## BUDGET (1980) SPEECH

by Cheddi Jagan

Budget day is one of the most important events in the life of Parliament. There is need for serious and scientific analysts. Instead sweeping generalisations have been presented. What has been offered is a distorted view of the world situation, and the relationship between ailing crisis-ridden world capitalism at the centre and dependent capitalism at the periphery in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Consequently, like a conjurer the Minister of Economic Development absolves the government of responsibility, turns black into white and projects a disastrous situation into one of hope. We are going forward, we are told, when everyone knows that we are going backward. The people have been robbed 5 to the factor of the fac

On the eve of election, some pittances are to be shared out. This is the old tactic of the colonial sugar baron: to sweeten the pill, throw down some p ennies to the sugar workers children at Christmas time. And without any integrated, inter-sectoral scientifically planned programme, targets are set at random, and when not achieved, blame is put on the workers. Workers are deemed

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irresponsible by the bureaucratic state capitalists for resorting to strikes.

Caustic remarks are made about mandays lost by strikes, but little is said about the loss from under-employment and unemployment.

In the meantime, with moves to the Right, there are places for greater effort.

To get out of the "target web" will need more than pleas. As long as the root causes remains -- lack of democracy, racial and political discrimination, corruption, pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies -- we will sink deeper and deeper.

The Minister of Economic Development in his budget speech said: "This 16th Annual budget of the People's National Congress Government is being presented against a background of disquieting international developments. The decade of the 70's has ended amidst the wreckage of the high hopes with which it began for a more stable and just world and for vastly ameliorated conditions of life for "the wretched of the earth". Detente between the super-powers has not been metamorphosed into confrontation and a variation on the cold war theme and the promise of a regime of peace which it had engendered has not been displaced by

widespread fears of a major armed conflict. The enormous increase in the price of oil products has jeopardised the viability of non-oil-producing developing countries, regardless of social systems. And, in the developed industrialised countries, high inflation rates of nearly 20%, interest rates of over 20% and unemployment rates as high as 7.5% (and predicted to rise even higher) - all evidence the serious plight of the world economy. The world is in crisis!...

"The 1970's turned out to be a decade of global economic upheavals . . .

Inflation rates in the industrialised countries reached the dreaded double digit figure. The average annual growth rate of world output fell steadily from levels achieved in the 1960's; and the volume growth of world trade diminished from about 9% a year in the early 70's to about 4% towards the end. . . and recessions of varying degrees of intensity plagued the industrialised countries".

What do we have here? No distinction is made between capitalist developed industrialised countries and socialist developed industrialised countries.

## Rates of growth of socialist and capitalist worlds:

Compare the USSR and USA. Gunnar Myrdal in his book, <u>The Challenge of Affluence</u>, wrote: "It is enough to take as established that the present rate of

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economic growth is considerably higher in the Soviet Union than in the United States -- at least double or perhaps more. . . the magic of compound interest is such that if the United States should fail to overcome its relative stagnation very soon, the Soviet Union would within a not too distant future, approach, reach and eventually surpass the United States in important fields".

## CMEA COUNTRIES (Europeam members)

	1950	1977
Europe economic potential	31%	53%
National-origin energy resources	46%	76%
Capital investments	32%	56%

From 1971 to 1975, the CMEA countries' industry developed four times as fast as that of the developed capitalist countries.

From 1970 to 1977, the CMEA countries investments in the economy went up by 60% as compared with 18% in the developed capitalist countries.

When the CMEA was first set up, its members accounted for about  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the world's industrial output; by the end of 1978, it was more than one-third.

Inflation and unemployment plague the working people in the capitalist world.

From 1971 to 1975, real wages per workers in the CMEA countries increased at 2.5 - 4.3% a year.

Who is resurrecting the Cold War and why? Why is there no analysis? Why is detente imperilled? And who is doing it?

- 1. Intensification of the national liberation and class struggles.
- 2. Change in the world balance of forces against imperialism.

Where does the Guyana government stand on world issues? Does it still cling to its erstwhile "two super-powers, two imperialisms" or "equisdistant from both super-powers" lines?

This issue was fought out at the last non-aligned Summit Conference in Havana, and the dominant line which emerged was clear: world imperialism is the enemy; world socialism is the natural ally of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

And what of the developing countries? The Minister says:

"Indeed, the volume growth of primary commodity exports of developing countries stagnated since the early years of the decade, and the prices of these commodities behaved erratically and were generally unfavourable to the developing countries. Global food supply failed to measure up to demand and famine ravaged many a developing countries".

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How did the PNC government meet the crisis of the 1970-80 decade? According to the Minister:

"It was in such a decade of uncertainty that the Guyanese people perceived their goals with certainty and pursued them with determination and vigour. We enunciated our basic policy position; namely, that we intended to be masters in our own land and moulders of our own destiny. We opted for political independence and economic self-reliance. We declined to be pawns of any country. And on the basis of overwhelming national consensus, we chose to build our society on foundations of social justice and equity.

