

# Proletarian Era

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Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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## Some Invaluable Teachings of Karl Marx

[On 14th March next falls the 117th anniversary of the demise of Karl Marx, the great Leader of the Proletariat, the pioneer path-breaker thinker who developed Marxism as the science of all sciences on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism through coordinating, integrating and generalizing the particular knowledge culled from the different branches of the natural and social sciences and thus laid the solid foundation of scientific socialism. During the period of over a century that has passed since his demise, many a change has come about in the world scenario, but the inherent basic exploitative character of capitalism has not only not changed but has become even more pronounced and intensified due to growth of imperialism whose tentacles grip the whole world today. The irreconcilable contradiction between capital and labour, between capitalist production relation and the huge productive forces generated by capitalism remain, which can be historically resolved only through replacing the capitalist production relation by the socialist one, through overthrowing the present capitalist dictatorship to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the course of history along which the world must inexorably move, despite the present reverse in the movement. The thoughts of Karl Marx continue to illuminate the path of the working class of the world like beaconlight. The present occasion is one for studying and re-studying Marx's works to equip ourselves better for the historic task that lies ahead. With this object, we give below some excerpts from Marx's works to highlight a few salient points of his teachings. — Ed.P. Era]

What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal action. Are men free to choose this or that form of society? By no means. Assume a particular state of development in the productive faculties of man and you will get a corresponding form of commerce and consumption. Assume particular degrees of development of production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding form of social constitution, a corresponding organization of the family, of orders or of classes, in a word, a corresponding civil society. Assume a particular civil society and you will get a particular political system, which is only the official expression of civil society...

...Because of the simple fact that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces acquired by the preceding generation, which serve it as the raw material for new production, a coherence arises in human



5 May, 1818 — 14 March, 1883

history, there is formed a history of humanity which is all the more a history of humanity since the productive forces of man and, therefore, his social relations have become more developed...

... Thus the economic forms in which men produce, consume, exchange, are *transitory and historical*. With the acquisition of new productive  
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## Reactionary Budget

— Nihar Mukherjee

Reacting to this year's General Budget of the BJP, led NDA Govt., Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement on 29th February, 2000 :

“Coupled with the earlier administered price hike of all petroleum products and food grains under PDS, this year's proposal to put the prices of the PDS items at par with the open market prices, recent hike in railway freight and unprecedented fiscal deficit will result in sky-high inflation which is sure to cause immense hardship to the masses.

“The diktat of the domestic monopoly capital, WTO and IMF is evident in the policy of further privatisation of PSUs and banks, more liberalised import, more concessions to foreign capital at the peril of domestic small industries.

This year's escalation in the military expenditure is an all time record, signifying further militarisation of the crisis-ridden Indian economy, at the expense of education, health, drinking water and such other public utility services.

We strongly protest against this anti-people reactionary budget and call upon the people to raise their voice against it.”

### Clinton's Visit

## General Secretary's Letter for United Protest

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has sent the following letter to all left and democratic parties of the country on 28th February, 2000 :

Dear Comrade,

May we draw your attention to the fact that our Central Committee decided to organise protest rallies during the visit and stay of Bill Clinton, the chieftain of world imperialism, number one war criminal and worst enemy of human civilisation. The rallies will be held in Delhi and in all other state capitals of our country on 21st March, 2000 and on the dates of his visit to other cities.

Indeed, we are very glad to know from the dailies that most of the left and democratic parties of our country are also going to hold protest rallies.

We take this opportunity to approach your party to organise this protest programme unitedly with all left and democratic parties.

We feel that to make this protest programme more meaningful, exemplary and in keeping with the glorious tradition of our anti-imperialist struggle, all MPs belonging to left and democratic parties should boycott the Parliament session, to be addressed by Bill Clinton.

We request you to inform us about your decision on our proposal at your earliest convenience.

Thanking you,

With comradely greetings,  
Nihar Mukherjee  
General Secretary, SUCI

Clinton Go Back

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faculties men change their mode of production and with the mode of production they change all the economic relations which have been merely the necessary relations of this particular mode of production....

... Now, after our readers have seen the class struggle develop in colossal political forms in 1848, the time has come to deal more closely with the economic relations themselves on which the existence of the bourgeoisie and its class rule, as well as the slavery of the workers, are founded....

... Now, therefore, for the first question: *What are wages? How are they determined?*...

...The capitalist ... buys their (*the workers'—Ed. P.Era*) labour with money. They sell him their labour for money. But this is merely the appearance. In reality what they sell to the capitalist for money is their labour power. The capitalist buys this labour power for a day, a week, a month, etc. And after he has bought it, he uses it by having the workers work for the stipulated time....

... The workers exchange their commodity, labour power, for the commodity of the capitalist, for money, and this exchange takes place in a definite ratio. So much money for so long a use of labour power...

... Let us take any worker, say, a weaver. The capitalist supplies him with the loom and yarn. The weaver sets to work and the yarn is converted into linen. The capitalist takes possession of the linen and sells it, say, for twenty marks. Now are the wages of the weaver a share in the linen, in the twenty marks, in the product of his labour? By no means. Long before the linen is sold, perhaps long before its weaving is finished, the weaver has received his wages...

...The capitalist buys the labour power of the weaver with a part of his available wealth, of his capital, just as he has bought the raw material — the yarn — and the instrument of labour — the loom — with another part of his wealth. After he has made these purchases, and these purchases include the labour power necessary for the production of linen, he produces only with the *raw materials and instruments of labour belonging to him*. For the latter include now, true enough, our good weaver as well, who has as little share in the product or the price of the product as the loom has.

*Wages are, therefore, not the worker's share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour power.*

Labour power is, therefore, a commodity which its possessor, the wage-worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live...

...The serf belongs to the land and turns over to the owner of the land the fruits thereof. The *free labourer*, on the other hand, sells himself and, indeed, sells himself piecemeal. He sells at auction eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life, day after day, to the highest bidder, to the owner of the raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence, that is, to the capitalist...

