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Цель журнала – способствовать научному обмену и сотрудничеству между российскими и зарубежными политологами.

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АНАЛИЗ РАЗМЫШЛЕНИЙ МАРКСА И ЭНГЕЛЬСА О НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ

Цель данного исследования состоит в том, чтобы обобщить размышления Маркса и Энгельса о национальной безопасности. Используя в качестве метода исследование литературы, данная работа показывает, что главным содержанием размышлений Маркса и Энгельса о национальной безопасности являются: а) политическая безопасность с опорой на суверенитет, б) экономическая безопасность, основывающаяся на материалистическом взгляде на историю, в) культурная безопасность, опирающаяся на идеологию, а также г) экологическая безопасность, воплощающая гармонию между человеком и природой. Данная работа может дать теоретический базис как для более глубокого изучения концепций Маркса и Энгельса, так и для изучения общих концепций национальной безопасности.

Ключевые слова: *Маркс и Энгельс, национальная безопасность, суверенитет, материалистический взгляд на историю, идеология.*

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ANALYSIS OF MARX AND ENGELS' NATIONAL SECURITY THOUGHTS

The purpose of this study is to explain the national security thoughts of Marx and Engels. Mainly through the literature research method of Marx and Engels' classical works, the paper deeply analyzes and reveals that political security with

the focus on popular sovereignty, economic security based on the materialistic view of history, cultural security with ideology as the core, and ecological security characterized by the harmony between human beings and nature constitute the main contents of Marx and Engels' national security thoughts. The interpretation of Marx and Engels' national security thoughts can provide theoretical support for the in-depth understanding of Marxist national security theory and the enrichment of the study of the overall national security concept.

Key words: *Marx and Engels, National security, Popular sovereignty, Materialistic view of history, Ideology.*

Marx and Engels didn't have a fully systematized theory of national security, which was determined by the context of the time in which they lived. Scientific Marxist theory is a holistic worldview and methodology. Marx and Engels, with their rich philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, didn't pay special attention to national security issues. As Marx said, "Originally I majored in law, but I only studied it as an auxiliary subject second to philosophy and history" [1]. But Marx and Engels also sporadically elaborated on issues related to national security in their studies of philosophical, economic, political, and social as well as ideological and ecological issues. In particular, elaborations on the idea of popular sovereignty, historical materialism, ideological theory, and the dialectical relationship between man and nature in harmony outline Marx and Engels's ideas on national security.

I. Political Security with the Focus on Popular Sovereignty. The basis of national security lies first of all in the existence of an independent state power. For Marx and Engels, the primary concern of an independent sovereign state is the acquisition of state power led by the proletariat and of a socialist nature, and the form of organization of that power. Marx and Engels' ideas about a proletarian-led state power of socialist nature focused mainly on the historical significance and lessons learned from the Paris Commune. Marx's summary and analysis of the Paris Commune movement provided the guiding principles for the construction of the socialist state system, with the idea of the popular sovereignty as the core including the Paris Commune in the sense of transcending the old system, the Paris Commune as a system of local self-government and the representative democracy as the principle of the organization of state power, which provided the ideological basis for the political security of a state of a socialist nature led by the working class.

The first was in terms of the nature of socialist state power for the proletariat. Marx embodied his idea of popular sovereignty in his analysis of the founding, composition, and characteristics of the Paris Commune. Marx concluded the proletarian nature of the commune when confronted with the many interpretations of the commune and the fact that they all saw it as a representative of

their own interests. "The commune is entirely a broadly representative political form, whereas all the old forms of government are very strikingly oppressive. The real secret of the commune lies in the fact that it is essentially the government of the working class, the product of the struggle of the producer class against the possessor class, and the political form which has finally been discovered to enable labor to be economically emancipated" [2]. Marx highly valued the broad representation of the commune and the sovereignty of the people based on it. He pointed out that "The commune is the true representative of all the sound elements of French society, and thus the true national government. And on the other hand, it is, at the same time fully international in character, as the government of the workers, as a brave fighter for the emancipation of labor"; "The great social measure of the commune is its own existence and work. The concrete measures it has taken can only show the tendency toward a government of the people and controlled by the people".

Besides, for the founding principles of the socialist state, Marx, on the other hand, believed that it should be a democratic republic of national unity, supplemented by a veritable local autonomy. A democratic republic of the proletariat must be dominated by the people. The Paris Commune was a proletarian republic in nature precisely because its sovereignty belonged to the working class and the working people as a whole. At the same time, the unity of the proletarian and democratic nature of the communal regime showed that the class nature and democratic nature of the communal regime were inseparable. Therefore, adherence to the principle of popular sovereignty, i.e., the running of the country by the people, was the only way to firmly establish the proletarian and democratic nature of the republic. If the people were the masters of the republic, then the government organs and their officials, who emerged from the people, should not be the "masters of society" who enjoyed all kinds of privileges and are above the society, as the bourgeois government and its bureaucrats were, but should be the "responsible servants of society".

