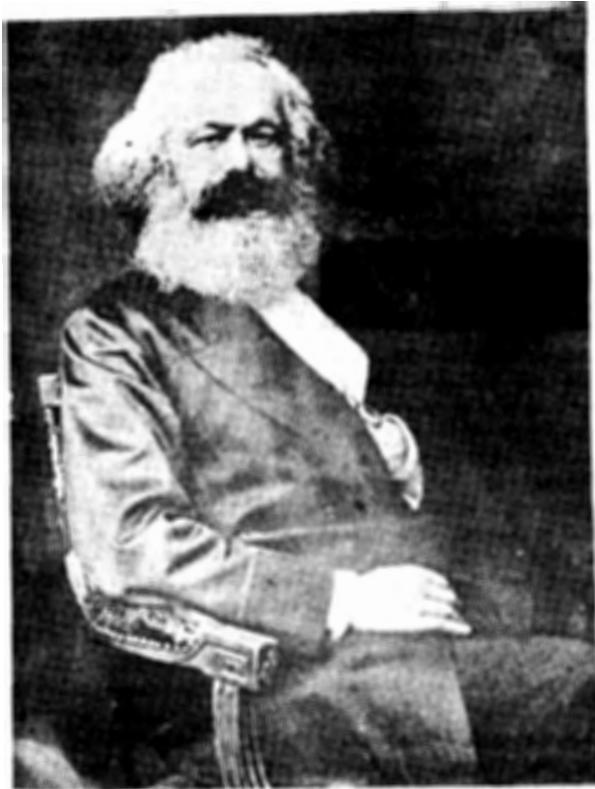


Consummating All Knowledge Through History Marx's Thoughts Light Road to Emancipation



May 5, 1818

March 14, 1883

"The peculiar character of Social-Democracy is epitomised in the fact that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as a means, not of superseding two extremes, capital and wage labour, but of weakening their antagonism and transforming it into harmony. However different the means proposed for the attainment of this end may be, however much it may be embellished with more or less revolutionary notions, the content remains the same. This content is the reformation of society in a democratic way, but a reformation within the bounds of the petty bourgeoisie."

— Karl Marx

(The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte)

[The first socialist revolution of world history, which Lenin had led to success in Russia in 1917, affirmed with decisive precision Karl Marx's realization of historical, scientific and philosophical truth. The reversal of the revolutionary process into collapse of the Soviet Union and the east European socialist states revealed that by deviating from Marxian revolutionary thoughts retrogression inevitably set in to degenerate into counter-revolution. It reaffirmed the truth of Marxian thoughts. The bourgeois world may go wild with joy, seeing the corpse of the Soviet Union now decompose in the hell-pit of revived capitalism. The bourgeois media may disorganize people's thinking to lure them into the deceit of parliamentary political order, and the class-conscious worker may find himself alone in the pursuit of revolution today. Stripped of the state power, arms and the forces, the worker knows he remains still armed with the invincible power of truth which Marx handed down to him. All knowledge gleaned by mankind over millennia and shaped into the most comprehensive, concrete and decisive conception of truth in the light of science by the genius of Marx is the beacon to guide mankind on its forward march to glory.

Much of perspective has changed since Marx died a hundred and thirteen years ago, and many a new phenomenon has appeared requiring concrete analysis in concrete context. With the principal historical conditions, however, continuing in force in this same era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, as Lenin enunciated it, Marx's formulations apply as powerfully and decisively as before. All the major developments in the capitalist world bear out the truth of his fundamental analyses and his teachings on dialectics, state, revolution and socialism remain the guiding light for the proletariat and humanity in general.

Some of his thoughts, in part and selectively few in number, have been culled hereunder for study and cultivation by all whose hearts are agonised with concern for mankind's future. Here they will get light, hope and inspiration to undertake what social consciousness and conscience call upon them to do.

Birth of every individual is arrival of a new potential in history. In death is remembered the role performed. By his struggle a revolutionary genius shapes out the social urge of his times. And the life of Karl Marx is the consummation of a whole era of human history. In his death could we view the culmination of it, so death anniversary of Marx is the day of relearning from the treasure of his thoughts. It is a day of pledge too to carry out his behest and advance society to where there shall be no exploitation of man by man and when man will be renaissance man. — Editorial Board, Proletarian Era.]

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ON DIALECTICS

... my method of development is not Hegelian, since I am a materialist and Hegel is an idealist....

My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of 'the Idea', he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of 'the Idea'. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.

The mystifying side of Hegelian dialectic I criticized nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion....

The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you should discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell.

In its mystified form, dialectic became the fashion in Germany, because it seemed to transfigure and to glorify the existing stage of things. In its rational form it is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things at the same time also the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking-up; because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary.

The contradictions inherent in the movement of capitalist society impress themselves upon the practical bourgeois most strikingly in the changes of the periodic cycle, through which modern industry runs, and whose crowning point is the universal crisis. That crisis is once again approaching, although as yet but in its preliminary stage; and by the universality of its theatre and the intensity of its action it will drum dialectics even into the heads of the mushroom upstarts of the new, holy Prusso-German empire....

