

Communist Manifesto

Written by Marx and Engels its Relevance in the Present Age

- Parimal Dasgupta

“Whole history of mankind (since dissolution of primitive tribal society holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, “contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed”.....The exploited and oppressed class the proletariat cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class-the bourgeoisie-without at the same time once and for all emancipating the society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles”. “This proposition of Marx is destined to do for history what Darwin’s theory had done for biology”.

- Engels! In the Preface to Communist Manifesto.

The subject of Relevancy of Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels in 1847, in the present age has become an important-subject matter of discussion at present in political circle.

I

1. Marx, in repudiating the theory of Dialectical Idealism of Hegel, his teacher in philosophy and a very distinguished philosopher of Germany of a time, well-proved and well established the theory of Dialectical Materialism. By this, he created a topsy-turvy situation in Philosophy. He explained the development of human society in dialectical process with the Theory: ‘From matter to knowledge’, opposed to the theory: ‘From Supreme idea to matter’ of Hegel. The Dialectical materialism has become the material of thinking of the exploited people for making them free from the idea of ‘Fate’, ‘Destiny’ or ‘Divine Order’, that is: Fatalism with respect to system of exploitation over them.

2. Marx, on the basis of this materialistic dialectics, explained the class division and contradiction in the system of production at a stage of society, indicated the trend and way towards change of society. It is epoch-changing contribution to social science. In the realm of this though, his very close friend, Engels, was a fellow traveler. He has also made immense theoretical contribution in this subject. But, on the whole, as the contribution of Marx was main, this though has become known as Marxism.

3. Marx and Engels have put forward the theory for change of society through class struggle due to creation of classes and class contradictions in the society at a stage of economic system of the society in the process of social development. They have announced: *“The class struggle is the key to change of society”, ‘driving force’ of history, ‘Lever of social revolution’.* *“The class struggle is the immediate driving force of history and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of modern social revolution”.* (Marx-Engels: Selected Correspondences (Moscow) page 395)

4. Marx and Engels have advanced proposition for the advance of human society to Communist Society. In this course, they have explained in the affairs of economics as to ‘Value of commodity’, ‘creation of surplus value’ by the labour power engaged in production, ‘exploitation of labour power’, ‘accumulation of capital’, the theory of class struggle, ‘Revolution and Dictatorship of the proletariat’ as its basis. Marx wrote the book ‘Capital’ on the basis of economic theories. After writing of capital it has become known in Europe as ‘Bible’ of the working class. On the other side the bourgeois class described it as an ‘endeavour to rouse jealousy in the mind of illiterate person. After publication of Marx’s lecture-series-article; WAGE, LABOUR and CAPITAL, the German-secret-police organization wrote in a confidential report:

“This noxious paper must indisputably exert the most corrupting influence upon the uneducated public to whom it is directed. The alluring theory of dividing up of the wealth is held out to factory workers and day labourers as an innate right and a profound hatred of the rulers and the rest of the community is inculcated into them. There would be gloomy outlook for father-land and for civilisation in such succeeded in undermining religion and respect for laws and in any great measure infected the lower class of the people by means of press and these clubs..... the circumstance that the number of members (of workers union) has increased from thirty seven to seventy within a few days is worthy to note” (Marx: Man and Fighter:-Boris Nicolaevsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen: Penguin Book page 137)

This Marxian Economics is completely different from Bourgeois Economics. In it also lies blossoming of certain unblossomed theories of certain economic theoreticians of the past. On the whole it has become a ‘Political Economy’. This Economics is the material basis of the Communist politics with Marxian thought.

5. Marx and Engels were not subjective theoreticians with leisured life. They have organisers of political taking upon themselves all risk to give shape to their theories. Marx was driven out from different bourgeois states of Europe for his political thought and activities.

