

REPORT I

THE ECONOMIC PLAN AND PERSPECTIVE OF THE BIG BOURGEOISIE AND THE GOVERNMENT — THE THREAT TO THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE — THE REPLY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Introduction

OUR PARTY workers on the trade-union front have not met for a long time. The last meeting on an all-India scale was held in May 1949, at the time of the Bombay Session of the AITUC.

Since then a number of things have happened which demanded a meeting of the Party leadership on the T. U. front. In 1950 January, the Party was openly and publicly informed by our friends that it was following a wrong course. The discussions following from that ultimately resulted in the Party adopting at the All-India Party Conference a new programme in October 1951 and reorganising its work in accordance with it.

From 1948 onwards many of our trade unions had been illegalised and hundreds of our T. U. workers had been thrown into jails. The Congress Government and the bourgeois landlord cliques thought that the militant working class and peasantry, their leaderships and the Party had been smashed.

The adoption of the Constitution in 1950 rendered some of the laws of the Congress Government *ultra vires* of the new constitution. That allowed some of our T. U. Organisations being released from the clutches of the police and some of our members from the prisons.

The desire of the Congress Government to appear democratic, to stabilise itself in the minds of the people by holding adult franchise elections, its confidence in its own victory, the belief that it had smashed the militant workers and peasants and also the fact that we had made some changes in our methods of approach and tactics—all this secured for us a certain amount of respite from total persecution and illegalisation.

A review and reorganisation of the T. U. front was delayed by the overriding demands of the election battle. No doubt, workers' struggles were being fought and demanded guidance from the Party as a whole. But an all-India meeting as this was not possible at the time.

The election victories of the Party, the advance of the democratic masses and their rejection of the absolute leadership of the Congress which was reduced to the position of a minority in votes at the polls has greatly changed the situation for us, both in relation to the people and in relation to inner-party situation. Elections showed to the people that the criticism by the democratic left of the bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress was correct and tallied with the opinions of vast masses of the people. It has given us courage to find that repression has not smashed us and that the people remember our sacrifices and forgive us our mistakes.

The elections have confirmed the reading of the situation as given by the Preamble to the Programme of the Party. The crisis of the landlord-bourgeois system in India is coming out in a more severe form since the elections and is showing the real character of the present government and its inability to save the people from poverty and hunger.

The Post-war Situation

Th post-war situation was characterised as one in which, with the victory of the Soviet Union, the forces of democracy and socialism had become stronger and the forces of imperialism and reaction had become weaker. It was a situation in which the rivalries between the two remaining imperialisms, American and British, were becoming sharp and the liberation movements of the colonial people were on the rise.

With the end of the War, peace-time economy should have been introduced, the people who had been starved of goods during the war should have been supplied with their necessities. Prices should have gone down, taxation reduced, consumer goods supply increased, the devastated regions reconstructed and backward countries helped to build industries. Peace should have reigned and war banned. People wanted all that in order to save them from the usual post-war crisis, whose memories they carried from the experience of the first World War.

But this was against the interests of the narrow monopoly finance groups of Britain and America. Because it would have meant

increasing wages at home, lending capital goods abroad for peaceful construction and being satisfied with ordinary normal profit. It would have meant giving the colonial people freedom to build their life as they liked. Hence the imperialists rejected the road of building peace economy.

With the end of the war the Americans started their bid for world domination forgetting the fate of Hitler. Their first attack jointly with England was to blockade trade with the USSR, foment conspiracies to overthrow the new People's Democracies and defeat the Chinese Revolution. On this basis they hoped to redivide the world and prolong the life of dying capitalism.

All the three schemes failed.

U. S. Bid for World Domination

Their another scheme was to subordinate England and the other capitalist countries in their orbit to the status of colonies through the Marshall Plan.

Under the Marshall Plan, by exporting its worthless goods and armaments to the Marshallised countries, the American imperialists hoped to enslave those countries economically, ruining their home industries through Marshall imports, and enslave them politically by installing Marshallised Governments, tied up to American loans and subsidies.