... But the worker, whose sole source of livelihood is the sale of his labour power, cannot leave the *whole class of purchasers, that is, the capitalist class*, without renouncing his existence. He belongs not to this or that capitalist but to the *capitalist class*, and, moreover, it is his business to dispose of himself, that is, to find a purchaser

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within this capitalist class...

...The determination of price by the cost of production is equivalent to the determination of price by the labour time necessary for the manufacture of a commodity; for the cost of production consists of 1) raw materials and depreciation of instruments, that is, of industrial products the production of which has cost a certain amount of labour days and which, therefore, represent a certain amount of labour time, and 2) of direct labour, the measure of which is, precisely, time....

...Capital consists of raw materials, instruments of labour and means of subsistence of all kinds, which are utilized in order to produce new raw materials, new instruments of labour and new means of subsistence. All these component parts of capital are creations of labour, products of labour, *accumulated labour*. Accumulated labour which serves as a means of new production is capital....

...How, then, does any amount of commodities, of exchange value, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a portion of society, by means of its exchange for direct, living labour power. The existence of a class which possesses nothing but its capacity to labour is a necessary prerequisite of capital.

It is only the domination of accumulated, past, materialized labour over direct, living labour that turns accumulated labour into capital.

Capital does not consist in accumulated labour serving living labour as a means for new production. It consists in living labour serving accumulated labour as a means for maintaining and multiplying the exchange value of the latter.

What takes place in the exchange between capitalist and wage-worker?

The worker receives means of subsistence in exchange for his labour power, but the capitalist receives in exchange for his means of subsistence labour, the productive activity of the worker, the creative power whereby the worker not only replaces what he consumes but gives to the *accumulated labour a greater value than it previously possessed*. The worker receives a part of the available means of subsistence from the capitalist. For what purpose do these means of subsistence serve him? For immediate consumption. As soon, however, as I consume the means of subsistence, they are irretrievably lost to me unless I use the time during which I am kept alive by them in order to produce new means of subsistence, in order during consumption to create by my labour new values in place of the values which perish in being consumed. But it is just this noble reproductive power that the worker surrenders to the capitalist in exchange for means of subsistence received. He has, therefore, lost it for himself...

...But what is the growth of productive capital? Growth of the power of accumulated labour over living labour. Growth of the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class. If wage labour produces the wealth of others that rules over it, the power that is hostile to it, capital,

then the means of employment, that is, the means of subsistence, flow back to it from this hostile power, on condition that it makes itself afresh into a part of capital, into the lever which hurls capital anew into an accelerated movement of growth. ...

...We said above, ... "Wages are not the worker's share in the commodity produced by him. Wages are the part of already existing commodities with which the capitalist buys for himself a definite amount of productive labour power." But the capitalist must replace these wages out of the price at which he sells the product produced by the worker; he must replace it in such a way that there remains to him, as a rule, a surplus over the cost of production expended by him, a profit. For the capitalist, the selling price of the commodities produced by the worker is divided into three parts: *first*, replacement of the price of the raw materials advanced by him together with replacement of the depreciation of the tools, machinery and other means of labour also advanced by him; *secondly*, the replacement of the wages advanced by him, and *thirdly*, the surplus left over, the capitalist's profit. While the first part only replaces *previously existing values*, it is clear that both the replacement of the wages and also the surplus profit of the capitalist are, on the whole, taken from the new value created by the worker's labour and added to the raw materials. And *in this sense*, in order to compare them with one another, we can regard both wages and profit as shares in the product of the worker. ... Real wages may remain the same, they may even rise, and yet relative wages may fall. Let us suppose, for example, that all means of subsistence have gone down in price by two-thirds while wages per day have only fallen by one-third, that is to say, for example, from three marks to two marks. Although the worker can command a greater amount of commodities with these two marks than he previously could with three marks, yet his wages have gone down in relation to the profit of the capitalist. The profit of the capitalist (for example, the manufacturer) has increased by one mark; that is, for a smaller sum of exchange values which he pays to the worker, the latter must produce a greater amount of exchange values than before. The share of capital relative to the share of labour has risen. The division of social wealth between capital and labour has become still more unequal. With the same capital, the capitalist commands a greater quantity of labour. The power of the capitalist class over the working class has grown, the social position of the worker has deteriorated, has been depressed one step further below that of the capitalist.

*What, then, is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?*

*They stand in inverse ratio to each other. Capital's share, profit, rises in the same proportion as labour's share, wages, falls, and vice versa. Profit rises to the extent that wages fall; it falls to the extent that wages rise.*

...Finally, in whatever proportion the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, whether of one country or of the whole world market, shares the net profit of production within itself, the total amount of this net profit always consists only of the amount by which, on the whole, accumulated labour has been increased by direct labour. This total amount grows, therefore, in the proportion in

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which labour augments capital, that is, in the proportion in which profit rises in comparison with wages.

We see, therefore, that even if we remain *within the relation of capital and wage labour, the interests of capital and the interests of wage labour are diametrically opposed.*

A rapid increase of capital is equivalent to a rapid increase of profit. Profit can only increase rapidly if the price of labour, if relative wages, decrease just as rapidly. Relative wages can fall although real wages rise simultaneously with nominal wages, with the money value of labour, if they do not rise, however, in the same proportion as profit. If, for instance, in times when business is good, wages rise by five per cent, profit on the other hand by thirty per cent, then the comparative, the relative wages, have not increased but decreased.

Thus if the income of the worker increases with the rapid growth of capital, the social gulf that separates the worker from the capitalist increases at the same time, and the power of capital over labour, the dependence of labour on capital, likewise increases at the same time. ...

...But the productive power of labour is raised, above all, *by greater division of labour*, by a more universal introduction of continual improvement of *machinery*.

... If, now, by a greater division of labour, by the utilization of new machines and their improvement by more profitable and extensive exploitation of *natural forces*, one capitalist has found the means of producing with the same amount of labour or of accumulated labour a greater amount of products, of commodities, than his competitors, if he can, for example, produce a whole yard of linen in the same labour time in which his competitors weave half a yard, how will this capitalist operate?