In 1847, in Europe, with active role of Marx and Engels, the communist league was formed secretly as a political organization. Between December 1847 and January 1848, the Communist Manifesto was written with joint-leadership of Marx and Engels as a Programme of the Communist League (Manifesto of the Communist Party). This has become the guiding document of Communist politics. This was necessary as, at that time, several types of thought of socialism were in existence in Europe.

Engels said that though there was joint leadership in writing this document, Marx was the main protagonist of its basic proposition of thought. Engels stated:

"The proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of the primitive tribal society, holding Land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class-the proletariat-cannot attain from the sway of exploiting and ruling class-the bourgeoisie-without at the same time and once and for all emancipating the society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles". "This proposition, which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's has done for biology". (Engels: Preface to English Edition of 1888 of Communist Manifesto)

Marx's theory of social development is an important discovery of Social Science-just as the theory of Darwin in Biology. It is a scientific thought.

6. On the basis of this thought it has been stated in the Communist Manifesto: *"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: "Abolition of Private Property".* Having given further clarification on this subject, it has also been stated in the Manifesto: *"the distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property".*

That is, Communism is the protector of social property and a creative process of retaining health of society generally; it is an establishment of equal right of all to enjoy the wealth of the society. It is neither a stoicism nor a 'pleasurism'. It is a step towards buoyant development of human civilisation and society.

7. With the object of abolition of bourgeois property, the Manifesto, with a class outlook, altering the old slogan: "All men are brothers" of the Communist League, has brought in the slogan: "Working men of all countries, unite".

This out-look of Manifesto has become dreadful for the bourgeoisie. So in the introduction of Manifesto it has been mentioned that "the spectre of Communism is haunting Europe":

"A spectre is haunting Europe-the Spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holly alliance to exorcise the spectre: Pope to Czar, Metternich to Guizot, French Radicals to German police-spies".

Communist Manifesto is condemned by all sorts of Reaction.

8. In Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels have put a declaration:

"Emancipation of labour is not at all local or national problem-but a social problem-"Though, not in substance, but 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 the matter with their own bourgeoisie".

Hence the Communist manifesto carried the vision of basic change of the society. The internationalism of Manifesto is not without any prop: it is based on the flow of struggle from national level.

9. The first declaration of the Manifesto is: *"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle".* This class struggle is the basis of the Communist Manifesto that is of Communist politics. So at one time, Marx-Engels declared: *"it is impossible for us to co-operate with the people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement"* (Marx-Engels; selected correspondence: (Moscow) page 395).

10. Communist Manifesto, mentioned that the weapon the bourgeoisie used to dismantle has become a death giving weapon for them. It has stated:

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

"....not only has the bourgeois forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield these weapons-the modern working class-the proletariat".

The weapon of class struggle which the bourgeoisie used to make the feudalism fall to the ground, will now be used against them; further in order to build up the capitalist society the bourgeoisie has given birth to which will be death giving for the bourgeoisie itself. The bourgeoisie has now become very vocal to resist it; but the history will work in its normal way. Communist Manifesto has brought this historical truth in the front.

11. The implication of the thought for creating new society by smashing the bourgeoisie-controlled capitalist society, which Communist Manifesto has brought, should properly be realised. It is not a matter of only freeing the proletariat from economic exploitation; It is an ending all sorts of economic and social discrimination and deprivation of the people of different stratum of society. By this, there will also occur elimination of discrimination, with respect to sex-based advantage and position of Man and Woman. The 'secondary' position of woman which has occurred in patriarchal society after breaking of patriarchal Society will also be eliminated. The women have become free from feudal bondage, in the capitalist society, which has been brought by bourgeoisie. Yet their economic subjugation to man continued to exist in it. The woman in bourgeois society is under domestic slavery. The bourgeoisie sees the woman as wife, a mere instrument of production. In this society the body of the women is sold as commodity, in the pattern of bourgeoisie commodity system. The prostitution of woman due to economic distress, has been legalised in bourgeois society. This position of woman would be removed in the new society which will develop through proletarian revolution because in the said new society, the labour power and social right of the woman will get full honour. The Communist Manifesto has described the position of woman in bourgeois society stating: *"The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production".... Bourgeois marriage is in reality system of wives.* The Manifesto has declared: *"It is self evident that abolition of present system of production must bring with it the abolition of community of women, springing from that system e.g., prostitution, both public and private"*. Full honour of women will occur by having freedom from economic subjugation. Emancipation of women is the barometer of progress of the society. In exploitation free society which will grow after proletarian revolution, the man and woman will be moving in the courtyard of new culture, with mental feeling of monogamy in life, the Communist Manifesto intends to create it.