All these schemes could not stave off the crisis of American imperialism or their satellite countries.

Utilising the bait of loans, the threat of cutting off supplies, and by directly buying off the colonial puppets of the British colonies, the Americans tried to oust Britain from her markets and sources of raw materials.

But many of these markets and sources of materials as in Malaya, were enveloped in liberation struggles. If the struggles succeeded these countries would be altogether lost to any imperialism. Hence in their ultimate class interests the American, British, French, Dutch, Portuguese united to fight the colonial people's liberation struggles in Malaya, Indo-China, Burma, Indonesia, Iran, Tunisia, Egypt etc., though their internal imperialist rivalries continued within the framework of their counter-revolutionary alliance.

Deepening of the Crisis of Capitalism

By 1950 it was clear that nothing could save the Anglo-Americans from a crisis which was already creeping on them, and for

which they used the deceptive name of "recession". Neither the Marshall Plan, nor the threats of War and Atom Bomb, nor the suppression of the colonies was going to save them from a crisis. Hence they launched the Korean war in June 1950 and thereby hoped to usher in a boom.

The boom came but only for a time. The war industries made profits. As Stalin had warned, the adventure misfired and failed to solve the crisis of imperialism.

Two years after the Korean War, the slump has begun in the capitalist market of England and America and all those whose economy is tied up with them are hit by the slump.

The slump is an inevitable concomitant of the capitalist system. A war economy boom cannot overcome for good this manifestation of the crisis of capitalism. The all-pervasive power of the monopolies, and their interference through the State machine may disturb the influence of the slump from appearing in all branches with equal force. But it cannot avert the crisis.

Curtailement of civilian production, mounting prices and taxation resulting from the arms drive constrict the market for civilian goods and make a crisis in consumption of civilian goods inevitable.

Unemployment is rising in America. Textile and woollen mills are closing down. Workers faced with a fall in standards of living by rising prices are resorting to strikes for increased wages. Even army men are refusing to go to war and the news of the strike of airmen in America is confirmed officially.

The same is the story in England and the other Marshallised countries.

Strengthening of the System of Socialism and People's Democracy

Only the Soviet Union, People's Democracies and China are not hit by any crisis. There peace economy is growing and standards of living are rising.

The strength of the system of Socialism and People's Democracy, its refusal to be drawn into armaments drive by threats of war, the Peace movement in the world, the resistance movements of the colonial people, and finally the heroic struggles of the Korean people backed by the Chinese have been the main factors in the setback to the Anglo-American imperialist schemes of world domination for the present.

In the context of these world events, what has been the fate of India, its ruling classes, and its people?

Faced with the post-war liberation struggles the British arrived at an understanding with the leadership of the National Congress and installed it in power, after dividing and weakening the country and inciting communal massacres to disrupt the united struggle of the people for liberation. The direct rule of British imperialists ended.

But this independence did not lead to any improvement in the conditions of the people. The fundamental features of the semi-colonial economy were retained by the Congress Party in power, because its leadership was drawn from the landlord-bourgeois classes.

British capital remained intact in the vital branches of production and drew its profits as before. Our trade and finance remained tied up to it as before. Our armed forces were officered and commanded by the British as before. Our industry had no machines to make machines, no capital goods, for which it depended on the British as before. Our land and food production remained backward due to the hold of feudal landlordism, the moneylender and the capitalist market, producing cheap raw material for the imperialist industries, as before.

Taxation rose, prices went up, inflation continued, consumption declined, famines came. The peasant fought for land, the worker for wages. But the Congress Governments spent more than half of the revenues on the military, police and bureaucracy instead of spending on relief to the people.

We need not recount the whole story. When the people protested, the workers struck work and the peasants fought, what had the government to say?

It pleaded for time to plan and to execute the plan.

