



KARL MARX

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LONG LIVE MARXISM

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LIBERATION OF WORKING CLASS IS FOR LIBERATION OF HUMANITY

Fourteenth of March (1883), the day of passing away of Karl Marx, the great revolutionary soul, the founder and propounder of scientific philosophy of Dialectical Materialism or Marxism, the philosophy of emancipation of mankind from the bondage of capital to a higher social order free from class exploitation, savage oppression and class privileges, invariably turns one's mind to the striking contrast between the world and destiny of humanity of his noble vision and the world staring us in the face now.

The ruling bourgeoisie, the world over, has been mounting fierce onslaughts on the lives and livings of the working people. Millions upon millions of common people face at an unprecedented scale joblessness, dearth of employment opportunities, price hikes, wage erosion, premature retirement, etc., and consequent dire poverty, destitution and ruination. In our country, the ruling bourgeoisie strives to do the same with its so-called 'new economic and industrial policy' the most brutal aspect of which is the 'exit policy' particularly in public sectors by which it seeks the 'freedom' to fire the workmen in millions at its sweet will on the specious plea of rejuvenating industry and economy.

This catastrophe befalls the working people and the society at a time when a new vista has been opened up for productive forces and production due to development of science and technological advancement based on it. This is being called technological revolution. But this development of science, technology, innovative skill and knowledge which is the achievement of human labour, whether physical or mental, instead of being in the service of humanity, society and the world at large is being used against those as instruments of exploitation and oppression by the ruling capitalist class to defend the interest of super-profit of capital. Moribund capitalist system, tottering at its last leg of defence in its bid to escape from all-out and overall crisis, takes recourse to barbarous class solution of shifting the entire burden of crisis of its existence on to the common people and society.

The hypocrisy of the ruling bourgeoisie and its hirelings comes to an amazing height when in the face of utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system, which is as clear as day light, they all claim this rotten system as the highest social development beyond which mankind cannot proceed! They wax eloquent on 'freedom' 'democracy', 'human rights' when millions upon millions of human beings are belched out as social waste to taste the only 'freedom' — the 'freedom' to die as subhuman species. It is nothing but perversity of worst sort of a social system where human resources go idle and wasted while productive power has developed to an unprecedented magnitude due to technological advancement of a high order, which is also a product of labour and humanity. This system stagnates as the minimum needs of a civilized life remain unfulfilled. Should the working class, the architect of civilization, bear with this abominable morbidity of an outdated, decadent and corrupt social system? Should it submit mutely to the convulsions and ravings of the moribund social system that stands as the biggest obstacle to human progress and depraves humanity at the same time?

The history of human progress is the history of struggle — struggle against nature and against class rule of exploitation and oppression in society. Can the working men forget this history and the spirit of class struggle if they ever aspire to change the situation to their favour? Should it allow the 'law of jungle' of capitalist society to perpetuate? Should it not unshackle productive forces, science, technology, human labour and creative faculty from the grip and tentacles of capitalist profit motive for the onward and upward march of human civilization? Should it not act as the midwife of history for the deliverance of a new civilization, free from the deformities of class rule of exploitation and class privileges? In order to discharge their historic role, they must recall the profound teaching of Marx where he explained the dialectical relationship between the role of revolutionary philosophy and the role of human initiative in historical changes in such revealing words:

"Just as philosophy finds in the *proletariat* its *material weapon* so the proletariat finds in *philosophy* its *spiritual weapon*. Theory becomes a material force as soon as it takes hold of the masses."

(Marx: *A contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law*; emphasis added — Editor, *Proletarian Era*).

FAILURES AND WEAKNESSES OF WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

That the moribund capitalism still exists despite its savage attacks on the working people and society is not because of its intrinsic merit and resilience as the bourgeois spokesmen would have us believe but due to failures and weaknesses of the working class movement. The major cause of failure is that theory has not been transformed into material force of change of history as envisioned by Marx, barring exceptions. For the transformation of theory into material force are required both ideological regeneration and organisational preparedness. It means assimilation of the basic teachings and outlook of dialectical materialist philosophy of Marxism, continual development of understanding linked up with scientific development, acquiring the capacity to apply those to emerging newer and newer problems of life and phenomena and thus transforming the workers into vanguard in the coming revolution.

