THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the revolutionary political discourse of "The Communist Manifesto" that the world has got from Karl Marx, with a radical challenge to the democracy, the radical challenge to the democracy, the other polarity in the political world. The discourse always stands as a critical political document with all favors on behalf of the proletariats of the world.

KEYWORDS: Feudals, Bourgeois, Proletariats & Communists

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INTRODUCTION

KARL MARX AND HIS WORKS

Karl Marx was born in 1818 in Trier, Germany, of Jewish parents. Later, his father was converted to Protestantism. Marx studied law, philosophy, and religion. He had attended universities in Berlin, Bonn, and Jena. He started to work as a journalist but his paper was closed down, and he was expelled from Germany. Then he went to France where again he faced expulsion. Finally, he settled in London with his family. Though he had earned a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Jena, he didn't get any university post. Because of his radical and revolutionary social views, he was exiled from Prussia (State of Germany). Being exiled from Germany, he lived in Paris. He was expelled from Paris, too. He went to Brussels and then the final settlement was in London. In his London settlement, he was in poverty. It was his friend Friedrich Engels (1820-1805) who helped him in his poverty. His student Vladimir Lenin (1870-10924) made him popular in the world by bringing his political philosophy into practice. Marx died on 14th March 1883, in London.

Marx's philosophy on politics and economics is radical, revolutionary and progressive. Marx is popularly known for his theories of socialism. The political institutions of the twentieth century have been greatly influenced by his philosophy. His philosophy has the single greatest influence in the century. Ideologically, the world has been divided into two: communism and anti-communism. Marx studied very closely the functioning of the capitalist society in the 19th century Europe and from it he derived the conclusion that capitalism thrived on the exploitation of the poor workers and also that seeds of destruction of capitalism were inherent in it. He also concluded that communism was a natural outcome of capitalism. In collaboration with Fredrick Engels, he published *The Communist Manifesto* (1848). Marx advocates in its violent overthrow of the capitalist social order, and reconstruction of the society by the united power of the workers. He gives the famous call to the world's workers- "Workers of all countries, unite!" Marx's epoch-making work in social philosophy is the *Das Capital* (1867). The German man, but writing in London revolutionized Russia, wherein 1917 the Bolshevik revolution was led by his disciple Vladimir Lenin. Tzar's reign was abolished and communism was established.

Since 1917 Marx's thinking has been attentively and minutely analyzed, debated and argued. Capitalist thinkers have found him illogical and uninformed, whereas Communist thinkers have found him a prophet and keen analyst of social structures.

The Communist Manifesto

After studying European economics, Marx found the economic society divided into two parts with an ongoing class struggle - the bourgeois (capitalists, property owners) and the proletariats (workers, without wealth). The history is progressive and all things that exist in society are inevitably changing. *The Communist Manifesto* is a manifesto of the ongoing class struggle of society in history. Marx had strengthened the materialistic view and said that economic institutions of the society develop naturally. He denied the providence of God in the affairs of man. He did not attach any importance to religion in man's life. The Manifesto can be studied serially, in historic evolution-

- Bourgeois and Proletarians
- Proletarians and Communists
- Revolutionary Programme-10-point Programme

Analysis

Bourgeois and Proletarians

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." The society is composite of two classes of people:

<u>Exploiter</u>	<u>Exploited</u>
Rich	Poor
Freeman	Slave
Patrician (aristocrats)	Plebeian (low-level working people)
Lord	Serf etc.

In all these cases, one group acts as oppressor and another group as oppressed. They are always in opposition. They are always struggling - one trying to overcome another. They are fighting all the time openly or hideously. In any way, the result is a revolutionary reconstitution of society as larger, or there is the common ruin of the classes. The revolutionary reconstitution is by the means of laws originated from the class struggle. This is the very thing Sigmund Freud has said in *Letter to Einstein*. Every war results in law or destruction.² History is evident that the society in the early epochs had complicated arrangement of classes and sub-classes. These were arranged in social ranks. In ancient Rome, there were patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves. In the Middle Ages there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs. In all these classes there were subordinate classes, too.