It demanded faith from the people in its bonafides and goodwill and claimed that it was being solely guided by people's interests and not *class* interests.

It attributed the major economic evils to the legacy of past British rule and proposed the Five Year Plan as its solution.

It proclaimed aloofness from any bloc in its foreign policy and denied its tie up with the Anglo-American group.

Proclaiming faith in Gandhism and non-violence, while indiscriminately shooting down striking workers and starving peasants,

it asked the working class for co-operation with capital and rejection of class struggle.

It did all these because it claimed that it was not a government of any one class but of a welfare State.

Landlordism and capitalism, it said, would vanish gradually and peacefully, if the working class and the peasantry worked hard, produced more, consumed less and saved in order to maintain the State and its budget and build the plans for the future.

These are in short the main lines of government policy. If the working class and the peasantry resisted this line, it would be suppressed by force.

Policies of the Congress Governments

The policy has been put into effect, and the results so far show that it is the same landlord-bourgeois policy that has proved bankrupt everywhere in solving people's problems.

After their compromise with the British, the Congress Ministries have ruled for six years in the provinces and four years at the centre. They have had time enough to show their true character. What class nature have they shown?

They tried to take off all control from food and cloth, in the interests of speculators and monopoly financiers and ruined the poor consumers and small traders. Only strikes and hartals by the workers and the people restrained the ministries. The subordination of the government to the big monopoly syndicates in cotton, sugar, jute, cement, is too well known to need description.

As soon as they came to power, the accumulated reconstruction funds in each state were squandered by the bureaucrats in league with their henchmen. A large section of the Congress bureaucrats and leadership enriched themselves at the expense of the people.

They played with the demand for abolition of landlordism and under the plea of abolition, enriched themselves, the landlords and a few rich peasant farmers.

In their exports and imports control and licence policies, they have fed their favourite monopoly bankers and traders, at the expense of the people and genuine traders.

By their open attack on workers' struggles, by the application of ordinances and bans, they have shown that the Congress Government is a government of the exploiting class of landlords and

big bourgeois monopolists. Their Government and the State serve and strengthen the interests of these classes alone.

What economic perspective does the Government hold before the people and where is it leading them to?

The economic platform of the monopoly bourgeoisie is its much-advertised Five Year Plan. In essence it is a platform of financial bankruptcy of the State, high prices, low wages, ruin of genuine industry and trade, misery of the people and the ultimate strengthening of the hold of foreign and Indian monopoly capital over our economy.

The plan does not visualise any basic expansion of industry and agriculture. It proposes to spend about 1500 crores of rupees in rehabilitating the economy and restoring our capacity just to the level it was before the war. The schemes of industrialisation drawn even by the Tata-Birla Plan or the 1937 schemes of the Planning Commission are no longer there.

Invitation to Foreign Capital — Offensive Against Working Class

Who is going to find the money for it? The monopolists with high range of incomes are *not* to be taxed to provide the capital. The Plan says:

"Although disposable incomes left after taxation in these ranges are too high in India relating to the general level of incomes in the country, any material increase in direct taxation is at this stage likely to affect the capital market adversely." (*Five-Year Plan*, p. 22)

The Planners admit that even the present taxes are evaded and black market evades them successfully. They say: "There is considerable leakage on account of non-declaration of profits made in black markets." (*Ibid.*)

But what can the poor government based on Gandhian non-violence do against these immoral monopoly racketeers, not a small number of whom belong to that very sect itself?

But capital must be found. So, a portion will be borrowed from the *American monopoly banks*. For this they must be assured good conditions. The assurance is that:

- (a) They will never be nationalised.
- (b) They will be allowed to export all their profits and capital and in their own currency.

(c) Indian capital will not get any special favourable condition as against their competition.

(Gist of Policy Statement of April 1949, p. 160).