He could continue to sell half a yard of linen at the old market price; this would, however, be no means of driving his opponents from the field and of enlarging his own sales. But in the same measure in which his production has expanded, his need to sell has also increased. The more powerful and costly means of production that he has called into life *enable* him, indeed, to sell his commodities more cheaply, they compel him, however, at the same time to *sell more commodities*, to conquer a much *larger* market for his commodities. ...

...However powerful the means of production which a capitalist brings into the field, competition will make these means of production universal and from the moment when it has made them universal, the only result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now supply *for the same price* ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But, as he must sell perhaps a thousand times as much as before in order to outweigh the lower selling price by the greater amount of the product sold, because a more extensive sale is now necessary, not only in order to make more profit but in order to replace the cost of production — the instrument of production itself, as we have seen, becomes more and more expensive — and because this mass sale becomes a question of life and death not only for him but also for his rivals, the old struggle begins again *all the more violently the more fruitful the already discovered means of production are. The division of labour and the application of machinery, therefore, will go on anew on an*

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*incomparably greater scale. ...*

...Thus the capitalist would have won nothing by his own exertions but the obligation to supply more in the same labour time, in a word, *more difficult conditions for the augmentation of the value of his capital. ...*

...We have portrayed above, in a hasty sketch, the industrial war of the capitalists among themselves; *this war has the peculiarity that its battles are won less by recruiting than by discharging the army of labour. The generals, the capitalists, compete with one another as to who can discharge most soldiers of industry. ...*

...Finally, as the capitalists are compelled, ... to exploit the already existing gigantic means of production on a larger scale and to set in motion all the main-springs of credit to this end, there is a corresponding increase in industrial earthquakes, in which the trading world can only maintain itself by sacrificing a part of wealth, of products and even of productive forces to the gods of the nether world — in a word, *crises increase. They become more frequent and more violent, if only because, as the mass of production, and consequently the need for extended markets, grows, the world market becomes more and more contracted, fewer and fewer new markets remain available for exploitation, since every preceding crisis has subjected to world trade a market hitherto unconquered or only superficially exploited.* (Lectures delivered by Marx, December 14-30, 1847)...

...I think, I have shown that their (the workers' — Ed. P.Era) struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labour, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent in their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions and the social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, "*A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!*" they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, "*Abolition of the wages system!*" ...

...In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable

and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution....

...the transformation of the individualised and scattered means of production into socially concentrated ones, of the pigmy property of the many into the huge property of the few, the expropriation of the great mass of the people from the soil, from the means of subsistence, and from the means of labour, this fearful and painful expropriation of the mass of the people forms the prelude to the history of capital. It comprises a series of forcible methods, of which we have passed in review only those that have been epoch-making as methods of the primitive accumulation of capital. The expropriation of the immediate producers was accomplished with merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious. Self-earned private property, that is based, so to say, on the fusing together of the isolated, independent labouring-individual with the conditions of his labour, is supplanted by capitalistic private property which rests on exploitation of the nominally free labour of others, i.e., on wages labour. ...

...One capitalist always kills many. Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of the labour-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labour into instruments of labour only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production of combined, socialised labour, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world-market, and with this, the international character of the capitalistic regime. Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist

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## PRE-BUDGET ANALYSIS

# Who is to Bear the Burden — Hon'ble Finance Minister ?

[This article went to the Press on 24.2.2000, before this year's Union Budget was placed in the Lok Sabha. The points at issue need to be further examined in the light of the new budget. — Editor, P. Era.]

Close on the heels of hiking the prices of all commodities including the fares of transports through hiking the price of diesel, the BJP government at the Centre has now slashed the rate of interest on small savings in post offices, Public Provident Fund and government bonds like Kisan Vikas Patra etc. and has thus launched fresh attacks, like the Congress government, on the lives of the common people. One year back, too, the government had reduced rate of interest on small savings by one per cent. That is, within two years, the interest rate has been slashed down by 2 per cent. Even before that, the interest on fixed deposits in banks had been reduced. Innumerable people, including pensioners, somehow eke out a living depending on small savings interests. With the reduction in interest, they will be severely hit, in the face of rising market prices.

### Why this cut in interest ?

The answer lies in examining who will benefit by it ? The benefit will obviously go to the monopoly houses and the government. At least the following three objects have prompted the government to take such an anti-people step : 1) to reduce the cost towards interest payment by the monopoly business men i.e. supply of capital to them at lower cost; 2) to reduce government's own expenditure on debt servicing; 3) to push the common investors towards share markets and mutual funds narrowing down the scope of secured savings.

In the last year's budget, the BJP government had promised the people that it would provide everybody with food, education, health care, shelter and livelihood within 10 years. Throughout this one year it has done just nothing for them. But in the same budget it had assured the capitalists of arranging supply of capital at lower rate of interest by slashing rates of interest in banks and other financial institutions. The government has gone back on its promise in the case of common people but kept its word to the owners.

But it is the government itself that will benefit most. Already the government loan has surpassed Rs 8 lakh crore. Assuming the net small savings deposits to be around Rs 50 thousand crore, with the lowering of interest rate by 2% the government will save a cost of Rs 1000 crore per year.

They know it well that the post-offices and public sector banks are where the middle and lower middle class people deposit money for maximum security, because they cannot afford to take risks. Now with the cut in interest rate they would be faced with hardship and that will push them towards sharemarket and mutual funds. That is, a boom in speculative sharemarket will be sought to be effected by shifting the burden of insecurity on to the common people. As it is, liberalisation and so-called industrialisation by high-technology are reducing job opportunities in the country. Modernisation, is no doubt, pushing up profitability for the owner but at the cost of jobs and job opportunity for the common people. These standard bearers of

Hindutva are in making the common men destitute; poor Hindu, Muslim, Christian people all are equally wilting under the BJP rule.