From the above discussion, we can get to the implications that the society had first two major classes - masters and servants and further these classes had sub-classes or gradation of social rank.

Origin of the Modern Bourgeois Society

The modern bourgeois society emerged from the ruins of the feudal society. The serfs of the medieval period developed themselves as respectable citizens. These citizens were burghers, burgesses and then the bourgeois. The feudal

system of the industry was displaced by the manufacturing middle-class. These middle-class people were also once labor class of people in a feudal system of industry. As time passed, they improved their conditions and came to be antagonists for the feudal.

Because of the growing demand, markets grew. The feudal system of products, but the latter development revolutionized industrially production by the means of steam and machinery. Modern industry has brought the industrial middle-class millionaires ahead. Modern bourgeois were born from this modern industry. Modern industry has established the world market. It expanded industry. Commerce, navigation, railways and many other things and this industrial class pushed all other classes far behind. Therefore, "the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange."

The bourgeoisie is the result of the class antagonism that we have seen in the above discussion. It is the bourgeoisie originated from the feudal system that has been further "split up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." time changes. There is a change in human mind and subsequently in society. History is observer of all the changes in the society. Therefore history records:

Feudals → Bourgeois → Proletarians →

Quite remarkable conclusion, we can make in the end of this discussion that the bourgeoisie has made its largest empire of production market, exchange, industry, commerce, navigation, railways, etc. and the proletarians have only been working status in all these aspects of the bourgeois' empire. Both are antagonist for each other now.

Bourgeoisie Trend toward the Executive of the State

Every class, after succeeding to have superiority over other classes, gets hold of a political movement. "The executive of the modern state is only a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". It was an oppressed class before in the feudal system. In the medieval society, it had poor and working conditions under the medieval feudal lords. They came to be an independent urban republic after their economic and social improvement. In Italy and Germany, they were a republic. In France, they were taxed. They were considered "third state" of the king. The bourgeoisie was the foundation, a cornerstone, of the great monarchies in general. After the establishment of the modern industry, they held the commerce and world-market, and so did they over state's policy. As state policy is required to enshape the industrial and commercial activities, they came to hold the political movement by representing themselves widely in the Executive body. Therefore, the executive or the government of the modern state is composite of the bourgeois. Their main aim is to modulate all common affairs in favor of the bourgeois. Though it is often not noticed, it is true that increment of some amount in the price of a soap is a result of the donation that has been given to the government by the capitalists. Different political parties talk about the favors of the people, but in fact they are run by the bourgeois. The communists reproach the exploitation of people by the capitalists, but in fact, in the democratic political environment, they also run their party with the donation of the bourgeois. Therefore, in every way poor people suffer.

Human Relation in Bourgeoisie

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part. Revolution is a term that is used for every change. Whenever there is a break from a tradition or establishment that becomes a revolutionary aspect of life. The bourgeoisie ended the feudal system. So it brought an end to the relationship between master and serf, the relation of

man to his so-called "natural superiors". Likewise, it ended the connection or bond between man and man. It motivated people for self-interest. An individual was important and all kinds of interests and relation were diverted to "cash payment". It has resolved personal worth into exchange value. Give-and-take relation was established. All ecstasies of human religious relation, of ideal enthusiasm and of poor sentimentalism were turned to bitter egotistical, selfish calculation. Human value was money value. In the place of human value and freedom, it has established an arbitrary bourgeoisie form of Free trade. The bourgeoisie system has been directed towards the naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation in the disguise of religions and political illusions. Exploitation is the major effect of this system. All are professional. Physician, lawyer, priest, poet, scientist and all other people of occupation have been made "wage laborers". There is no more the sentimental relation even in a family. Family relation has also become merely money relation. It is often said that success in life is possible only if one comes out of the veil of love. Therefore, success, i.e. success of possessing more and more wealth is given more privilege. Love relation is considered to be an obstacle in the success of life.