But that alone is not going to give us all the capital for development. The bulk has to be found from those who produce. It is the working class which produces profits, which again become further capital for industry. So *the working class has to contribute more for this*. How? The mechanism is simple. For increased production or against rising prices which make profit for the bourgeoisie it should not demand and should not be paid more wages. *More production, less wages, high prices is the formula for finding capital for the Five Year Plan*.

In para 63 the Plan says that "inflationary pressures will continue to operate in the economy". That means government has no plan nor hope of reducing prices.

But they demand more production, under the plea that thereby they want to reduce prices for the consumer and improve the standard of living. Production is dependent not only on the bourgeoisie; the working class is the main agency to fulfil the plan in this respect. But what is to be its reward, its share in the growing wealth?

The Plan prescribes that they must work more under rationalisation and accept larger work-loads.

"The object is to facilitate the workers attaining a living wage standard through acceptance of rationalisation". (p. 192)

A living wage standard by today's wages in terms of today's prices is impossible. Therefore the Plan admits that wage increases and larger earnings are justifiable. But "any upward movement of wages at this juncture will further jeopardise the economic stability of the country, if it is reflected in the cost of production and consequently raises the price of the product." *Hence workers must accept wage-freeze or wage-cuts*.

Similarly on bonus demands, the Plan says "no payment should be made in cash on this account, while the inflationary situation lasts" and inflationary situation, they say, will last throughout the period of the plan. (p. 188)

Thus the Five Year Plan of the monopolists promises high prices of goods and taxation for the people, rationalisation, unemployment and wage-cuts for the working class, and enormous profits for the monopolists and foreign financiers.

For encouraging larger production of food and raw materials,

the Plan does not visualise large-scale abolition of landlordism and giving land to the peasants, as, it frankly admits, it will rouse serious "social antagonisms" which in other words means that it fears the landlords.

Such are the plans and perspectives of the Congress Government and the big landlord and finance groups that guide it.

The Direction of Trade

The crisis of Indian economy is not denied by the ruling classes and their Congress Party. In fact it plays upon it by blaming the whole crisis as being due to the results of British rule and thereby uses the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people to gather their support for its present anti-people policies.

The fact that in the past imperialists kept us in semi-colonial conditions and thwarted our development should have led us to break away from our moorings in their economy. We should have changed the direction of our trade and broken the monopoly of British finance over it. On the contrary we find the following admission by the Government regarding our export-import trade.

Mr. Mehtab, Minister for Commerce & Industry, at the Import Advisory Council gave the following figures for July-December 1951, in crores of rupees.

	Imports	Exports
Sterling area	200.4	202.3
Dollar area	161.7	78.1
Non-sterling non-Dollar area	112.9	66.9

The monopoly financiers thus refused to get out of the trade links of the Anglo-American bloc.

We should have taken hold of their capital investments here since they have refused to return our sterling loans to them. That would have given us the best paying key industries, which earn 40 crores of profit per year, on their own admission.

In our capital borrowings we should have refused to tie ourselves to one or the other imperialist country.

Penetration of American Capital

The financial policies of the Government of India are, however, leading it to mortgage the country to America in addition to the hold that Britain has already got over our economy.

The American drive to capture the colonial markets of Britain is in full swing in India and Pakistan.

Utilising the failure of the India Government to solve the food and production crisis in a democratic way, the American monopolists are offering more and more loans to India. The loans help the American monopolists to sell their unsaleable goods at high prices to India. They allow their financial and technical advisers to penetrate the country's economy. They get hold over the governmental machinery and they help to pass the effects of the crisis of the imperialist system on to the backs of our people.

In the end the loans tend to draw the India Government more and more in grip of the war-mongering bloc and into enmity with the democratic and socialist countries.

The Government of India has already drawn 200 million dollars from the American monopolists as food loan, nearly 75 million from the World Bank, and proposes to contract further debts of over 1000 million dollars.

It claims that by these loans, it will reconstruct Indian economy, carry out vast irrigation works and solve the crisis of food and production in the country.