(Contd. on page 2)

“An Oppressed Class is the Vital Condition for every Society founded on the antagonism of Classes”

(Contd. from page 1)

ON HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

...Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past...

The first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals. Thus the first fact to be established is the physical organisation of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature. Of course, we cannot here go either into the actual physical nature of man, or into the natural conditions in which man finds himself—geological, oro-hydrographical, climatic and so on. The writing of history must always set out from these natural bases and their modification in the course of history through the action of men.

Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life.

The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means of subsistence they find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with *what* they produce and with *how* they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production....

In production, men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place.

These social relations into which the producers enter with one another, the conditions under which they exchange their activities and participate in the whole act of production, will naturally vary according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of a new instrument of warfare, firearms, the whole internal organisation of the army necessarily changed: the relationships within which individuals can constitute an army and act as an army were transformed and the relations of different armies to one another also changed.

Thus the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces. The relations of production in their totality constitute what are

called the social relations, society; and, specifically, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a society with a peculiar, distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society are such totalities of production relations, each of which at the same time denotes a special stage of development in the history of mankind.

ON CLASS AND CLASS STRUGGLE

In the development of productive forces there comes a stage when productive forces and means of intercourse are brought into being, which, under the existing relationships, only cause mischief, and are no longer productive but destructive forces (machinery and money), and connected with this a class is called forth, which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which, ousted from society, is forced into the most decided antagonism to all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all members of society, and from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness....

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 reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations....

Our epoch, the 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....

... a particular class undertakes the general emancipation of society from its particular situation. This class frees the whole of society, but only under the presupposition that the whole of society is in the same situation as this class, that it possesses, or can easily acquire, for example, money and education.

No class in civil society can play this role without arousing a moment of enthusiasm in itself and among the masses. It is a moment when the class fraternises with society in general and dissolves itself into society; it is identified with society and is felt and recognised as society's general representative. Its claims and rights are truly the claims and rights of society itself of which it is the real social head and heart. A particular class can only vindicate for itself general supremacy in the name of the general rights of society.... This...particular class, is the proletariat....

* that is, all written history

An oppressed class is the vital condition for every society founded on the antagonism of classes. The emancipation of the oppressed class thus implies necessarily the creation of a new society. For the oppressed class to be able to emancipate itself it is necessary that the productive powers already acquired and the existing social relations should no longer be capable of existing side by side. Of all the instruments of production, the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself. The organization of revolutionary elements as a class supposes the existence of all the productive forces which could be engendered in the bosom of the old society.

Does this mean that after the fall of the old society there will be a new class domination culminating in a new political power? No.

The condition for the emancipation of the working class is the abolition of every class, just as the condition for the liberation of the third estate, of the bourgeois order, was the abolition of all estates and all orders.

The working class, in the course of its development, will substitute for the old civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonism, and there will be no more political power properly so-called, since political power is precisely the official expression of antagonism in civil society.

Meanwhile the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle of class against class, a struggle which carried to its highest expression is a total revolution. Indeed, is it at all surprising that a society founded on the opposition of classes should culminate in brutal contradiction, the shock of body against body, as its final *dénouement*? ...

The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that it is essential to educate the educator himself. This doctrine must, therefore, divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society.

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice*....

...No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

ON STATE

If power is taken as the basis of right, ... then right, law, etc., are merely the symptom, the expression of *other* relations upon which State power rests. The material life of individuals, which by no means depend merely on their 'will', their mode of production and form of intercourse,

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(Contd from page 2)

which mutually determine each other — this is the real basis of the State and remains so at all the stages at which division of labour and private property are still necessary, quite independently of the will of individuals. These actual relations are in no way created by the State power; on the contrary they are the power creating it. The individuals who rule in these conditions, besides having to constitute their power in the form of the State, have to give their will, which is determined by these definite conditions, a universal expression as the will of the State, as law — an expression whose content is always determined by the relations of this class, as the civil and criminal law demonstrates in the clearest possible way.

The bourgeois state is nothing but a mutual insurance pact of the bourgeois class both against its members taken individually and against the exploited class; this insurance becomes inevitably more and more costly and, in appearance, more and more independent vis-a-vis bourgeois society, for it is more and more difficult to bridle the exploited class...

The abolition of the state only has a meaning for communists as a necessary result of the suppression of classes whose disappearance automatically entails the disappearance of the need for an organised power of one class for the suppression of another.

... One thing especially proved by the commune, viz, that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes...

"Present-day society" is capitalist society, which exists in all civilized countries, more or less free from medieval admixture, more or less modified by the special historical development of each country and more or less developed. On the other hand, the "present-day state" changes with a country's frontier. It is different in the Prusso-German empire from what it is in Switzerland, it is different in England from what it is in the United States. ...