The principal reason for the weaknesses in the working class movement has been the inability of the working people to defeat ideologically and organisationally the pernicious influences of bourgeois reactionary thoughts and ideas, morals and culture. It has been the usual tactics of the ruling exploiting classes in history to recruit the defenders of the exploitative system from the

exploited class or classes. The bourgeoisie has succeeded in begetting the social-democratic forces of different hues, the pseudo-socialists, the pseudo-communists, etc., who are forces of compromise between labour and capital and provide social support to moribund capitalism from within the working class movement. These forces have not only infiltrated the working class movement but are mostly in leadership. They are the carriers of the bourgeois influence and act as planted agents of the bourgeoisie, fostered, nurtured and patronised by the latter in every conceivable way. These forces inject defeatism and spinelessness in the working people, spread illusion about reformist path, practise class-collaborationist policies and what is more have reduced the trade unions from being 'School of Communism', envisioned by Marx, into a pathetic appendage to bourgeois exploitative system. It is worth recalling here the revolutionary concept of Marx in regard to the real character and role of trade unions.

In his Report to the General Council at the Geneva Congress, 1866, of the First International, entitled "Trade Unions — their past, present and future", Marx wrote:

"The trade unions, uniting the wage workers and putting an end to the mutual competition which weakens them, make it possible for them to escape from the unfavourable situation in which the units of labour power are placed in face of concentrated force of capital. The immediate task of the trade unions is restricted to the needs of the daily struggle between labour and capital, in a word, to questions of wages and working hours. On the other hand, the trade unions involuntarily became organising centres for the working class, just as in the middle ages the Communes and

Municipalities served as centres of organisation for the bourgeoisie. While, however, the trade unions are absolutely indispensable in the daily struggle between labour and capital, *still more important is their aspect as instruments for transforming the system of wage-labour and for overthrowing the dictatorship of capital.*

"At the present time, the trade unions are too much concerned with the problems of immediate struggle, and do not sufficiently recognise the necessity for grappling with the very foundations of capitalist system... Henceforward, the *trade unions*, in addition to carrying on the struggle against capitalist oppression *must consciously function as organising centres for the working class in its desire to achieve the sublime purpose of complete emancipation.* The unions must support every social and political movement tending in this direction. *Marching forward as the leaders, the champions, the representatives of the whole working class, they will attract to their side all the proletarians, even the most backwards, even the agricultural workers.*" (emphasis added — Editor, *Proletarian Era*).

The bourgeoisie has taken for granted the existence of trade unions but has endeavoured at the same time to use those against the workers themselves by corrupting their leaderships ideologically.

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Social democrats have reduced trade unions from being 'School of Communism' into an appendage to bourgeois exploitative system

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logically-politically and emasculating their organisations of revolutionary spirit, goal and object. The labour aristocracy whom Lenin termed the 'labour lieutenants' have become a partner in the capitalist class rule of exploitation. The bourgeoisie tries in every possible way to remove the trade unions from their class position and make them just a part of the capitalist rule of exploitation. The strategy of working within the confines of existing economic system which forms part of consensus politics of all the parliamentary parties thus entails a critical constraint : the need to maintain the 'confidence of industry', or more accurately of industrialists. On the other hand, consistent defence of workers' rights and interests is frowned upon as an expression of 'outdated ideology of class struggle', an expression 'incompatible' with modern capitalist states !

The bourgeoisie is taking particular comfort that in this swindle on the working class, the revisionists — the forces of compromise of diverse colours — have proved to be their most faithful allies, their helpful accomplices at this hour of severe crisis of the system. Against these enemies within, Lenin struck notes of caution to the working people :

"... the revisionists declare that the doctrine of class struggle is 'antiquated' or begin to conduct a policy which is in fact a renunciation of the class struggle."

(*Marxism and Revisionism*)

Lenin further showed : "The bourgeoisie needs lackeys whom a section of the working class could trust, and who would paint in fine colours, embellish the bourgeoisie with talk about the possibility of the reformist path, who would throw dust in the eyes of the people by this talk, who would divert the people from the revolution by depicting in glowing colours the charms and possibilities of the reformist path." (ibid)

In our country, the social democrats, the revisionists and the neo-revisionist gentry are exactly playing this role. There is now a mutual competition between them and the bourgeoisie in apportioning blame to the working people for the crisis in the capitalist productive system and showering praises on each other.

AGAINST SOME OF BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY IDEAS

In order to mislead the working people and wean them away from their path of emancipation, the bourgeois protagonists resort to various means. The oft-repeated lies such as 'community of interest between the workers and the capitalists', 'social partnership', etc., invocation of 'national interest' to mean in reality the interest of the capitalist class, solicitation for increase in 'production' which depends not on the working class but on the capitalists and their market are heard most when the bourgeois passes the buck onto the workers as crisis in the productive system mounts in menacing proportions. Today, the workers are being called upon to accept heavy doses of retrenchment in order to introduce labour saving sophisticated machines and reap super-profits in the name of modernisation of industry, wage-cut

