

Marxism is invincible, growing and developing in changing circumstances

What Karl Marx is to mankind is not yet comprehended in full by humanity at large. The class conscious proletariat know what Marx and his thoughts mean to them. They realise that at this stage of history the world outlook of the proletariat, or their class approach to life, society and nature, has come to be identified with the truth and welfare of humanity as a whole. Such is what the laws of history reveal. Only when in pursuit of the inexorable historical law, society will be freed of its class division and the resulting class exploitation of every form, will it be possible for mankind to comprehend in full and in totality the genius of Marx and his system of thoughts. Today, it is the objective and historical foundation of Marxism, its kernel of truth, which is the light for the millions of Marx's legion across the seas, the glitter of the weapon he handed down to them to fight the class enemy, the fountain of their unflinching faith in revolution to advance civilization, overcoming the reverses at the present moment.

The bastion of socialism which the proletariat had so assiduously built is almost in a shambles now. The Soviet Union is no more; so are the socialist states of east Europe. Those which still remain are targets of stepped up revisionism and they face an uncertain future. Hardly could the bourgeois world have thought of anything better to come to its aid when it is seized with severest crisis. Now they are making the best of this undreamt of opportunity to declare a crusade against socialism, communism and Marxism, believing they can root these out. Whereas, the Marxists are even more fortified in their belief that this debacle of socialist movement constitutes an even greater historical confirmation of the truth of Marxism, its invincibility.

The bourgeois rulers and bourgeois intellectuals are free to reckon this Marxist exhortation as 'a dogma'. But history is the test for verification of whether it is a scientific assertion of truth or a dogma of the blind. The proletarian class approach, like the class struggle itself, is historically determined; but its translation into human realization and its formulation into the proletarian world outlook as guide to action are the creation of the genius of Marx. Marx studied all historical material with an objective approach, free from individual belief, perception and preferences, to draw up the laws of the science of history, the laws of development of society, and he handed down the truth he had uncovered, as also its behest, to the vanguard of history at this stage, the proletariat, to fulfil their historical mission of both winning emancipation of themselves and of all humanity. So stands out Marx as the leading light of human progress in this era. On his passing away Engels observed: "Mankind is shorter by a head and the greatest head of our time at that." Every moment and every hour the proletariat turn to his undying spirit to seek his teachings in order to correctly orient their course in their struggle for emancipation from the capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The present reverses and retrograde development in the Marxist or socialist movement, although the most severe in effect and kind are not new in essence. Like every movement of human progress in society the Marxist or socialist movement has had its onward course traversing twists and turns, ups and downs. The question is: Why should we all accept

Marxism as the guiding light of truth and how could we be convinced of our conclusion in the face of these grievous reverses ?

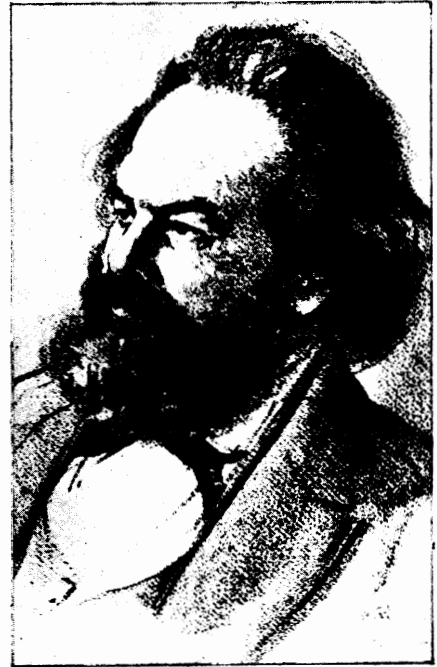
Running through all our social actions are ideas, principles and norms of some or other kind. These are diverse in nature, but we share one or another of them. These constitute our outlook on life, our philosophy. It does not require much analysis to get aware that all our social actions and movements have this substrate or influence of one or another of the socially existing philosophies. Our individual thoughts, beliefs and perceptions are only individually personified forms of these general social currents of philosophy. This is because our existence is socially interlinked and socially conditioned; we are not socially disjunct beings. Consequently, whether we remain conscious of it or not, both in our social contemplations and in our social actions we are guided by one or another of the socially existing philosophical trends.

