “elimination of exploitation”, naturally the prerequisite is that the exploitation caused by the private property exists to a certain extent in a certain range in the process of establishing and building socialism. As a result, the investigation of the socialist practice will inevitably give rise to a series of very important questions and the corresponding logical thinking, for example, what is exploitation? Who is exploiting whom? How to achieve “elimination of exploitation”? Who and what are to be relied on to achieve “elimination of exploitation”? etc. Marxism tells us that exploitation is a question of the mode of production and relations of production. It occurs between classes, and thus the relations of exploitation are also a question of class relations.

In the contemporary world where the capitalist mode of production and relations of production take the dominant position, it is nothing but the private capital that exploits the labor, the bourgeois that exploits the working class and other working people. How is exploitation conducted? It is mainly conducted through the exchange of commodities, the commodity economy. In other words, where there is the commodity economy based on the private property, there is exploitation, because the private surplus-value, contained in the commodity, is realized through the commodity economy, the buying and selling of the labor forces, and the exchange of other commodities. “Polarization”, a necessary result of the exploitation, means the class division, with the reflection and result of the contradiction and gaming between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Elimination of exploitation is equivalent to abolition of classes, and they are the two inseparable aspects of one question. It is on this basis that Lenin says

“Socialism means the abolition of classes” , but “classes cannot be abolished at one stroke.”¹ The existence of classes is bound up with certain historical phases in the development of production², so the elimination of exploitation, the abolition of classes, is a historical process, and socialism, therefore, must implement a set of scientific and lasting strategies and policies to realize the “elimination of exploitation” , that is, the elimination of capitalism. This is why Deng Xiaoping says “the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all” . The “ultimate” is a space- time concept, with an expression for people that the “achievement of prosperity for all” is a historical course, the ultimate result of the development of the socialist society.

Undoubtedly, in the historical course of the “achievement of prosperity for all” , in order to achieve the “elimination of exploitation” , the contradiction and struggle between the classes, i.e. the struggle of the proletariat for the complete elimination of the bourgeoisie, is unavoidable, and the Four Cardinal Principles put forward by Deng Xiaoping is the most powerful weapon for the proletariat to completely eliminate the bourgeoisie so as to realize “elimination of exploitation” , because socialism is a transitional stage from the society of proletarian dictatorship to the non-state society. In early 1992 when the international communist movement had just suffered a huge frustration, Deng Xiaoping resolutely specified the essence of socialism is the “elimination of exploitation” , which means adherence to the Marxist doctrine of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, and means upholding the socialist revolutionary banner of the Marxist class struggle and people’ s democratic dictatorship (dictatorship of the proletariat). Meanwhile, he also warned us that the collapse of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union was the result of the abandonment of the scientific socialism, the fundamental principle, by the collective leadership of the Soviet Communist Party.

There is no doubt that the nature and purpose of Marxist scientific socialism “is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist

1 Lenin. *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Socialism.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 161

2 Marx. *To Joseph Weydemeyer. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 10.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 106

society”¹, is the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, is “the necessity of the political action of the proletariat and of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the transitional stage to the abolition of classes and with them of the state”², and thus the proletariat must liberate the humanity before liberating themselves.

“Outside the class struggle, socialism is either a hollow phrase or a naïve dream.”³

“As long as the class struggle still exists in a certain range, we cannot discard the Marxist idea and method of class and class analysis. This idea and method is always a key for us to observe the complex political phenomena of the struggle of socialism against all kinds of hostile forces.” Therefore, Marxist scientific socialism is comprehensively constructed socialism, including the construction in areas such as economy, politics, culture, society, ecology and defense, including the correct handling of contradictions within the people, with the enemy and between classes, including the scientific development, reform and opening to the outside world, and including the socialist revolution, construction and reform.