Achievement of the Bourgeoisie

By diminishing the value of human natural emotional and sentimental relationship to the money value, the bourgeoisie has accomplished wonderful success. The feudal lords had a slothful indolent life, whereas the bourgeois were active and laborious. There upon, the bourgeois showed what man's activity can bring about. It has surpassed Egyptian pyramids, and also Roman and Gothic architectures. It has conducted expeditions better and surpassing all the former historical expeditions. Achievement of the Bourgeoisie is unfathomable. In every aspect of life there is progress. Scientific researches, discoveries and technical advancement are the results of their efforts.

Revolutionary Aspects of the Bourgeoisie

For the existence, the bourgeoisie has revolutionalized the instruments of production, the relations of production and the whole relations of society. Machines were discovered. Capital was more increased and labors were activated. Large quantity of products was brought into the market. Social relations were declined with money relation. All were dealt with business relations. Society was veiled by religious and political illusions. Old ancient prejudices and opinions were replaced with new ones. Real conditions of life were introduced and man was compelled to face them. There were mainly the following three things by which the bourgeois period can be differentiated from all earlier ages:

- Constant revolutionization of production.
- Uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, and
- Everlasting uncertainty and agitation of different aspects of life in society.

Market for Products

Enormous product requires larger market and for the market, the bourgeoisie expands its realm all over the world. It has exploited the world market and has given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. Industry and product both have got the international identity. All old-fashioned and old-established national industries and products are being replaced by new ones. Introduction of the new industries has been important and prestigious for all nations. Raw materials and products are exported and imported. Public wants are variant. They require new wants and satisfaction with the products of cross-cultural lands and climate. In place of the old, local and national seclusion and self-

sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. Britain would get weapons from America, and in turn, America would get food from Britain, India imports raw materials from Nepal, and in turn, products are exported back to Nepal. This is the case not only with materials, but also with intellectual production. All kinds of intellectual creations have international value, truth, and significance. National creations become international property. No nation can live in isolation. Archaeological findings have international recognition. They are displayed to show to the people of the world. Damage of such things is considered as a loss of all the nations of the world. National and local literature becomes world-literature. This is the international recognition of the products by which the world has become smaller. The bourgeoisie has established the world in its own image.

The Bourgeoisie World

The bourgeoisie has created a world in its own image. The bourgeoisie's world has been built on the following foundations-

- All the instruments of production have been improved.
- Products have secured a world-market.
- By the immensely facilitated means of communication, even the most barbarian nations have been brought into civilization.
- By the fear of extinction, all nations are compelled to adopt the bourgeois mode of production and distribution.
- Undeveloped and underdeveloped nations are dependent on developed countries. Nations of peasants are dependent on nations of the bourgeois. The East is dependent on the West. Interdependency has connected all the nations to establish the bourgeois world.

Centralization of Different Aspects of the Bourgeoisie Culture

One of the important reproaches argued in the Manifesto is the centralization of all the bases of the bourgeoisie culture.

- It has created enormous cities where a large number of the population resides.
- It has subjected the country, rural areas to the rule of the towns. A country is dependent on the towns.
- It has centralized the scattered population, the means of production and property.
- The means of production and property has been limited to a few rich capitalists.
- It has done political centralization. All separate interests, laws, governments, systems of taxation of loosely connected provinces have been centralized into one as a whole.
- The conditions of feudal production and the feudal relations of property collapsed and gave a sway to the bourgeoisie conditions of production and relations of property.
- Being unable to stay any longer in free competition, the feudal social and political constitution, economic and political movements gave sway to the bourgeois class.

In short, everything came to be the bourgeois-centered.

Sway to the Proletariats

Just like the crisis and movement under which the bourgeois and the feudal have gone, similar crisis and movement can be seen now. Modern bourgeois society has acted like a sorcerer. It has born gigantic means of production and of exchange. However, it has not been able to control its own forces of production. Now new industrial and commercial crises have arisen. For last few decades, the history of industry and commerce is only the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations. The industrial and commercial crises have threatened the existence of the bourgeoisie itself. Uncertainty and absurdity, have resulted from the epidemic of overproduction. In spite of enormous production, the present world is going to suffer from a famine or a universal war of devastation. Industry and commerce are likely to be destroyed. And the reason behind this destruction can be guessed. Certainly, there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself and the cause is the modern working class - the proletarians, born from the class antagonism of the bourgeois and the proletarians. The bourgeois has themselves given way to the proletariats.