Our existence is confronted with problems in individual life and also in social life. As members of the downtrodden masses we have the problems of our survival, our class struggle, our urge for a life full of dignity, happiness and both material and cultural prosperity. What course shall we follow to solve these problems ? Which philosophy shall we accept for guidance ? We must know the problems correctly, know the roots from which they appear, and must act consciously on them. We do not want to be misguided and bleed into death. We want the truth, howsoever difficult its approach.

And this leads us to the central question: how to know truth and determine the correct philosophy ? If all things and all happenings in this world are interrelated and interdependent and nothing exists in absolute isolation, then everything must be judged as it exists concretely in this mutual interrelation and interdependence of all things. This understanding is objectivity. Every day, in our life we experience things and happenings and accordingly our thinkings and understandings have to do with the objective reality. But for that alone our understanding of the objective reality cannot be automatically correct. There is the question of how we look at things, that is the question of approach. So often our perception and understanding are coloured by our previous experiences or previously conceived ideas, that is by our subjective approach. Hence the image of concrete truth which takes shape in our mind breaks into distortion when it is gathered by the colours and slants of subjective approach, preconceptions, bias and personal preferences.

Although it would have been illustrative to get into a discussion here on the conflict between truth and untruth in human history in respect of perception of the material world, we would rather pass on to recall that because man is part of the real world and has constantly to struggle in the real world, he is also constantly spurred by the urge to know the truth of the real world. That quest is naturally, socially, historically and inevitably ingrained in his conscious being. In this quest, till man could develop the correct method to know truth, he succumbed to fancies, and produced distorted or one-sided views of the real world. With the ascendancy of modern science, which is the fruit of man's hard labour, he could fashion the scientific method of uncovering truth and formulating it precisely for his own purpose.

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In contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be peace, because its national ruler everywhere will be the same — labour !

[Letter to the French and German workers to tighten proletarian solidarity — July 26, 1870]

SUCI flays Rly. Budget

Reacting sharply against the Railway Budget 1995-96, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, on 14th March warned the people not to be befooled by this deceptive budget which, though to keep the so-called pro-people posture, will in effect enhance the financial burden on the people by raising the freight on almost all essential commodities and will inevitably have a cascading effect on all the commodities. Over and above, the hike in season ticket charges will affect the common people very much.

He urged the people to prepare themselves against this anti-people budget which includes many other measures harmful to the people's interest.

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Excerpts from The Manifesto of the Communist Party

Bourgeois and Proletarians

[The Manifesto of the Communist Party, drawn up by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels under commission of the Communist League for publication in 1848, opens on the Bourgeois and Proletarians in its Chapter - I. It sums up the historical positions of the two great classes, since the overthrow of feudalism, and their class antagonism. A century and a half has passed by since then, which saw the conditions change immensely with victory of the proletarian revolution and its triumphant march, and then its subversion by modern revisionism, resulting in the present collapse of the socialist camp. The two classes face each other today with antagonism like never before. The essence of the theoretical and practical programme of the Communist Party as detailed in the Manifesto remains valid as ever and its teachings continue to guide the proletarians and communists all over the world as before. It is especially important for the new generations of the rank and file of the communist party of every country, particularly in the present stage of class struggle, to study and reread all the sections of the Manifesto to imbibe its teachings and rededicate themselves to pursue their historic mission. With this belief and hope the first chapter of the Manifesto is reproduced below on the occasion of the 112th death anniversary of Karl Marx. — Editorial Board, Proletarian Era]

The history of all hitherto existing society** is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes....

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat....

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place....

...the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised

industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages....

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment"...It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and

in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation....

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones....

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country....All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes....

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of

the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff....

... the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class....

... Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society....

In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity — the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed, and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

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** That is, all written history....

Marx bequeathed to posterity the scientific method to arrive at truth

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Man discovered the way nature works, that is its laws in the very many domains including his own body and mind. Those were the scientific developments in the diverse disciplines. Before man could study nature and society and life objectively and systematically, his ideas about them, that is about the world itself, were partly or wholly subjective, coloured by fanciful notions.

Different people could think differently about the one and the same world and could nurse different notions or beliefs about the one and the same world. So the reality of the one and the same world appeared differently to different people. Consequently, world views arose in galore, numbering as many as there were philosophers to ponder over the one and the same world. In general the situation was certainly removed far from the truth of the reality which exists independently of human consciousness. Science freed man's ideas and approach to the world from the fetters of subjectivism, paving the way for the rise of a single comprehensive and decisive world view. Those were human achievements worthy of great memorials. But man advanced further yet. He delved into the general behaviour of nature, society and life, including his own consciousness or process of thinking, and made some basic conclusions which act as the foundation of the entire edifice of science. That is, not only did man discover the laws, he came to realise that everything is law-governed; not only things are interrelated and interdependent, they are causally linked; not only things differ from each other, each is a product of a particular process; and so forth. Thus alongside the discovery of laws, there also grew a scientific methodology or scientific way of analyzing things and a scientific epistemology or structure of knowledge.

For an incisive analysis of the point under discussion we had better turn to our teacher and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, for deeper comprehension: "The world around us, each and every change and development in it is law-governed and causally connected. There is a specific law in operation behind every specific phenomenon and its development. Science, more specifically the different disciplines of science, namely, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Biology, etc., study particular laws of the particular material domain each of these disciplines investigates experimentally. Each reveals particular truths and the knowledge each cultivates is particular knowledge, and therefore, partial knowledge in the perspective of a total and comprehensive knowledge of nature, society and life. The branches of science may be compared to studies in detail of the different organs of the human body as are made in the medical science, by the 'specialists'. However, the organs of a body, while each has its own specific, particular function and characteristics, are interlinked with the organic whole of the body. In a like manner, all the various developments in nature, society and life — each governed by its specific law in the material universe — are not isolated from one another. They are linked together, like in a garland or necklace. As different phenomena or different forms of matter make up the universe, in a like way if the different particular truths revealed by the different disciplines of science are coordinated and integrated in a scientific process of generalization, we have at our disposal a comprehensive knowledge of nature, society and life. Dialectical materialism is the only

philosophy, and the first in human history, which has equipped us with the comprehensive scientific knowledge. It is the only philosophical concept which has developed through coordination, integration and generalisation of the particular knowledges derived from the different disciplines of science which are engaged in the study of specific material domains dealing with the general principles governing these particular truths. No philosophy except Marxism has developed in this way. Every other philosophy pursues a subjective process of thinking that is divorced from reality. Every other philosophy has ought to interpret the world with the help of knowledge from sheer practical experience and not completely depending upon science but on individual power of reasoning or individual faculty. They are nothing but different interpretations of the world on the basis of subjective thinking. ... Thus Marxism or dialectical materialism is not just another 'school of thought' among a host in which each tries to interpret the world. It is also a guide to action, an instrument to change the world."

The objective premise of Marxism is, therefore, that in this everchanging world, where nothing is eternal or permanent, there can be nothing like absolute or eternal truth as believed in other philosophies. Truth is always concrete, relative, precise and decisive. The universally applicable scientific premise of Marxism should also be understood as fundamental concepts which are to be realized concretely and relatively, rather than as abstract, obtruse or eternal dogmas. Such is the true dialectical materialist understanding. That is why Marxism has always been concretised, elaborated and enriched further by giant communist leaders like Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. It is due to this dynamic character, that is the inherent capacity to recognize and analyse the changed reality correctly and thereby develop itself continuously that there is no question of Marxism being outdated in relation to changed times and situations. Rather, Marxism alone has emphasized and elaborated the ever-changing temporary and transitory character of every phenomenon arising in a process of ceaseless development.

It is this objective and scientific character which has made Marxism the instrument to unravel truth and hence the weapon to be wielded by the proletariat in their quest for emancipation. It is a historical truth that the emergence of Marxism has been historically and socially bound up with the emergence of the proletariat as a class and the proletariat found in it its class outlook. In the words of Marx: "As philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its spiritual weapon in philosophy." Marxism reveals that in this era the class struggle of the proletariat is historically destined ultimately to eradicate classes and establish the classless society, free from every form of exploitation of man by man. It is thus that the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation is historically bound up with the emancipation of mankind as a whole.