or wage-freeze, closure of factories and establishments, premature retirements and abstention from democratic struggles in the face of these severe attacks. Workers' 'patriotism' in the eye of the bourgeoisie and its henchmen lies in accepting lying down all these monstrous attacks on their basic right to living while the bourgeoisie discharges its 'patriotic duty' (!) by minting super profits, defrauding the state exchequer through non-payment of tax dues, further accumulating unaccounted-for money or 'black' money as also exporting those to foreign bank accounts and leading a corrupt and profligate life! The state with all its organs is to defend its interest as 'national interest', the law is for protection of its 'freedom' and 'right' of robbing the people and society, the parliamentary and trade union leaders backed by the Establishment are to see that this systematic brigandage goes unchallenged by the exploited and oppressed, denied of human existence. Such is the inverted logic of bourgeois rule. The workers are told not to hurt but worship capital, for on its 'mercy' depends their very existence. Such has been the plight of the workers on whose toil and labour power is built the civilisation.

In a powerful rebuff and exposing the utter falsity of the idea of 'commonness' of interests of labour and capital, Marx showed that :

"To say that the interests of capital and those of the workers are one and the same is only to say that capital and wage-labour are two sides of one and the same relation. As long as the wage-worker is a wage-worker, his lot depends on capital. That is the much vaunted community of interests between worker and capitalist". (*Marx-Engels Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 163).

The bourgeois propagandists try to deceive the working people by urging them to give up opposition to capitalism as modern capitalism, they say, has changed in character; it is now 'people's capitalism' ! It now allows workers to be 'partner' in industry by converting their bonus which is deferred wages into share capital. It also makes provision for labour's representative in the board of directors which has been termed 'management sharing'. The duplicity of the claim is quite obvious. While conversion of deferred wages into share capital of company increases the capital fund of the industrialists not with their contribution which enables them to exploit further the workers with the same capital, the representation of labour in director's board does not change a wee bit the capitalist law and mode of capitalist business management. These are all sops calculated to distract the workers from the path of struggle by injecting bourgeois thought and culture in the minds of the working people.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND KNOWLEDGE REPUDIATES CAPITALISM AND VINDICATES MARXISM

The bourgeois ideologues try to confuse the workers, intellectuals and the people at large by holding that Marxism or Marx's analyses and teachings about the capitalist law of production based on exploitation and oppression is no longer valid. Capitalist production has become more and more science and technology based and as such it

needs hardly any exploitation of labour for profit or accumulation of capital. The society is, therefore, no longer divided into classes and, as a result, the Marxian theory of class struggle has become obsolete. The workers should therefore give up their opposition to capitalist system and cooperate instead with the capitalists for social upliftment. Does this contention reflect the truth ? Or on the other hand conceals it and masks the class motive ? By questioning the relevance of Marxism does it not in reality betray pathetic ignorance about this scientific philosophy, deliberate or otherwise ?

It is to be borne in mind at the very outset that Marx's analysis of the capitalist system of production as a distinct historical category, that is to say, as a definite phase in the history of development of productive forces was concerned with its fundamental character, its historical role as well as its limitation because of its very nature — its motive force and production relation. Marx analysed capitalist mode of production along with its inherent trend and tendencies more than a century back. The validity or relevance of Marxism rests not therefore on whether the particular features of modern capitalism that have come over in the last century were in Marx's writings but on the fundamental approach and method of analysis applied by Marx. A careful analysis of some of Marx's teachings will show that the rare insight of a great revolutionary genius could trace the probable development of capitalism to its modern form in essence to expose all the more the fake title of ownership of the capitalist class over the fruits of social labour.

Marx regarded the advent of machinofacture (including the production of machines by machines) as marking the mature phase of the capitalist mode of production in which there is a 'real subsumption of labour under capital', that is the dominance of machinery in the labour process and the imposition of strict factory discipline so that the worker becomes a 'living appendage' of the lifeless machine and "it is not the worker who employs the means of labour but on the contrary the means of labour employ the worker". (*Capital*, Vol. 1, ch. XIII).

In fact, Marx showed in his *Capital* at various places that scientific and technological progress will be a new source of the new development of capitalism. Marx said :

"So soon, however, as the factory system has gained a certain breadth of footing and definite degree of maturity, and especially, so soon as its technical basis, machinery, is itself produced by machinery; so soon as coal mining and iron mining, the metal industries and the means of transport have been revolutionized; so soon, in short, as the general conditions requisite for production by modern industrial system have been established, this mode of production acquires an elasticity, a capacity for sudden extension by leaps and bounds that finds no hindrance except in the supply of raw material and in the disposal of the produce." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, Part IV "Production of relative surplus - value", Chapter XV "Machinery and Modern Industry")

It is crystal clear that Marx made this analysis in the background of technological development during Marx's time confining the same to mining industry, automation and automatic facilities, etc., in the main. But he never visualised the then technological development as final.