### Motive behind the 'concern' for deficit

These days everybody must have noticed that with the budget approaching, the government, the industrialists, monopoly press — all in unison begin to raise alarm and express apprehension over probable fiscal deficit. Already the Finance Minister has threatened that hard decisions are to be taken in the budget and "somebody must bite the bullets". It goes without saying, it is the common people who will be the victim. If the rulers really wanted to bring down deficits they would have taken effective steps to curb it after placing a budget of Rs 79,000 crore deficit last year. So, why do they now raise such an alarm over deficit? In this context it must be understood that the angularity from which demands for curbing deficit in the interest of the people are raised and the angularity from which the government and the industrialists cry for minimising it are not the same, but on the contrary, opposite to each other.

In the interest of the people, we too demand for reducing deficit but by imposing higher rate of taxes on the profits of the monopoly houses, collecting the arrear taxes, unearthing blackmoney and slashing down expenditure on luxuries of the ministers and bureaucrats, pruning top heavy administration and bringing down the huge expenditure on militarisation.

But the government does just the opposite. For the last few years, the World Bank and the IMF are laying great stress on bringing down deficit. Their object is, on the plea of checking the deficit, to effect more privatisation, to narrow down the field of public sector undertakings and to cut further the subsidies on public welfare measures like education, healthcare and transport, public utilities, and they are prescribing the government to act accordingly. In a word, they want the government to allow the Indian and foreign monopolists to plunder the country freely. The government too, in the interest of the Indian monopoly houses, is toeing the same path on the plea of reducing fiscal deficit.

Already there is apprehension in all circles that the deficit will cross Rs 1,00,000 crore this year. Why so much deficit? Is the government going bankrupt to provide subsidy to public welfare measures? Not at all. On the contrary, subsidies on these accounts are being reduced every year. Whereas in 1990-91 subsidies accounted for 2.3 per cent of the GDP, in 1997-98 it came down to 1.4 per cent. (*The Economic Times*, 11.2.99) Last year, the BJP government granted subsidies of only Rs 22,400 crore which was only 1.24 per cent of the GDP. Out of this amount only Rs.9000 crore was for food. The rest was meant for subsidies under other heads which included subsidies to benefit the capitalists and the rich peasants. That is, the Congress, the UF and BJP governments have all reduced subsidies continually.

### Why still so much deficit in budget?

On the one hand revenue income of the government is decreasing due to successive exemptions in taxes and increased reliefs to the monopoly houses and, on the other, because of

wreckless government spending, the total expenditure has been steadily increasing and, as a result, the yearly deficit has been shooting up. Right from the introduction of the new economic policy by the Congress government, import duties have been drastically cut as per prescription of free market economy. About thirty years back, rate of import duty ranged even upto 200% ; thereafter gradually it came down to a maximum of 40% in the last budget. In pursuance of WTO conditionality the import duty has been cut down from 140% to just 30%. (*The Statesman*, 15.11.99) As a result, the big industrialists and businessmen are getting the opportunity of importing foreign machineries and industrial goods at cheaper rate and the government revenue from duties is being reduced. Export earnings by industrialists and businessmen have been almost fully exempted from income tax and profit from computer software industry has been made tax-free (*Ibid.*, 9.11.99). Besides, the capitalists get tax exemption for newly set up industries for several years, supply of water and electricity at cheaper rates, etc.

Above all, there is the trickery of exaggerating the projected revenue income and showing the deficit lower by manipulative means. And at the end of the year, the actual income falls far short of the earlier projected income. The government creates illusion about the capitalist system, paints a rosy picture of industrialisation and progress by propaganda and projects huge amount of revenue income through taxes etc. accruing therefrom, but in reality that fails to occur. For, there is scarcity of market and it leads to recession in industry. The government allows bounty of tax concessions to keep the profits of the Indian and foreign industrialists-traders intact in spite of the market crisis and to make such practices acceptable to the people it claims that these subventions are given to attract internal and foreign capital and to encourage setting up of industries.

### Enormous administrative and military expenditure

The BJP government has done nothing towards austerity despite promises of down-sizing the government. Rather, the BJP has formed a jumbo cabinet with a record number of ministers. There are over 70 ministers now, none of whom believes in the principle of self-renunciation of Hindu religion. They are not at all averse to squandering away public money wearing the saffron cloak.

Above all, there is the huge overt and covert military expenditure. To provide some respite to the ruling capitalist class in their crisis of market, the Indian government too, like all other capitalist governments in the world, is raising the bogey of 'country in danger' and hike in military expenditure. To make this acceptable, all bourgeois governments in the world, whenever they get an opportunity, keep the border clashes alive. Neither India nor Pakistan are exceptions to this. By creating a war psychosis and an atmosphere of jingoism, the BJP-led government last year allocated Rs 45,694 crore towards military expenditure in this land of widespread hunger and destitution. After the Kargil conflict,

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# People Perish While Capitalists Loot

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entailing astronomical cost, another Rs 7,000 crore has been allotted. In addition, the BJP government, on the plea of making the so called Hindu bomb, i.e. nuclear bomb is draining out thousands of crores of rupees directly or in the name of various researches. Thus by unstintingly spending enormous wealth they have thus built up the Indian military forces, the most faithful and the ultimate protector of the capitalist system, as the fourth largest in the world. Whereas, in the yardstick of standard of living of the common people, India ranks 135th among 174 countries of the world. (*The Statesman*, 13.9.99)

Whenever the question of deficit arises, the government, the bureaucracy, the economists serving the government and the capitalist system, representatives of the corporate houses, and the monopoly press hide the real cause of deficit and point at two reasons for the deficit in unison: whatever subsidies the common people still enjoy and the pay rise of the government employees. They advocate doing away with subsidies. By this they do not mean abolishing all subsidies. They never speak about reducing the subsidies the capitalist class — the industrialists, the traders and businessmen, rich peasants, etc. enjoy.

The concrete facts are: Per 100 rupees spent by the Indian government, the subsidies account for Rs 6.80. (Source: *Interview with Indian Finance Minister in BBC, Indian Business News on 4.7.99*)

## Anti-people steps on the plea of reducing deficit

Yet, whenever the question of deficit comes up, the government argues that it is not possible to provide so much subsidy; government expenditure on education and health should be reduced; these should be totally commercialised. The profit making public sector enterprises should be handed over to the private owners; the government is unable to provide for modernisation of public sector industries — for that private capital should be invited, the loosing public sector units should be closed down; even if all this results in starvation deaths in the workers' families, let it be so.