The principle of popular sovereignty to guarantee the state nature of the socialist republic is precisely the main expression of Marx and Engels' idea of political security. In fact, Marx and Engels already pointed out in the Communist Manifesto that "The first step in the workers' revolution is to raise the proletariat to the ruling class and to fight for democracy" [3]. In the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, Marx also applied the idea of popular sovereignty to criticize feudal autocracy and the theory of monarchical sovereignty. Through his critique of Hegel's idea of monarchical sovereignty, Marx firmly established his principle of popular sovereignty. And in his theory of the transition from capitalist to communist society, which was elaborated in the Critique of the Gotha Program, he emphasized the nature of the transitional regime, namely, "Between capitalist and communist society, there is a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. In line with this period, there is also a period of

political transition in which the state can only be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat". With regard to the essential aspects of the modern state, Marx still emphasized the unity of popular sovereignty and democratic republic and arrived at the view that the socialist state must carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For Marx, a republic of a socialist nature should be the realization of the sovereignty of the people, the will of the people, namely, the people themselves create, establish, and prescribe their own state system, as well as use this state system to determine their own affairs.

Marx and Engels' ideas on political security, which focused on the principle of popular sovereignty, also included their military theories on war, the army, and other issues affecting the security of state power. In terms of the means of maintaining the political security of the state, Marx and Engels argued that after the establishment of a dictatorship of the working class, the state apparatus constructed by the old political system should be completely destroyed, the remnants of the old forces should be removed, a system of governmental institutions, an army, and a legal system under the leadership of the working class should be established, and measures should be taken to supervise and manage the members serving within the new system, purging unqualified members from the ranks of the working class at all times. In addition, they all saw the importance of law in maintaining national security. On the question of the status of law under the socialist system, Engels argued that "It is impossible for an active socialist party, as for any party in general, not to make such a demand. The demands arising out of the common interests of a class can only be realized by the seizure of power by that class and by giving them general force in the form of law. Therefore, each class that is struggling must express its demands in the form of legitimate rights demands in its program... The demands for legitimate rights made by the various political parties, although their ultimate aims are identical, are not identical in all times and among all peoples. They are variable elements and are sometimes remodified, a situation that can be seen in the socialist parties of different countries" [4]. Thus, for Marx and Engels, law then becomes a necessary requirement for the realization of popular sovereignty and thus for the security of the socialist state.

II. Economic Security Based on the Materialistic View of History. The solidity of economic foundation is related to the security of a sovereign state and the stability of society. As the core part of the classical theory of Marx and Engels, economic thought not only reveals the laws of capitalist economic operation, but also provides theoretical guidance for socialist economic construction, thus providing theoretical guidelines for maintaining the economic security of the socialist state.

While attaching importance to the economic foundation, Marx and Engels also paid special attention to the phenomenon of economic crisis that affects economic security, and the analysis of the causes of capitalist economic crisis can

provide useful thinking for economic security. Marx believed that "The ultimate cause of all real crises is always the poverty of the masses and the restriction of their consumption. In contrast, capitalist production strives to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute capacity of society to consume is the limit of productive development". Marx explained that the root of the capitalist economic crisis lies in the irreconcilable contradiction between socialized mass production and the private possession of capitalism. On the other hand, it can be said that if the scale and speed of economic development is pursued unilaterally while the consumption capacity of the masses is neglected, it will eventually lead to economic collapse, endangering the economic lifeline of the country and causing social unrest. According to Marx, the fundamental way to solve the economic crisis lies in breaking up the private ownership of the means of production, avoiding the blindness of the market through the unified distribution of the means of production and the regulation of production activities by the state, enhancing the stability of the economy, and maintaining the economic security of the state.

At the same time, Marx and Engels also theorized about the trend of globalization of the capitalist economy characterized by the world market, for example, when discussing the nature of the existence of the proletariat in *The German Ideology*, they said that "Lots of people depend solely on their own labor for their livelihood... And thus, due to competition, they are no longer temporarily deprived of work as a secure source of livelihood, they are trapped in a desperate situation, a situation which presupposes the existence of a world market". In his economics manuscripts, particularly the *Critique of Political Economy* (1857-1858 Manuscripts), Marx analyzed capital and the tendency of the world market created by capital-based production, and believed that "The condition of capital-based production is the creation of an ever-expanding sphere of circulation, whether it is the direct expansion of this sphere, or the creation within this sphere of additional locations created as sites of production"; "In essence, it is the promotion of capital-based production or a mode of production compatible with capital. The tendency to create a world market is already directly contained in the concept of capital itself. Any boundaries are expressed as limitations that must be overcome". And in *Das Kapital*, he also referred to the concept of "world market" several times. In short, Marx and Engels' series of theoretical studies on the "world market" of the capitalist economy predict that economic globalization is the inevitable result of the historical development of the world. Marx and Engels' theories on the creation of productive forces in the world market of capitalist economy also reveal the face of economic control of capitalist countries over the backward countries, which then penetrates into the political field. "... to subordinate the uncivilized and semi-developed countries to the civilized ones, the peasant nations to the bourgeois ones, and the East to the West". Therefore, Marx and Engels' historical materialistic view of history's profound exposure of the capitalist mode of production, especially its critique of the nature of capital, is

an important theoretical weapon and ideological guide for China to maintain its economic security in the face of economic globalization at present.

In terms of the driving force of economic development, Marx and Engels emphasized the importance of science. In his speech at Marx's tomb, Engels said, "In Marx's view, science is a driving, revolutionary force in history". At the same time, in the section on the production of relative surplus value in Volume I of *Das Kapital*, when dealing with the factory, Marx revealed the enormous power of science, "The local skill of the individual machine worker, which has become empty, disappears as an insignificant appendage in the face of science, in the face of the immense forces of nature, in the face of the mass labor of society. Science, the immense forces of nature, and the mass labor of society are embodied in the machine system, and together they constitute the power of the 'master'".

III. Cultural Security with Ideology as the Core. Cultural soft power is an important part of a country's comprehensive power, and ideology, as a general concept, which takes language as a carrier, is a product of society, and includes many specific forms of consciousness, such as political thoughts, legal thoughts, morality, philosophy, religion, etc., which are the reflection of life processes in the human brain [9]. Therefore, ideology should be considered as a category in the broad concept of culture. The ideology of a sovereign state is a conglomeration of ideas, values, and concepts of the ruling class that has survived and developed under a particular social system and historical conditions and that provides legitimacy for the country's political rule. Therefore, ideology is the spiritual force that maintains state power and is of vital importance to the cultural security of the state and to the overall security of the state.

Social ideology has different forms depending on different socio-economic systems; in other words, ideology is impregnated with distinct class nature. Marx and Engels eloquently explained that "The ideology of the ruling class is the dominant ideology in every age. That is to say, a class is the dominant material force in society, but also the dominant spiritual force in society. The class that dominates the material means of production also dominates the mental means of production, so that the ideas of those who don't have the mental means of production are, in general, subordinate to this class". Thus, to hold and consolidate political power, the ruling class must become not only the controller of material forces, but also the creator and dominator of the cultural and spiritual forces of society. The ideology of the ruling class, as the core of the state's culture, is an extremely important political resource. Once the ruling class loses its dominant position in ideological work, it will inevitably lead to the loss of legitimacy of the ruling class in power, which in turn will lead to regime change and the demise of political parties. Marx and Engels criticized the oppressive nature of ideology based on the division of mental and material labor, especially that "In capitalist society, the more this compulsory division of labor is developed and the more accumulation increases, the severer the division between capital and labor becomes, and

the more ideology tends to obscure the real relationships between man and man and between capital and labor in the extensive production and exchange of goods sublimated from the relationship of things". Later, in *Das Kapital*, Marx criticized the ideology of capitalist society with "commodity fetishism" as its core, pointing out that the ideology of capitalist society would inevitably be eliminated and that this historical mission would be overthrown by the proletariat with communist consciousness through a conscious revolutionary approach.

In summary, Marx and Engels' theory of ideology adheres to a thoroughly historical materialist position, "People are the producers of their own ideas, thoughts, etc. ... Consciousness can at all times only be conscious existence, and people's existence is the process of their real life". Therefore, ideology is not a force that dominates the whole real world, and its role is limited and can't go beyond its specific position in the overall social structure. "It is fundamentally subject not only to social production and economic structure, but also to the legal and political superstructure". According to the basic principles of historical materialism, ideology is a reflection of social existence, and at the same time it plays an important counteraction to social existence because of its relative independence. The most central part of a country's cultural security is the scientificity and thoroughness of its ideological theory. Marx and Engels didn't conduct a targeted and systematic study of the ideological problem in the socialist state, let alone a specific discussion of the cultural security of the socialist state. However, their historical materialist theory of ideology, which is based on a critique of the nature of capitalist social ideology, provides a theoretical source for ideological security under the socialist state form. In particular, after the Cold War, capitalist ideology in the context of "The Clash of Civilizations" (Huntington's term) attempted to penetrate socialism, which was precisely through various forms of so-called cultural packaging. On how to ensure the security of socialist ideology under the socialist state form, it is most important to return to Marx's insistence on a thoroughgoing historical materialist position.