We have to tell the people and the working class that these claims are totally false and will not solve our crisis. We must tell them to reject the economic plan and perspectives of the Congress Government and its landlord-bourgeois philosophy because they cannot solve our problems.

Two years back the Government and the ruling classes were harping on shortage of consumer goods, as the reason for high prices and scarcity of goods.

They demanded "industrial truce" from the working class, which meant that it should not strike, against the monopolists who were profiteering, to secure rise in its wages. The Government admits that the truce has worked. The strike wave also shows that whether because of truce or not, the number of strike struggles did go down for various reasons. The year 1951 was a year of lowest man days lost in strikes. In 1947, we had 16.5 million working days lost in strikes, in 1948, 7.8 million, in 1950, 12.8 million, in 1951 only three and half million.

The bourgeoisie itself admits that production in 1951 had increased tremendously. The general index of production shows the following rise in some of the commodities.

	1948	1950	1951
Cloth	100	93.8	104.3
Engineering	100	203.5	265.8
Sugar	100	105.8	119.2
Coal	100	110.8	118.8
Steel	100	111.2	115.9
Cement	100	169.4	207.4
General Index	100	105.2	119.6

That shows that our working class has been producing on the upgrade, that the shortage of production was being overcome.

What relief did the consumers, the public and the worker get from this?

Hardly had production gone up than a crisis of "overproduction" developed. When prices began to go down the bourgeoisie complained of losses and threatened to close down factories.

The Slump

The Government which so long clamoured for production, supply of goods and reduction in prices, began to sanction heavy exports of cloth, sugar, iron ore, coal, etc. in order to curtail supplies to the home market and push up prices.

It stopped subsidies on food in the name of saving deficits in the budget and attacked the livelihood of 50 million people in the cities and rationed areas, that is, mainly the working class and the middle class.

Thus the myth that shortages for the people can be overcome by industrial truce, more production by workers at less wages, has been blown up.

The attack of the slump on our economy has proved how we are in the grip of the Anglo-American economy. It has proved how the people impoverished by landlordism and monopoly capital are unable to buy even at falling prices. It has proved how the landlord-bourgeois state run by the Congress Party refuses to reduce the top heavy bureaucratic police structure of the State which is absorbing over fifty percent of the taxes and thereby impoverishes the people and hampers trade and production.

Once before, the Government blamed natural calamities for the ills of the people. Now it blames the slump also as a natural calamity.

The slump is neither natural nor unforeseen. Apart from being the inevitable outcome of landlord-bourgeois economy, this slump has visible birthmarks of its Anglo-American parenthood, with its nursery in the Indian economy and agency in the governmental machinery.

The slump began as a financial crisis in the export commodities and the stock-exchange market, in oils, jute, leather, tea, etc. These export commodities were just those which the Anglo-Americans were piling for war purposes. The Indian big bourgeoisie and the Government instead of building stable trade in these commodities in the stable market of the People's Democracies boycotted those markets and turned to the war markets.

The defeat of the Americans in Korea curbed their wild war-schemes. The financial crisis of Britain and America forced them to unload hoarded goods and stop stock-piling. Inflation, war-boom, high prices and taxation had impoverished their home market. And the slump came. Their crash hit the Indian economy, first in the export market and next in all commodities.

Such a crisis hits the colonial markets far more quickly than the metropolitan, because the monopolies of the colonies are weaker compared to those of Anglo-American finance. The chronic poverty of the colonies reveals the crisis in all its severity.

People's Solution

What solution can there be for the crisis?

The bourgeoisie is trying to throw the burden on the peasantry by cutting down the purchase price of raw materials, on the working class by wage-cuts, unemployment and rationalisation, on the small traders and manufacturers by refusing them credit and a protected home market. The Congress Government is trying to save the big monopolists by giving them relief in export duties, reducing taxes, advancing loans, and lending state funds for partnership in their ruined ventures, thus saddling the people with the losses of the monopolists.