In pursuance of such policy, 2,18,000 workers-employees were bade good-bye till May 1998 (Labour File, May 1999 issue). The process of privatization that has been started in banking, insurance and telecom will in the coming days render many more jobless.

The BJP does not feel any qualm to proffer a false picture of less deficit by means of budget figure manipulations through buying and selling of shares of government enterprises among themselves and showing the sales proceeds as income in the books of accounts. This year a sales proceeds of at least Rs 8,240 crore will be shown as income, which is baseless. To cover up the terrible crisis of capitalism they have taken accounting manipulation to such a level that budget calculations have become largely meaningless.

But the cruel budgetary and pre-budget measures taken to fleece the people constitute the harsh reality. Before this year's budget, the government has already raised Rs 6,600 crore hiking diesel price and Rs 2,500 crore by hiking prices of rice, wheat, and sugar, distributed

through the PDS. By signing the GATT agreement, the government is already committed to totally abolishing the PDS.

## Deception of development

While bringing down this cruel attack on the people, the BJP too, like the earlier Congress and UF ministries, is hoaxing the people on the question of development. The yardstick of development for all these ministries has been: whether the GDP is on the increase and the share market is sprightly. The present government claims that the GDP has increased this year by over 6%. This figure too, is a manipulation. Now-a-days the higher-ups in the government always provide the GDP figure, and this GDP includes the income from foreign investment which they consider to be national income. So, by this the real state of the crisis-ridden economy cannot be perceived. Besides, such GDP figures does not prove that industry and agriculture are advancing. For the GDP calculation shows that growth of industry and agriculture have been at far less a rate than that for the services. It is seen that in 1990-91, the starting year of the new economic policy, agriculture contributed 30.9% to the GDP, the industries 28.4% and the services 43.7%. In 1998-99, the contribution of agriculture has been 26.8%, that of industry 22% and that of the services 51.2%. But everybody knows the main bases of modern economy are industry and agriculture. It is to meet the needs of these two that the services come in. Only then does the progress in the capitalist sense become harmonious. But due to the capitalist exploitation the majority of the people have no purchasing power. That is why the growth of industry and agriculture is being hampered. In this situation, advancement in banking, insurance, transportation, telecommunication and such other services is like building a house on quick sand. The question of provision of adequate food, clothing, shelter, health care, etc. for the people is not directly related to these, but only indirectly. Moreover, now we hear about 'export-based development', because market crisis in the country is acute. For that purpose, emphasis is now on cultivation of profitable agricultural commodities of exportable quality, cash crops for foreign markets, resulting in progressively less

acreage being earmarked for producing cheap foodgrains for the poor.

Two recent incidents have laid bare the real face of the capitalist agricultural development in our country. Last year witnessed a record wheat production in our country and simultaneously, the prices of the imported wheat came down to a level, lower than that of indigenous wheat. The moment the possibility thus arose of a fall in the price of wheat in the market, the BJP at once sprang to the rescue of the agricultural capitalists. These advocates of open market economy, tax reduction and free competition immediately imposed 50% duty on imported wheat to keep the wheat price high. For similar reason, the import duty on sugar has progressively been increased from 25% to 60%. It is noteworthy that neither Congress nor the CPI(M) seriously resisted these. Reason is that they are all basically united in safeguarding the interest of the capitalist class.

When the question of safeguarding the interest of the poor and the middle class people is raised and mass movements are initiated, the bogey is raised that these cannot be tolerated as these would harm the development of the country. But it is the common people who are being crushed under the grinding wheel of such 'development' whereas the capitalists are reaping profit. A study has shown that in the first nine months of the financial year 1999-2000, the profit of 276 companies have risen by 36%. (*The Economic Times*, 24.1.2000). Whereas 58% of the rural population are capable of spending only Rs.6 or less daily. Only 15% people have sanitation facilities in their homes, 80% do not have this. (*The Statesman*, 13.9.99) To the majority of the people, education, health care and even drinking water are but dreams. Two square meals a day are a luxury. The so-called economy of 'development' never bothers about them. Only the handful with the purchasing power are worthy of consideration of this capitalist 'development'. The rest are considered to be the scum, the refuse. Market economy does not care a whit whether they live or die.

Such is the real picture of the 'development' of the Congress style or the BJP style. Sadly, the election monger leftists in our country including the CPI(M) have jumped into the bandwagon of such 'development'.

How long will the toiling masses of the country take this lying down?

## Tamilnadu students' movement against barbaric killing of girl students

Tamilnadu state witnessed widespread student protests and movements condemning the barbaric killing of three girl students belonging to Tamilnadu Agriculture University (TNAU), Coimbatore. Following AIADMK leader Jayalalitha's conviction in the "Pleasant Stay Hotel Case" a group of criminals cold bloodedly set fire to a college bus full of TNAU students, mainly girl students, near Dharmapuri, Tamilnadu. As a result three students burnt to death.

The police and administration failed to arrest the culprits, while both DMK and AIADMK started accusing each other over the killings.

In this situation, Madras Presidency College students went for a spontaneous strike demanding the arrest of the real culprits. Students from Pondicherry, Madurai, Coimbatore, Trichi, Tirunelveli, Salem organised protest rallies, dharnas, human chain against the criminalisation

of politics. The AIDSO in its press release severely condemned the barbaric act, criminalisation of politics and demanded judicial enquiry, ensuring impartial justice. Hundreds of students emotionally joined the protest demonstration organised by AIDSO, AIMSS, AIDYO on 8th February. On the following day the All College Students' Joint Committee (AKMK-Anaithu Kalluri Manavar Kootamaippu) organised a protest march to state secretariat in which AIDSO played a very active role. Students from 22 colleges of the city and other students' organisations like SFI, AISA and AICUF participated in the march. As the procession started it swelled into thousands, majorly girl students. A 15-member representation from the procession met the Chief Minister and submitted a charter of demands. The AKMK-Chennai has resolved to continue the movement till the demands are achieved.