In the translation of this policy into action, we domesticated our economy by bringing under Guyanese ownership and control the dominant and strategic sectors. Thus, today, not only is the economy fully, legally and effectively under Guyanese dominion, but the major enterprises are owned by the Guyanese people as a whole and operated for their sole benefit".

Yes, to be "masters in our own land and moulders of our own destiny", you boldly announced in the Sophia Declaration of December 1974 that -

- 1. there would be land reform -- land will go to the tillers;
- 2. the state would own and control all national resources;
- 3. state control of all foreign trade;
- 4. the banks would be miniaturised;
- 5. private foreign capital could come to Guyana only in partnership with the state and cooperative, with the latter having majority control.

Bold, brave words! They implemented some. US imperialism attacked them. Whereas in 1969 when Guyana was in the bosom of imperialism, it received over 50% of US AID's commitments to the entire Caribbean and 93.4% of those in the English-speaking Caribbean. But in 1971, after the nationalisation of Demba, AID's commitments had fallen to 3.2% of the total for the Caribbean as a whole, and 5.6% of the total for the Anglo-phone Caribbean.

Imperialism's threats caused the government to vacillate. And only in the 1975-76 period, it moved to takeover Booker's and Reynolds' monopolies, and to positive positions in foriegn policy like the UN vote on Zionism as racism; break of diplomatic relations with Israel; support for the MPLA in Angola. This led as the Minister of Finance put it mildly to "a difference in views" between Guyana government and the US administration.

The US administration put on the screw. Henry Kissinger in his directive in January 1976 stated:

"The hostility of some of the third world spokesmen and bloc voting have made constructive discussions in the UN forums between the industrial and developing world almost impossible. I have instructed each US Embassy that the factors by which we will measure the value which that government attaches to its relations with us will be its statements and its votes on that fairly limited number of issues which we indicate are of importance to us in the international forums".

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But after the PNC brought the economy to ruin in early 1977, there was "a closing of the gap in views". The government reversed itself as was manifested in the IMF agreement of 1978 and the New Investment Code of 1979.

Where is the political independence? Look at these positions --

- 1. China-Vietnam-Kampuchea.
- 2. Afghanistan parallel to Angola.
- 3. Hmong tribe. 14.4 times there that s) too by deligate to the PNC ruling elite has become the slave owners of the latter half of the 20th century.

## Refer to:

- 1. attempt to subjugate Amerindians;
- 2. use Amerindians to police and catch runaway slaves;
- use indentured cheap labour -- Indian, Chinese, Portuguese -- to undercut wage demands of freed African slaves;
- 4. bring reactionary and counter-revolutionary Hmong tribe to fight united Guyanese people of all ethnic groups.

Where is the self-reliance and political independence when our foreign

and domestic policy is dictated by imperialism. Guyana under the PNC is reversing to the vacillating position of 1971-73 with the balance in favour of imperialism. If the reversal tide continues, Guyana will be back to the 1964-70 p eriod, of which Ted Braitwaite had complained on his retirement as Guyana's first UN Ambassador, he said:

"Time and time again Iwas forced to realise that while I was at the UN pursuing what I considered to be my country's right to intervene in certain political issues, back in Guyana other presences were dealing with those same issues..." resulting in his being told "what the American Secretary of State would wish him to do or what posture he would wish him to assume".

Instead of self-reliance, the foreign state-monopoly capitalists in alliance with the state bureaucratic capitalists will be the moulders of our destiny.

Manly and /MF

And the World Bank, largely in charge of curriculum planning will be in control of the minds of our children, youths and teachers.

Grande Characte and Grande Restriction, Control of the major enterprises may be owned by the Guyanese people, but they are certainly not operated for their sole benefit. Our society is certainly not built on foundations of social justice and equity. A substantial portion of the surplus extracted from the working people is appropriated for the benefit of the local and foreign elite. Our donkey-cart and dray-cart economy is providing

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"Daimler" and "Cadillac" style living for the PNC petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie.

The 1980 budget is a sham. As in the past, production targets will not be attained. Deficit financing will continue to plague the working people. And the country will sink deeper and deeper in the mire of despondency and despair. With the old padded voters lists becoming the new voters lists, the coming

The Guyanese people cannot expect any solutions from the PNC elitist

government. They have to find their own solutions; they have to take their

destiny in their own hands.

APRIL 1980.

Kakaamunt

Stays. Speaker refused to review his ruling about how the broadcast time for debate on the 1980 Budget would be allocated.

On Tuesday he said it would be two-thirds of the time for the Government and one-third for the Opposition.

But yesterday Opposition Leader Dr. Cheddi Jagan sought to have Economic Development Minister Desmond Hoyte's Budget speech included in the total time on the grounds that it was part of the debate on the motion for approval of the Estimates.

However, the Speaker ruled that Dr. Jagan's remarks did not raise a motion of