§ V On That the Communist Party Is the Class Leader and Organizer

In the works of Marx and Lenin, there are a wealth of accounts about their historical practice and theoretical ideas in the construction of the communist party, which are either summaries of successful experience or analyses of failures. When we learn how they worked their hearts out to construct the glorious history and theoretical ideas of the proletarian party, we must face the historical results obtained through tortuous struggle, one after another, in the international communist movement. The development history of Marxism-Leninism is both a history of the proletarian party with successful development and painful failures, and a history textbook of experience and lessons in the construction of the proletarian party. Obviously, the study of the theoretical ideas and basic experience of Marxism-Leninism about the construction of the communist party must be

1 Lenin. *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On Marxism*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 61

2 Engels. *The Housing Question. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 3*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 310

3 Lenin. *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism. Selected Works of Lenin, Volume 1*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1995: 658

integrated with the experience of the tortuous struggles by the proletarian parties in different countries.

Since the 1840s when the international communist movement started from nothing, Marx and Engels, through strenuous propaganda and mobilization, began to establish the organizations of the proletarian party first in some European countries, and organized and initiated the proletarian revolutionary movement. At that time, they organized scattered workers struggling individually against the capitalists, “to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes” , to organize “the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party” ¹. Through the formation of proletarian political parties, they instilled into the European proletariat two basic ideas: First, the communist parties “never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightaway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.” ² Second, “informing themselves of their own class interests, taking up their independent political position as soon as possible, not allowing themselves to be misled by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeoisie into doubting for one minute the necessity of an independently organized party of the proletariat. Their battle-cry must be: *The Permanent Revolution*, ‘until the conquest of the state power by the proletariat’ ” ³. It was because of such consciousness of revolution or radical reform that the European proletariat carried out the permanent revolution which developed into the struggle of Paris Commune seizing the political power of the bourgeoisie. Subsequently, they gave strong support to the establishment of the German Social Democratic Party, guiding them, under the high-pressure of Bismarck's Anti-socialist Law, to perseveringly conduct the “illegal” and

1 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 40

2 Marx & Engels. *Manifesto of the Communist Party. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 66

3 Marx. *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 1*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1972: 392, 385

semipublic secret struggles which achieved a great development. After the death of Marx, Engels took on the responsibility for the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the world. He found ways to initiate and organize the Second International with the German Social Democratic Party as the core, breaking the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany, and acquiring the rights and conditions of public events for the German Social Democratic Party.

Compared with Lenin and Mao Zedong, the revolutionists, organizers and theorists who could take complete control over the proletarian parties of their countries, Marx and Engels revealed the deep limitation of history and the time in the practice of building proletarian parties. As Marx was listed as a wanted criminal and persecuted by the reactionary governments in Europe, he could not take shelter even in his own country—Germany as well as in some other countries and was forced into exile in Britain. As a public revolutionist, he could hardly give specific guidance to the actual struggle and development of the proletarian parties in different countries. He mainly exerted, from afar and outside, some influence and guidance over the activities of the proletarian party in a certain country. Social being determines social consciousness. The history of the political parties of the international communist movement shows that the theoretical ideas, policies, strategies and basic experience which play a major role in guiding the construction of the proletarian parties have become systematic and mature through the development of Lenin and Mao Zedong.

Lenin led the Russian Bolsheviks to win the victory of the October Revolution, and Mao Zedong led the Communist Party of China to win the victory of the Chinese revolution; both of them are the reflection of Marxist-Leninist successful construction of the proletarian party both ideologically and methodologically, are the inexhaustible ideological treasure for the construction of the proletarian party.

What does the political party do? The political party is the product and the tool of the development of class since the modern times, that is, since the establishment of the capitalist society. To conduct political activities for the conquest and leadership of the political power is the most fundamental task of all political parties. Whoever does not understand and firmly grasp this point will

fail to understand what the political party is going to do, and fail to understand how to identify and implement the purpose, tasks and methods of the Party construction, let alone the communist party' s vanguard nature construction, construction of ability to seize the power and governance capacity construction.