Nevertheless, the different states of the different civilized countries, in spite of their manifold diversity of form, all have this in common, that they are based on modern bourgeois society, only one more or less capitalistically developed. They have, therefore, also certain essential features in common. In this sense it is possible to speak of the "present-day state", in contrast to the future in which its present root, bourgeois society, will have died away.

The question then arises: what transformation will the state undergo in communist society? In other words, what social functions will remain in existence there that are analogous to the present functions of the state? This question can only be answered scientifically and one does not get a flea-hop nearer to the problem by a thousand-fold combination of the word "people" with the word "state".

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

ON BOURGEOIS SOCIETY AND CAPITALISM

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. ...

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 bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market. ... 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:...

"Capitalist productionmore than any other mode of production, squanders human lives, or living labour, and not only blood and flesh, but also nerve and brain. Indeed, it is only by dint of the most extravagant waste of individual development that the development of the human race is at all safeguarded and maintained in the epoch of history immediately preceding the conscious reorganization of society."

(The bourgeoisie) 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 has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country....

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 be 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.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. **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. ...

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.

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

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“The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil ; . . . reduced the family relation to a mere money relation”

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called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeois, *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 increases 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. . . .

... Suppose that the average amount of the daily necessities of a labouring man require *six hours of average labour* for their production. Suppose, moreover, six hours of average labour to be also realised in a quantity of gold equal to 3s. Then 3s. would be the *Price*, or the monetary expression of the *Daily Value* of that man's *Labouring Power*. If he worked daily six hours he would daily produce a value sufficient to buy the average amount of his daily necessities, or to maintain himself as a labouring man.

But our man is a wages labourer. He must, therefore, sell his labouring power to a capitalist. If he sells it at 3s. daily, or 18s. weekly, he sells it at its value. Suppose him to be a spinner. If he works six hours daily he will add to the cotton a value of 3s. daily. This value, daily added by him, would be an exact equivalent for the wages, or the price of his labouring power, received daily. But in that case *no surplus-value* or *surplus-produce* whatever would go to the capitalist. Here, then, we come to the rub.

In buying the labouring power of the workman, and paying its value, the capitalist, like every other purchaser, has acquired the right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the labouring power of a man by making him work as you consume or use a machine by making it run. By paying the daily or weekly value of the labouring power of the workman, the capitalist has, therefore, acquired the right to use or make that labouring power work during the *whole day or week*. The working day or the working week has, of course, certain limits, but those we shall afterwards look more closely at.

For the present I want to turn your attention to one decisive point.

The *value* of the labouring power is determined by the quantity of labour necessary to maintain or reproduce it, but the *use* of that labouring power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the labourer. The daily or weekly *value* of the labouring power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly *exercise* of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman are quite distinct. The quantity of labour by which the *value* of the workman's labouring power is limited forms by no means a limit to the quantity of labour which his labouring power is apt to perform. Take the example of our spinner. We have seen that, to daily reproduce his labouring power, he must daily reproduce a value of three shillings, which he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly *value* of the spinner's labouring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that labouring power during the *whole day or week*. He will, therefore, make him work daily, say, *twelve hours*. *Over and above* the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his labouring power, he will, therefore, have to work *six other hours*, which I shall call hours of *surplus-labour*, which surplus labour will realise itself in a *surplus-value* and a *surplus-produce*. If our spinner, for example, by his daily labour of six hours, added three shillings' value to the cotton, a value forming an exact equivalent to

his wages, he will, in twelve hours, add six shillings' worth to the cotton, and produce a *proportional surplus of yarn*. As he has sold his labouring power to the capitalist, the whole value or produce created by him belongs to the capitalist, the owner *pro tempore* of his labouring power. By advancing three shillings, the capitalist will, therefore, realise a value of six shillings, because, advancing a value in which six hours of labour are crystallised, he will receive in return a value in which twelve hours of labour are crystallised. By repeating this same process daily, the capitalist will daily advance three shillings and daily pocket six shillings, one-half of which will go to pay wages anew, and the other half of which will form *surplus-value*, for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. It is *this sort of exchange between capital and labour* upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the working man as a working man, and the capitalist as a capitalist. . . .

Modern industry rent the veil that concealed from men their own social process of production, and that turned the various, spontaneously divided branches of production into so many riddles, not only to outsiders, but even to the initiated. The principle which it pursued, of resolving each process into its constituent movements, without any regard to their possible execution by the hand of man, created the new modern science of technology. The varied, apparently unconnected, and petrified forms of the industrial processes now resolved themselves into so many conscious and systematic applications of natural science to the attainment of given useful effects. Technology also discovered the few main fundamental forms of motion, which, despite the diversity of the instruments used, are necessarily taken by every

productive action of the human body ; just as the science of mechanics sees in the most complicated machinery nothing but the continual repetition of the simple mechanical powers.