The Proletariats - Working and Struggling Class

The proletariat class is a class of laborers. Main characteristics of this class are as follows:

- The proletariat class is responsible for the increment of capital.
- They live only so long as they find work.
- They find work only so long as their labor increases capital.
- They are a commodity like other articles of commerce.
- They are also responsible for all the fluctuations of the market.
- A proletarian is an appendage of the machine. He has no individual character. His ability to run the machine is only required. There is extensive use of machinery. Labor has also been divided into different skills, and so has the payment accordingly.
- The cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely to the means of subsistence.
- Price of commodity = price of labor = cost of production. What he receives in payment, he has to spend for his maintenance and for upbringing his children.
- His work increases, so his wage increases.
- The use of machinery and division of labor increase; so the burden of labor increases.
- Value of time and value of labor increase proportionally.

Organization of Working Soldiers

As the workshop of the feudal system has been turned into a great factory of the industrial capitalist, masses of laborers, crowded into factories, are organized like soldiers. These working soldiers are under command of the bourgeois

class and of the bourgeois state. They are enslaved by the machine and individual capitalist. They receive wages in cash and the cash is again seized by other bourgeois, landlords, shopkeepers, moneylenders, etc. Their wages and expenditure is always in balance. Rather, their wages do not suffice them. They are compelled to take loans in advance. The salary of the whole month is spent in advance. The lower rank of the middle class will also join the proletariat class. Small tradesmen, shopkeepers, failed tradesmen, the handicraftsmen and peasants all will gradually sink into the proletariat class. There are two reasons behind this move—

- They can't compete with their small capital with modern large scale industry, and
- Their specialized skill becomes worthless after the introduction of new methods of production.

Struggle by the Proletariat

The proletariat has been on struggle all the time. At every step of development, it has been struggling. The struggle is against the bourgeoisie, against the bourgeois conditions of production and against the instruments of production. As the machinery and imported products have diminished the status of the workmen, they make target to regain this status by destroying the instruments of the production. The contest is carried on in different ways-

Figure 1

All workers will be united by the means of communication and other technological advancements. Power of the workers is united and centralized. This centralized power is used in the battle, and the workers are frequently victorious. They will have the final victory. In fact, their victory lies not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of workers. Centralized power has national character. This class struggle is a political character because every class struggle is a political struggle. All the workers now live in a political party. Organization of the proletarians becomes a strong political party which works for the interests of workers. Nevertheless, there is competition in the party within the workers. Marx says that, from this competition, stronger, firmer and mightier party or organization builds. In this case, we can add a Freud's argument that within the union brute force will be suppressed. Power will be transferred to a larger combination. This combination will be founded on the community of sentiments linking up its members.³ Certainly, only if the community has been built on sentiments, that can be stronger, firmer and mightier. Particular interests of the workers will be recognized. It will take advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie, too. The ten hours' bill in England was the result of political division, not of benevolence on the part of the managers. This bill was formed in 1847. It was an important innovation in labor reform. The bourgeois had required labors and there was scarcity. Somewhere workers were

working for sixteen hours in a day and in other places the bourgeois lacked labors and suffered a lot. Besides, the labors were being exploited all the time. This working period had been beneficial to the workers.

Assistance to Struggle of the Proletariats

In the course of development of the bourgeoisie, it has been also all the time in a constant battle. They have fought in a battle against different classes-

Figure 2

The bourgeois have used the proletariats as weapons in the battle. In turn, the proletariats with weapons furnished by the bourgeois are turning against the masters themselves. Besides, the class of the proletariats is becoming stronger with the assistance and entry of people from other classes. A small section of the ruling class, especially the bourgeois ideologists, cuts itself out of the class and joins the revolutionary class and the revolutionary class is the proletariat. Other classes decay and finally disappear in the class of the proletariats. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisans, the pleasant all join the proletariats because of the fear of extinction of fight against the bourgeoisie. Some of them are revolutionary, only looking for an opportunity to get back their previous position. Some of them are conservative, or rather reactionary, only looking for an opportunity to get back their previous position. Some of them are revolutionary, especially those who abandon their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat. The reactionary group is a more dangerous class in the struggle of the proletariats.