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In a capitalist system fruits of scientific discoveries cannot be used in the service of society as a whole

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Marx said :

"The principle which it (modern industry) pursued, of resolving each process into constituent movements, without any regard to their possible execution by the hand of man, created the new modern science of technology. The varied, apparently unconnected, and petrified forms of industrial processes now resolved themselves into so many conscious and systematic applications of natural science to the attainment of given useful effects".

"Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the labourer, and in the social combinations of the labour-process". (emphasis added — *Editor, Proletarian Era*)

What Marx emphasized in his analysis of machinofacture was its basis on the growth of scientific knowledge and its influence in extending and making more evident the social character of labour; there develops, as he says :

"On an ever-extending scale, the co-operative form of labour process, the conscious application of science, the planned exploitation of the earth, the transformation of instruments of labour into instruments which can only be used in cooperative work, the economizing of all means of production by their uses as the means of production of combined socialized labour and entanglement of all peoples in the net of world market". (*Capital*, Vol. 1, ch. XXIV)

So, science, technology, innovative skill and knowledge are being used as commodities and are even capitalised by modern capitalism. It was Marx who showed that capitalist mode of production is marked by three essential features viz., (i) the whole of social production takes the form of commodities; (ii) labour power (meaning both manual and intellectual) itself becomes a commodity; and (iii) the means of production themselves become commodities in which is materially embodied a social relationship, that of their exclusive appropriation by particular class — in other words, they become capital.

The moot point is: has the motive force of production of capitalist system, which is maximisation of profit, changed? Has the master-servant relation which is the production relation of capitalism changed? No, not a bit. Has the generation of 'surplus capital' for export in foreign lands to exploit cheap labour power and raw materials on the one hand and paucity of investment of industrial capital in newer and newer industries on the other changed? Well, capitalism is capitalism because of these basic features.

The basic character of capitalism has not only not changed but it has become more brutal, more inhuman as it is enmeshed now in insoluble, overall and all-out crisis at its moribund stage when relative stability of world capitalist market has completely disappeared. The utter destitution and ruination of overwhelming majority of toiling masses and endemic social degradation and maladies bear out this truth.

Now, to judge whether Marx's theory of value which showed how surplus value or profit of the capitalists is accumulated by appropriating human labour power is valid even today in this age of computer and modern technology which minimises, so to say, the part played by labour, a few points need utmost consideration. First, we should not forget that when Marx propounded his theory of value created by human labour, he meant by labour both manual and mental labour. Second, it is also known to all and it cannot be challenged by anybody that building up of modern technology, however sophisticated, entails very much mental labour besides skill and expertise which is also a variant or a kind of manual labour inasmuch as it involves human hand. Third, it is man that creates machines but not the other way round.

Top of all, when the facts of life have been unmistakably showing that super profit i.e. super surplus value is being minted more and more without relent by handful of monopolists and giants it means that this is the accumulated result extracted through unprecedented and ruthless exploitation of human labour both mental and manual and it cannot be due to anything else. Since technology, science, etc., cannot be and have not been freed from the grip and tentacles of capitalist profit motive — the stark reality is this that in a capitalist society, more so when capitalism is passing through the decaying or moribund stage the fruits of scientific discoveries cannot be used in the service of the society as a whole.

Moreover, capitalist accumulation is no longer a simple matter of accumulating wealth or means of production, but of accumulating techniques, information and knowledge in general which have been literally capitalised in all advanced capitalist countries. It is also known that technological know-how has also become a kind of commodity. Not only that, technology and scientific knowledge are being used as an instrument of neo-colonial exploitation. The recent insistence of the US imperialists at the urge of chemical and pharmaceutical lobby to change the Patent Rights on Intellectual Property and the Dunkel Plan for preservation of the rights on the process and product for seventeen years goes to prove to what extent scientific development, improved technology and advanced knowledge at the hands of the giant multinationals keep the world divided into backward and advanced countries and perpetuate the dominance and exploitation by the latter.

Marx showed in *Capital* that the capitalists extract surplus value by two means — by increasing the working day which he defined as absolute surplus value. Absolute surplus value has a limit set by physical exhaustion. But the other means that is relative surplus value is created by increasing productivity in the industries. As shown by Marx, "...relative surplus value arises from increased productivity due to better machinery, better organisation, and other technical advances that the capitalist may introduce; but if we go to the root of the matter, only in so far as these result in cheapening the workers' necessities of life. The capitalist who improves methods of production does so not to lighten the work of the worker or to enrich the community at large, but solely in order to increase his profits. The improved methods enable him, he calculates, to get a greater

output per worker and to reduce costs per unit of output. The capitalist calculates his costs against the market value, which is determined by the *average socially necessary labour-time*. By introducing a new and improved technique he will reduce his labour-time per product below the social average and will reap an extra profit accordingly so long as this happy state of affairs lasts. It goes without saying that although the relative surplus value was in vogue during the period of competitive capitalism it is dominant in advanced capitalist countries today because of introduction of a high degree of technological innovation. But all these go to prove beyond doubt that it is the capitalists, the monopolists, who are the beneficiaries of super profit and it is the labourers who are at the receiving end of utter misery and destination. So, it is only natural that the inexorable social law of class antagonism between the owning class and the workers only comes to a head more and acutely, and there is no reason for this class conflict to go out of existence.

It is worth mentioning that Marx questioned the very relevance of capitalist system by showing the tendency in the capitalist development of separating the function of management more and more from the ownership of capital, whether self-owned or borrowed. Marx showed : "*Money capital assumes a social character with the development of credit being concentrated in banks and loaned by them instead of its original owners while on the other hand the mere manager, who has no title whatever to the capital whether by borrowing or otherwise, performs all the real functions of the investing capitalist as such; only the functionary remains and the capitalist disappears from the process of production as a superfluous person*".

Marx could not see the merger of bank capital with industrial capital to give birth to finance capital which Lenin noted later in his work on Imperialism; nor could he see the later development of formation of financial and insurance companies to amass capital from the people for the use of the monopolists to reap super profits. So neither in the capital resources nor in the productive process is the capitalist relevant. But from whatever he could see as a definite tendency, Marx drew the conclusion : "*This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within capitalist production itself, a self-transcending contradiction which is prima facie only a phase of transition to a new form of production... the capitalist joint-stock companies, just as much as the cooperative factories, have to be seen as transitional forms between the capitalist mode of production and the associated one, only that the opposition is transcended negatively in the one and positively in the other*". (*Capital*, Vol. 3, Ch. XXVII; emphasis added — *Editor, Proletarian Era*)

Today, after the tremendous development of science and its application in production the material ground for abundance in production has been created. The prospect of a new era, of a higher state of civilization that Marxian ideology conceived cannot any longer be brushed aside as a myth. Rather it is the capitalist motive force of production and production relations that have become fetters on the productive forces inasmuch

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Struggle is life, submission death — There is no middle course

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as they obstruct the fulfilment to the full the opportunities opened up for further progress of social production.

ECONOMISM-REFORMISM OBSTACLE TO PATH OF EMANCIPATION

Economism-reformism has been the bane in the working class movement since a long time. Both Marx and Engels strongly denounced this pernicious trend practised by social democracy. Lenin sounded the note of caution: "...The proletarian who is not conscious of the idea that his class must be the leader or who renounces this idea, is a slave, at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but not one who fights to overthrow slavery".

Economism-reformism, the poisonous weed has wrought immense harm to the trade union movement in our country also. It has weakened the moral backbone of the working class and this is one of the principal reasons why moribund capitalism instead of being overthrown has consolidated its class rule of ruthless oppression with impunity. This is the reason why in the face of very grave attacks today, the working class is unable to give a powerful rebuff.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, founder General Secretary of our Party and an eminent Marxist thinker and philosopher of the era, deplored very much the opportunist trend within the working people born of long practice of economism-reformism. Comrade Ghosh has shown in the context of our country's experience: "For pretty long years, you the Indian workers have been fighting for wage increase, for reforms of laws and extension of democratic rights. Some rights, no doubt, you have earned... Right from Marx all have dealt with this important question on many occasions. All of them have pointed out that the workers, however militant movements they may conduct for the realisation of their economic and democratic demands, however much democratic rights and economic demands they may realise by shedding blood, by that alone cannot bring an end to their slavery and they still remain wage slaves as before and the darkness in their life still persists... The workers must realise ... that their emancipation may come only if through the process of these struggles they can gradually build up their political power in the concrete shape of 'struggle committees' and eventually give birth to alternative political power of the people; can initiate and conduct protracted war or revolutionary battle for the overthrow of capitalism—the protracted war that will not collapse in the face of even thousands of onslaughts of the capitalist state machine." (On Working Class Movement In India, Proletarian Era, November Special, 1980)

Comrade Ghosh sounded a note of warning that the social democratic forces who drag the workers and confine them within the blind alley of economism-legalism cherish the hope of becoming one day the caretaker of the capitalist state machine. And that is why they are particularly on guard that no militant united trade union or democratic movement can take place. And if they succeed in channelising workers' discontent into the blind alley of economism-reformism and election-oriented politics it will strike a heavy blow to the possibility of development of mighty

democratic movement not to speak of revolutionary movement in India. Experience corroborates fully the importance and significance of this warning. It also points to the path by which the workers can regain their strength and unity to meet adequately the challenge of their exploiters. In order to win emancipation from servitude to capitalist exploitative system they are to come out of the spell and snare of the neo-revisionists who have now shed their pseudo-militancy while in governmental power and ask the workers not to wage determined struggle against the fierce onslaughts of capital but to be at its mercy. They may organise shows of so-called struggles, but that is what is called 'the rule of the game', a mere show calculated to maintain their grip and tentacles over the workers so that they may not choose the path of militant mass movement—the only path of defending their fundamental interest, aim and object. The show of struggle of the revisionists and neo-revisionists has for its object been channelising workers' resentment into electoral battles and gaining further parliamentary pelf and privileges.

The glorification of private capital is another monstrous untruth. At this stage of monopoly finance capitalism, the return to *laissez-faire* economy of the stage of competitive capitalism is a sheer moonshine. Fact of the matter is that the bourgeois state has become totally subservient to monopoly capital's interest. Thousands of crores of rupees from public exchequer which is people's hard earned money are being spent to fend for private monopoly capital's interests, be it in industry or in trade and commerce. Private capital does not roam in any mystic land. It is governed by the same capitalist law of production manifested in market. Thousands of industrial units under private sector have gone sick because of crisis of market. Thousands of crores of rupees of the state financial organisations have been lost. At this period of severe crisis, the state has come to the rescue of monopoly capital by encouraging further centralisation of capital, by opening the core sector of the economy to them as outlet of capital and also by encouraging the monopoly firms to be partners and collaborators of foreign giant multinationals to loot and plunder the natural resources and cheap labour power of the country and abroad.

FIGHT ECONOMISM-REFORMISM, BUILD UP TRADE UNION AS SCHOOL OF COMMUNISM

Debunking class collaborationism-reformism, Marx showed:

"Where the class struggle is pushed aside as a disagreeable 'coarse' phenomenon, nothing remains as a basis of socialism. It is impossible to emancipate the oppressed class without injury to the class living upon its oppression, and without simultaneously decomposing the whole superstructure of the state reared on such a dismal social basis." (emphasis added — Editor, Proletarian Era) Here is the crux of the problem. Starting from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Zedong — all giant Marxist leaders of the world proletariat — to Shibdas Ghosh, their most worthy disciple who brought the understanding of Marxism-Leninism to a new height, all have urged the working class to realise that so long as they remain prisoner of the thoughts, ideas, values and culture of the exploiting capitalist class they remain slave to exploitation by capital and cannot be the material force of change in history, the leading class in social revolution. They cannot

change the world of misery and instability despite occasional increases in money wages or acquirement of rights because as already said, the capitalists not only retain but increase their profit by manipulating price, production, employment, distribution of income from production due to their grip and control over the entire productive method and system as also the state and government. That is why, just as in different stages of social development in history, the working class, too, must master the new theory — the revolutionary theory of Marxism, its scientific method of reasoning and analysis, outlook and approach, higher ethics and culture to be able to comprehend the law of social development of social productive process, social-political system and an entirely new and different world view. In order to change the world, the workers need to change themselves first.

But this ideological, political and cultural re-education and lift cannot come about automatically to the workers. It is not immanent to them simply because as workers they are directly oppressed by capital. The workers, too, remain enchained in bourgeois concept of life, vulgar materialist culture, acquisitive spirit, individual selfish thought and outlook. That is why Lenin pointed out to the workers that socialism comes from without. Lenin said: "The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories... Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside of the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers". (*What is to be done*)

In our country, we should keep it in mind that the rotten influence of economism-legalism-parliamentarism-opportunism on the one hand in the trade union movement mostly guided under the leaderships of the direct or indirect agents of the bourgeoisie and the absence or lack of democratic rights, norms, values, ethics, etc., on the other — which have been trampled upon systematically by the bourgeoisie and their hirelings since long — are working as the greatest obstacle to the way of trade union movement assuming the character of 'school of communism'. The working class of our country must have a clear perspective about the destiny of humanity, about what the scientific theory of socialism is and how does it reach to the stage of communism through a long period and tortuous and most difficult struggle of dictatorship of the proletariat which "constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society" as envisioned by Marx. Today, all attempts of the enemies of the working class are to blur this clear concept about the law of development of human society and emasculate the trade union movement as far as possible. It is to be remembered that to get rid of the present impasse it is of supreme importance to guide the movement under a correct leadership.

It is the real revolutionary party of the proletariat that alone can provide correct ideological and organisational guidance and leadership to the working people and society by continual development of the theory itself and its application in every aspect of life and society, consistent with the development of science and knowledge to defeat newer and newer bourgeois offensives in spiritual and organisational spheres. Whenever

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and wherever this ideological as well as organisational leadership has been found to be lacking people have invariably slipped into bourgeois spell, the proletarian cause which is really the cause of humanity, has suffered setback. The recent experiences of the East European countries and Soviet Union point out unmistakably how revisionism can bring back capitalism even in socialist states, however temporarily, because of absence of proper ideological-political education and preparedness of the working class. So, capitalism today lives in and through revisionism playing the compromising role between labour and capital. That is why it has become a grave danger to the working class and its movement, social progress and march of civilisation.

Today, when the unprecedented crisis of capitalism in our country strikes severe blows to their life and living workers do feel the need of a change in the situation. But this change can come about only by a real breakthrough in their movement. For this real breakthrough in their movement, a change in leadership is essential. Only a revolutionary leadership can change the character of their organisation into the real organising centre for revolutionary object and goal – the School of Communism; it alone can change the character of their movement as well from a shrewd defence to the capitalist system to a powerful challenge to capitalist class policies and design. To fulfil this task some urgent conditions must be ensured. They are the correct theory, correct party, correct leadership and the correct method of struggle.

HOLD ALOFT BANNER OF STRUGGLE – BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM- LENINISM

The working people, at this grave hour, will have to realise that it is no use giving way to despair and helplessness. It is no use to depend on the revisionist leadership because the crisis is exposing not only the bankruptcy of the capitalist system but also that of its defenders of all hues including the revisionists who still hold that capitalism has not yet exhausted its historic role. It is worth recalling the warning of Stalin in this connection: "The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes this not to its merits, but to the fact that the proletariat still has not enough faith in the possibility of its victory." [Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU (B)]

This warning of Stalin's has become even more valid in the background of the temporary setback in the communist movement due to the dampening effect of counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union. But those who have eyes to see can very well see through what has been happening in these countries. All discerning people feel very much that the initial euphoria of the capitalists-imperialists over this counterrevolution has already started dying down. It is also coming to light, going by the authentic sources, the kind of dire poverty and abysmal depth of destitution the people of these countries have been plunged into which have no parallel in history. Hungry marchers are parading the streets with begging bowls, some clasping banners car-

rying the slogans of revolution. Portraits of giant communist leaders, Lenin and Stalin, are adorning the protest demonstrations quite significantly. They have to learn the lessons Lenin and Stalin have left behind that no amount of spontaneous agitations can show the real path of emancipation. What is needed, above all, is to find out a correct path and a correct leadership. True, Gorbachev has been successful in his conspiracy to dismantle socialism, but in its wake he himself has been thrown into the dustbin of history. Now is the turn of a new history — usher in the history of new and oncoming revolution.

In our country, unprecedented and all-out crisis engulfs the people and the society. Civilization is in dire peril. To save the people, the society and civilization the working millions will have to discharge their due role. In order to meet the most savage attack the ruling class, the monopolists and their agents have launched against them today,

it is necessary to forge the broadest possible unity of the working class for its own emancipation which has become synonymous with emancipation of civilization and mankind. Either to build up organised and united resistance against the capitalist offensives or to help, even if indirectly, pave the way for the all-out attack of fascism, the arch enemy of mankind and civilization, and die as mute cattle to pay the price for the crisis of existence of the outdated system. The Road To Life and Progress lies in struggle and not in meek submission. Struggle is life, submission is death. There is no middle course.

Take to the path of struggle. Grasp the revolutionary message of Marxism-Leninism. Build up broadest possible unity of working people. The call of dignity of man demands of them manly response. Let us recall the battle-cry which Marx pronounced more than hundred years ago: "Working men of all countries, unite!"

Remembering Karl Marx on his 109th Memorial Day, 14th March 1992

A Tribute

Karl Marx will be remembered By humanity for ever, For his teachings that Capitalism creates its own grave-digger.	Marx proved, dictatorship of proletariat Through transitional phase of socialism, A protracted and stubborn struggle at that Eliminates all inequalities and leads to abolition of class.
Marx taught us develop trade union movement As school of communism, And free it from blind alley Of economism, reformism and idealism.	Marx, it was, who showed Through materialist interpretation, That in course of history Communism is destiny of civilization.
He gave the war cry 'Workers of World, Unite,' And founded First International To advance workingmen's cause of fight.	Science has proved Law-governed is everything in universe, The destiny of mankind As also course of civilization of ours.
Philosophy is not meant Only to interpret the world, Marx taught – its task Is to change it all.	In the annals of history However much lively air, Or moral values may it create Bourgeois humanism is not the last word.
All previous revolutions Replaced one class exploitation by another, Proletarian revolution alone Will do away with it for ever.	The zenith of sense of moral values Cannot be found in humanism, And from where ends humanism Begins the march of communism.
Workers, to change the world Must change themselves first, Educators, too, shall have to Educate themselves to the last.	Seeing communist movement's present setback Although temporary at that, No one should lose heart Be swayed, or confused by that.
Philosophy finds in proletariat Its material expression, The proletariat through philosophy Finds its decisive spiritual weapon.	This has in no way proved Marxism obsolete Based on science which it is, For science can never be dead Never can it become static.
Marxism — Both philosophy and science, Has emerged through integration As science of all science(s).	Let us plunge Heart and soul together, Hold aloft let us all The Red Flag higher and higher.
Bourgeois historians and economists, Long before Marx, Anatomically showed existence of Class struggle and division into class.	Long live communism Long live proletarian internationalism, Red Salute Karl Marx, Great leader of world proletariat Red salute ! Red salute !