Modern industry never looks upon and treats the existing form of a process as final. The technical basis of that industry is therefore revolutionary, while all earlier modes of production were essentially conservative. By means of machinery, chemical processes and other methods, it is continually causing changes not only in the technical basis of production, but also in the functions of the labourer, and in the social combinations of the labour process. At the same time, it thereby also revolutionizes the division of labour within the society, and incessantly launches masses of capital and of work people from one branch of production to another. But if modern industry, by its very nature, therefore necessitates variation of labour, fluency of function, universal mobility of the labourer, on the other hand, in its capitalistic form, it reproduces the old division of labour with its ossified particularizations. We have seen how this absolute contradiction between the technical necessities of modern industry, and the social character inherent in its capitalistic form, dispels all fixity and security in the situation of the labourer ; how it constantly threatens, by taking away the instruments of labour, to snatch from his hands his means of subsistence, and, by suppressing his detail function, to make him superfluous. We have seen, too, how this antagonism vents its

rage in the creation of that monstrosity, an industrial reserve army, kept in misery in order to be always at the disposal of capital ; in the incessant human sacrifices from among the working class, in the most reckless squandering of labour power, and in the devastation caused by a social anarchy which turns every economic progress into a social calamity. This is the negative side. . . .

* * *

The real barrier of capitalist production is capital itself. It is that capital and its self-expansion appear as the starting and the closing point, the motive and the purpose of production ; that production is only production for capital and not vice versa, the means of production are not mere means for a constant expansion of the living process of the society of producers. The limits within which the preservation and self-expansion of the value of capital resting on the expropriation and pauperization of the great mass of producers can alone move — these limits come continually into conflict with the methods of production employed by capital for its purposes, which drive towards unlimited extension of production, towards production as an end in itself, towards unconditional development of the social productivity of labour. The means — unconditional development of the productive forces of society — comes continually into conflict with the limited purpose, the self-expansion of the existing capital. The capitalist mode of production is, for this reason, a historical means of developing the material forces of production and creating an appropriate world market and is, at the same time, a continual

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Political Turmoil in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has been caught in another political turmoil. For nearly the past two years the opposition parties have been insisting on a neutral caretaker government in place of the government of the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) to conduct free and fair elections. The BNP led by Begum Khaleda Zia remained impervious and went for polls on February 15 under its own care. Though the polls were boycotted by the entire Opposition and there was an abysmally low voter turnout of less than 5 per cent, Begum Zia claimed victory in this one-party poll farce to constitute the new parliament and a new government. Sheikh Hasina Wazed of the Awami League who leads the Opposition has called upon the civil administration, police and the armed forces not to take cognizance of the illegitimate government and launched a non-cooperation agitation. Many lives have been lost in poll clashes and several thousand people have been injured. Meanwhile, intense mediation efforts for reconciliation of the two sides have been undertaken by Western diplomats based in Dhaka. There is a growing apprehension for possible role of the military in the days ahead.

Crux of the crisis

The current impasse will take some course in the coming days, though right now an element of uncertainty shrouds its direction. It is affecting the life of all sections of people, and a question must be haunting a section of people at least as to what the present 'issue' is really about. What is the people's position in this 'crisis' and what all this suffering and bloodshed will lead them to?

The ruling BNP is projecting the issue as a question of constitutional sanctimony. The short history of Bangladesh is, however, replete with instances of amendments wrought to the country's constitution, even as far as to legitimise military rules. Ruling parties and military rulers in the past have never hesitated to put knife into the constitution or chop it down to suit their interest. If Begum Zia's party were truly faithful to democratic norms and practices, it would have taken the initiative, being the party in power, to resolve the issue and spare the people the agony and the sufferings. More importantly, it would not have sought the forum of a parliament contrived through a poll farce, as on February 15, to push a major constitutional amendment for a neutral caretaker government to conduct all future elections. It would not have bribed either a few small parties and propped them up as contestants at the poll to give it a look of participatory democratic process. Constitutional piety is a catchword with the BNP to play on what the people have been made to believe to be the sacrosanctness of the constitution. Behind this plea the bid is to continue in power and control the governmental machinery to manipulate the polls in its favour and against the Opposition parties. The parliamentary opposition on the other, the Awami League, the Jatiya Party and the Jamaat-e-Islami, chief among them, has made it an issue of legitimacy of the BNP run government, demanding annulment of February 15 polls, resignation of the government and fresh elections under a neutral caretaker government. This projection of the issue to question the legitimacy of the BNP government to rule the people, especially after the poll farce of February 15, has