12. Communist Manifesto in its declaration has described that in order to create a new society, the systems which will be or are to be introduced with the dictatorship of the proletariat, after achieving the state power by the proletariat, through class struggle, will be of following nature: "These measures will of course be different in different countries".

Nevertheless, in most advanced countries the following will be petty generally applicable:

- (1) Abolition of property in land and application of all land to public purposes;
- (2) A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
- (3) Abolition of all rights of inheritance
- (4) Confiscation of the properties of all emigrants and rebels
- (5) Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
- (6) Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
- (7) Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste land and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
- (8) Equal liability for all to labour; Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture;
- (9) Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of distinction between town and country, by more equal distribution of population over the country.
- (10) Free education for all children in public schools; abolition of children's factory labour in its present form: Combination of education with industrial production".

The proposal of abolition of private property in land by which the land be nationalised, is not directly nationalism of land of middle and small peasantry; it would be to bring their land under co-operative with proposal of "social help" and not by any coercion (Decision of Basic Congress of 1st Communist International and subsequent writing of Marx and Engels on peasant problem). Its object is to break the conservative attitude of peasants with respect to land gradually. These co-operatives are in the interests of the concerned peasants. The aforesaid proposals are not any sort of building of 'castle in the air' or 'Rip van winkle plan', but the objective step for the creation of new exploitation and class conflict-free society. In Soviet Russia, Lenin and Stalin and in China, Mao Tse Tung has taken steps to incorporate the above systems in the society and through such step, had brought before the people the reality of the thought of Marx and Engels. So they are the creators of real semblance of Communist Manifesto. But the social systems which have been created through their steps became alarming for the forces of reaction, bourgeoisie and imperialism. Hence the reality of Communist Manifesto has got burning revelation.

Communist Manifesto mentioning the creation of new social organization through the process of above system has put the declaration:

"When in course of development, class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of vast association of 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"..... "We shall have an association, in which free development of each is the condition for the development of all".

This is shiverous of the bourgeoisie; but whole heartedly acceptable for the destituted proletariat, it will be a blossoming of life for them.

13. In bourgeois society, human activities are not based on social feeling, but are based on basically the thought of 'commodity' and 'wage'. That is the root of its culture. It has been stated in Communist Manifesto. *"It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage labourers"*. In the thought of aforesaid exploitation-free, class-less society, which the Communist Manifesto has brought in, the human activities will be resuscitated with Social feeling. A new culture will be created thereby.

The basis of the thought of Marxism with respect to human social life is: *'Man by nature is a social being and creative being; creation is the instinct of man in work'*. In this matter the thought of bourgeois society is: Man is a selfish being; and without self-gain Man will have no instinct for work. The analysis Marxism is: *"due to 'deprivation' in bourgeois society self gain instinct for work in Man has occurred"*. After advent of new exploitation free society self-gain instinct for work will be eliminated: The man will be moving with instinct of work for creation.

14. The object of Communist Manifesto is not the solitary and isolated struggle of the Communist force, but an advancing in combination with different revolutionary struggles of the society. It has been declared in the Manifesto:

"The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things".

"In all these movements they will bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter, what its degree of development at the time".

Here lies the thought for formation of class front; and it is to be shaped through different realities.