IV. Ecological Security Characterized by the Harmony Between Human Beings and Nature. Just as Marx and Engels didn't have a systematic theory of political security, economic security, and cultural security, Marx and Engels also didn't establish a complete theory of ecological security. But Marx and Engels had rich ecological ideas, especially the interpretation of the relationship between human beings and nature reflected their rich ecological security ideas. Marx believed that nature is the "inorganic body of man" and that nature should be viewed from the perspective of man's practice. It is well known that the main issue of ecological security today still revolves around the relationship between man and nature, and the distortion of the relationship between man and nature is the root cause of the deterioration of the ecological environment.

In his *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Marx made a profound discussion on the relationship between man and nature, mainly focusing

on his elaboration related to the objectification of labor (i.e. alienated labor), "The object produced by labor, i.e., the product of labor, is opposed to labor as an alien existence, as a force that doesn't depend on the producer. The product of labor is the labor fixed in a certain object, materialized, and this is the objectification of labor". Later, in a detailed examination of objectification, i.e., the production of the worker, and the alienation and loss of the product in objectification, Marx stated that "Without nature, without the sensible external world, workers can create nothing. Nature is the material from which the worker's labor is realized, in which the worker's labor moves, and from which the worker's labor produces and lends itself to the production of its own products". Nature, as the "inorganic body of man", has a natural unity with man, who is a "kind of being", and the objects and tools of human labor are part of nature. But for the worker, labor is seen only as a means of earning a living. For the capitalist, the only purpose of production is to obtain profit, and nature is only the medium and means by which they obtain it. This leads to the phenomenon Marx described that "The more the worker occupies the external world, the sensual nature, through his own labor, the more he loses the means of subsistence in both respects". In this way, the relationship between man and nature is alienated into a relationship of taking and being taken, and the deterioration of the natural ecological environment is inevitable. The ideal society envisioned by Marx should be one in which man and nature live in harmony, and this has become the main feature of Marx's idea of ecological security.

Marx and Engels criticized Feuerbach's naturalism with the help of the concept of practice and raised the understanding of the relationship between man and nature to a new level. In his Theses on Feuerbach, Marx revealed that "The main shortcoming of all former materialism (including Feuerbach's materialism) is that objects, reality, and sensuality are understood only in their object or intuitive form, but not as human sensual activity, as practice". Nature, in Feuerbach's view, is "the nature that is completely detached from history" and "exists before human history". Therefore, "On such occasions, Feuerbach never speaks of the world of man, but in every case, turns to external nature, the nature which has not yet been placed under the dominion of man". Marx, on the other hand, by means of practice, sublated private property by means of the practical power of man, and saw real nature as the object of practical transformation, clearly defining the natural world in his own vision, namely, "The nature formed in the process of the emergence of human society is the nature of human reality; therefore, the nature formed through industry, albeit in the form of alienation, is the true, anthropological nature" [5]. This "nature of human reality", "anthropological nature", is the result of the practical transformation of man and is "a product of history". In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels made it even more clear that "The nature that precedes human history is not the nature in which Feuerbach lived". It is through practice that man and nature interact, and that unexploited nature is constantly

transformed into "humanized nature". Only this personalized nature is the "nature of human reality".

Marx and Engels looked beyond the early days of capitalist industrialization in which they lived and saw with keen insight the many problems caused by the alienation of capitalist private ownership. "Light, air, etc., even the simplest love of cleanliness in animals, are no longer needed by man. Filth, this degradation and decay of man, and the gutter of civilization (in the original sense of the word), become elements of the worker's life. The barren and the increasingly corrupt nature, which are totally contrary to nature, become the elements of his life". Moreover, Engels noted that "We must not become too enamored of our victory over nature. For each such victory, nature has retaliated against us... We must remember at every step we take: We must not dominate nature as conquerors dominate foreigners. We must not dominate nature as if we stood outside it – Rather, we belong to it and exist in it, and we, together with our flesh, blood and mind, belong to and exist in nature. Our entire dominion over nature lies in the fact that we are superior to all other creatures and are able to recognize and correctly apply the laws of nature" [6].

V. Conclusion. To sum up, Marx and Engels' idea of ecological security is mainly centered on the harmony of the relationship between man and nature [10]. Man is a part of nature and can't blindly dominate it, but should respect it and transform it within the limits of nature. As Marx said in his analysis of the duality of labor in commodities in *Das Kapital*, "The various commodities are a combination of two elements, natural matter and labor. If one excludes the sum of the different kinds of useful labor contained in tops, sackcloths, etc., there remains a material substrate that exists naturally without the aid of human power. Man can only function in production as nature itself does, that is, he can only change the form of matter. Not only that, but he has to rely constantly on the help of natural forces in this labor of changing forms itself" [7]. Marx and Engels saw man and nature as a practical relationship, a relationship established through human labor, and emphasized the ultimate harmony and unity between the two, "Humans and nature are fundamentally unified, not opposed. This is a major premise for us to improve the relationship between man and nature" [8]. The future communist society will be a society where man and nature live in harmony.

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