drawn in majority support behind the Opposition, giving it the strength to carry on protracted agitation and impose 'people's curfew' during the polls and now to launch a sustained non-cooperation agitation. But a close scrutiny suffices to convince that the chief concern of this parliamentary Opposition is farthest from the people's concern. The agitation, at no stage since it had started about 2 years back, has been spearheaded on the legitimacy and urgency of the people's democratic demands for solution to the burning issues of their life, nor on the question of establishing, protecting and extending their democratic rights. The parliamentary Opposition's concern centres around the question of legitimacy of the BNP continuing in power. That question may be valid, but in a country where millions languish in abject social, economic and political misery and a handful few luxuriate in emirate revelry the object and direction of mass agitation claimed to stand upon people's cause would have focussed those burning issues of existence itself and the right to existence. The demand for resignation of an illegitimate, corrupt, inefficient and apathetic government does of course arise, but as one incidental to the main struggle huilt on the basic legitimate democratic demands of the people. That struggle to advance the people's cause would certainly not have limited itself to realizing demands for resignation of a party in power and for an arrangement of polls free from governmental interference so as to facilitate the opposition's recapture of power. It is an incriminating fact that three of the four major parliamentary parties, namely the Awami League, the Jatiya Party of the erstwhile hated military dictator Ershad's creation and the BNP, each has had a term in government. The fourth, the Jamaat-e-Islami, was an accomplice of the Pakistani armed raiders during the liberation war of the Bangladesh. The unremitting misery and abysmal poverty of the masses are too eloquent to convince the pauperised multitude that continuance in power or its recapture by any of these political outfits could deliver the people what they really need most.

The plain truth is that these bourgeois parties have locked horns over share of governmental power. That is the concern of either side, the ruling party as also the Parliamentary Opposition, and that will continue to be the concern of either in whatever garb and whatever rhetorics. The Awami League, the Jatiya Party and the Jamaat-e-Islami combine has sought to bring the BNP on its knees before the polls under pressure of agitation, calculating that by pressuring the Khaleda Zia government to yield they would succeed to enhance their image before the people and send signal to the administration not to risk commitment to the BNP at the polls, all which would translate into a larger share of votes for the Opposition. The BNP government remained unyielding, simply to frustrate this Opposition tactic and use the privilege that goes with power to influence the poll machinery and to win people's confidence as able administrators and capitalise on this image to reap electoral harvest. In this manoeuvre each side is trying to rally people to enhance its prospect of electoral win which is the passport to power. Who calls for a dialogue at what stage and who rejects it on what count, all this is decided by the changing compulsion of this parliamentary power politics.

Ego conflicts, misplaced wisdom or wrong steps may be there, assuming importance in deciding fate of individuals, or parties in bourgeois power politics but can in no way alter the content of the parliamentary politics and its upshot for the people who are at the receiving end either way. The courses of action the two sides have taken after the February 15 poll farce are dictated by the same parliamentary consideration of anyhow to retain power versus anyhow to recapture power, each trying to ride on the people's shoulders in this game. In the changed context after February 15 polls, which has definitely relegated her into defence and lent credence to the Opposition's demand, Begum Zia has offered to amend constitution in favour of a neutral caretaker government, but for future elections. For the Awami League and like minded parties' acceptance will mean acquiescing in to legitimise the contrived sixth parliament, which in turn will undermine their poll prospects and parliamentary future. So they refuse to accept the offer as such and insists on annulment of the February 15 polls and resignation of the Zia government. If they fail to secure a win in their agitational programme or fail at least to make it look like a win, their credibility will erode and electoral future will be at stake. So the stalemate continues.

Within the framework of parliamentary norms and practices, to the extent it has taken shape in the course of the much interrupted parliamentary history of 25 years in Bangladesh, the two warring sides are unable to devise means of reconciliation among them. This is the crux of their 'political crisis'. In plain terms, the crisis derives from non-reconciliation of the conflicting parliamentary interests of the two sides quarrelling over share of governmental power. Their political history and programme, political objective, and preoccupations only reveal their hankering after pelf and power which strictly has not anything to do with the people's urge for solution to the burning issues of their distressed and miserable life. All talks of ameliorating people's miseries in the electoral campaigns and manifestoes, or during agitational moves, are essentially hoaxes designed to hoodwink the people, taking advantage of their helpless condition. Even as people may participate in massive numbers in the agitations launched by the bourgeois parties there remains a line of divide, not always clear and palpable though, between the bourgeois objective of participation and the people's own objective of participation, no matter some similarities in phrasing of slogans and demands.

The roots

The situation in Bangladesh is one illustration of how bourgeois parties in any country try to entangle people in their tussle for power, while the same people have to bear the whole brunt of it. Any difference in this regard between the bourgeois parties of advanced capitalist countries and those in backward capitalist countries largely centres around the parliamentary tradition, bourgeois media influence, level of democratic consciousness of people and strength of genuine Left movement.

Parliamentary system has not stabilized in Bangladesh. The specific historical, international, national and territorial context of its genesis and the internal contradictions peculiar to its existence are the cause. The first three years saw a parliamentary democratic rule For a short

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conflict between this its historical task and its own corresponding relations of social production.