## RAILWAY BUDGET

# Economically Deceptive and Politically Dangerous

With much fanfare the Railway Budget for 2000-2001 has been placed in the Parliament. Against the backdrop of presentation by the 'charismatic' Railway Minister Ms Mamata Banerjee, the so-called popular budget is totally deceptive, at the same time dangerous. Deceptive for its manipulation and speculation in book accounting, dangerous for its political import. Her so-called popular and soft budget in reality paves the ground for harsh general budget of her mentor Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, for which people have to 'bite the bullet'.

The railway minister has announced 19 new trains and 11 new projects, which stirred the media hype. These will be dealt with later. Apart from these, regarding the step like sparing the passengers from fare hike is not at all unique. Last year the Railway Minister Mr Nitish Kumar also spared ordinary 2nd class and suburban passengers from hike in railway fare and levied a flat 4% additional freight charge on all commodities. But this year for taking almost similar steps Ms Mamata Banerjee is being painted as a messiah to common people.

First of all we may recall here the sorry state of Indian Railways which is the second largest railway network in the world under one administration. Passengers' amenities are almost reduced to nil, particularly in passenger and suburban trains. Passenger facilities of long distance and prestigious trains are miserably below the mark, even cleanliness is not maintained. Trains run on time only once in a blue moon. Even the handful superfast express trains run often 12-14 hours late. Security during the journey is totally non-existent, passengers are left at the mercy of dacoits and gangsters. Night journeys are horrible. It would have been welcome if the railway minister had put forward concrete proposals to improve the situation but she merely paid lip service and admitted the sorry state of the railways only to cover up the ugly condition and contain public grievances.

The railway minister's pro-people stance and generosity stands on five legs:

1. Borrowing a large amount.
2. Deferring the payment.
3. Imposing additional tariff.
4. Inflated estimated income.
5. Non traditional revenue earnings by leasing railway land etc.

The railway budget has been placed with an uncovered deficit of Rs 600 crore. But this is not the real picture. The real deficit amounts to at least Rs 5,500 crore, which has been cleverly hidden. The railway minister has deferred the payment amounting Rs 1,500 crore as dividend payable to the general exchequer of the Union Government for capital support. This should be added to the deficit. Moreover, to cover up the real deficit Ms Mamata Banerjee followed the footsteps of her predecessor and proposed to borrow from market the sum of Rs 3,668 crore. By simple addition one may find that the real deficit in the railway budget is no less than Rs 5,500 crore.

The single and most important cause of losses in the railways is rampant corruption at all levels. The whole deficit might have been covered if top level corruptions are unearthed and checked. But the 'able' railway minister in her four months' tenure is conspicuous by her silence about it. Has the 'firebrand' railway minister come to an understanding to co-exist peacefully with the corrupt railway administration?

Turning a blind eye to the top level malpractice and corruption the railway minister based her so-called welfare and development schemes on inflated estimation of income. She announced additional allotment on safety measures,

passengers' comfort and planned expenditure on the basis of expected Gross Tariff Receipt of Rs 36,529 crore. Is it a realistic figure? Let us examine the earlier experiences.

In the year 1998-99 budget estimate of Gross Tariff Receipt was Rs 31,472 crore. In the revised estimate the figure came down to Rs 30,416 crore and the actual receipt was only Rs 29,619 crore. Last year the projected Gross Tariff receipts was Rs 33,311 crore, which has already come down to Rs 33,096 crore in the revised estimate. Certainly the actual receipt will drop even more. With this track record how the railway minister projected Gross Tariff receipt for the coming year as Rs 36,529 crore?

There are many big 'IF's in her claim. If the economy comes out of recession, and she hopes it will, the railways will carry more goods. Then if her target of carrying 475 million tons, which is 25 million tons higher than that of the last year, is fulfilled then the tariff receipt will hit the target. Let us look back to the freight traffic performance of the railways. In 98-99 there was a shortfall of 29 million tons in freight traffic. In the current year, budget target was 450 million tons. "However the freight earnings are likely to fall short of target by Rs 250 crore" the minister admitted. Still she projects a target higher by 25 million tons, and calculates the income taken for granted as her success.

The railway minister's 'if's do not end here. She hopes to generate Rs 3,729 crore from normal internal resources and non-traditional revenue. Again IF the target is achieved.

In tune with the policy of privatising the railways, she has already proposed to lease railway land and stations for commercial use and privatisation of catering services, and so on and so forth. These steps may have a good value as a signal for her obedience to the diktat of IMF and World Bank, but for resource generation it's scope is still very bleak. Whether these steps are supportable or not is a different question. But as it is, now it's success is a far cry. Those who think privatisation to be a panacea for deficit in public transport, particularly the railways, may be reminded that this year British railways, which is fully privatised and one-third in size in comparison to Indian Railway has been provided Rs 7000 crore by the British government as subsidy.

In her budget speech the railway minister confessed that the budget accounts were made on the basis of all these projected incomes and supports (utopian as it may be). It is on such a basis that she has allocated Rs 11,000 crore for planned expenditure, that is for new trains, line doubling and extensions, safety measures, etc. Last year Mr Nitish Kumar announced allocation of Rs 9,700 crore for planned expenditure but in reality he allotted only Rs 8,965 crore. How Ms Mamata Banerjee will keep her promises only she knows. Nowadays it is customary for the ministers to announce many projects without adequate monetary provisions and lay foundation stones for media publicity, only to let green moss grow over the marble plaques. The present railway minister,

as already stated, also promised 19 new trains and 11 new projects without adequate allotment of fund. One can easily foretell the future. We may recall here, that many such popular projects, announced long back by a former railway minister, A B A Ghani Khan Choudhury of the Congress, still remain unfinished, as is well known.