The people's solution is quite different from this. We must demand opening of trade with China, USSR, and the People's Democracies, who are ready to buy what we want to sell without dictating any terms and who are ready to supply us capital goods for industrialisation. The International Economic Conference at Moscow has convinced the genuine traders and manufacturers of the need for such trade.

We must insist on the British supplying us capital goods in exchange for the loans they have appropriated from us. We must ask the Americans, not for loans, but for supplies against barter of our surplus goods, if they are so anxious to help us, as they say.

We must refuse to produce in accordance with the requirements of the warmongers.

We must scale down the excise duties and sales tax that make the goods dearer for internal consumption of our people.

We must refuse to export goods primarily needed for our consumption, such as cloth, sugar, etc.

We must reduce the expenditure on the State machine and drastically cut down taxes on consumer goods, which are imposed to maintain that expensive machine.

Credit in the hands of monopoly speculators must be frozen and given to small and medium producers first.

The taxes on monopoly profits must be progressively and steeply increased.

The workers must be protected from wage-cuts and closure of factories.

The peasantry must be given relief from rent and interest.

These measures alone can mitigate the evil effects of the crisis on the people.

The slump enables us to convince the people of the disastrous effect of linking our economy to war markets of the imperialists and thereby to strengthen the desire for peace and freedom in the minds of the people. The enemies of peace on the contrary make the people yearn for more war which is painted as a conveyor of boom, production and profits. People's experience must be used to expose this vile lie of the profiteers who benefit by people's miseries and war.

Bourgeois Analysis of the Slump

The bourgeois propaganda about the causes of the slump is designed to sidetrack the attention of the masses from the crisis of the imperialist system and its colonial allies. It is designed to mislead the people into believing that crises and slumps are god-given natural calamities and punishment for sins, decreed by the unknowable. Such a view kills the initiative of the masses to struggle against the oppressors for bettering their condition.

In order to counteract this propaganda, we must study the facts and put them before the people. We must show the origin of the slump and our misery in the imperialist, landlord-capitalist economy in which we are enmeshed. We must be able to show from facts and figures how the landlords and monopolists are responsible for it and are using it to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses.

Various sections of the bourgeoisie according to their own interests prescribe their own solution for the slump.

Seeing that the slump hit the export markets in jute and oil seeds, the export houses howled for lowering of the export duties, to which they ascribe the slump. The strongest of them, that is, the jute magnates got their demand and their duty was reduced from Rs. 1500/- to Rs. 275/-.

Jute is owned by big landlords, British bankers, and big Indian millowners. It is an item of war exports as also an item of peace-time economy. When prices rose due to war in Korea, the Government was in no hurry to raise the export duties and enabled the monopoly holders to mint millions until the duty was raised. But when the foreign market demanded a reduction, the action was quick.

The next big bourgeois to get relief was the cotton magnates. They got relief on cloth exports and credit on American cotton imports. The sugar syndicate was allowed to export sugar, although, only a few weeks before, a minister had solemnly asserted that it would not be allowed.

The speculators wanting credit from banks and unwilling to unload black money attributed the slump to tightening of credit and dearer money. They wanted to hide the fact that they had been speculating on the difference between the bank rate here and the bank rate in England and that the Government had only decided to share the super-profits of the war boom by raising the bank rate. Dearer money was only a symptom and not a cause of the slump.

The big manufacturers attributed the slump to high wages and cost of production, alleging that that made the products dearer and hence unsaleable. If so, then they should have welcomed the fall in prices and it should have led to sales. But just the opposite happened. Even at falling prices sales would not go up. The manufacturers began to curtail production and close the factories in order to push up prices. And above all, they demanded removal of all controls.

A year back they all attributed high prices and want of goods to underproduction. Now they all attribute our ills to overproduction and fall in prices. They ask for underproduction again and high prices. Thus, they oscillate in their own contradictions of capitalist economy.