* * *

It is sheer tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of effective consumption or of effective consumers. The capitalist system does not know any other modes of consumption than effective ones, except that of *sub forma pauperis* or of the swindler. That commodities are unsalable means only that no effective purchasers have been found for them, *i.e.*, consumers (since commodities are bought in the final analysis for productive or individual consumption). But if one were to attempt to give this tautology the semblance of a more profound justification by saying that the working class receives too small a portion of its own and the evil would be remedied as soon as it receives a larger share of it and its wages increase in consequence, one could only remark that crises are always prepared by precisely a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually gets a larger share of that part of the annual product which is intended for consumption. From the point of view of these advocates of sound and "simple" (!) common sense, such a period should rather remove the crisis. It appears, then, that capitalist production comprises conditions independent of good or bad will, conditions which permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily, and at that always as the harbinger of a coming crisis.

* * *

capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, 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

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.

ON REVOLUTION

Revolutions are the locomotives of history....

Every revolution is social in so far as it destroys the old society. Every revolution is political in so far as it destroys the old power. ...

A political revolution with a social soul is as rational as a social revolution with a political soul is paraphrastic or nonsensical. Revolution in general — the overthrow of the existing power and dissolution of previous relationships — is a political act. Socialism cannot be realised without a revolution. But when its organising activity begins, when its peculiar aims, its soul comes forward, then socialism casts aside its political cloak.

* * *

...Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the 18th century, storm swiftly from success to success; their dramatic effects outdo each other; men and things seem set in sparkling brilliants; ecstasy is the everyday spirit; but they are short-lived; soon they have attained their zenith, and a long crapulent depression lays hold of society before it learns soberly to

"Commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society"

The apologetic phrases used to deny crises are important from this aspect — that they always prove the opposite of what they set out to prove. In order to deny crises, they assert unity where there is opposition and contradiction. This is important in so far as it can be said: they prove that, if the contradictions which they daydream out of existence in fact did not exist, then too no crises would exist. But in fact crisis exists, because those contradictions exist. Every reason which they advance against crisis is a contradiction daydreamed away — therefore a real contradiction, therefore a cause of crisis. The desire to daydream contradictions out of the way is at the same time the expression of contradictions that are really present, but which they vainly desire *should* not exist.

... 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

to oppress a class; certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. 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,

assimilate the results of its storm-and-stress period. On the other hand, proletarian revolutions, like those of the 19th century, criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible. ...

SOURCE

The German Ideology; Wage, Labour and Capital; Marx's letter to Kugelmann; Marx's letter to Weydemeyer; Capital Vol. I; Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right; The Poverty of Philosophy; The Communist Manifesto; Review of E. Girardin, *Socialism and Taxes*; Uncritical Notes on 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform'; 1844 Manuscripts; Critique of the Gotha Programme; Capital Vol. II; Capital Vol. III; Theories of Surplus Value: Value, Price and Profit.

[All bold ours]

People used as pawns to retain or recapture power by bourgeois parties

(Contd. from page 5)

period afterwards the country experienced the presidential form of one party rule. Seven months later, President Mujibur Rahman and members of his family were killed by a section of the ruling Awami League itself with the connivance of a section of the military and a civilian rule was propped up under protection of the armed forces. Within three months a full scale military rule was clamped by the Chief of the Armed Forces. Zia-ur-Rahman, and in 1979 a parliamentary facade was re-opened to legitimise the military rule under a civilian garb. Two years later, in 1981, President Zia was slain by a different section of the armed forces. After an interlude of an electoral farce at the instance of the industrialist-military-bureaucracy combine, military rule was re-clamped, this time under General Ershad. Elections were held in 1986 to legitimise Ershad's military regime. In 1990 a countrywide mass upsurge brought down Ershad's regime and parliamentary political system was reintroduced following General Elections in 1991. Three years later began the current parliamentary wrangle.

Weakness in development of capitalism in the specific historical and territorial context of the country has engendered bloodstained instability in its political superstructure, and parliamentary system has remained weak and without an entrenched tradition to fall back upon in hours of crisis. Whereas, its people had fought a heroic battle of liberation, spurred on by democratic aspirations and the dream of life in which political independence would usher in freedom from age-old poverty, misery, exploitation and oppression and would establish a democratic society entitling them to cherished democratic rights. Let alone fulfilling this dream, the bourgeois rulers have been incapable of giving the masses the economic relief and the rights they require so urgently. Inevitably, discontent and resentment have grown and the parliament being weak, that ultimate organ of the State, the military, intervened repeatedly in defence of the bourgeois class interest. But no amount of muscular defence could lessen the capitalist crisis, all whose brunt has had to be borne by people. Consequently, mass upsurge built up and on its trail military regimes tumbled down one after another. The current 'political crisis', with all preceding crises, has roots in the capitalist crisis itself.