On Marx and Marxism

Engels on Marx

"...When one has the good fortune to work for forty years with a man like Marx, one does not usually get the recognition one thinks one deserves during his lifetime. Then, if the greater man dies, the lesser easily gets overrated and this seems to me to be just my case at present; history will set all this right in the end..." and "...what I contributed - at any rate with the exception of my work in a few special fields - Marx could very well have done without me. What Marx accomplished I would not have achieved. Marx stood higher, saw further, and took a wider and quicker view than all the rest of us. Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented."

Lenin on Marx

"Marxism is the system of Marx's views and teachings. Marx was the genius who continued and consummated the three main ideological currents of the nineteenth century, as represented by the three most advanced countries of mankind : classical German philosophy, classical English political economy, and French Socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrines in general. Acknowledged even by his opponents, the remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views whose totality constitutes modern materialism and modern scientific socialism..... the theory and programme of the working class movement...."

— Lenin (*'Karl Marx' — A Brief biographical sketch with an Exposition of Marxism — July-November—1914. Collected Works — Vol 21*)

Just as Darwin put an end to the view of animal and plant species being unconnected, fortuitous, 'created by god' and immutable, and was the first to put biology on an absolutely scientific basis by establishing the mutability and the succession of species, so Marx put an end to the view of society being a mechanical aggregation of individuals which allows of all sorts of modification at the will of the authorities (or, if you like, at the will of society and the government) and which emerges and changes casually, and was the first to put sociology on a scientific basis by establishing the concept of the economic formation of society as the sum-total of given production relations, by establishing the fact that the development of such formations is a process of natural history.

Stalin On Marx & Marxism

"Marxism does not at all deny the role played by outstanding individuals or that history is made by people. In Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*, and in other works of his you will find it stated that it is people who make history. But, of course, people do not make history according to the promptings of their imagination or as some fancy strikes them. Every new generation encounters definite conditions already existing, readymade when that generation was born. And great people are worth anything at all only to the extent that they are correctly to understand these conditions, to understand how to change them.

.....Thus it is precisely Marxist view that people must not be counterposed to the conditions. It is people who make history, but they do only to the extent that they correctly understand the conditions that they have found ready-made and only to the extent that they understand how to change those conditions. That, at best is how we Russian Bolsheviks understand Marx."

(*Talk with the German author Emil Ludwing—Stalin Works. Volume 13-pp 107-108. Moscow edition-1955*)

Mao Zedong On Marxism

"We are studying Marxism, but the method used by many of us in this study runs directly counter to Marxism. That is to say, they have violated the basic principle repeatedly enjoined by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin : the unity of theory and practice."

(With this attitude)....one studies Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin not for the stand, viewpoint and method by means of which one can solve the theoretical and practical problems, but studies theory purely for theory's sake.

This is random shooting instead of aiming one's arrow at the target...we should, as Marx has said, endeavour to possess data in detail and subject them to scientific analysis and synthetic study."

—(*Reform our study—Mao Tse-tung Selected works, Vol. IV, 1956 pp.15-16*)

Why must we learn and accept Marxism ?

Shibdas Ghosh

"It is the only philosophical concept which has developed through coordination, integration and generalisation of the particular knowledges derived from the different branches of science engaged in study of particular material domains dealing with the general principles governing these particular truths. No philosophy except Marxism has developed this way. ...

"In our struggle to bring about a revolutionary transformation of this old moribund, capitalist social order, struggle to transform ourselves into the new man of higher and nobler ethics, morals and culture, freeing ourselves from the vices of bourgeois decadent culture, Marxism is the instrument in our hand to know truth and throw light on the road to our emancipation. It is the beacon light for entire humanity. It is the philosophy for whole mankind to guide along its onward and upward journey. He who cherishes the progress of civilization, he who cherishes the development of humanity, he who cherishes the unfettered growth of science and knowledge, has his only weapon in Marxism. More so the worker, on whom history enjoins the task of leading mankind to emancipation from all sorts of bondage at this stage of development. The worker must know truth in every detail, must acquire knowledge in every field. Marxism is the glittering weapon in his hand, the invincible weapon, more powerful than the deadly nuclear arms of the ruling class. This is why we, all of us have one and only philosophy as our guide to action—Marxism.

[*Excerpts from School of Politics, July 1971 Mahajani Sadan, Calcutta*]

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