Lenin' s important development and contribution of Marxist political party construction is first of all reflected in the organization construction where he established the principle of democratic centralism, a product of the fierce struggle between Lenin and the Mensheviks of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party deeply influenced by the “legal” struggle of the Second International. In fact, Marx saw it long ago that “revolutionary activity can only be developed with full efficiency from a central point……it is the task of the genuinely revolutionary party in Germany to carry through the strictest centralization”¹. Having inherited the fundamental idea of Marx, Lenin creatively put forward and implemented the organizational principle of democratic centralism, and achieved the development and victory of the proletarian revolutionary party by flexibly combining the “illegal” and “legal” struggles in the complex situations when the bourgeois suppressed the revolution. The Second International and the Mensheviks of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party still implemented the liberalist concept and system of the bourgeois party construction, and they, transformed and defaced through the so-called “legal” parliamentary party struggle in the bourgeois political system of the so-called separation of powers, lost the character of the proletarian party and degenerated into the opportunistic party deceiving the workers. Lenin, based on the principle of democratic centralism, not only formed and developed the Bolshevik of Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, but also brought this principle to the Russian Communist Party' s leadership and construction of the country, the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the October Revolution. He unequivocally laid stress on the adherence to leadership of the Russian Communist Party in the state power, on the leadership of the communist party, the vanguard with the proletarian consciousness, in all the political and economic work of the state power, on the acceptance and support of the Russian Communist Party' s leading position by other political parties, on no allowance

¹ Engels. *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League. Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 2*. Beijing: People' s Publishing House, 2009: 197

for any parliamentary multiparty system of the bourgeoisie. At the attack, from bourgeoisie in and out of Russia and from the Second International, about the “autocracy” or the “dictatorship of one party” of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin answered tit for tat: if you insisted the leadership of Communist Party be “one-party dictatorship”, “we say: ‘Yes, it is a dictatorship of one party! This is what we stand for and we shall not shift from that position’ ”¹. The organizational principle of democratic centralism is one of the basic principles and experience of the proletarian Party construction in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism.

The second important contribution of Lenin to the Marxist political party construction is that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party was renamed as the Russian Communist Party. This action of Lenin, which had tremendous impact on the establishment and development of the Communist parties in different countries in the future, was a major event of the international communist movement in the early 20th century and of the history of Marxist political parties. The impact and significance of this event, as Lenin stated in those days: First, “the name ‘Social-Democratic Party’ is scientifically incorrect. When the workers set up their own state they realized that the old concept of democracy—bourgeois democracy—had been surpassed in the process of the development of our revolution. We have arrived at a type of democracy that has never existed anywhere in Western Europe.” “If we at least state precisely, without departing from reality, that Soviet power is a new type of state, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that we present democracy with different tasks”; Second, the real proletarian party “must have a clear conception of the goal, that is, the creation of a communist society...That is why the name of Communist Party is the only one that is scientifically correct”; Third, during the First World War, “the old official socialist parties in all the leading European countries have still not got rid of their intoxication with social-chauvinism and social-patriotism that led to the complete collapse of European official socialism during the present war, so that up to now almost all official socialist parties have been a real hindrance to the working-class revolutionary socialist movement, a real encumbrance to it”². The new

1 Lenin. *Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of Workers in Education and Socialist Culture. Collected Works of Lenin, Volume 37*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1986: 126

2 Lenin. *Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P. (B.). Selected Works of Lenin, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1995: 456, 467, 457

name of the Russian Communist Party cleared the obstacles on the road for the long-awaited establishment of the Communist International and promoted the development of the international communist movement in the coming period.

The third important contribution of Lenin to the Marxist political Party construction is that the peasant is taken as the extremely important and colossal revolutionary force reliable to the proletariat, which has solved the problem that Marx, Engels, the First International and the Second International “have not got the right leverage” to “bring the peasant under their influence”, and thereby enlarged the organization of the communist party and the revolutionary troops — it leads and greatly expanded the depth and breadth of the proletarian party construction.