Fortification of Position

The bourgeois rose and developed with property, but the proletarians do not have property. Modern industrial labor has been modern subjection to capitalize. Family relation has been poor. Man has been valued with money relation. Proletariats are suffering from so many bourgeois prejudices of law morality, and religion. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify. They have their missions to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of individual property. They cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation. Every class fortifies positions by subjecting the society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletariats do not have anything to fortify; but to become the monster of the productive forces of society they have to abolish all the law, morality, religion and other bourgeois prejudices because they are the modes of appropriation set of the bourgeois for their own benefits. Proletariats make violent protest of the bourgeois education, independent movement of the immense majority, from all kinds of probable danger. All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, but the proletarian movement is the movement of the majority. They struggle until they will have power over all the productive forces, and therefore, they fortify their common sentiments and interests to establish their national character. Conditions of the modern labor class are same everywhere in every country, and therefore they work to improve their poor conditions by common struggle.

Proletarians and Communists

In the second part, Marx is making in response to those who reproach communists for the following things:

- Desire of abolishing the right of property.
- Desire of abolishing individuality and freedom.
- Desire of abolishing work by abolishing private property.
- Desire of abolishing culture.
- Desire of abolishing countries and nationalities, and
- Religious, philosophical and ideological standpoint.

Abolishment of the Right of Property

Anti-communist reproach is that communists desire to abolish the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor. This property has been supposed to be the base of all personal freedom, activity and independence. Anti-communists are the bourgeois. The capitalist's "Personally" signifies an individual effort and "individual" is the bourgeois term of selfish interest. They have used a phrase – personally acquiring property, but the property refers here to the individual property. Quite humorous phrase is "property as the fruit of a man's own labor" because those who labor are independent of wages. The wages are the means of subsistence. They never can be property.

The bourgeois never work hard. Proletarians work hard. So when they claim that their property is hard won, self-acquired and self-earned, it seems to be a joke. Property of small artisan and of the small peasant cannot be abolished because that has been already destroyed by the bourgeois private property which has been amassed and secured by a few, and a large number of people does not have any single penny. Wage labor creates capital and the capital is a property which exploits wage labor. It increases only by the exploitation of wage labor. Bourgeois invests are called property, and after investment it is called capital. Those who invest are called capitalists. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labor -

Figure

Abolishment of Individuality and Freedom

The bourgeois have considered the property as the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence. For them, the abolishment of individual property means abolishment of freedom, activity and independence. Marx agrees that it is true that the communists aim at the abolition of bourgeois individuality, freedom and independence. Under the present bourgeois conditions of production, freedom means free trade, free selling and buying. The bourgeois have meaning of free selling and buying, but the communists do not. The former has property and so they can sell and buy but the latter can't. No sooner have they received wages than they spend on their maintenance and subsistence. Therefore, they aim to cease the freedom. In the existing society, private property has been abolished from the hands of the nine-

tenths of the production.

Figure 4

It is well known fact that one-tenth of populations have the property because of the non-existence of the property in the hands of those nine-tenths. This existence of property for the few is also by the exploitation of the nine-tenths. It is exactly that the communists intend to abolish the property of the bourgeois and also their freedom. From the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment individuality vanishes. When individuality vanishes, the bourgeois, the middle-class owner of property, will also disappear.

Abolishment of Work by Abolishing Private Property

Capitalists state that all work will cease after abolition of private property. Universal laziness and unemployment will overtake. However, the bourgeois are themselves lazy all the time and in that case their society ought to have been worse. Yet their society is getting better conditions. They are worried quite adversely that there will be no one to increase their private property if private property is ceased and work is abolished. They wish to protect their property, their private capital. Those who work acquire nothing and those who acquire anything do not work. Naturally, the latter ones are much more worried than the former.