15. Communist Manifesto has further declared that the Communists will fight for immediate interest of working class; that means that their struggle is not for immediate jumping to struggle for final emancipation of the proletariat; there will be a process. The declaration of the Manifesto is:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement".

On the whole, The Communists Manifesto is a historic document, a way showing to creation of a new society, free from explanation and class antagonism, having broken the bourgeoisie controlled capitalist society, through process of class struggle, with materialistic based social theory.

II

1. The Communist Manifesto has not put forward any sort of decorative plan or mechanical sketch of revolution with angle of vision of class revolution; And it is not even possible to do so, because it is dependent on situation; specially it would be considered with the back-ground of organizational strength of the working class and surrounding situation.

In 1872, at the time of publication of German edition of Communist manifesto Marx and Engels wrote in its preface: *'The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed'*. But Marx and Engels were conscious about the necessity of creation of working class party, for conducting violent revolution of class revolution and on the subject of making other parties allies in revolution. In 1889 on 18th December, Engels in a letter to G. Trier wrote:

"We are agreed on this; the proletariat cannot conquer its political domination, the only door to new society, without violent revolution. For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day, it must-and for this, as Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847, form distinct from all other parties and opposed to them, a conscious class party".

"But that does not mean that this party cannot at certain moments use the other parties for its purpose. Nor does this mean that it cannot support other parties for a short period in securing measures which either are directly advantageous to the proletariat or represent progress by way of economic development or political freedom" (Marx-Engels; Selected correspondence (Moscow) page 492)

In Communist Manifesto also there is expression of this thought and angle of vision of the activities of the proletariat.

2. The 'Strategy' and 'Tactics' of this proletarian revolution have been enriched through the activities under the leadership of the Communists Parties. In revolution of 1905 in Russia, Lenin, having given analysis of mental state desiring compromise with Czarism and vacillating tendency of the bourgeois class in revolution, advanced the proposition that 'the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution would be completed under the leadership of the Proletariat. 'In October Revolution in 1917, Lenin brought in the front the proposition that 'the Socialist Revolution would be carried out under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance in the under-developed countries like Russia'. In 1919 having brought in the forefront, the subject of leading role of the working class in the anti-imperialist National Revolution in Colonies, Lenin advanced the proposition of establishing 'link' between 'Socialist Revolution' of advanced capitalist country and 'Democratic revolution' of backward and colonial country. This became fearful for the

imperialism. In the case of colonial revolution the problem, arose in China as a result of defeat of Chinese Revolution, due to betrayal of Chiang Kai Shek, Stalin have taken into consideration the subject of armed resistance of the people led by the Communist Party of China against the armed attack of Chiang Kai Shek and advanced analysis that "the Chinese Revolution would proceed in the way of "armed Revolution with armed resistance and counter-attack against armed reaction". On the basis of it Mao Tse Tung's theory of People's Democratic revolution took shape in China, against Imperialism, a section of native bourgeoisie as comprador to imperialism and feudalism. It is a stage of social revolution; basically democratic revolution-not socialist revolution-it is transitional to socialism. This is its significance. At present in the colonies, where transference of state power has occurred in the post 2nd world war period, by a compromise deal between imperialism and big bourgeoisie in the wake of colonial liberation struggles, the main subject matter of revolution is also People's or New Democratic Revolution. But in the present world situation its transition to socialism will be deeper.

But in the affair of Revolution, the main point for realisation is: It is not possible to repeat the Revolution of one country in the same way in another country. The process of class mobilisation will vary from country to country. So the Revolution of Communist Manifesto should be viewed with objective look.

III

1. Marx and Engels had not seen the full development of Imperialism-only saw its initial countenance; yet what they had described about the full countenance of capitalism is as follows.

"The bourgeoisie, has through its exploitation of world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country". "To the great chargin to reactionaries it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old established national ground on which it stood. All old established national industries have been destroyed or are daily destroyed.....raw materials drawn from the remotest zones..... industries, whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe"....."In place of old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency we have intercourse in every, universal interdependence of nations"..... it creates a world after its own image".

This is the world exploitation process of capitalism under the control of bourgeois class. The imperialist stage of capitalism has emerged through this process.

2. This analysis of imperialism which Lenin gave, on the basis of Marxian economic proposition, is as follows:

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which dominance of monopolies and finance capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which division of the world among the industrial trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe amongst the great capitalist powers has been completed".

Imperialism is: Dominance of monopolies and finance capital and completion of division of world amongst the great capitalist powers. It is a higher stage in the development of capitalism. The conflicts and contradictions of capitalism inevitably exist in it. This is the location of world division amongst the powerful capitalist groups.

3. After creation of this world process of capitalism under the control of bourgeois class the war took place among the big capitalist groups for a share of division. Lenin has given the analysis: War is the concomitance of imperialism. It is an open expression of conflict of interest amongst the capitalists-a 'mobilisation of strength' of each. Colony is created by capturing of backward countries. The colony is a guarantee of strength of monopoly capital. Further, in the entire system, the exploitation on the working class is also intense. So the question of taking a clear attitude about imperialism is a very important subject of communist politics. In this affair, the thought of Lenin is an extension of Marxism.

4. During the life time of Marx and Engels, a thought of "social Democracy'-which advocated the establishment of Socialism through democratic process' arose inside the Socialist camp of Europe. It sought to correct or reject the theory of 'class struggle', 'revolution' and 'dictatorship of proletariat' of Marxism. It advanced the possibility of working class winning the state power through obtaining of majority of working class, by vote, in Bourgeois Parliamentary Democracy (as the working class is majority in population) and the establishment of Socialism 'peacefully'. This idea kept in the oblivion the role of 'force' of bourgeois State-machinery. Marx and Engels described it as 'petty bourgeois patch-work reform' and declared that it could not be a "working class party". Kautsky who became a chief theoretician of this ideology in his later period and who was also inside the camp of Socialist thought in Europe, put forward the analysis that "Imperialism is the development of capitalism to a new higher stage as advancement of "Super Imperialism" with unity of international Finance-capital without contradiction (exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital).

5. Lenin, in this affair, refuted this reasoning and analysis of Kautsky and also gave the analysis with respect to 'subjects' of 'mutual contradiction inside different powerful capitalist groups', 'their main stay on colonies', 'crisis of capitalism', 'non-possibility of advancing trend of Imperialism etc, characterised Imperialism, as 'parasitic capitalism' which lives by sucking colonies, 'decaying capitalism', 'moribund capitalism'. He condemned Kautsky as "Renegade". Here lies the strong echo of condemnation, which Marx

and Engels made against Social Democracy. In the 1st World War of 1914, the Social Democracy, having kept the slogan of Nationalism in the front became the supporter of Imperialist war. Lenin, on the other hand, in opposition to imperialist war, brought in the front the theory of converting 'Imperialist war into civil war', made success of October Revolution in 1917. So the proposition of Lenin with respect to imperialism is to be or should be the main basis of the Communist politics; without this, it will be carrying of Social Democracy, that is, theory of Kautsky, in to the Communist politics.

6. In the post-2nd world war period, with new division of world, the intense endeavour of certain imperialist groups, under the dominance of US Imperialism began to capture the world market with the strength of finance capital. With the strength of finance capital and deadly weapon, the object of US imperialism is to create the world with "its own image" Roosevelt, the President of American Federal State, announced: "Americanisation of the world is our destiny". This intensified exportation of Imperialist capital Globalisation is the present structure of world exploitation of imperialism. This should be considered on the basis of the theory of Lenin; and real Communist force must decide its attitude about it. The theory of Kautsky is appearing anew to glorify this Globalisation; and it is entering in Communist Politics also. In this matter the under mentioned thought of Lenin requires deep study;

"The imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class. There is no 'Chinese wall' between it and other classes. The leaders of so called "Social Democratic" Party of Germany are today justly called "Social-Imperialist", that is socialism in word and imperialist in deed".

"Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defence of Imperialism in somewhat veiled form and obscure its complete domination and its profound roots; they strive to concentrate attention on partial and secondary details and do their best to distract attention from the main, by means of ridiculous schemes for reforms" (Lenin; imperialism; the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

Lenin depicted the Social Democratic Party as "Social Imperialists", it would be reasonable and justified to characterise the Communist Party which will extend support to globalisation of imperialist capital according to the depiction of Lenin.

7. The basic theory of 'class struggle' and 'Revolution of the Communist Manifesto continues to be valid and strong reality in the present age, that is, in the situation entailing Globalisation of Imperialist Capital. In the present time, the property difference and conflicting situation therefore have assumed deeper intensity. The position, as shaped, in different countries, that is, in the world is: In one side, a very small number of population who control and enjoy the wealth of the society; and on another side a vast destitute masses who are deprived of real enjoyment of wealth. These are two opposite poles of the society. It has taken shape of an irreconcilable contradiction of the society. The mobilisation of strength to execute the basic theory of Communist Manifesto is the only necessity of the situation. The declaration of Communist Manifesto-"United action of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat"-has now acquired a very wide dimension.

Marx and Engels, composed Communist Manifesto for the world proletariat. Yet Europe in the main was before them at that time. But in the present time the world court-yard has abjectly appeared for it. The working class of different countries, have become more closer to each other through cheap-world-labour-market. Hence the thought of proletariat revolution of Communist Manifesto will now be moving throughout the world through creation of different fighting fronts of the working class.

8. About the theory of abolition of "Private Property" of Communist Manifesto, which makes the Bourgeois-class panic-stricken and for which they spread panic, Communist Manifesto has stated:

"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-tenth of the population, its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of this nine-tenth".

In the present world situation, the private propertylessness of vast distressed masses is the basis of the private property of small section. Advancement of society and advent of new civilisation will occur through crushing of this basis-it is what Communist Manifesto has depicted and has brought before the vision of the proletariat. It is deeply vibrating before the distressed masses.

9. In this affair the fight of the distressed masses, that is, the Proletariat, is the fight of the major section of population. It has been stated in the Communist Manifesto.

"All the previous historical movements were the movement of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority".

So the main strength of protection of minorities and their properties is their state-machinery. It is for this reason Communist Manifesto has brought the object of crushing the bourgeois state machinery, without which it will be impossible to build up new society.

The relevancy of Communist Manifesto should be considered on the basis of above mentioned realities not by any sort of mechanical thought.

10. In the post 2nd world war period a thought arose inside the Communist camp, with 'new' orientation of old social democracy to win Socialism in a peaceful way, they claim, in the present age of Atomic and Hydrogen bomb, the theory of 'class struggle' and 'Revolution' of Marxism is obsolete and an 'adventurism'. This was the creation of the post 2nd world war epoch and a new challenge posed to Communist Manifesto.

Soviet Khrushchev-Kosygin-Gorbachev clique, brought this thought in the front. They advanced the theory of 'concluding movement of 'Social Revolution' in 'peaceful way' and of 'integral universe' without 'class-contradictions. It is 'Modern Revisionism' in place of 'reformism' of old Social Democracy. This clique, in one side, in order to create disgust against Soviet system, hurled different slanderous attack on Stalin, who after Lenin, was the main architect of Soviet System for a long time; and, in another side, they rejected the character of Worker-Peasant Dictatorship of the Soviet-State and replaced with the idea of 'Peoples State'; Further they introduced the elements of capitalist market economy in Socialist Economy. They created an atmosphere for devastation of the Soviet State. Taking advantage of it, the Imperialist conspiracy caused such devastating position. But this devastation is temporary. Still in Russia, the Communist force exist with strength. Yeltsin who was placed as state-controller, by the Imperialists, has now been removed from state-power. The Socialist system, on basis of the thought of Communist Manifesto which was been established under the initiative of Lenin and Stalin, has not been completely devastated. They exist as a rich experience and idea among the people. It is the sign of strength of Marxism; on the other side the character of Revisionism as anti-Marxism and destroyer of socialism stands exposed.