In relation to people's needs there is total underproduction. But those who are in need of goods are not allowed to labour and earn in order to buy and consume the goods. Those who labour are not allowed to retain the gains of their labour in order to be buyers of what is produced. Hence we say that the solution to our ills is not this or that financial measure but complete change in social relations, a change in the direction of People's Democracy and people's economy from landlord-bourgeois economy and its autocracy.

Multi-purpose Schemes & Our Attitude

Taking advantage of the crisis the American monopolists have opened a full-scale offensive to dig into our economy and among our people. Many political parties, groups and individuals including many government ministries are aiding and abetting this conspiracy to enslave our people to the Americans in addition to the slavery of the British.

It is propagated that the American loans for building the multi-purpose schemes will help us to improve agriculture and industrialise our country. Some trade union organisations (viz. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha Convention in Bombay) have even undertaken to support the Six Year Plan of Government, that is, to support the attack on living standards of workers, already openly announced by these plans. In view of this, it is necessary for us to be clear in our attitude to this question.

Our attitude to these schemes and plans is not determined by the fact that they are being done on loans from England and America. We have already shown above how the plans are being built on the basis of starvation of the people and enrichment of the rich. More than this is the fact that a large part of the plans is sheer robbery of the State funds by those in charge, in league with the foreign monopoly financiers. This robbery predetermines the failure of these schemes and plans and in the end bankruptcy of the State.

Reports of the Sindhri Factory, the Hirakud Dam, the Damodar Valley Project show that the original costs are doubled or

trebled once the schemes are launched. The suppliers, seeing that government treasury is committed, raise prices, charge huge commissions, nepotism becomes rampant and even what is supplied in tools and machines turns out to be mere scrap. The Sindhri factory was estimated to cost 10 crores. It cost 24 and yet it is not fulfilling production targets.

The working of Damodar Valley Corporation during the last two and a half years has been criticised in Parliament. Criticisms based on the Auditor's reports show that "(a) the estimate has been enormously exceeded; (b) heavy expenditure was incurred even before the appointment of a suitable Chief Engineer and before the rules and regulations were drawn up; (c) wastage and overhead costs have been too excessive; (d) contracts were given by negotiation without competitive tenders being invited and there was no approved schedule of rates for the execution of works at the various work sites; and (e) some of the projects might prove uneconomical and might have to be dropped."

"The Auditor's Report mentions two other instances which reflects no credit on the Corporation. One relates to the loss through deterioration of a large quantity of cement estimated to cost about Rs. 3 lakhs; the other is in connection with the scheme to transfer the Corporation's headquarters from Calcutta to Ranchi. On the latter, more than Rs. 7 lakhs were spent on preliminary arrangements alone. Subsequently, however, it was decided to abandon this proposal" (From a pamphlet by the Employers' Association).

The story of the other projects is no better and those projects are estimated to burden us with over five hundred crores of rupees' debt.

The American penetration in joint partnership with the British on the Oil Refinery Projects, the Japanese penetration, which again is partly American, in the iron ore mines in Goa and export of our pig iron to Japan, the various Community Projects built up as centres of Americanism and Hollywood gangster culture should tell us that it is not a healthy growth that will result from government policies but just mortgaging of our economy to foreign imperialist exploitation.

It is futile to expect that the incoming famines and crises of production are going to be overcome by such measures. At best their manifestations may be mitigated, zigzagged and a little delayed but never averted.

In order to meet the threat to our people, to the independence of the country, the working class has to come forward to defend the people's interests. We must reject all attempts to saddle the people with the burdens of the Six Year Plan to enrich the monopolists. We will put forward our platform of reconstructing the economy of our country. We will not accept rise in prices, fall in wages or bonus and wage freeze in the name of fighting inflation. We will not allow our rights to be curtailed to demand improvements in our standard of living. We will formulate our charter of demands for the people and for the working class and fight for it. We are threatened with famine, crash of our economy and further impoverishment of the people. Our trade unions must mobilise to meet the crisis, to save the gains that the working class, the people have fought for and won, to go further.