Abolishment of Culture

The culture which has been founded by the bourgeois is nothing more than a training for the majority of communists to act as a machine. Their objections are directed against the communistic modes of production and appropriating intellectual products. Bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, religion, law, etc. are appropriating the conditions of their society. The bourgeois believe that the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, and similarly, the disappearance of class culture is the disappearance of all culture. In fact, they have a fear that the communists are developing own culture that will go against the bourgeois.

Desire of Abolishing Countries and Nationalities

The capitalists have reproached that the communists have desired to abolish countries and nationalities. It is known fact that working men have no country or nationality. Until they do not acquire the political supremacy they can't have a country or nationality. They must rise to be the leading class of the nation and constitute itself the nation. This nation will be a nation of the working class and naturally without boundary or barrier. There will not be a bourgeois sense of 'individuality' but rather communistic "whole". National differences and antagonisms between peoples (peoples of two or more nations) are disappearing because of the bourgeois commerce and the supremacy and united action of the proletariats will cause them vanish more quickly. As National differences and antagonisms will disappear, the exploitation of one nation by another will also come to an end. National identity will work for united action and united supremacy.

Individual interest will be communal for the welfare of all the members.

Religious, Philosophical and Ideological Standpoint

Man's ideas, view, conceptions all change with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations, and in his social life. The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. Therefore, there is more possibility that the bourgeois ideas are destroyed by the revolutionary ideas of the proletariats. Man's consciousness changes with every change in the conditions of material and intellectual existence. Whenever there is revolution in society, old ideas dissolve along with the old conditions of existence. In 18th century's rational age, the bourgeois fought bravely against feudal Christianity. In spite of severe struggle, religion, morality, philosophy, political science and law have survived after all, at least by modification. These different faculties of human knowledge are working as a means of security of the bourgeois culture. For them, these things are eternal truths that help them to exploit working people more than before. The communists abolish all these truths and they construct their world with those things which will serve their common interests. Marx intends to abolish them, and not to reconstitute them on a new basis. There is no need to impose such ideas on people because the class antagonisms disappear and we know the ideas are only for exploitation of one class by another. The communists break away from all traditional ideas.

Raising the Proletariat to the Position of Ruling Class

The working class struggles and rises to the position of ruling class. In revolution, it is the first step to win the battle of democracy. They centralize all instruments of production in the authority of the state. This state is the proletariat organization established as a ruling class. Raising the working class to the position of ruling class is not easy work. There are two important things for consideration—

- They should apply the despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production.
- They should change the social order by means of revolutionizing the mode of production (material and intellectual).

Marx has enlisted ten-point program by which the proletariat can rise to the position of ruling class. It is quite wonderful that he has said these ten-point measures should be applied in *the most advanced* countries. The most advanced countries have all provisions for the working class, too, because democratically workers have human rights and in case of violence of their right they revolt. Capitalists are easily compelled to do whatever the workers demand. It is a remarkable question to think what the possible measures can be applied in poor countries like ours (Nepal). In poor countries working people lack consciousness of materialistic and intellectual productions. They are more exploited. Communist system is in fact desired by poor people of poor countries. However, in the text, Marx is silent about them. Probably, he has made an escape by saying that "these measures will of course be different in different countries".

Ten-Point Programme and its Effect

Most of the points are very controversial. I think that the abolition of property in land can be more difficult to be tolerated. Most people will disagree and make a strong opposition. Application of all rents of land to public purposes is appreciable. Marx means to say that the land is seized by the state and distributed among public to work on rents. These rents, in turn, can be used for public purposes. Tax is base and source of economy of a state. Therefore, the tax system is practised in both democratic and anti-democratic countries. By the way, "heavy" and "progressive" two words are

revolutionary in the second point.

Third point is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations. Communists have to encounter strong opponents. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants' and rebels is a violent measure to subdue all oppositions. In the fifth point, he gives a measure - centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly. Other banks are not allowed to reserve or flow money in the country. Exclusive monopoly of the bank can control all activities concerned with money. In democratic countries, there is one central national bank with state capital, but there is permission of other private banks, too. However, the central bank in democratic countries is authorized and controlling body of other banks.