11. It is also to be observed in the present time that after death of Mao Tse Tung, a revisionist, clique, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping having rejected the theory of Mao Tse Tung, as to "forward leap to socialism" with new "class struggle" with the proposition that "after New Democratic Revolution" the National Bourgeoisie and Rich Peasantry are not the allies, but enemies of socialist revolution, advanced a theory of 'Mixed Economy', taking the Bourgeoisie and Rich Peasantry as allies and obtaining cooperation with imperialist capital; and dragged the Chinese economy towards the same. The property difference in economy has immensely been aggravated there by, it has got state recognition. They have been catering it as 'Socialism' with Chinese characteristics". They have retained 'Single-Party' rule, as if it is a 'Dictatorship of Proletariat'. But with a political declaration they have extended invitation to the representatives of the capitalist and other classes who have 'honestly earned property' to be inside the Party. They have also announced that without owning full private property right advancement of China would not be possible. According to their view also, the old theory of Marxism would not be applicable or relevant in the present age; its rectification is necessary. It is another countenance of Modern Revisionism-the carrier of capitalism with new dress.

It is essential to bring special consciousness among the working class and toiling masses, in the present time, about this Modern Revisionism. It is the responsibility before the real communist force.

12. It should be observed in this context that a turmoil due to mass fury against the ruler who are the protectors of the vested interest, has been spreading in South-East Asia and other regions. It is motion towards a new mobilisation of the world proletariat. So the thought of Communist Manifesto should move with all intensity.

13. But in the present world situation while applying the basic thought of Communist Manifesto it is necessary to take a clear view and attitude towards certain questions:

At first, the definition of Proletariat should be looked into with new extension. The organised shape of entire distressed masses would be its basis. Objectively, the workers of unorganised industries are to be taken in fold, in organised form, with the workers of organised industries; and the 'unorganised force' which has been created with the blow of Globalisation of imperialist capital in different industries is to be taken as its main strength. In the present time, these forces will be 'working men' of the Communist Manifesto. Unity of Struggle of them is essential.

Along with it, a clear thought and attitude should be taken on certain subjects mentioned here under:

(a) At one time, the manner by which the entire middle class was taken as ally to Democratic Revolution and Socialist Revolution, cannot be made applicable in the present situation, because in the present bourgeois-state container, the top heavy education system which has been evolved, one section of middle class, who can be called 'upper middle class', having been developed with highly expensive higher education, have secured the position as the administrative bureaucrats in State administration, education administration and in different organizations of imperialist capital and old colonial big capital. In the present revolutionary movement the role of them is 'reactionary'. So they should be treated as the camp of reaction. Hence in the present time, the Communist Party which will bring them in its fold as ally, will be or will be bound to be the carrier of Reaction. At present, amongst the middle class, there is 'middle section'. In industry and other working establishment they are 'highly salaried' employees. They have attraction towards Socialism – (as described in Communist Manifesto, a "petty bourgeoisie")-they are vacillating in revolutionary struggle. They are bearing the ideology of social democracy with respect to Socialism. A 'lower section' of the middle class, which exists thereafter, among whom a distressful condition exists-are more closer to proletarian class. They are to be taken as allies to the struggle of the proletariat.