Marxism also reveals that idea requires an objective material condition to grow in and that the religious doctrines and religious institutions together with the idea of God came in society at a specific stage of social development, when society became divided into classes over ownership of private property and control of

production. Otherwise, in the classless primitive society primitive man's concern was matter and his thinking was materialistic. The break-up of the primitive clan society into the class-divided society of slaves and slave-masters, when the ancient materialist thinking was incapable of comprehending the then social changes, provided the objective condition for growth of the religious ideas, idea of God and idealism. The industrial revolution and advent of modern science at the end of the feudal era centred around growth of the capitalist economic relation and the rise of the bourgeoisie eliminated the historical condition for religion to thrive. All that remains of religion today is the hangover from the old society, fostered by the present ruling class and nurtured in the desire of vast sections of the masses who seek solace in it from the pangs of life.

Marxism also reveals that at a specific stage of development of capitalism in the present era, that is with the appearance of monopoly capital following the law of capitalist development, bourgeois democratic revolution, together with its parliamentary institution and ideal of humanism, has lost its historical validity, turning into a force of reaction. Individual liberty, that rousing slogan of bourgeois revolution, is now a privilege for self-centred enterprises; parliament has become a sanction for perpetration of ruthless bourgeois exploitation, or is a mere facade for perpetration of fascist savagery; humanism which once fought absolutism either seeks now a recluse for compromise with idealism or has turned into a smokescreen for regimentation. We cannot turn to them, neither to religion nor to humanism, to seek guidance for religion and humanism cannot provide solution of problems confronting us in life and society of today.

Otherwise, we have no animus against any of the religions or humanist philosophies. If Vedanta were the philosophy answering our needs, we would have accepted it. If it were logical positivism, Sartre's existentialism or Feuerbach's philosophy answering our needs, we would have been glad to accept them.

It is not a fancy or preference which prompts us to turn to Marxism. Nor is it that we adhere to Marxism because we have declared ourselves to be Marxists. It is the other way round. Because Marxism is the one and the only instrument to know truth and light our way to emancipation, so we have accepted it in our struggle to accomplish revolution and bring about a revolutionary transformation of this outworn, moribund capitalist society. We need it because we want to free ourselves from exploiting oppression and the vices of the decadent bourgeois culture and want to transform ourselves into the renaissance man of higher and nobler morals, values and culture.

We cherish progress of civilization, onward development of humanity and unfettered pursuit of science seeking knowledge in every field. Only Marxism, being the science of all sciences and being more powerful than the deadly arms of the bourgeoisie, can ensure all this to meet all our requirements. So we accept it.

Because Marxism, and no other philosophy, reveals the inherent laws of development of all phenomena, so we are for it. This consciousness enjoins us to play our due role to accelerate the course of social progress and revolution. One cannot grasp Marxism correctly, its theoretical

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Stalin Memorial Day at Ghatsila

Intensify inner-party struggle, as shown by Stalin, for elevation and rectification — Nihar Mukherjee

[On 5th March '95, at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism- Shibdas Ghosh Thought at Ghatsila, Bihar, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee delivered the following speech, marking the 42nd death anniversary of Comrade J.V. Stalin.]

Comrades,

Today we meet here to commemorate the great leader of the world proletariat, Comrade J.V. Stalin.

After the demise of Lenin, it was Stalin who, following the behests of Lenin, built the infant Soviet State gradually, assiduously and determinedly into a formidable power economically, politically, industrially, educationally on a solid foundation of socialist moral values. It was but Stalin who successfully united in a fraternal socialist bond all the diverse nationalities of that vast land. But for the heroic battle and final victory of the great Soviet people, under Stalin's leadership, over the Nazi hordes in the second World War the history of mankind might have taken an altogether different course. There are much more of his great deeds, but I neither can nor would attempt to relate them in this meeting.

However, Stalin's greatest contribution lies not only in the building of the mighty socialist edifice of the USSR. It lies in elaborating clearly and systematically before the world the ideological, political, organisational, moral and cultural tenets and facets of Leninism, which remain, still, the invincible weapon in the hands of the proletariat for the advancement and final victory of the communist cause. The communists all over the world owe it to Stalin, first of all else.

Comrade Mukherjee continued : Engels said long ago : Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action.

Stalin showed that when pre-monopoly "flourishing" capitalism, of the days of Marx and Engels, rotted into "moribund" capitalism, i.e. monopoly capitalism, i.e. imperialism, as a "world system" the time also arrived for adequately developing and enriching Marxism accordingly, which was accomplished by Lenin in his struggle against the dogmatists, opportunists and revisionist leaders of the old Second International like Kautsky and Plekhanov. Leninism thus emerged as the "Marxism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution", in the words of Stalin.

The Leninist concept of the proletarian revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the role of the proletariat in leading the peasantry and specially the poor peasantry, of utilising the bourgeois parliament in a truly revolutionary way, of the tactics of United-Front, of linking the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the East with the proletarian revolutions of the West, of "passing over" directly from the bourgeois democratic to the proletarian socialist revolution all these were, in this era, the extension of revolutionary Marxism, he said.

Secondly, it was Stalin who elaborated Lenin's teachings on party and showed that "in this new period" the proletariat could be

successfully led not by the social-democratic parliamentary parties of the old Second International but only by "a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party" — "the party of Leninism."

The "specific features of this new party," said Stalin, should be that it must be "first of all, the vanguard of the working class. The party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the vanguard, the party must be armed with revolutionary theory..."

Furthermore, "It must be at the same time a party of the class, part of the class, closely bound up with it by all the fibers of its being."

And then, the party "is not only the vanguard detachment ... it must at the same time be the organized detachment of its class."

But the concept of party as "an organised whole" means "not merely the sum total" of party organizations. It at the same time represents "a single system of these organizations." Needless to say that these are impossible to achieve "without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and iron discipline."

He said : And comrades, here we can anticipate the chorus of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers who will shout that it is this 'iron discipline' which stifles reason and criticism in a communist party and turns the communists into blind followers of their leaders.

But Stalin says, "iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and contest of opinion within the party. Least of all does it mean that discipline must be 'blind' ... for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline."

These are some of Stalin's invaluable teachings on "the party of Leninism", in his own words. At the present juncture we need to reiterate and relearn them more than ever. That is why, as you know, the central committee called upon the whole party at the first Plenum at Cuttack last year to launch an intense inner-party socialist ideological struggle, to free as fast as we can all our leaders and cadres at each level, top to bottom, from all inadequacies, defects, limitations and shortcomings and continuously elevate our standard and the party's style of work.

Turning to international situation Comrade Mukherjee said : The present impasse is temporary. The signs of a revolutionary crisis can be well discerned if we critically look at the frenzied squabble within the imperialist countries sunk in insurmountable crisis, the outburst of popular unrest not only in the 'developing' but even within the 'developed' capitalist countries as also the silver lining of fast increasing anti-imperialist popular ferment worldwide.

You know that since 1990 our party has been trying its utmost to develop a worldwide broad anti-imperialist forum of militant peace movement which would be conducive at the same time to emancipation struggles everywhere. In the process, we have united on this question with revolutionary and progressive forces of different

countries hitherto unknown to us. A landmark in this effort will be the anti-imperialist convention in Calcutta in November, 1995.

But this does not mean that we have already achieved all that is demanded of us by history's need today. Hence the call of the Central Committee to intensify the inner-party struggle for speedy and continuous elevation of comrades and improvement of our style of work. Hence the urgent need for intensifying inner-party self-criticism sparing nothing however small, and none whatever be his rank or position in the party. Only thus can we ensure centralism based on the fullest and freest operation of inner-party proletarian democracy. Only thus can democratic centralism, cohesion as well as comradely understanding and relations can fully flourish and the speediest development can be guaranteed of the intellectual, moral and organizing faculties of all comrades.

But to achieve this, we must be on a constant vigil against the alien influences which are continuously and ceaselessly trying — and shall continue to try in this class-divided society — to infiltrate into the party. There can be no point of respite in this struggle. You may become the General Secretary, or the State Secretary, or a leading executive at some other post. But that does not mean that your test is over. Don't be complacent, don't neglect the small things, don't rationalize yourself, don't compromise on party principle or the party's code of conduct. Be in the midst of struggle. Don't spare yourself and don't spare anyone. Don't spare me because I happen to be the General Secretary of the party. My test is not yet over too.

Don't think from this that I am asking you not to respect your leaders and not to give them their due. But don't respect blindly. For, by that you will degenerate yourself, as well as you might help degenerate your leader too — even while, may be, timely and open and impersonal criticism from the junior comrades might have dawned sense in a leader and might have saved him from becoming complacent. Leaders occupy a very crucial position in a revolutionary party. Because, as they can help advance the party more, so also their mistakes or shortcomings bring much more harm to the cause of the class, the revolution and the party, far more than those of the ordinary comrades, if the leaders fail to free themselves from their drawbacks in time.

Drawbacks or shortcomings are not crimes. So the party patiently tries to help all erring comrades, as long as it can without jeopardising the interest of the revolution and the party. It will go on helping one — even upto the point of return. But it cannot do more if the comrade concerned does not respond and plunge himself happily into the struggle for rectification and elevation. At that point, if need be, the party shall have to purge them, whoever they may be.

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Failure to grasp Marxism in the correct way begets narrow and mechanical outlook

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formulations even, by ignoring one's due role in the living social struggle. And only when one is in the thick of this struggle can one truly realize why Marx said: "Hitherto philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point however is to change it."

It needs to be recognized that the root cause behind the present catastrophe in the socialist world is deep-seated and primarily internal to the socialist movement under the leadership of the modern revisionists. The cause of it is the failure of the communists to acquire an adequate developed and comprehensive understanding of contemporary developments. Failure to grasp Marxism in the correct way begets a narrow and mechanical outlook. Precisely, the lowering of the level of consciousness and the mechanisation of thought process in the communist movement have begotten modern revisionism. In other words, failure in the struggle to continuously concretise, develop and enrich Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the continuously changing and developing world ultimately created the ground for revisionism to thrive and in the end for capitalism to be restored.

Correct application of Marxism ennoble man by facilitating allround development, especially growth of the higher proletarian moral values. But mechanical understanding of Marxism by the revisionist leadership of different socialist countries, in particular of the Soviet Union, reduced Marxism to the level of its vulgarisation almost. In their hands, Marxism turned into economic determinism, political pragmatism and vulgar utilitarianism. Even if not knowing it, they themselves helped decadent bourgeois individualistic outlook and tendencies to make deep inroads into socialist societies. Glasnost, market economy and the lure of the standard of living of the West, that is the illusion of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois way of living, so emasculated the masses of these socialist countries that they could not offer any resistance to the counter-revolutionary wave.

It is also a teaching of Marxism-Leninism that all complexities, contradictions, discriminations and inequalities of capitalism do not get automatically resolved upon the establishment of socialist society. Through revolution the capitalist state and the capitalist production relation and economic base are destroyed. But all the elements of the capitalist economy as well as the influences of the capitalist ideology and outlook on the mental process of the people are not so easily done away with. They have to be eradicated from all spheres of life through painstaking and conscious struggles following the law of development of society. In socialist society this is indeed the form of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Till the capitalist influence in all its forms is not eliminated and exhausted completely this struggle does not cease and the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat also does not reach the stage of its final development and disappearance. Objective material conditions of its transformation into classless communist society all do not attain full and final maturity till then. Therefore, the struggle of the proletariat during this entire period of socialism is not only

aimed at eliminating the vestiges of capitalist economic laws, including commodity production and circulation, but also at freeing all mental faculties from the influence of private property mental complex. This means a struggle to continuously elevate the cultural standard and level of ideological-political consciousness of the masses in the socialist society.

After infiltration and ascendancy of revisionism this vital task was almost completely abandoned in these socialist countries. By adopting economic programmes ignoring completely the socialist economic laws in the name of uplifting the standard of living, the revisionist leaders themselves helped inroads of bourgeois individualistic outlook into the working class. The pace towards debacle of socialism and restoration of capitalism got accelerated.

It was the negation of the Marxist theory that brought about the collapse of the socialist states of east Europe, including the Soviet Union itself.

As a scientific theory it is a natural prediction of Marxism that its negation would beget the opposite of progress, that is, regression. The retrograde course of socialism at the moment is vindication of the validity of Marxism in the sense that long practice of revisionism brought about change in the reverse direction which, after crossing its nodal point, precipitated the counter-revolution. This is the inescapable conclusion in the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism from the situation of the erstwhile Soviet Union in the period from Khrushchev to Gorbachev.

The basic tenets of Marxism stand on the fundamentals of science which are valid for all time to come in the sense that the understanding of these fundamentals will develop with time but the development will not be anarchic in its course, it will be law-governed, that is deterministic. The particular scientific formulations applicable to one domain may not be applicable to another, or may prove to be inadequate in comparison to an improved formulation at a different period, their fundamental scientific premise remaining valid nevertheless. So the question of science itself, that is the scientific methodology, or the objective approach of science becoming obsolete is preposterous. Marx bequeathed to the posterity a scientific method of analysis with which to uncover and reveal truth and unearth the root of all problems confronting man, or which may confront him in future. This firm scientific foundation of Marxism will never be obsolete, outmoded or worn out. Like the procession of life through ages Marxism lives for ever, drawing its sustenance from the womb of objective reality, and growing and developing through struggle in changing circumstances.

We join the proletariat and the downtrodden masses all over the world to pay our most profound respects to the ever-shining memory of Karl Marx on this occasion of the 112th anniversary of his passing away, leaving his behest for us.

Long Live Karl Marx !

Long Live Revolution !!

Marxism Lives For Ever !!!

Comrade Stalin

(Contd. from page 4)

This is the utmost need for us today. If we are to discharge our role properly today, then we must have this courage, openness and determination to learn from our mistakes and eradicate them for good, individually and collectively.

On this score too, Stalin left us invaluable teachings. And I want to conclude with a few of them. In his Report to the 15th Congress of the CPSU, Stalin says: "Marx said that what, among other things, distinguishes the proletarian revolution ... is that it criticizes itself and, in criticizing itself, strengthens itself". "Is it not clear that by abandoning honest and straightforward self-criticism, by abandoning the honest and open rectification of our mistakes, we block our road to progress, to the improvement of our work ...?" ... "But we want to go forward. And precisely because we want to go forward we must make honest and revolutionary self-criticism ... Without this there is no progress."

Further, at the 19th Congress, in 1953, when alien features in the party-life were rising their ugly head, Malenkov's Report, prepared under Stalin's supervision said: "It is particularly important at the present time to stimulate self-criticism and criticism from below, and ruthlessly to combat, as malignant enemies of the party, all ... who stifle criticism ..." "Our party organizations and party workers, indeed all our leading personnel, must take a lead in this and set an example in showing a sincere and conscientious attitude towards criticism."

And lastly, "It is the duty of party organizations to put an end once and for all to the harmful practice of underrating the importance of ideological work, to extend the scale of this work in all sectors of the party ..., and to be indefatigable in exposing all manifestations of ideologies alien to Marxism."

In conclusion Comrade Mukherjee said: Comrades, apply these to the inner-party struggle for elevation and rectification as the Central Committee urges you. Continue your struggle along these teachings to advance the party. Uphold and carry forward the banner of proletarian internationalism.

VICTORY

In the recently held elections to the Orissa Assembly, Comrade Shambhunath Naik has been elected from the Jashipur Constituency of Mayurbhanj district in northern Orissa surmounting heavy odds. The victory is significant when viewed in the background of continued state oppression unleashed by the Biju Patnaik government on party activists and supporters for the last five years and the betrayal to the Left and democratic movement by the CPI(M) and the CPI in the state.

'The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims'

(Contd. from page 2)

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed — a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increased capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is....

Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex....

The lower strata of the middle class — the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants — all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them....

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition....

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more.... The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots....

This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle....

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself....

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product....

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital... has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities

for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie....

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence... The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?... They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

(Contd. on page 7)

Excerpts from The Communist Manifesto

(Contd. from page 6)

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the...formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism....

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property !...

...do you mean modern bourgeois private property?...does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to

keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer. ...

In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois abolition of individuality and freedom ! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population ; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal

laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology : that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, &c. Your very ideas are

but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class. ...

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word. ...

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life ?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed ? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence. ...

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical

(Contd. on page 8)

Call of the WFTU

[The historic Damascus Congress of WFTU was held from 22nd to 26th November 1994 where the resolution on the elimination of nuclear weapons through grassroots joint actions was adopted. The text of the resolution is given below. — Editor.]

CALL FOR GRASSROOTS JOINT ACTIONS FOR THE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, TOWARDS THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ATOMIC BOMBING ON HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

The 13th World Trade Union Congress calls upon all workers and trade unions to take active part in the grassroots action never to allow the brutal mass massacre by nuclear weapons again and to get rid of nuclear weapons from the earth.

In order to sustain its world dominance, the United States and other nuclear powers at present aim at the monopoly of nuclear weapons through the indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, etc. It is unforgivable to set the survival of the human race and civilization under such a threat. The prohibition of atomic weapons is enshrined in the Resolution of the United Nations. It is the time that we should make this resolution effective in practice.

The Congress appeals to all workers and trade unions the world over, regardless of political, ideological and religious differences, to actively link up with the "World-wide Grassroots Action for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons" (6 August 1994 - 9 August 1995) towards the 50th Anniversary of the Atomic Bombing on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In so doing, let us promote signature campaign on the "Hiroshima and Nagasaki Appeal" for the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons in every workplace and community and make the slogan of **No More Hiroshima And Nagasaki** prevail.

The Congress expresses its firm resolve to further strengthen initiatives to mobilize public opinion and promote the movement for the dissolution of all military blocs and alliances, for the prevention of nuclear war and for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Message of UTUC (LS) On International Women's Day

On the occasion of the historic International Women's Day on 8th March Comrade Prithvi Chanda, President, UTUC(LS) in a message called upon the women of India to observe the day in order to take oath for the liberation of women from the capitalist exploitation and patriarchal subjugation.

International Women's Day Observed

The exploited and oppressed women of India, as part and parcel of the toiling women of the world, observe International Women's Day each year to take oath anew for building up resolute struggle against all forms of state and social oppression on women. This year also under the leadership of the All India Mahila Sanskritik Sangathan, the women observed 8th March as the International Women's Day and organised rallies, meetings, deputations in different states. The West Bengal State Committee of AIMSS observed this as a protest day against 'atrocities on women, obscenity and vulgarism'. More than 5000 mothers and sisters from the districts of the state, wearing protest badges marched through different thoroughfares of Calcutta in a well-decorated and disciplined procession and went to Esplanade. A five-member delegation led by Comrade Gayatri Dasgupta, President, West Bengal State Committee of AIMSS, met Mr. Buddhadeb Bhattacharyya, the State Information and Culture Minister, in a deputation and submitted a memorandum to him. The memorandum placed a seven-point charter of demands like making proper arrangements for stopping all sorts of atrocities on women, giving exemplary punishments to the culprits, put a stop to exhibition of nudity in the media, especially the TV and in advertisements, ban on publication and sale of vulgar and obscene magazines and journals etc. A large protest meeting was also held at Esplanade Metro Rly. station where Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, the All India Vice-president of the organisation spoke at length on the women's cause and significance of developing militant women's movement. Comrade Sadhana Chowdhury, Secretary, West Bengal State

Committee of AIMSS, presided over the meeting.



A portion of the AIMSS gathering at Esplanade Metro Rly. station, Calcutta, on 8th March

Manifesto of the Communist Party

(Contd. from page 7)

development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change.

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working Men of all Countries, Unite !

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