More than 25 million people have no jobs and this rampant unemployment is growing by about 2 millions every year. In the last five years 60,000 workers have been laid off or retrenched. No opportunity of employment in the countryside, no new avenues for jobs in the cities. People from villages are thronging into the towns. About a third of the inhabitants of the capital city of Dhaka dwell in slums. Drinking water, shelter, sanitation, education, medicines, treatment facilities, jobs, foods, other essential commodities — all are wanting. Unscrupulous traders of both neighbouring India and Bangladesh are carrying on the black trade of smuggling under the nose of officialdom and foodstuffs, medicines, clothings from India are sold at exorbitant prices to people in Bangladesh. Black money to the tune of 23 thousand Takas has been amassed by 350

families. Defaulted loan amounts to 22 thousand Takas. That inevitable slide into the debt trap of the IMF and the World Bank has begun. Consumer goods of free market economy have flooded all corners, morals are fast degrading, restlessness and imbalance are gripping the youth. In a country where the police is a rampaging force in day to day administration, 18,000 complaints have been filed against that criminal gang in uniform in the last four years. Mass uprisings in Dinajpur climaxing in seizure of administration has been brutally quelled by the police, with a toll of 7 young lives. In this situation religious bigotry is out to kill the rationalist temper. What is the way out for the people?

Two Trends in the agitation

The bourgeois parties exist as alternative to each other within the framework of the bourgeois parliamentary political system. But experience has taught the bitter truth that change of government at the polls cannot deliver the goods. Where the root of problems and crises is the decadent capitalism itself, change of operator at the government level cannot be a step toward solution. The industrialists, business houses, bureaucracy and all the forces of the bourgeois system are bearing pressure on the warring bourgeois parties to seek out a solution. The foreign donor countries are all busy in behind-the-scene parleys to effect reconciliation in the best of their respective interests. If everything fails then military intervention remains on the agenda of the ruling class. But these are all bourgeois alternatives divorced altogether from the people's own alternative.

Social antagonism is the basis on which grows the concept of people's alternative in given historical context. Participation of some Left parties other than the bourgeois parliamentary Opposition in the current agitation appears to define two class trends of struggle in Bangladesh today. One is directed towards capture of governmental power, adopting the extra-parliamentary agitational course to rally the people and translate the mass support into ballots at the polls on the doorstep to power. The Awami League, the Jatiya Party, the Jamaat-e-Islami and other like minded bourgeois parties of this trend who are outside the object of power at present, are demanding a neutral caretaker government to deny the ruling BNP, who is using the constitution as a shield, its privilege of power. They want 'a level play ground' to facilitate their victory at the polls. They are skirting the basic question of establishment and extension of people's democratic rights and creation of a democratic atmosphere. The other trend, represented by the Left Democratic Front and other like minded Left parties, is directed towards building up the agitation as a legitimate democratic mass movement on the burning issues of the people's life. Its demand of a neutral caretaker government is part and parcel of the main struggle to establish and extend the people's democratic rights. To that end, it has demanded annulment of all anti-people black acts enacted by the previous regimes, independence of the judiciary, autonomous functioning of the state controlled media, forfeiture of the right to

participation in elections of all those who are rich and are defaulters of government loans or who overtly or covertly colluded with the military regimes. This struggle cannot end up in any reconciliation of the bourgeois parties over share of the governmental power. It is a tortuous, painstaking struggle conducted towards giving birth to people's own alternative — political power to bring about a radical transformation of the prevailing social order. History teaches, the vested power does not transform itself and does not on its own yield place to the power established in its place. One pre-requisite to achieving this goal is building a revolutionary organization. This consciousness requires to be spread among the masses of the people. That shows the way out of the bourgeois design to confuse the basic question, the question of life and death of the masses, and to keep them confined in the parliamentary tussle for power, or in the parliamentary alley.

Outlook for Indian People

Indian people will find a few parallels in what is happening to their counterpart in Bangladesh. That is no small lesson to learn and apply in their own sphere of struggle. In all elections in Bangladesh India has been an issue, overtly or covertly. Traditionally, India Government has been known for its cordiality with the Awami League especially since the India-Bangladesh Treaty signed in 1973. During the 1991 elections the BNP was dubbing the Awami League an Indian stooge. This time Sheikh Hasina is alleging that Khaleda Zia's party is 'protecting Indian interests' and India Government is backing the BNP government. During her poll campaign Begum Zia claimed that the election would free the nation from 'the shackle of slavery', meaning the 'Friendship Treaty'. Rulers in India are of course known to have created resentment in the neighbouring countries by their expansionist attitude. Bourgeois parties in all these countries exploit the disaffection as a handy issue to whip up anti-India sentiments among their peoples and capitalize on the same for their parliamentary benefit. That outcry of contending bourgeois parties is being heard in the current spell of mutual hostility in Bangladesh. But the matter of concern is that the propaganda machinery of the Indian ruling class, while it accuses the governments of these countries also seeks to vitiate the minds of the Indian people against the common people of these countries. The propaganda network of the ruling classes of these countries does the same towards the people of India. That creates an additional hurdle for the people in every country to organize their struggles against respective ruling classes and also against world imperialism. The Indian people, the Indian working class in particular, have their own special task to perform in this matter. While giving a thorough exposure to the anti-people character of the ruling bourgeoisie the government and the bourgeois political parties in India also exposing the character of the ruling classes and governments in other countries, they should also undertake the task of removing mistrust and feeling of animosity between the common people of India and those in all other countries. That will be in the interest of democratic and revolutionary struggles

All India Anti-Imperialist Forum Demonstrates before American Centre, Delhi

New Delhi 2.3.96 : The Delhi branch of the Anti-Imperialist Forum held a demonstration in front of the American Centre at Kasturba Gandhi Marg at noon on 2nd March. This was in protest against the additional economic sanctions and threat of military action against Cuba by the United States over the incident of shooting down of intruding airplanes belonging to a US-based Cuban counter-revolutionary group by the Cuban Air Force. Comrade Satyawani from Haryana and Comrade R. Rajesh of Delhi addressed the gathering in front of the American Centre detailing the heinous acts of the US imperialists in Central America. A memorandum addressed to the US President was read out and handed over to an official at the Centre.