But however illusive might be her revenue receipts, freight hike of 5 % on average is a stark reality. By this hike railways is expected to mop up additional Rs 600 crore in the coming year. In other words the burden will be put on the already bent back of the common people through price rise. Though it is said that the essential commodities are exempted but items like coal and cement are not spared. Rise in coal price particularly, in turn will push up the cost of thermal power, which is no less an essential commodity. Exemption of essential commodities like foodgrain etc. cannot be an excuse for general freight hike because freight hike of any commodity, for example petrol, diesel, iron ore and steel, will surely lead to general price rise.

The railway minister has mercilessly hiked the freight of chemical manure and oil seed etc., (16 to 48 %) as a result edible oil will be dearer. Hike in fertiliser freight is a deceptive trick played by railway minister: the burden of additional freight on fertiliser will automatically be shifted to general budget because fertilizers are sold at subsidized administered price. Moreover the railway budget seeks for a support of Rs 3540 crore from the ensuing general budget.

In the present perspective, when the BJP is in hot pursuit of open market economy and opposed to all forms of subsidy on public welfare and social service sector, the Prime Minister is willfully swallowing the additional burden of Rs 5,000 crore in the form of deferred dividend payment and budgetary support to reap political dividend. He even went to the extent of protecting Miss Mamata Banerjee from adverse criticism by the NDA MPs in Parliament regarding railway budget. Not for nothing, Political support from Trinamul Congress is what he counts.

The BJP, an out and out anti-people right reactionary party, needs a 'popular' face to hoodwink the people. Taking advantage of Left Front Government's misrule in West Bengal, and being backed by monopoly press, TMC is trying to build up a pro-people image. If there is any 'West Bengal bias' in the railway budget, it is not out of love for people of West Bengal but for trying to reap dividend in the coming Assembly elections. Already the media is painting the TMC to be the alternative to CPI(M). The BJP is very much interested to get a foothold in West Bengal, a state of traditional left movement, with the help of TMC. This will not only boost the morale of BJP workers in the state but it has an all India significance also. So long the BJP was not in a position to grab power alone, it badly needs a 'firebrand' ally like TMC as a party and Ms Mamata Banerjee as a person. That is why, shrewd BJP leaders are pampering the railway minister. They seek to hide their naked and brutal communal and fascist face behind populism of TMC and in the name of development. Mamata Banerjee and TMC for their lust for power, are acting like a prop of a fascist regime in the making.

From this point of view the "populist" budget is not only economically deceptive but politically dangerous at the same time.

# The need for working women's unity is stronger than ever

For the first time in history women were fired upon on 8 March 1857 by police who acted on orders to suppress women textile workers' movement. This heinous attack on women took place in America, the land of Abraham Lincoln. But instead of subduing the fighting spirit of women — influenced by ideas of the French Revolution of equality, fraternity and liberty, including emancipation of women — such inhuman police repression only served to further rouse their fighting spirit against discrimination and oppression. As a result women's movements became more organised and gained new ground. Among the various demands that were raised, was the demand for voting rights for women, centring round which women's movements grew more and more strong.

In 1910, the Second International Socialist Women's Congress decided to observe 8 March as International Women's Day at the instance of Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German social democratic party that had been co-founded by Bebel, the comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels. It may be mentioned in this context that Clara Zetkin later played a prominent role in the international communist movement in upholding Lenin's line. Though rising capitalism had raised the question of emancipation of women, Clara Zetkin realised that their emancipation was intimately linked up with the question of emancipation of the working class and hence of whole society from capitalist exploitation. This is the realisation that provided the basis for the rallying call of the International Women's Day to working women everywhere — the call to forge worldwide unity as part of the revolutionary working class movement, along with the demand for women's voting rights.

Today observance of this day assumes new and profound symbolic significance. True, voting rights for women have long been achieved, many age-old restrictions and fetters on women have been removed and certain rights obtained under parliamentary democratic system — the fruit of glorious revolutionary struggles against feudal and religious fetters and patriarchal oppression, spanning several centuries. But under capitalism, due to its exploitative character, emancipation of women remains a far cry. Today capitalism has become out and out reactionary. It is trampling the established democratic rights of people, generates

perversion and decadence, and subjects women to never attacks in all spheres of life increasing, male domination and humiliation. This holds all the more true for our country where the Renaissance thoughts and movement were born and grew under the umbrella of British imperialism at a time when internationally capitalism had become a spent force plagued by endemic crisis of market. Hence the Indian Renaissance lacked the uncompromising fervour of its earlier European counterpart — except for a few led by the bold and towering personality of Vidyasagar — and made compromises with religion and feudalism. Hence the social and cultural revolution brought about by uncompromising Renaissance movement and unhindered industrial revolution, as in the West, could not be achieved fully in India, rather it ended in a half baked and truncated way. As a result the condition of women in our country is most deplorable with rampant feudal remnants taking a heavy toll in and of women's life. To mention but the custom of dowry, the source of so much discrimination, injustice and deprivation in women's life, not to speak of the increasing ghastly crimes like bride burning and female infanticide and foeticide associated with it.

With the BJP led government in power in Delhi today, the lot of women in our country is deteriorating even further. The BJP's true attitude to women can be gauged from the way it is inciting and fuelling fundamentalist Hindu religious bigotry and superstitions — which go hand in hand with worst form of patriarchal oppression. Sometimes they do so openly, sometimes covertly always goaded on by its mentor the RSS, as a result of which old discarded and obnoxious superstitious beliefs and practices are being revived. To take but the rising incidents of so-called witch killings or the reappearance of sati — known to be sometimes used as a cover for outright murder to obtain the woman's or the widow's property. And we find members of the Sangh Parivar shamelessly extolling sati as virtues and turning the sites in pilgrimage centers. What attitude towards women does it try to spread? Or take the issue of education. The feudal and religious fetters that enslaved women in darkness and denied her right to education have long been removed. But in our country due to poverty, more than half the population languishes in a state of illiteracy. It is the women who account for the greater part. Today the BJP by outdoing even Congress and former UF government in its ruthless implementation of the policy of commercialisation and privatisation of education as part of liberalisation programme — is increasingly confounding this situation. As proper education, esp. higher education is fast turning into a luxury, available alone to the fortunate few, it is the girls and women that are the worst sufferers. The irony is that the same BJP clamours for free education for girls and at the same time tells women to go back to the kitchen, like Hitler.