The third important contribution of Lenin to the Marxist political Party construction is the opposition and rejection of the argument of “spontaneity”, and the advocacy and promotion of the scientific argument of “inculcation” in the ideological construction. Lenin deeply explored and expounded such a viewpoint that Marxism, the scientific socialism, cannot spontaneously appear among the proletarians. It has been proved in practice that “the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness” and its economism; the scientific socialist consciousness of the working class “would have to be brought to them from without”. Therefore, “the only choice is — either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course”; because “in a society torn by class antagonism there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology. Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology”; and “the spontaneous development of the working-class movement leads to its subordination to bourgeois ideology”.¹ Both Marxist-Leninist standpoint, views and methods and the good ideas, moralities and styles of humanity need to be advocated and cultivated consciously, purposefully and permanently before they can be widely accepted and formed. This is because since the appearance of the class society, thousands of years of oppression and enslavement by the dominant exploiting class upon the working people embedded the ideas and moralities of

¹ Lenin. *What Is to Be Done? Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On the Proletarian Party*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009: 76, 85

the exploiting class into various areas of the social life, forming a powerful force of habit. Only through long-term and unremitting education can this situation be changed. Therefore, we must organizationally and often educate all members of the communist party and people from all walks of life in the systematical ideas and moralities of Marxism.

Some of Lenin's contributions to Marxism and its construction of political parties are achieved in the struggle against the opportunism of the Second International, and generated and developed in the struggle against all revisionism and opportunism.

The Communist Party of China, on the historical platform set up by the October Revolution and Leninism, was established after accepting and absorbing the revolutionary experience and the Party construction theory of the Russian Communist Party, the most advanced and successful in the world. In order to establish a strong and fightable proletarian party in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism in China, a once extremely effete semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, a country of hundreds of millions of poor and ignorant peasants and many people in the petty bourgeoisie with few modern industrial proletarians, the Chinese Communists, represented by Mao Zedong, consciously put forward and resolved this question: "How are we to build up our Party today? How can we build up a bolshevized Chinese Communist Party, a party which is national in scale and has a broad mass character, a party which is fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally?" "It is this kind of party that we now want to build, but how shall we go about it?"¹[59] On this basis, Mao Zedong developed the Party construction of Marxism-Leninism and its theoretical doctrine into a systematic and complete scientific system. Why can we say that? What is it grounded in? The ground is that Mao Zedong discovered and expounded a basic principle to build the proletarian Party.

The history of the scientific production and development shows that a scientific system, unless containing some basic natural or social principles in its theoretical form, cannot be established and have the human values independently existing in the history of science. The principle is not artificially created, but

¹ Mao Zedong. *On New Democracy. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 2*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1991:603, 613

the infrangible natural or social law people find in the long-term practice in production and researches in science.

What is the basic principle to build proletarian Party that Mao Zedong discovered? In his summary of the rectification movement in the political report of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, he summarized a basic experience in the twenty four years of construction of the Communist Party of China: “Therefore ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the Party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks.”¹[60] this principle reveals that the proletarian party—the communist party—is first an organ specially dealing with the political and ideological work, which is the primary work and task of organizations and leaders of the Communist Party at all levels. The history of the Communist Party of China shows that the leadership and prestige of the communist party, and thus the power of the communist party, are primarily and fundamentally acquired through the lasting and in-depth political and ideological education to the masses, affecting, uniting and winning over them under the banner of Marxism and the communist party. The leadership of the communist party is primarily and fundamentally reflected in the “proletarian ideological leadership”.²[61] The “ideological leadership” must be achieved through the ideological education by the Party. Mao Zedong regards the ideological education and the political work as the “key link” and the “lifeline”, showing how important it is! What would it mean if the communist party belittled and forgot such work as the “key link” and the “lifeline”? It would mean that the communist party and its organizations of the first level gave up and lost the masses it relied on, and that it fundamentally gave up the leadership of the masses. Such an action is tantamount to suicide. Once the political and ideological education of the communist party is neglected or destroyed, it will end with the disintegrated masses and cadres scattered away like stray wild horses. The corresponding system will collapse subsequently. The system is important, but the ideology will take the formulation and implementation of the system under its guidance.