Sixth point is, in my view, very humorous. The means of communication and transport should be centralized in the hands of the state, but we have bitter experience of the results of the centralization. Sajha Transport (Nepal) has been defined as "a coconut in the hands of a monkey". Those who run Sajha buses have become rich and are getting richer yet, but audit always shows a loss. The same situation is of the Tele-communication. Though it is semi-government, yet it doesn't show benefit ever. Seventh point is worthy to follow, but the result is poor condition of Biratnagar Jute Mill. This historical factory is suffering from all kinds of troubles. He points out in the 7th point that factories and instruments of production owned by the state should be extended. Wastelands should be cultivated and soil should be improved generally in accordance with a common plane. In 8th point, he says that for the development of the agriculture, equal liability should be given to labor. Industrial armies should be established. The 9th point mentions that agriculture should be associated with manufacturing industries. Country and town should be associated with equal distribution of the population. Finally, in the tenth point, he suggests for free education for all children. He proposes abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. It implies that children's factory labor should be allowed in different forms, probably with all kinds of communist facilities. Education should be effective and beneficial to society, but others are detrimental to society. The programme is based on ideas, but we know it is easy to give ideas, but difficult to apply in practice. It is not impossible to put such a programme into effect because we can see it applied in communist nations. However, it is not possible to impose in democratic countries.

Marx's Rhetoric

There are many important rhetorical characteristics that we notice in this manifesto. Before making a critical study of these characteristics, let's see the structure of the text. This text has been divided into three parts. In the first part, he describes bourgeois and proletarians. In the next and second part, he writes that communist causes are based on proletarian causes. In the second part, the third part has been included. The third part summarizes his argument with his ten point measures that can be applicable in the most advanced countries.

While writing about the bourgeois and proletarians he starts with intelligent saying that, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". This very statement enhances his rhetorical device of comparisons and contrasts. In a way, he works like John Locke and Rousseau to explain the historical progress of the society. After giving details about the origin of the bourgeois he compares and contrasts this class with other classes of the society bringing us to the point that finally there are two classes of people- the bourgeois and the proletarians.

In the second part, his rhetorical strategy is very fascinating. It is in the form of imaginary dialogue. Bertrand Russell has said in one of his essays that most often imaginary dialogue is far better than real dialogue. One does not need opponent

nearby for real participant, and neither he has any restriction of time or place. Marx imagines that the capitalists are nearly reproaching him for his ideas. He responds them with persuasive arguments. His arguments are very challenging too. His summarized ten-point programme is very radical and violent in sound. Challenging with his radical social views he writes-

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution".

Marx is very confident in his argument and it can be felt in the second part. He seems to believe that all the revolutionary classes are in his favor. The communist slogan "Working men of all countries, unite !" can be seen on the walls whenever there is communist demonstration. Most important and remarkable rhetorical strategy is his simple, direct and effective writing. He moves from point to point in his writing. Nowhere there is complication in meaning, though there are some complex embedded sentences. Very usual writing direction comes to our notice when we see the author moving through definition, explanation, argument and conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS

UNITY OF WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES

After the disappearance of class distinction and concentrating all production in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, political power will collapse naturally. Political power is only a means of oppressing a class by another. Therefore, when the conditions of the existence of class antagonism are disappeared, all classes will vanish and then political supremacy of a class will also vanish. There will be the free development of every person which is the condition for the free development of all. One person's interest will be the interest of all. The communists will support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. Communists will not be only confined to a place, but will extend to all parts of the world wherever there is a revolutionary movement.

After the establishment of the communist system, they extend their relations with democratic parties of all countries. One of the most radical statements is the second last paragraph-

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution".

The communists do not conceal their views and aims. Probably, this is the thought by which the Russians were inspired to publish the largest quantity of books. The proletarians have a world to win after getting independence from the bourgeois impositions. Communists do not call only working men of a nation, but of the world, of all countries, to unite themselves against a common enemy - the bourgeois - and get the revolution in the society.

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