The memorandum inter alia states : "...your Secretary of State Warren Christopher is "satisfied" that the planes were in international waters, even as your Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright requested the Security Council for an international investigation into the incident. You have also taken the precautionary step of saying that regardless of where the planes actually were, the shooting down of unarmed civilian aircraft is a "flagrant violation of international law". In fact, the violation of international law has been committed by the counter revolutionary group. ..." The memorandum demanded withdrawal of illegal economic blockade, withdrawal of the latest set of economic sanctions, stoppage of threats and use of military force against Cuba etc.

Movement in Orissa

SUCI Demonstration at Karanjia

Karanjia, 28.2.96 : A massive demonstration on behalf of SUCI and AIKKMS was organised at Karanjia in front of the Sub-Collector's Office to-day demanding proper rehabilitation of the affected people of Deo dam project and implementation of the same immediately, to facilitate irrigation to all cultivable land, to construct Uttar dam over river Khairi, to establish a steel plant and North Orissa University in the district. Before the demonstration a colourful procession with more than 5000 people moved throughout the town and reached at the demonstration place where a demonstration meeting was held under the presidentship of the Jashipur MLA and State Committee member Comrade Shambhunath Naik. SUCI organiser Comrade Bajuram Ho, State Committee member Comrade Dhurjati Das and State Secretary of AIKKMS Comrade Balaram Sahoo addressed the demonstrators.

The sub-collector and the Tahasildar received the 21-point charter of demands. Lastly the president Comrade Shambhunath Naik delivered his speech and called upon the people to organise militant movements to achieve their legitimate demands.

SUCI, Karnataka Organises Demonstration

Increasing problems of price rise, inflation, unemployment etc., are making the life of common people suffocating and miserable. Even bare minimum necessities have been rudely refused to the people. Naturally the simmering discontent burst into a massive people's protest on 29th February '96 at the state capital. The Janata Dal government during its one year rule has miserably failed to solve the problems of power crisis, drinking water shortage, issue of ration cards, and to complete the irrigation projects.

The Karnataka State Committee of Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI) which is in the forefront of militant mass movements had organised a massive 'Vidhana Soudha Chalo' programme on these burning problems of people's life in which thousands of peasants, workers, women, youth and students participated actively. Traversing the main streets of the capital, the well-decorated procession which started from Chicklabbag, drawing admiration of

the people throughout the route, ended in a massive protest meeting at Cubbon Park.

The state secretary of the Party Comrade K. Radhakrishna addressing the gathering as the main speaker came down heavily on the government and fervently appealed to the people to build up massive movements to force the government to take speedy measures to solve their innumerable problems.

CORRIGENDUM

On page 8 col. 2 of *Proletarian Era* dated 5.3.96 (Vol 29 No 10) at the end of the news on 2nd Congress of AUCP(B) please read "The Congress expelled G. N. Kaspieva and S. G. Sologybna from the party" instead of "the Congress dropped ... from the Central Committee." We regret the mistake.

— Ed. P. Era.

*A portion of People's
protest demonstration
in Bangalore
on 29. 2.96*

Protest Against Pension Scheme in Bangalore

The Bangalore District Unit of United Trade Union Centre-Lenin Sarani organised a protest demonstration near the premises of E.P.F. Office against the recently proposed Employees' Pension Scheme, 1996 of the Central Government on 23rd February last. Hundreds of workers participated in the programme.

The General Secretary of the State Unit of UTUC-Lenin Sarani Comrade S. Simhadri in his address severely condemned the proposed Pension Scheme of the Central Government. He demanded of the Central Government to provide pension as the third retirement benefit retaining the existing CPF and Gratuity. He finally called upon the workers to build up mighty movement to pressurise Central Government to withdraw the Scheme. After his speech a copy of the memorandum was read out in the meeting.

Later on a delegation went and submitted the memorandum addressed to the Labour Minister, to the Commissioner of EPF.

The State Committee members of SUCI Comrades K. Uma, Divakar H.V., Dr. T. S. Suneeth Kumar also addressed the gathering and Comrade B. R. Manjunath presided over the meeting.

Later a memorandum was submitted to the Chief Minister on behalf of the fighting people of Karnataka who pledged to take the movement to higher phases if their demands are not fulfilled.