(b) In the present time in imperialist countries and even in industrially under-developed countries, "the labour aristocracy" had grown with intensity. They are the creation of industrial employers. Lenin has seen the Labour-Aristocracy at certain stage as "Labour-lieutenants" of the bourgeois class. At present, it has taken more strong intensified position. The Trade Unions of the ruling party and the parties which are strongly tagged to parliamentary politics are their main political prop. They are now the agent of collective bargaining

with respect to the demands of workers; they have arrived in alternative position of the administration of the employers as the governor' of the workers, Marx and Engels have not seen the labour aristocracy; they have seen the opportunism of Social Democracy in its primary position. This Social Democracy is the strength giver of labour aristocracy. Modern Revisionism in the present age is the pillar of labour aristocracy. At present it has become specially necessary to 'corner' the labour aristocracy in new working class movement with the angle of vision of proletarian revolution.

(c) In post 2nd World-War period, in the colonies where transference of state power has occurred as a result compromise deal with Imperialism, due to economic policy of the new ruling group, the control of rich peasantry has grown in agricultural economy; and in their agricultural production system the 'peasants' have been converted to "land labour". These land labourers landless and poor peasantry are the rural distressed masses, and they are to be taken as extremely close ally to proletariat in revolutionary movement; the rich peasantry would be the target of attack.

(d) The thought of "class party" of Communist Manifesto has caused birth of the Communist Parties in different countries. But, in the present time, the matter of purification of the Communist Party should be taken up with very seriousness and strong attitude; Because, in the present time, imperialism and Bourgeoisie-State power are using other methods in the name to smash the Communist Party than the direct methods of repression and attack: the main tactic of them is to pollute the Party in different manners'. Apart from it, in the present time, in one way, different types of ideology of Social Democracy i.e., revisionism are entering the Communist Parties; and in another way, in organization process, there has occurred assembling in the party of the opportunists and advantage seeking elements. The removal of these from the party is essentially needed. Specially, in the present time, the tested cadres in mass movements should be taken as the 'base of the Party; the leadership also should be oriented accordingly; Further, in the community party, Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Tse Tung should be taken as successive personalities of Marxism-not in served or isolated manner. Out of these personalities, to accept one isolatedly would be a wrong step with respect to Marxism. In the present time the slumberous position of the Communist Parties throughout the world is a noticeable event. Hence, a properly oriented Communist party is a necessity of the situation. The implication of the under mentioned declaration of Marx and Engels should deeply be realised.

"The emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves: we cannot therefore co-operate with the people who openly state that the workers are too uneducated to emancipate themselves and must be freed from above by philanthropic big bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie". (Marx-Engels selected correspondence 9 Moscow page 395).

Petty bourgeois dominated Communist Party will be incapable to be 'real' Communist Party for Proletarian Revolution. In the present time, it is observable that the petty bourgeois elements do prefer to get enter into the Communist party carrying parliamentary politics than separate Democratic Party'. It is a prop for their self-establishment. It is beyond possibility to retain revolutionary character and role of the Communist Party with flooding of this force into the communist party.

(e) In the present time in countries where transference of state power has occurred, a continued campaign and movement should be organised against the parliamentary 'rulers' and the said administrative system', who or which is acting as collaborationists of imperialism and helping forces for Globalisation of imperialist capital; And the flow of it should be intensified in the movement of working class and distressed masses.

14. In the present situation the Communist Manifesto be applied and practiced taking the present process of exploitation of imperialist capital into view and on the basis of the basic thought of 'class struggle' and 'Revolution' of Communist Manifesto. We must make a strong declaration before the world proletariat that the Communist Manifesto continues to be relevant, fully living. Any declaration in the present time, as to extinguishment of the relevancy of Communist Manifesto would be acting as partisan to imperialism and its collaborators-the 'vested interests' and of playing the role of "enemy" of the distressed masses.

15. In the present time, imperialism, through the process of Globalisation of its capital, has given birth to, with intensified exploitation, such a distressed mass force as its "grave diggers" which will put imperialism inside the grave according to infallible law of history. This is the present **'Declaration of the Communist Manifesto.**