

Resolution No. 5.

POST-WAR PLANNING.

The capitalist system of production, which has developed its own contradictions, and is anachronic, has failed hopelessly. It has not only failed to satisfy human demands but has increased miseries of many to secure plenty for a few. Even these few are not safe and secure within this decaying system. The worst feature of the system is that it restricts its own possibilities of production and upsets its own arrangement of production at short

intervals. On the back-ground of the failure of this system further aggravated by the war, Soviet Socialist Planning with its spectacular success stimulated the desire for planning all over the world. On the other hand, the decaying capitalism also, to get rid of its inherent contradictions, requires planning in the sphere of capitalist economy.

Everybody who is anybody is identified with one plan or another. They have their wide range of spheres. We in India have been presented with two :—one the Bombay or the Master Plan, the other the People's Plan of the I. F. L.

The Bombay plan is a production of the big capitalists who have been able to unite all the capitalist interests on the back-ground of apprehensions of the coming events after the war. We have not yet been presented with all sides of the plan ; it starts with a promise for the starving, homeless, uncared for, ignorant masses. But the plan, so far as it is made known, makes provision for the sum necessary for the purpose in a way that the benefits will go mainly to the capitalists' pockets through their method of industrialisation. It has, in the plan itself, sufficient indication to show that they do mean business and are determined to crush oppositions likely to develop here-after. To add to this, we have, quite recently, a clear indication of their drive from one of its authors, sir Ardeshir Dalal, now a member of the Viceroy's Executive in-charge of a specially created port-folio of post-war-reconstruction. He tells the world that theirs is a socialist plan, and like his compatriots, the National Socialists of Europe, goes to declare that private management of industry is more efficient, and hence, that should be retained. It is clearly evident

that the existing property relations being maintained, the defects and drawbacks of the existing system are bound to crop up with all intensities in future.

We have no doubt that they will be able to win substantial support for this National Socialists Plan. But we thought that at least the C. P. I. will not be a party to it. It is regrettable that even in this sphere they have added to the confusions by lending their indirect support to it. This conference of the Democratic Vanguard is definitely of opinion that this plan if given a chance of being carried through, will be harmful to the best interests of the people and will serve the exploiting class to consolidate its power.

The plan of the I. F. L., named the 'People's Plan' has a number of sound principles enunciated. But the text betrays the repudiation of the sound principles enunciated therein. The Plan by implication conciliates British vested interest in India, perhaps in consonance with the desire of its authors to be in power without the necessary sanction, and hence at the grace of the authorities that be. The most dangerous part of the Plan is its revolutionary pretensions. Zamindary system is to be liquidated but with compensations ; agricultural debts are to be liquidated more or less in the way some of the Provincial Govts. have been liquidating them. Its emphasis on agrarian problem is very rightly posed, but it has failed to accommodate the reality that the industry must lead. It has a number of defects, the most important of which is its attempt at creating an illusion that it is the people's plan and can be worked out by a People's Govt. alone.

We have only two plans before us. As they do not satisfy people's requirements, it is desirable that

a third be formulated for the acceptance of the people. Planning is a necessity and a real people's plan is likely to serve our cause immensely if it can be worked out, and even before that, as a powerful lever in people's struggle for power.

With this object in view, this Conference appoints a Committee composed of Com. Sudhir Mukhoty, Convenor, Com. Jiban Lal Chatterji, Com. Anandamoy Pramanik, Com. Santosh Batabyal, Com. Sisir Sen, Com. Badal Chatterji and Com. Sailen Paul, with powers to co-opt. to draw up a plan of the people in consultation with all interested in it with the following principles as its guiding factors :—

1. Liquidation of Zamindari system without compensation.

2. Agricultural loans to be taken over by the state and a Moratorium to be declared.

3. Land to be nationalised and tillers to be holders.

4. Agriculture to be progressively industrialised through introduction of machinery, Govt. Farms and Collective Farming.

5. Irrigation, Transport Services, Research Institutes and all the public utility services to be given due prominence with a view to help industrialisation of agriculture and promotion of mechanised industries.

6. All plantations to be taken over by the state.

7. All banks to be taken over by the state, amalgamated and Post Offices may be so reshaped as they may serve the rural population to render banking facilities.

8. Production of consumption goods to be increasingly mechanised and nationalised.

9. All under-ground resources and forests to be owned by the state.

10. Basic industries, heavy industries, shipping industries aeronautic industries and the like may be, with some exceptions needed by the state, permitted to be organised and owned by individuals subject to planning and control of the state and the profit to go to the owners has to be limited.

11. Guarantee of employment.

12. Production to be determined by the need of human demand and not by profit-motive.

13. Minimum standard of life to toilers to be guaranteed.

14. State monopoly of foreign trade.

15. Internal distribution progressively through co-operatives.

16. These principles to be applied to the whole of India including Native States.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Read.	For.
12	12	some	somebody
15	23	survive	serve
15	31	with	by
17	34	their	this
19	3	there	here
20	31	power ;	power,
21	21	capitalist	capitalist's
22	3	of	by
22	19	in the van	on the van