1 Mao Zedong. *On Coalition Government. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991: 1094

2 Mao Zedong. *The Struggle in the Ching Kang Mountains. Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1991: 77

Deng Xiaoping pointed out in the report on the revision of the constitution of the Communist Party of China in the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China that “The Party is the highest form of class organization. It is particularly important to point this out today when our Party has assumed the leading role in state affairs”¹. Undoubtedly, the communist party is “its (the class’) leader and organizer”², and if one does not consciously think of and engage in the construction of the Party and its political and ideological work from the perspective of proletarian opposition against various non-proletarians, especially against feudalism and bourgeoisie, he cannot even go through the “door” of the Party construction. Only when the objects and questions of Party construction and its political and ideological work are made clear and resolved, can the Party’ s other constructions be targeted, the Party’ s organization become the school where people are educated and transformed, the Party’ s political and ideological work become the powerful tool to achieve all the tasks of the Party.

The ideological and theoretical education is the basis of the Party construction, which is a piece of fundamental experience summarized by the Communist Party of China in the study of Marxism-Leninism, and has been proved by the pro and con historical experience and lessons of our Party and the whole international communist movement. As for the political storm in 1989, Deng Xiaoping pointed out sharply that “this incident has really revealed enough of our mistakes! We have indeed made mistakes. And they are not minor ones”³. What is the problem? The problem is “the failure to do a good job in education and in ideological and political work” , and “we have not talked about those things consistently, and there has been no action or even any mention of the need for action” ; “during the last ten years our biggest mistake was made in the field of education, primarily in ideological and political education—not just of students but of the people in general”⁴. It was “the failure to do a good job in education

1 Deng Xiaoping. *Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 1*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1994: 236

2 Lenin. *Excerpts of Important Remarks. Selected Monographic Works of Lenin, On the Proletarian Party*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 2009: 337

3 Deng Xiaoping. *Urgent Tasks of China’s Third Generation of Collective Leadership. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1993:312

4 Deng Xiaoping. *Address to Officers at the Rank of General and Above in Command of the Troops Enforcing Martial Law in Beijing. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3*. Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1993: 305, 306

and in ideological and political work” that led to the rampant corruption and provoked a serious political unrest, for which Deng Xiaoping shouted to the whole party, “It is high time that this Party was rectified; there can be no delay.”¹ The collapse of the Communist Parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union can be scientifically explained by their giving up this basic principle to build the proletarian party.

In short, we should see that the edit and publication of *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* and *Selected Monographic Works of Lenin* is the reflection of the Chinese nation and Chinese Communists diligently studying, precisely inheriting and scientifically developing Marxism-Leninism. We should first read the works of Marxism-Leninism and understand the relationship between Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese Marxism-Leninism so as to promote the development of the Marxism-Leninism and its Chinese theories. On the important issue of how to study Marxism-Leninism, the international communist movement, Deng Xiaoping, from the long-term practice of the Chinese Communists, made a conclusive argument, which should be taken as the pointer for all the comrades who adhere to Marxism. He said, “Marxist ideological and theoretical work cannot be divorced from current politics. By politics here I mean the overall situation in the domestic and international class struggle and the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the people of the world in current struggles. It is inconceivable that anyone can become a Marxist thinker or theorist if he is divorced from the overall political situation, if he doesn’t study it, if he doesn’t assess the actual development of the revolutionary struggle.”² We should, in the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and its Chinese theories, continue to promote the progress and harmony of China and the world.

1 Deng Xiaoping. *Urgent Tasks of China’s Third Generation of Collective Leadership. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1993:314

2 Deng Xiaoping. *Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles. Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 2.* Beijing: People’s Publishing House, 1994: 179

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- [1] *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009
- [2] *Selected Monographic Works of Lenin*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2009
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- [4] *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1993
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- [6] Cheng, Enfu & Hu Leming. "Sixty Years of Chinese Researches of Marxist Theories." *Studies on Marxism* 2010 (1)
- [7] *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume 3*. Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2006