But the insidious attacks on women are not confined to these fields alone. Worse are the attacks brought about by the vile imperialist consumerist culture disseminated through the mass media that is flooding our country as a result of globalisation and liberalisation which the BJP is vigorously pursuing and which is eating into the very vitals of the ethical, moral and cultural fabric, destroying the essence of finer human qualities. It creates a bent of mind that considers profit-making as an

honourable moral motive — often the sole motive to decide good or bad. The idea that is being promoted is that there is nothing wrong for women to participate in beauty contests and modeling, for example, since it enables them to earn a lot. The vile consumerism that is being pushed aggressively with a view to create new markets is utilising women as mere commodities in the mass media, exploiting women's physique to earn fabulous profits. All this, along with the barrage of increasing obscenity, vulgarity, sex and violence relentlessly released through mass media, is projecting women as mere sex objects. What greater insult to and attack on dignity of womanhood could there be? This degraded culture, that caters to the base instincts of man is directly responsible for the steep rise in atrocities and crimes against women.

In this context it may be mentioned that side by side with the promotion of sex tourism, there is a move afoot to accord to prostitution the status of entertainment industry. Thus the demand has been raised by some quarters to give them trade union rights, which has caused no little confusion even among progressive people. This is but a move to legitimise harassment and inhuman torture of girls and women who have been forced into this ignoble profession by an inhuman exploitative society. While there can be no two opinions as to the need of effective economic and social rehabilitation with due honour of these unfortunate girls and women, but to legitimise this state of affairs by according this profession, prostitution industry status with trade union rights, far from solving their problems, will only help to legitimise their harassment and exploitation.

Today women, who have proved their mettle over and over — if given the opportunity — in every sphere of life, including in the field of science and epistemology, are subjected to perilous attacks from all sides under crisis ridden capitalism. Their only hope and way out is to come forward in united and organised movement against all sorts of oppression and injustice, against perversion and cultural decadence that is destroying dignity of womanhood, vitiating and endangering their life and future. But they can move on the correct path only if they link their movement with working class movement and the revolutionary struggle to attain emancipation for men and women alike. In this, feminist movements remaining confined within the bounds and aims of capitalist system, and which often degenerate into all kinds of extremism, some of them of the most weird kind, cannot provide an answer or show the way for women.

Hence today the call of International Women's Day for worldwide unity of women to fight for their emancipation as part of working class struggle has acquired new profound symbolic significance so many decades later in the changed circumstances. In this context we may recall the teachings of Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat who showed the way on how to build up revolutionary movement on correct path and on the basis of higher culture and ethics failing which, he cautioned, no movement can succeed. Talking of revolution he said: When we talk of socialist revolution, of state revolution — what do we mean by it? It is a revolution for liberation — the liberation of workers-peasants from the owners' exploitation and oppression, the liberation of science from the stranglehold of profit, and the liberation of women from male oppression and tyranny.

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*(Contd. from page 3)*

integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated. ...

... But the working class not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes. ...

...At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. ...

...Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*. ...

... And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: 1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*...

...If you look at the last chapter of my *Eighteenth Brumaire*, you will find that I say that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it, and this is the preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the continent. And this is what our heroic Party comrades in Paris are attempting. What elasticity, what historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice

# Teachings of Karl Marx

in these Parisians! After six months of hunger and ruin, caused by internal treachery more even than by the external enemy, they rise, beneath Prussian bayonets. ...

...The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour. — But this is Communism, "impossible" Communism! Why, those members of the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the present system — and they are many — have become the obtrusive and full-mouthed apostles of co-operative production. If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of Capitalist production — what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?

The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce *par decret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes transforming circumstances and men. ...

...Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our

Association\* should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Governments would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour — the condition of their own parasitical existence.

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class....

## Reference :

Excerpts from following writings of Marx have been used :

- Wage, Labour and Capital
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- Capital, Vol. I
- Preface to the Critique of Political Economy
- The Civil War In France
- Critique of the Gotha Programme
- Letter to P.V. Annenkov, dated, December 28, 1846
- Letter to J. Weydemeyer, dated, March 5, 1852
- Letter to L. Kugelmann, dated, April 12, 1871

\* *Working Men's International Association, the international working class organisation formed by Marx which became known as the First International later on.*

## Deceptive Rail Budget

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement :

The rail budget is nothing but a gimmick. Without raising any finger against corruption, the budget has imposed increased freight on many items. It has proposed raising of about Rs. 4,000/- crore as loan to meet the budget deficit. This will ultimately hit the people's interest. Besides the loan and the budget allocation of about Rs. 3,000/- crore, another about Rs. 4,000/- crore has been proposed to be raised from 'other sources'. These 'other sources' will, no doubt, finally be the poor people's pocket. Moreover, the budget has not given any indication for prevention against the accidents which are a daily occurrence on account of backdated rails and signalling system and thousand of unmanned level crossings. Hence this is an utterly deceptive budget.

## UTUC-LS protests close down of E.C.L.

Comrade Shankar Saha, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, UTUC-Lenin Sarani, issued the following statement on 14.2.2000 in protest against the heinous decision of the government to close down 4 collieries under E.C.L. (Eastern Coalfields Limited), a subsidiary of C.I.L.

The UTUC-LS strongly condemns and vehemently protests against the heinous move of the government to close down, in continuation of its earlier chain-action, 4 collieries, each with substantial reserves, namely Dhadka, Incline, GM.Ghusik, CM Ghusik and new Ghusik under Eastern Coalfields Ltd., a subsidiary of Coal India Ltd., as part of its bigger design to give away the entire coal sector to private sector, in ultimate fall-out of which thousands of workers will be thrown out of job, with the country's economy immensely harmed.

We call upon the government to desist from this anti-worker, anti-people decision by ordering a halt to its implementation immediately.



*Demonstration against reactionary Budget in Calcutta on 29th February, 2000 immediately after the Budget was placed*

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE