

P. K. Tandon

For members only.

KISAN BULLETIN

PROCEEDINGS

&

RESOLUTIONS

of the

Fifteenth Annual Session

ALL INDIA KISAN SABHA.

BONGAON—OCT. 28—NOV. 3, 1957.

PRICE EIGHT ANNAS

CONTENTS

	Page
1. Proceedings	3
Delegates Session	6
2. Messages	12
3. Resolutions	
On Kisan Martyrs	15
Condolences	15
On Tenancy Reforms	16
Distribution of Land	19
On Growing Tax Burdens	23
On the Food Situation	25
On Peace	29
On the East Bengal Refugee Problem	30
On Fishermen and Development of Fisheries	31
Amendments to the A. I. K. S. Constitution	31
On Kisan Bulletin	32
On A. I. K. S. Fund	32
On Tribal Peasantry	32
On Rural Indebtedness and Credit	33
On Irrigation, Floods, Droughts and Water-Logging	35
On Democratisation of Administration	37
On Ramanathapuram Riots	39
4. Statement of Accounts	40
5. A. I. K. C. Meeting	41
6. C. K. C. Meeting	41
7. Quotas for 1957-58	44

PROCEEDINGS

The 15th Annual Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha was held at Bongaon, 24 Parganas District, West Bengal from November 1 to 3rd, 1957.

The Central Kisan Council, met at Bongaon from October 28, 1957. Out of the 25 members the following attended the meetings:—

(1) Sri A. K. Gopalan (2) Sri Bankim Mukherjee (3) Sri N. Prasada Rao (4) Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri (5) Baba Gurmukh Singh (6) Sri Achintya Bhattacharya (7) Sri Harikrishna Konar (8) Janab Abdulla Rasul (9) Sri Bhowani Sen (10) Sardar Harkishen Singh Surjit (11) Chowdhury Ghasiram (12) Sari Y. V. Krishna Rao. (13) Sri C. Kandaswami (14) Sri P. R. Madhavan Pillai (15) Sri K. A. Keraleeyan (16) Sri A. V. Kunhambu.

Sri Indulal Yajnik and Sri B. Srinivasa Rao have informed that they could not attend, the former, due to pressing work and the latter due to serious illness.

Sri Biswanath Mukherjee, Sri Sadhu C. Mahanti, Sri Mohan Chowdhury, Sri Inderadeep Sinha and Dr. Z. A. Ahmed also attended the meetings as invitees.

The C. K. C. first took up the question of organisational irregularities. Several P. K. Cs have informed the C. K. C. the number of members enrolled in their respective provinces, very late and paid the membership fee quota very late. Several have not paid the quota till that date. Bihar P. K. C. had informed that membership was not briskly enrolled and requested the C.K.C. to accept last year's membership and allow delegates to participate in the ensuing session on the basis of that membership. The C. K. C. took serious notice of these irregularities and reprimanded those P. K. Cs which are thus failing to carry out even the minimum organisational duties. It decided to take strict disciplinary action from next year and as for the present, to condone the irregularities. The following decision on this issue was taken:

"The C. K. C. reprimands those P. K. Cs which have failed to inform the C. K. C. the number of members enrolled this year and to pay the membership fee quota in due time and decides to deal with such cases happening in future strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

"The C. K. C. decides to accept the membership for the year for which membership fee quota has been paid to the A. I. K. S. office by November 1, 1957.

"The C. K. C. considered the request made by the Bihar P. K. C.

and decided not to accept it. The P. K. S. will be allowed to send delegates under Article VIII, Section 1. However, the C. K. C. allows the participation of an ad-hoc delegation whose number, together with the regular delegates, should not increase 28. The ad-hoc delegates would be allowed to participate in the discussions without the right to vote."

The next question taken up was of the dispute that has arisen in the ranks of the Manipur State Kisan Sabha. For a long time, the Manipur State Kisan Council was not functioning properly, several meetings not having the requisite quorum. When finally the Council met in September to discuss the question of holding the Provincial Kisan Conference, disputes arose and the meeting ended in a pell-mell, the Secretary and his supporters leaving the meeting. This led to the formation of two groups, one led by the President and another by the Secretary. Later, the Secretary's group formed a provisional P.K.C. and held a Conference on October 15, 1957, the legality of which is questioned by the other group. These matters were reported to the C.K.C. office and the General Secretary has asked both the groups to send their representatives to Bongaon to meet the C.K.C.

The C.K.C. heard the reports made by the representatives of the two groups and passed the following resolution :

"The C.K.C. is deeply agitated over the dispute that has arisen in the Manipur State Kisan Sabha. It felt that if this state of affairs continues, the cause of the Kisans will suffer. So, in order to settle the dispute and reforge the kisan movement in Manipur State, the C.K.C. appoints a sub-committee, consisting of the President, General Secretary and Janab M. A. Rasul to further discuss the matter with both the groups and take further steps to build strong and united Kisan movement and organisation in Manipur State.

"The C. K. C. further discussed the question of participation of Manipur delegation in the 15th Annual Session of the A. I. K. S. and decided that as each State Kisan Sabha is entitled to send a minimum of 5 delegates to the annual session, under Article VII, 2 (a) of the A.I.Ks. Constitution, 5 delegates from Manipur State can participate in the Session. As the A.I.K.S. office has already received membership quota for 3025 members from Sri Soyam Satradhari, and as Sri T. Ibotombi Singh had already informed that they have enrolled about 1,000 membership, the C. K. C. decided that, out of the 5 delegates from Manipur State Kisan Sabha, 3 should be representing 3025 membership and 2, the other 1000 membership, if membership quota has been paid for that before November 1, 1957. The C.K. C. decided that all the members that have arrived from Manipur State should better sit and decide about this delegation and about the steps to be taken to reforge united Kisan Sabha."

Next question discussed was the constitutional amendments. Some members suggested changing the last date for membership enrolment. Prolonged discussions were held on the subject, but the country

being vast, with varying agricultural seasons, no date suitable to everybody was found. So March 15 was decided upon to be recommended to the Delegates Session.

Next, the proposal to change the procedure for electing the President was discussed. It was suggested that the present procedure of electing the President in the first meeting of the Delegates of the annual session has certain disadvantages in that the delegates do not know who is going to preside over the session and in that the president thus elected in the first meeting will be left no time to prepare his presidential address. It was also contended that the old procedure of nominations and election of the president in the Delegates meeting held in the provinces would be more democratic in that even those delegates who may not be able to attend the annual session will be enabled to participate in the election. But some members objected to resorting to the old procedure which requires elaborate procedure requiring a lot of time. Finally it was decided that a recommendation should be made to the Session that the president's election should be conducted as in the old, with this change that any primary member can propose a name for election as president. Sri Y. V. Krishnarao objected to any change, for, resorting to the old procedure means cumbersome procedure and results in making the organisation unitary. His objection was recorded.

The next proposal made was about enhancing the membership fee. After some discussion it was accepted that membership fee should be fixed by each P. K. S., the fee being not less than 10 naye paise per member. It was also decided that 1/10 of the membership fee should be paid as the quote of the A. I. K. S.

Next the question of changing the flag was discussed. The General Secretary briefly narrated the discussions of the Amritsar Session and suggested the symbol to be a plough. Various suggestions were made with regard to the colour of the flag and the symbol. As regards the symbol, plough with a peasant or a bundle of corn were also suggested. Finally it was decided that a recommendation should be made to put the plough as the symbol, instead of the sickle and hammer. Two members said that they did not want any change at all in the flag.

Next, the C. K. C. took up discussion of the resolutions. After briefly discussing the various issues, the C. K. C. set up small commissions to draft resolutions to be placed before the Delegates Session.

The Report of the General Secretary was taken up next. Some members objected to the report being given to the Press even before it was placed before the C. K. C. The Council opined that it is not a proper procedure and should not be done in future.

Three kinds of criticism were made on the report. The first was that the report was not exhaustive, leaving out various other important subjects as the national development schemes, cooperatives, panchayats,

agricultural development, irrigation, etc. The second kind of criticism was that the formulations made in the report about the class policy of the Government are not correct. On this point, a lot of discussion has taken place. From these discussions it was found that whereas in some provinces capitalist agriculture is developing, to whatever extent it may be, in some provinces, it is not so; on the other hand, in West Bengal, the position of share-croppers has worsened.

The third type of criticism is that the report savours more of political nature rather than being a work-report.

The Secretary had replied that, in the absence of reports from the provinces, no proper work-report could be given. As to the other important issues not being raised in the report he said that the Sabha's policy is clear on them; last three sessions have mainly devoted to the discussion on those issues and hence not repeated in the present report. Regarding the class policy of the Government, he said that though there are certain variations, the formulations made by him are correct.

In the end, it was decided that the report should be finalised in the light of the discussion held and be recorded as usual as the Secretary's report and circulated as such.

The time for discussions in the Delegates Session being short, it was decided that the delegates divide themselves into commissions and finalise the drafts, which will be placed before the full Delegates Session for acceptance.

DELEGATES SESSION

By the evening of 31st. October, the delegates have arrived from all provinces. Many visitors from the neighbouring provinces, who are themselves active Kisan Sabha workers, have also arrived. The number of delegates from each province that attended the session are :—

Assam—1, Tripura—15 and 3 visitors; Manipur—5 and 2 visitors; West Bengal—51; Utkal—4; Bihar—5 and 15 visitors; U. P.—11; Punjab—32; Rajasthan—5; Madhya Pradesh—5; Vidarbha—1 visitor; Karnataka—1; Andhra Pradesh—7; Tamilnad—1; Kerala—22.

Besides these, hundreds of active Kisan Sabha workers from West Bengal, have also attended as visitors.

On November 1, at 9 a. m. sharp, the red flag, the flag of the A. I. K. S. was unfurled by Sri P. R. Madhavan Pillai, President of the Kerala State Karshaka Sangham. Next, led by the veteran revolutionary, Dr. Gaya Prasad, the delegates marched past the martyr's column, paying homage to those who have laid down their lives in the service to the kisan cause.

The Session commenced with the singing of the National Anthem, "Jana gana mana" and songs in Punjabi, and Malayalam. The president took the chair at 9-30 a. m. and commenced the proceedings. The

Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sri Bhowani Sen, in a short speech, welcomed the delegates to Bongaon, the land of the historic struggles of the indigo peasants.

The next item was the election of president for the coming year. Sri Bankim Mukherjee proposed the name of Sri A. K. Gopalan, and Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri seconded it. Amidst loud applause, Sri Gopalan was elected unanimously as president.

The president made a short speech focussing the attention of the delegates on the problems facing them.

A resolution moved from the Chair, paying homage to the kisan martyrs, was adopted, all the delegates standing for a minute.

The next one, also moved from the Chair, is condolence resolution, which was adopted by all members standing for a minute.

Next the messages received from the Trade Union International of Agricultural and Forestry Workers U. S. S. R. Agricultural Workers Union, Polish Agricultural Workers, Union, All India Trade Union Congress, and Mrs. K. R. Gouri, Kerala Revenue Minister, were read out

The General Secretary then presented his annual report with an introductory speech. He reported to the delegates the various views expressed by the members of the C. K. C. and the decision of that council about the report. The morning session ended at 12-30, p. m.

The afternoon session started at 3 p. m. The whole afternoon session was taken up by the discussion on the report. The following members took part in the discussion: 1) Sri Y. V. Krishna Rao (Andhra Pradesh); 2) Sri Bhowani Sen (West Bengal); 3) Sri Indradeep Sinha (Bihar); 4) Sri Ambu Nair (Kerala); 5) S. Gurbux Singh Atta (Punjab); 6) Sri Raj Kishore (U. P.)

The Session commenced again on 2. 11. 1957 from 8. 30 a. m. with songs in Punjabi, Hindusthani and Telugu.

Before the discussions were resumed, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, M.P., personally greeted the session on behalf of the National Federation of Indian Women.

The discussion on the report, which was resumed, was participated by Sri Achintya Bhattacharya (Assam), Sri Mohan Chowdhury (Tripura), Chowdhury Ghasiram (Rajasthan); Sri Sadhu Charan Mahanti (Utkal); Sri Balakrishna Sharma, (M.P.); Sri C. Kandaswami (Tamilnad); Sri Fateh Singh Thakur (Vidarbha). A resolution by Sri Sekhar Ganguly (Bihar) was tabled to the effect that the report was more a political than a work-report, that, in future, it should be only work-report, that the present report should be recorded but not circulated and that releasing it to the Press before it was considered was not proper. Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri had explained the decision of the C.K.C. on the report and requested Sri Sekhar

Ganguly to withdraw the motion, as the discussion on it would not be helpful. The motion was withdrawn.

As was recommended by the C.K.C. it was decided that the report would be finalised in the light of the discussions and circulated.

Next, the General Secretary proposed formation of three commissions to discuss and present to the full session final drafts of the resolutions. This proposal being accepted, the following three commissions were formed :

First Commission — To discuss the resolutions on Tenancy reforms and distribution of land.

Second Commission — To discuss resolutions on food and prices and irrigation.

Third Commission — To discuss resolutions on tax-burdens, rural credit and democratisation of administration.

Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and Y.V. Krishna Rao were asked to lead the discussions in the First Commission ; Sri N. Prasada Rao and Sri Harikrishna Konar in the Second Commission and Sardar Harkishen Singh Surjit and Sri Keraleeyan in the Third Commission. The resolutions were formally moved and seconded.

The commissions met in the afternoon separately and discussed the resolutions for three hours and more. It was in these commissions that proper and full discussions were held, for, the number of delegates is not large and so several members could participate and really discuss.

In the evening of 2-11-1957, a kisan rally for peace was held, presided by Janab Abdur Razzak Khan, M.P. Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee, President of the West Bengal Peace Council and editor of "Jugantar" a leading Bengali Daily, addressed the rally, which was attended by several thousands from the neighbouring villages.

A night session of all the delegates was held from 10 p.m. to consider the resolutions that have emerged out of the commissions' work. The first resolution taken up was on Tenancy reforms. It was reported by the reporter of the Commission that except on one point, all amendments to the original draft were unanimously accepted. The one point under controversy was regarding the definition of a tenant. In West Bengal an occupancy ryot, with full rights of transfer, mortgage and sale is called a tenant, whereas, in other provinces, a tenant is one who cultivates the land of a landowner and has no ownership right on land. Hence arises the confusion. So, a formula suggested by the General Secretary was agreed upon by all and the resolution was passed unanimously.

Next, the resolution on distribution of land was placed before the session by Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri. Two controversies, which could not be resolved in the Commission were posed. The first was a

substantial amendment moved by Sri Bankim Mukherjee, which seeks to oppose the principle of ceiling and of allowing resumption of land by landowners for personal cultivation. His argument is that by these provisions, absentee landlordism is not completely eliminated and the rentiers also would be allowed to keep some land. After prolonged discussions, the amendment was refused by an overwhelming majority. Sri Biswanath Mukherjee moved an amendment to the effect that a ceiling should be put to the land under the tenants also, and this was accepted unanimously. Sri Y. V. Krishna Rao moved an amendment to the formulation which says that the various schemes undertaken in the name of agricultural development were leading to more unemployment and distress. After some discussion, the formulation was slightly changed in such a way that it does not give the impression that Kisan Sabha opposes those development schemes.

The resolution, as amended, was unanimously passed.

The next resolution taken up was on tax-burdens. The reporter, Sardar H. K. Surjit, reported that the resolution was unanimously approved in the commission. Without further discussion, the resolution was unanimously approved by the House.

Similarly, Sri H. K. Konar reported that the Second Commission had unanimously approved the resolution on food and prices. This resolution was also unanimously approved by the House.

Next, a resolution on peace, moved from the Chair was unanimously passed. A resolution on the question of Bengali refugees, moved by Sri H. K. Konar and another resolution on the problems of fishermen, moved by Sri Bagala Guha, were also passed unanimously.

The night session ended at 2 a. m.

The delegates session resumed the sitting from 9 a. m. on 31-11-1957. The General Secretary moved the amendments to the Constitution of the Sabha. The flag question started a lengthy and heated discussion. Discussions rounded on two points: (i) Should the flag be changed or not, (ii) in case the flag is to be changed, what should be the symbol. The views of those who opposed any change were voiced by Sri Raghavan Nair (Kerala), Sri Aryan (Kerala), Baba Gurmukh Singh (Punjab), Sri Muktinath Misra (Bihar), Sri Khudiram (Punjab), Sri Kushal (U. P.), Sri Baba Krishna Sharma (M. P.) and Chowdhury Ghasiram. Those who spoke in favour of change were Sri Keraleeyan (Kerala), Janab Bavakutti (Kerala), Sri Mohan Chowdhury (Tripura), Sri Avatar Singh, Malhotra (Punjab) and Sri Kondabolu Venkayya (Andhra Pradesh). A closure motion was moved and accepted and votes were taken on the question whether the flag should be changed or not. 103 delegates voted for the change and 29 against it. So, it was decided that the flag should be changed.

Next, discussion was held on the symbol. Various symbols were suggested: plough, plough and sickle, sickle. Positive votes were taken on all these proposals, which were as follows:

For plough—8 ; for plough and sickle,—40 ; for sickle—99. The sickle getting the largest number of votes, it was declared adopted as the symbol.

The colour of the flag was accepted to be red, all except one voting for it.

Amendment to the clause on membership fee was unanimously accepted without discussion. The new provision is that each P. K. S. would fix the membership fee which should not be less than 10 m. p. and that the quota of the A. I. K. S. would be 1/10 of such membership fee.

The amendment to the last date for membership enrolment evoked a round of discussions which revealed that a date suitable for all provinces could not be found. Sri Raj Kishore (U. P.) proposed May 31 and Sri Bankim Mukherjee proposed December 31. Finally, the matter was referred to the C. K. C. to decide, within two months, the last date for enrolment.

The procedure suggested for the election of the President was also discussed, some opposing it. Some delegates from Punjab raised the constitutional issues that a primary member, who will not be a voter in the election of President - for, only delegates to the A. I. K. S. annual session are the electors in the presidential election cannot propose names for candidature. So, this issue also was referred to the C. K. C. for decision.

The statement of accounts presented by the General Secretary was next approved by the House.

By that time it was noon. Sri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala Government and one of the foremost leaders of the Kisan Sabha, arrived and was lustily cheered by the whole House. He was garlanded by the mother of martyr Beni Adhikari and by others. In a short speech, Sri Namboodiripad greeted the session and pledged that he would always keep alive his contacts with the Kisan movement and the Sabha.

Next, a resolution on restarting the Kisan Bulletin and another resolution giving a call for an A. I. K. S. Fund of Rs. 10,000/- were moved from the Chair and unanimously accepted.

Next, quotas for membership enrolment were taken by the representatives of the P. K. Ss.

A resolution on tribal peasantry from Janab Atiqul Islam was read out and passed without discussion. The resolution on Ramnathapuram riots in Tamilnad, as well as one amendment seeking to amend the Constitution so as to facilitate the formation of women and youth sections of the A. I. K. S. were referred to the C. K. C.

The session closed at 1 p. m. with the President thanking all the delegates, visitors and all others in cooperating with him and making the session a full success. He also thanked the Reception

Committee and the volunteers for the arrangements they have made and for their hard work.

In the evening, a huge mass rally was held at Borngaon, with Sri A. K. Gopalan presiding. From far and near, more than one lakh of kisans, agricultural labourers and town people had participated in the rally. Sri Bhowani Sen, President of the West Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, Sri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Chief Minister of the Kerala Government; Sri Bankim Mukherjee and Sri A. K. Gopalan, Vice-President and President of the A. I. K. S. respectively and Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, the veteran kisan leader of U. P. addressed the rally.

MESSAGES

I

On the occasion of your 15th Session, we wish A. I. K. S. full success in its glorious fight as the vanguard of the peasant masses for land reforms, against famine, for social justice, freedom, democracy, economic independence and prosperity of the whole nation.

Ilio Bosi,
General Secretary,
Trade Union International of Agricultural and
Forestry Workers, Rome.

II

Dear Friends,

On behalf of all members of our organisation, Central Committee of the Agricultural Workers Union wholeheartedly welcomes the glorious representatives of the peasant movement of India, delegates of the 15th annual session of the A. I. K. S. and through you, all Indian tillers, workers, employees and agricultural labourers. Soviet Union expresses hope that the decisions of your session will be of great contribution in the work of the Indian peasants and agricultural workers for the development of national economy, help A. I. K. S. in its activities aimed at the defence of vital interests and better living standards of the tillers of India. We sincerely wish you, dear friends, success in your work.

Let the friendship of the peoples of India and Soviet Union strengthen.

Long Live World Peace !

Yegurazdov,
President,
Central Committee,
U. S. S. R. Agricultural Workers Union.

III

We thank you for the letters and the greetings sent to the Federation of our trade union and to our comrades.

On the occasion of the XV Annual Session of the A. I. K. S., the Presidium of the National Federation of Agricultural Workers of

Poland sends you its fraternal greetings and good wishes for new success in the development and strengthening of your trade union, greater success in your struggle for improvement in the living conditions of agricultural workers and peasants of India.

The Presidium of National Federation
of Agricultural Workers Union,
Poland.

IV

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the All-India Trade Union Congress, we greet the Fifteenth Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha.

The All-India Kisan Sabha has from its inception upheld the importance of the fraternal unity of the working class and the peasantry to realise the common aims of democracy, socialism and world peace. In these days of acute shortages of food and essential commodities, growing unemployment and misery in the towns and countryside, concerted action in defence of the common interests of the masses has assumed great significance.

The All-India Kisan Sabha is holding its 15th Session at a time when the prime need of radical land reforms has emerged as an immediate step the nation demands. The A. I. T. U. C. is confident that the 15th Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha would chalk out practical measures to achieve this objective in the shortest space of time. The A. I. T. U. C. assures its wholehearted fraternal support to your efforts to realise the slogan of "Land to the Tiller."

The A.I.T.U.C. believes the 15th Session of the A. I.K.S. would also consider questions relating to the improvement of the working and living conditions of the millions of agricultural workers

We wish you all success in your deliberations.

Long live the All-India Kisan Sabha !

Long live the fraternal unity of the workers and peasants of India for peace, democracy and socialism !

With warm greetings,

Fraternally yours,
All India Trade Union Congress.

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 12th October 1957 inviting me to attend the 15th Annual Session of the All India Kisan Sabha to be held at Bongaon from October 27 to November 2, 1957. I would have gladly attended the Session, but as I cannot leave the State at this juncture, I have to deny myself the privilege. I hope that the discussions to be held and the decisions taken at the Conference would give due lead to the solution of the vital problems confronting us today especially in the field of land reforms which are engaging the immediate attention of all the State Governments and Centre. I wish the Session all success.

Yours sincerely,
(K. R. Gouri),
Minister for Land Revenue,
Government of Kerala.

RESOLUTIONS

1. ON KISAN MARTYRS

The 15 Session of the All India Kisan Sabha pays its homage to peasant and agricultural labour martyrs of various States who have been killed by the landlords during the last year and pledges that the A. I. K. S. would work for the success of the cause for which they have laid down their lives.

This Session expresses its profound grief at the death of eight peasant workers of 'Nachov' village in Manipur State, 1. Nongmaithem Raghu Singh, 2. Moirangthem Kamal Singh, 3. Moirangthem Mani Singh, 4. Moirangthem Khoidum Singh, 5. Pukhrambam Ibomcha Singh, 6. Pukhrambam Gobardhan Singh, 7. Oinam Basan Singh, 8. Laisram Theba Singh, as a result of firing resorted to by the police last year on the peasant masses of this village struggling in defence of their grazing fields.

The Sabha condemns this brutal firing by the police and demands proper action against the guilty through judicial enquiry.

The Sabha is shocked to learn that instead of punishing the guilty police officials and compensating the families of the deceased kisan workers, their nearest relatives and many other kisans are being prosecuted and harassed on unfounded charges. The Sabha demands withdrawal of cases pending against the 22 innocent peasant of Nochov.

2. CONDOLENCE

The 15 Session of the All Indian Kisan Sabha deeply mourns the passing away of the following Kisan Sabha workers who died in the service of the people and working for the cause of the peasants, agricultural labourers and others and sends its condolences to the bereaved families:

1. Baba Harnam Singh, President, Ludhiana District Kisan Sabha (Punjab), an old leader of the Ghadar Party.
2. Maisnam Budhi Singh of Manipur, Secretary, Nambol Area Kisan Sabha.
3. Thondam Babu Singh of Manipur, Member, Sekmai Area Committee.
4. Ibocha Singh of Manipur, President, Sunnsipai Primary Kisan Sabha.

5. Giridhari Sahoo, President, Balasore District Kisan Sabha, Orissa.
6. Jagannath—Cuttack District Kisan Sabha, worker, Orissa.
7. W. Apparao—Ganjam District Kisan Sabha worker.
8. Raj Kishore Roy, Vice-President, Shahabad District Kisan Sabha.
9. Lakshmi Singh, member District Kisan Sabha, Patna.

3. ON TENANCY REFORMS

The serious food crisis that the country is facing today and the crisis that the Second Five-Year Plan has run into have highlighted the fact that our agriculture is in a serious state. They had shown that our agricultural production is far behind the needs of the country, and that we have still to depend upon large imports of food grains from foreign countries entailing a big drain on our foreign exchange resources. This session is of opinion that in order to pull our country out of this crisis, agricultural production has to be substantially increased so as to meet the growing demands of our economy.

The All India Kisan Sabha has, from its inception, maintained that insecurity of tenure of the cultivators and rackrenting are two of the main causes of our agricultural backwardness which has hampered agricultural production. In recent period, evictions have taken place on an unprecedented scale. The fact that 57 and 40 per cent of the total protected tenants in Hyderabad and Bombay States respectively, tenants from 12 lakhs of acres since independence in Bihar, nearly 75 per cent of the tenants in Andhra in one year alone, lakhs of tenants and share-croppers in Punjab, U. P., Rajasthan, West Bengal, Tamilnad and other States, were dispossessed of lands, has been corroborated by various Government reports and other investigations. These evictions are still continuing in all the States. Only in Kerala these evictions are effectively stopped and this Conference hails the action of the Kerala Government in banning all types of evictions of tenants and share-croppers from agricultural land and homesteads.

These evictions, in the opinion of this session, are not fortuitous. They are the direct result of the greed of the landlords, aided and abetted by the policies pursued by the Congress Governments so far. Several big loopholes have been left in the tenancy laws. The definition of the tenant has been kept so vague and defective that several categories of tenants like share-croppers of West Bengal, waramdars of Tamilnad, halwahas of U. P., have been left out. Taking advantage of this defect, the landlords are treating the tenants as share-croppers or even as farm servants. The landlords are permitted resumption as a matter of right. The definition of personal cultivation has been kept so loose that even absentee landlordism can come under the category of

such personal cultivation. Ceiling for resumption of land has been placed high. "Voluntary surrender" of land had been provided for in all States leading to large-scale "voluntary surrenders", which, in fact, were forced surrenders. Eviction on the ground of non-payment of rent has been allowed, which in the absence of receipts, has become a legal excuse for eviction. Where rent in kind is in vogue, no proper arrangement has been made for the appraisal of the crops, which makes it possible for the landlords to harass the tenants in several ways. The conditions for the transfer of ownership to the tenants have been made so difficult and the price to be paid by the tenants for ownership has been kept so high that only an insignificant number of tenants have been able to utilise this right. Sale of land and the right of presumption are also used by the landlords as a weapon to evict tenants. All these and several other such loopholes in the tenancy laws have made even the few good features of these laws completely ineffective and allowed the landlords to carry on their nefarious activities even within the confines of law.

In the absence of security of tenure, the fixation of maximum rent remained ineffective. The official enquiries conducted into the working of the tenancy laws in Hyderabad and Bombay, the first claimed to be "the Magna Carta" of the tenants and the second as the "model" tenancy law, recognise that provisions regularising rents have failed and that the customary rents are still being collected. The Panel on Land Reforms of the Planning Commission came to the same conclusion in respect of other States also.

In several States, the maximum rates fixed are very high ranging from one third to one half of the gross produce. In respect of some categories of land these maximum rates are even higher than the prevailing rates.

Rent as a multiple of land revenue has been fixed only in two States.

There is no proper machinery for the appraisal of crops, for enforcing the provision regarding the giving of receipts and for the commutation of rent in kind into cash rents.

The question which has assumed decisive importance in recent period is that of administrative machinery to implement the laws and safeguard the rights of the tenants. But experience has proved that there is no proper administrative machinery and the existing machinery, from top to bottom, is bureaucratic, corrupt and pro-landlord, being largely linked up with the landlord class itself. The law courts have given judgements which have proved very harmful to the interests of the tenants as for example, the Rajagopalan judgement of the Madras High Court. Justice is costly and the tenants, poor illiterate and depending upon the landlords cannot take recourse to costly litigation. It is only in Kerala that the E. M. S. Government had extended free legal aid to the poor people. In several States, recording of the rights of the tenants is not done and even where it has been done, the records are

falsified on a mass scale, as has been the case in U. P., West Bengal and elsewhere. Penal sections like Sec. 107, Sec. 144 and others are being freely used against tenants. Armed reserve forces and punitive police are being used to suppress the tenants movement and to help the landlords in their eviction drive. This absence of proper administrative machinery and the active help given by the bureaucracy to the landlords are rendering the laws completely ineffective.

These major loopholes in the tenancy laws and the absence of a proper administrative machinery have been brought to the notice of the Government repeatedly by the Kisan Sabha. The various enquiries made by the State Governments have also revealed these defects and the Second Five-Year Plan also has mentioned them. But this Session regretfully notes that, hitherto, all this has remained on paper and nothing concrete has been done by the State Governments to plug the loopholes and set up a proper administrative machinery. The recommendations made by the Planning Commission for the review of the so-called "voluntary surrenders" has so far remained only as a pious wish.

This Session is of the opinion that in the interest of our national economy the tenancy problem should be immediately solved. Hence it demands from the Government tenancy reforms on the following lines:

(a) All those who cultivate the lands of others, on lease, written or oral, either on fixed rent or on share-cropping, should be treated as tenants of the landowners.

(b) All tenants of big land-owners should be given permanent and heritable rights in the lands they cultivate.

(c) Resumption of land for personal cultivation should be allowed only in the case of small landowners whose main source of income will be from that land. In such cases of resumption, the interests of the land-owners and the tenants should be adjusted so as justice is done to both. Contribution of personal manual labour by the landowner or a member of his family, must be insisted in such cases. In case a tenant is evicted from the entire land, he should be given rehabilitation grant or compensation and land from the surplus land.

(d) All the dispossessions, either through legal proceedings or other-wise, in the form of evictions, "voluntary surrenders" and resumptions by big landowners for "personal cultivation", made since 1952, should be declared null and void, suo moto.

(e) Eviction under any pretext whatsoever should be completely prohibited.

(f) Maximum rate of rent should not exceed 1/6th of the gross produce.

(g) Clear provision must be made to the effect that the tenant may deposit the rent in cash with a court or revenue authority in case the landlord does not come to take his rent or refuses to give receipt.

(h) Remission in rent should be given whenever there is failure or loss to crops.

(i) All arrears of rent, due to big landowners, should be cancelled forthwith. In future, arrears of rent should be treated as civil debt.

(j) Names of all actual cultivators should be duly entered in the revenue records, falsification of records should be penalised and correction of records made whenever demanded. Recording of tenants and share-croppers as farm servants, in the land records, should be penalised.

(k) Popular committees which include representatives of Kisan Sabhas should be formed to supervise the implementation of the tenancy reforms, to check up land records and to carry out all other necessary tasks connected with the implementation of these reforms.

This Session is of the opinion that if tenancy laws are suitably amended and implemented under the supervision of the popular committees on the lines suggested above, it will go a long way in solving the tenancy problem and reinforcing the national effort for the development of agriculture. Hence it calls upon the people and all parties which are vitally interested in the growth of agricultural production and in the success of the Second Plan to work for the acceptance of the above demands by the Government and for the reversal of the present Government policies.

Furthermore, this Session calls upon the peasants and agricultural labourers that while utilising all the provisions of the existing tenancy laws, they should redouble their efforts in their struggles for the achievement of full tenancy rights. The lacunae in the laws as also the intransigence of the Government are both the result of the weakness of the Kisan movement. Only the sustained efforts and mass struggles of the tenants and mobilisation of the wide support of the other peasants and democratic forces can stop the nefarious activities of the landlords, reverse the pro-landlord policy of the Government and win legitimate rights of the peasants which the Kisan Sabha has been demanding for a long time, in the interests of not only of the peasants but also in the national interests which has become very urgent today.

4. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

National reconstruction of our country is very closely linked with improvement in the living standard of millions of the rural people who today constitute the main home market as well as the productive force in our country. The only means of livelihood and employment open in our countryside is the cultivation of land; but millions of the rural masses are completely devoid of any land or hold such a small piece of land which is unable to provide livelihood and employment to them. On the other hand vast areas of rich cultivated as well as

cultivable land are concentrated in the hands of a handful of landlords. Apart from that, millions of acres of cultivable land is also lying under the possession of the Government.

Our country inherited such pernicious land system from the foreign rulers and it is regrettable that even after ten years from the end of that rule, the basic question of land to the tiller has not been solved. On the contrary, a large number of cultivating tenants have been deprived of the land under their cultivation, as a result of various loopholes in agrarian legislations. Rural unemployment among agricultural labour has increased due to other reasons also. There are certain other measures such as use of tractors by landlords which have helped this process.

Even after ten years of independence in the country and after the completion of the First Five-Year Plan, the country is faced with a serious food crisis. The agricultural production is in such a grave crisis and it is seriously threatening the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan also. It is agreed by all that for the success of the Second Plan, for the solution of the food crisis, and for development and reconstruction of the country, what is most urgently needed is the utilisation of productive capacities of the millions of unemployed and under employed rural masses by granting them land for cultivation.

It was this pressing reason behind the slogan of 'land to tiller' raised by the Kisan Sabha two decades ago, which secured the sympathy and support of all sections of our masses, and the slogan 'abolition of landlordism' and 'distribution of land to the tiller', became the slogan of our entire nation.

Abolition of landlords monopoly grip over the land and the distribution of their surplus land as well as Governments' own cultivable waste lands, can help in settling millions of landless families of the peasants and enormously increase the agricultural production. Therefore, in order to break the monopoly grip of the landlords over the land and secure as much land as possible for distribution to the tillers, the All India Kisan Sabha, as long ago as 1945 demanded imposition of ceiling on landholdings. This demand was voiced by the Kumarappa Committee set up by the Indian National Congress in 1948 and although the First Five-Year Plan evaded this issue, the Second Five-Year Plan proposed "that during the Second Five-Year Plan steps will be taken in each State to impose ceilings on landholding, on existing holdings, the ceiling would apply to owned land (including land under permanent and heritable rights) held under personal cultivation, tenants being enabled to acquire rights of ownership in terms indicated earlier." But the proposals were made in the Plan in a manner not to 'acquire as much land as possible from the landlords for distribution among the landless peasants', but to 'exempt as much land as possible under various pleas under the possession of the landlords'.

The recommendation of the Plan were such and the definition of

family holding was so vague that very high limit of ceiling could be fixed. No effective steps were taken against the transfer of lands and bogus entries in the revenue records, made in order to defeat the purpose of future legislations. Besides that, the landlords were permitted to retain areas of land much in excess of the actual ceiling to be fixed, by way of exemption granted to land under the Orchards, the Sugarcane Farms, the better or efficiently managed farms, forest lands, fisheries and so on.

Therefore, the All India Kisan Sabha stated at its annual session at Amritsar last year that "the proposals have been made in such a way that almost all farms of the landlords would be exempted from ceiling and nothing would be left surplus for distribution". The warning of the All India Kisan Sabha has proved true after the actual experience of the legislation passed by certain States. In Punjab, such a legislation was passed more than two and a half years ago, and a year ago in the former PEPSU State. Although the largest number of tenants have been evicted in these areas, not a single acre of land has been acquired so far for distributions under the above stated legislations.

In the former Hyderabad State, a legislation was passed in 1953, and although it was first claimed to find 92,000 acres of land as surplus in Khammam District, it is now stated that not more than 6,000 acres of land would be available.

In West Bengal, under similar legislation it was originally claimed to secure 6 lakhs of acres of surplus land but now it seems very little land would be available.

Thus in spite of all these legislations, nowhere surplus land has been acquired and distributed to the landless peasants.

The seriously developing food crisis in the country which even threatens the execution of the Second Plan, has once again focussed the attention of the nation on distribution of land, and, therefore, the Development Council of the Government of India was forced to review the progress of land reforms. It has noted that the various States are delaying the legislation regarding ceiling and even which have passed such legislation have delayed its actual implementation. It was also noted that even large scale evictions of tenants are still permitted in various States.

But the All India Kisan Sabha notes with regret that when the country is suffering under serious crisis and starvation, the Development Council itself refuses to learn any lessons from past experience, betrays complete negligence and complacency and refuses to pull up the pro-landlord State Governments.

Firstly, it has suggested a two-years period for implementation to the States which have already passed the legislation and three years period for passing such legislation which have failed so far.

Secondly, the most serious part of it is that the same old proposals regarding the ceiling on landholdings in the Plan are retained, which reduce the idea of ceiling on landholdings to a farce.

The All India Kisan Sabha, therefore, once again warns that in spite of the concern expressed by the Development Council the existing recommendations of the Governments regarding ceiling on landholdings and the attitude of the Central as well as various State Governments to this problem, will not be helpful in securing land for distribution among the landless peasants.

The All India Kisan Sabha, further notes, that whereas millions of landless peasants devoid of any permanent means of livelihood are suffering from poverty, hunger and unemployment, and the country as a whole is facing a serious shortage, the various State Governments, holding under their possession millions of acres of cultivable lands, also refuse to distribute this land for permanent cultivation to the landless peasants. On the contrary, various State Governments are evicting the cultivators of these Government waste lands. It is the Government of Kerala which, immediately after the assumption of office, has undertaken the distribution of Government waste lands, nearly 7 lakhs in all. The All India Kisan Sabha greets the Kerala Government for this measure.

The 15th Session of the All India Kisan Sabha holds that acquisition of all surplus land from the landlords for distribution to the landless peasants, as well as distribution of cultivable Government waste land, is an issue of urgent national importance which concerns not only the livelihood of the peasants alone, but the entire country and its people. The Sabha, therefore, calls upon all sections of the people, the various political parties and groups to join hand for the fight for disiribution of land to the peasants. For that purpose, it is necessary to end the monopoly grip of the landlords over the land through genuine and effective legislation of ceiling on landholdings.

This session once again reiterates the following proposals for ceiling on landholdings, put forward by the previous annual sessions.

1. Ceiling should apply to land under personal cultivation. The tenants already in possession of land be made owners of that, subject to a ceiling, without any right of resumption to big land-owners.

2. The ceiling should be so fixed for each area and for each class of land, that when applied,

(a) the land of working land-holders (peasants) will not be touched ; and

(b) at the same time, the major part of the land held by the non-working land-holders (landlords), taken as a class, comes for distribution, so that landless agricultural labourers and land hungry peasants will get enough land.

3. No category of land, such as land under the Orchards, the Sugarcane Farms or the efficiently managed farms, etc., should be exempted from ceilings.

4. The ceiling area should be fixed in acres taking into cosider-

ation the fertility, the means of irrigation, the availability of market and the nature of the produce of crops in a land.

5. Transfers and partitions made by the landlords in order to defeat the purpose of such legislations be declared null and void.

6. Supervision of preparations of new records and verification of existing ones be entrusted to popular committees. Similarly, the implementation of the ceiling on landholdings also be entrusted to popular committees.

7. Government waste lands should be distributed to the landless gratis. Penalties imposed on the occupants of such lands should be cancelled.

5. ON GROWING TAX BURDENS

Despite the repeated warnings given by the All India Kisan Sabha, the Central and State Governments have been foisting on the common people an ever-growing series of direct and indirect taxes which are causing acute discontent both in the urban and rural areas and are having grave repercussions on our national economy. These new taxes are being imposed in the name of economic reconstruction and development and the people are called upon to tighten their belts and undergo sacrifices for national advance. While the A. I. K. S. supports all efforts directed towards national reconstruction, it wants to point out that, today, hundreds of crores of rupees are being spent by the State Exchequer on compensation to landlords, on privy purses to the princes, salaries of high-paid officials and on the expansion of the bureaucratic machinery. Millions of rupees are wasted on account of extravagant and reckless expenditure. Huge concessions are given to the monopolists to maintain and increase their profits but no action is taken against them for the large scale evasion of income tax which is practised by them with impunity. At the same time British and other foreign concerns are permitted to reap fabulous profits and to export them from our country.

Throwing their election pledges to the winds, the Congress Governments have imposed fresh taxes within a few months after the general election.

The Central Government alone has levied new taxes to the tune of about Rs 88 crores this year, the major part of which is drawn from excise duties on cloth, tobacco, etc., enhanced Railway fares, Postal rates, etc., the burden of all of which falls mainly on the common people. In fact, the taxes on big capitalists are being reduced and kept at a low level. The income due from the recently imposed wealth taxes has been so seriously reduced by a number of concessions that according to Government estimate this tax would hardly yield Rs. 15 crores per year.

The anti-popular character of the taxation policy of the Central Government can be seen from the fact that while between 1951-52

and 1957—58, taxes on income have increased from Rs. 134.74 crores to Rs. 136.46 crores and estate duties from 1.81 crores to 2.52 crores, the Union excise duties have risen from Rs. 85.78 crores to Rs. 205.43 crores.

The Congress State Governments have also been pursuing a similar policy in regard to taxation. They have not only enhanced the existing taxes but have also imposed a number of new taxes with regressive incidence. Despite this, the present overall deficit in the budgets of the States, with the exception of Kerala, amounts to Rs. 86.63 crores, which again is going to be met by increased taxation. It is significant to note that while agricultural income tax has risen from Rs. 4.33 crores in 1951—52 to Rs. 6.34 crores only in 1957—58 and urban immovable property tax from Rs. 1.85 crores to Rs. 2.03 crores only, land revenue in this period also increased from Rs. 47.99 crores to 92.54 crores and the general sales tax from Rs. 54.40 crores to Rs. 88.57 crores. Nothing can show more conclusively the reactionary nature of the taxation policy pursued by the Congress State Governments.

The Second Five-Year Plan has provided for additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 450 crores. Faced with a crisis in the Plan, the Central Government now proposes to meet the gap in the resources of the Plan amounting to Rs. 400 crores, also through taxation. Besides, since according to the Finance Minister, deficit financing cannot be extended beyond Rs. 8 or 9 hundred crores, the gap of Rs. 3 or 4 hundred crores on this account will also be met by additional taxation.

Thus, taxation amounting to the colossal sum of Rs. 10 to 12 hundred crores is likely to be levied during the Second Plan period.

The extremely heavy economic burdens caused by these taxes combined with inflation and rising prices due to deficit financing are subjecting the mass of our people to untold hardships. It is patent that the enthusiasm and initiative of the people for the reconstruction of our economy cannot be fully unleashed under these conditions. The present tax policy of the Government will have to be reversed if the energies of the toiling millions are to be harnessed in the cause of national reconstruction.

The All India Kisan Sabha considers the oft-repeated plea of the Government that the deficits in the Plan resources and the current budgets cannot be met except by taking the common man to be totally wrong and unfounded. The Kerala Government have shown the way in this respect. By imposing agricultural income-tax, wealth tax on higher agricultural incomes, education cess on the rich and by reducing the burden of land revenue and other concessions, the Kerala Government have been able to give substantial relief to the people and also to produce a surplus budget. The All India Kisan Sabha greets the Government of Kerala for the steps it has taken to fulfil its pledges to the people.

The A. I. K. S. demands that the Central and State Governments

should abandon their present policy of inflicting more and more tax burdens on the masses, and should mobilise financial resources as restricting the export of profits of foreign monopoly concerns, limiting the profits of foreign as well as Indian monopolists, imposing estate duties, stopping of privy purses and requisitioning private resources of princes, taking over by the State of export and import trade in certain major commodities, stopping or drastically curtailing compensation to big landlords and by nationalising scheduled banks. Furthermore, it is essential to carry out large scale economies through reduction of wasteful expenditure on administration and other governmental activities. It is also essential to tap new resources through the imposition or enhancement of such taxes on the rich as corporation tax, agricultural income tax, wealth tax on agriculture, super-tax, etc. and through taking effective measures to stop tax evasion.

The A. I. K. S. further demands that,

(a) A steeply graded agricultural income tax should be introduced instead of the present land taxes, with a tax free minimum.

(b) All existing taxes should be substantially scaled down for lower income groups.

(c) Enhanced water rates should be reduced and betterment levies abolished.

(d) Abolition of sales tax on essential consumer goods and raw materials, books and medicines and imposition of single point sale tax at the source.

The A.I.K.S. congratulates the people in general and the peasants in particular who have fought against the growing tax burdens and calls upon them to continue and strengthen their struggle against unjust taxes. The A. I. K. S. calls upon its constituent units to carry on systematic campaign against the harsh and unjust taxes and mobilise the people to reverse the present taxation policy.

6. ON THE FOOD SITUATION

This session of the All India Kisan Sabha views with grave concern the alarming food situation that the country is facing today. Almost the whole of Bihar, West Bengal and vast areas of Eastern U.P., Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Orissa, Rayalaseema and Telangana are experiencing famine or near-famine conditions. Starvation deaths have already begun to take place in certain parts of several States. Never since 1943 has the country faced such a grim food situation.

Prices of all essential commodities have risen but the prices of food grains have risen to unprecedented levels. Thus, between September 1955 and July 1957 the price of rice has risen from 509 to 695, of wheat from 409 to 593 and of millets from 114 to 276. As a result of very high prices prevailing in Bihar and West Bengal, vast masses of our people - agricultural labourers, poor and middle class peasants, rural artisans, industrial workers and urban middle class - are

already finding the food prices beyond their reach.

This session considers that the main responsibility of this situation lies with the Central and State Governments. This recent serious aggravation of the food crisis which has assumed the nature of famine or near-famine conditions in many parts of the country has been brought about by the Government itself by its fiscal and other policies. In the context of declining food production, any strengthening of the grip of big traders, speculators and big landowners over foodgrains market is bound to create havoc. And this is just what has happened. Huge advances by the scheduled banks to these elements aided and abetted by the Government, have particularly strengthened their speculative activities to corner foodgrains and screw up prices still further. Belated and half-hearted measures of credit control and the Essential Commodities Act which the government was forced to adopt due to public pressure have so far proved ineffective.

Deficit in food production combined with the increasing grip of big landowners and speculative activities of profiteers over food grains lies at the root of deepening food crisis. This deficit also increases the scope of speculation and profiteering by big traders, millers, etc. through cornering food grains. A. I. K. S. considers that it is the policies of the Government that are seriously affecting food production, thus widening the deficit gap. Though the drought this year is unprecedented, yet, it is not new. Floods and droughts have become the chronic feature of our agrarian economy which the hundreds of crores of rupees spent on the various irrigation and flood-control schemes have failed to avert. For, all the steps taken hitherto have not been able to replace the old irrigation and drainage which have rapidly been falling into disuse. Corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and wastage have deprived the people of full returns on the vast investments in the irrigation and drainage schemes; and high water rates and betterment levies have largely vitiated their utility. Even the old canals are unable to supply adequate quantity of water; and water-logging, due to seepage and lack of proper drainage, have turned millions of acres of fertile lands into waste lands. All these have seriously affected the food production.

The agrarian policy pursued by the Government is primarily responsible for disorganising production. Millions of share-croppers and other tenants have been turned out of tens of millions of acres of land which the landlords have not been able to properly cultivate. Consequently, in several provinces, the sown area, the double-cropped areas and the new-sown areas have declined and the area under current fallows has increased. Furthermore, the increasing difficulties experienced by the vast majority of peasants in securing credit and the partiality shown by the Government in the distribution of loans, fertilizers, seeds and implements has hampered production in vast areas of land cultivated by peasants.

On top of it all, the Central and State Governments have preached complacency about the food situation. They have been trying to conceal the real situation by making all sorts of claims which are often conflicting and misleading when in actual reality food production has been declining since 1953. They have tried to minimise and hide the food crisis, until it was no longer possible to do so. Thus they have sought to cover up their policy of inaction and to lull popular vigilance.

Instead of tackling this situation with urgency and vigour, the Government has been utterly callous to the growing sufferings of the people, and for months after the situation has grown extremely serious, they have resisted admitting the existence of the crisis. The A. I. K. S. views with concern that even after admission of the crisis and the promise of under-taking relief measures the Government assurances have not been honoured in practice. The failure of the Government to supply promised amount of foodgrains to the people coupled with the corruption and nepotism prevailing in the entire system of Government supply, has brought untold sufferings upon the people.

The A. I. K. S. is of the opinion that due to other suicidal policies of the Government, a national calamity of first-rate magnitude has been created. Vast areas are threatened with famine. Productions both in the industrial and the agricultural sectors are threatened with dislocation. Increase in food shortage has increased the difficulties of foreign exchange and intensified the crisis of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The A. I. K. S. considers that a national effort based on the total mobilisation of the resources of the Government and the people is necessary for facing this situation. While welcoming the appeal of Prime Minister Nehru seeking the cooperation of all in meeting the crisis, the A. I. K. S. wishes to point out that although it has always extended its hand of cooperation to any measure seeking to eliminate the sufferings of the people, it is the Government that has continuously been refusing this cooperation. Nevertheless the A. I. K. S. reiterates that their offer of cooperation for all such measures stand. But the A. I. K. S. feels that in order that such cooperations may become really effective, the Central and State Governments must change these above-mentioned policies, put sharp curbs on speculators and grain hoarders, adopt adequate measures of relief and rise above petty considerations of deriving partisan advantage, out of this critical situation. The A. I. K. S. therefore, demands :—

(1) Declaration of all seriously affected areas as famine areas.

(2) In areas seriously hit by food crisis, work for all able-bodied persons and doles for all disabled and destitutes.

(3) Liberal grant of Taccavi loans on personal security, grain loans and Natural Calamity loans in the scarcity areas and extensive test-relief.

works, linking the relief works with schemes of irrigation, drainage, and flood control.

(4) Emergency repair of all minor irrigation and drainage works before the next monsoons. Construction of small dams, provision of pumping sets on a wide scale and of persian wheels wherever necessary.

(5) Taking over the stocks of food grains lying with big traders, rice millers and big landowners.

(6) Setting up of cheap grainshops at the rate of one for every 500 families, ensuring continuous supply of adequate stocks at prices within the reach of common people.

(7) Immediate suspension of the collection of rent, revenue, taxes and loans and granting liberal remissions in taxes, agricultural loans, and rents and moratorium on debts in the scarcity areas.

(8) Formation of popular food committees in all areas and at all levels to work in cooperation with the Government in running the cheap grainshops and supervising the administration of relief.

(9) All Parties' Conferences at the Central, State and district levels to discuss the critical situation as well as measures of relief.

The A. I. K. S. considers that the above measures, if adopted, will help considerably in meeting the present extraordinary situation, but they cannot by themselves prevent the recurrence of similar situations in future. To that end, measures for checking the activities of speculators and grain-hoarders and for increasing the production of foodgrains through the implementation of radical agrarian reforms are urgently needed. The A. I. K. S. therefore demands :—

(i) Fixation in all States of the minimum prices of food grains that the peasants must be paid, keeping in view the level of prices and other commodities and of wages.

(ii) Fixation of the maximum prices of foodgrains for the consumers which should not exceed the minimum prices by more than 15%.

(iii) Government must purchase from the open market just after harvest and build sufficient stock of foodgrains to control the market and to supply foodgrains to people when necessary.

(iv) Compulsory taking over of stocks of all millers and big traders and surplus stocks of big landowners whenever prices go beyond the statutory maximum.

(v) Strict control over bank advances for legitimate trade and penalties for advances for speculation.

(vi) Execution in each State of adequate number of irrigation and drainage schemes so as to create guarantees against large scale floods, drought and water-logging.

(vii) Allotment of the major part of Government aid meant for agriculture by way of loans and subsidies to the peasants and not to the big landlords who secure these aids by various devices. All aids to peasants should be given at a time when they need most.

The A. I. K. S. is of the considered opinion that for the immediate solution of the food crisis and for rapid increase in agricultural production it has become urgently necessary to adopt radical measures of agrarian reforms by putting an effective ban on evictions, giving security of tenures to all tenants, reducing rents, distributing waste lands and imposing ceilings on land holdings and distributing surplus land among agricultural labourers and poor peasants

The A. I. K. S. greets the peasants and popular organisations of West Bengal, U. P., Bihar, and other States for their powerful campaign against food scarcity and high prices, as well as against the corruption and nepotism in the administration of relief. The A. I. K. S. appreciates the determined efforts by the Government of Kerala, to keep food prices down despite huge shortages and to ensure proper distribution of the foodgrains through cheap grainshops and on the basis of family identity cards.

The A. I. K. S. appeals to all sections of people, particularly to the peasantry, to build a united mass movement against famine and for food powerful enough to force the Government to concede their most urgent demands. It appeals to all parties, organisations and individuals and particularly to the Kisan, T. U. and Youth organisations to join hands to from popular relief committees to mobilise non-official relief and render maximum possible relief to the needy and the destitute. The A. I. K. S. directs all its units and workers to concentrate their energies for fulfilment of above-mentioned tasks. ✓

7. ON PEACE

This session of the A. I. K. S. reiterates its relentless opposition to war and its unshakable faith in the peaceful coexistence of nations. It calls upon the Indian peasants to unite and make their full contribution to the world-wide struggle for disarmament, banning of nuclear tests and for the maintenance of world peace.

The session expresses its grave concern over the growing intervention of the Anglo-American imperialists in the affairs of Asian and African countries. Having suffered a severe blow in Egypt they are now directing their intrigues and threats against Syria and other Arab nations who refuse to surrender their independence.

The session pledges its full support to the people of Syria, who are resisting these imperialist onslaughts.

The session urges upon the Government of India to take the initiative in calling a meeting of the Bandung powers to organise a powerful opposition to this offensive of the war-mongers.

The session notes with concern the manoeuvres of Anglo-

American imperialists in the Security Council which seek to keep the solution of Kashmir problem in abeyance for an indefinite period thereby enabling the imperialist powers to intervene and maintain a permanent threat to India's independence.

The session declares that it will mobilise the peasant masses of India for Indo-Pakistan unity, for the settlement of all outstanding issues between these two countries through peaceful negotiations, for defeating imperialist designs in Kashmir, for liberation of Goa and for the defence of freedom and sovereignty of our country against all imperialist manoeuvres or threats.

8. ON THE EAST BENGAL REFUGEE PROBLEM

This 15th Session of the All India Kisan Sabha views with grave concern the utter failure of the Government to undertake and give practical effect to schemes for the rehabilitation of lakhs of refugees who have been coming from East Pakistan for the last ten years. Moreover, efforts have been made by Government to spread disunity between local peasants and refugees in various ways and also through propaganda among local peasants that the official policy for the distribution of land among the landless and poor peasants has been upset owing to the need for the rehabilitation of refugees. At the same time, they tell the refugees that the local peasants put obstacles in the way of refugee rehabilitation. In this way they want to hide their reactionary policy.

The Conference considers that the struggle of the peasants for food, clothing and human existence and the struggle of the refugees against the reactionary rehabilitation policies of Government, are both parts of the same democratic movement. Hence the wrong and disruptive policies must be defeated by the joint movement of the peasants and the refugees.

The refugee problem has become a national problem for the solution of which both peasants and refugees must work and strive jointly and in unity with other democratic forces in the country. The Conference notes with concern that along-side the official declaration that the refugee problem is a national problem and above party politics, the Union Rehabilitation Minister, Sri Khanna consulted only Congress M. Ps and sought their recommendations on the refugee problem. The Conference strongly protests against this undemocratic procedure on the part of the Minister.

In the opinion of this Session, the recommendations of the joint meeting of the West Bengal Congress Committee and Congress M. Ps are utterly reactionary. Instead of moving towards real rehabilitation, they are likely to aggravate the situation further. The Session expresses its concern that under cover of rehabilitation, new attacks may be launched against the refugees and warns the Government not to take unilateral steps on the basis of these recommendations.

The Session demands that the Government should find a real solution of this national problem through discussions with representatives of all parties and mass organisations.

9. ON FISHERMEN AND DEVELOPMENT OF FISHERIES

There are vast numbers of fishermen spread over all the States in our country. But their condition is most pitiable and they are the most neglected community. It was expected that after our country became free from foreign rule, the Government would take proper steps to ameliorate their sufferings. But that has not happened.

The handicaps under which the fishermen suffer from, are manifold. The most important factors, in this respect are, their having no rights in fisheries and having no arrangement of sufficient financial help so that they can explore fisheries efficiently. It is why, the fishermen are very badly exploited by the creditors and monopoly fish traders.

The importance of increasing fish production in our country both commercially and in respect of supply of fish to the consumers at a fair price, has to be noted. But it is regrettable that the Government has yet no appropriate plan for this. The Government, as in the past, is continuing its neglectful attitude both in regard to fish production and the fishermen.

This session strongly feels that the Government should give up their present indifferent attitude in the matter and implement the following :

(i) The fishermen should be given fishery rights in all the fisheries. All kinds of lease of big fisheries should be forthwith abolished. Legal provisions should be made in the matter.

(ii) Sufficient financial help should be made available to the fishermen

(iii) Proper marketing facilities should be arranged so that the fishermen may be free from exploitation of creditors and monopoly fish traders.

(iv) The Central Government should set up proper administrative machinery for implementation of the above demands.

As the fishermen are an important section in rural areas and because also of the fact that they have much in common with the struggle of the peasantry, it is necessary that the Kisan Sabha units and workers should take up the cause of the fishermen and help their struggles in all ways.

10. AMENDMENTS TO THE A. I. K. S. CONSTITUTION

1. Substitute the following for Article III :

"Article III, The flag of the A. I. K. S. shall be the red flag with a sickle in white inscribed on it."

2. Article V, Section 1, delete "on payment of two naya annas as annual subscription" and insert the following :

"On payment of an annual membership fee fixed by the Provincial Kisan Sabha, which shall not be less than 10 naye paise."

3. Delete the Note to Article V.

4. Substitute Section 5 of Article VIII by the following :

"Section 5 : The President of A. I. K. S. shall be elected in the following manner :

"(i) Any delegate elected to the Provincial Kisan Conference may propose the name of any primary member of the Sabha for Presidentship, for the coming year, within the date prescribed by the C. K. C.

"(ii) The A. I. K. S. office shall announce the names of the the candidates for the Presidentship, if they are more than one, within 5 days of the closing date for receiving nomination papers.

"(iii) If only one name has been received by the last date, the General Secretary of the A. I. K. S. shall announce him as duly elected.

"(iv) If the candidates are more than one, the delegates elected to A. I. K. S. annual session shall assemble in their respective provinces and cast votes for the election of the President. The P. K. S. shall intimate to the A. I. K. S. office the number of vote that each candidate has received, within 5 days of the casting of votes.

"(v) The General Secretary of the A. I. K. S. shall officially declare 'the candidate who has received the largest number of votes as duly elected.'"

5. Article XII, Section 2 : Substitute "at the rate of one naya paisa per member" by "one-tenth of the membership fee."

11. ON KISAN BULLATIN

This Session of the A. I. K. S. resolves to restart Kisan Bulletin and authorises the office-bearers to take necessary action for it.

12. ON A. I. K. S. FUND.

This Session of the A. I. K. S. gives a call for the collection of the A. I. K. S. Fund of Rs. 10,000/-. It appeals to all the kisans to liberally contribute to this fund and help it in strengthening the organisation so that it can serve the kisans better.

13. RESOLUTION ON ON TRIBAL PEASANTRY

The Fifteenth Session of the A. I. K. S. expresses its deep sympathy and support for the aspirations of the tribal people for their economic, social and political development. Over the long course of post-war period, various movements amongst the tribal people in essence brought to the forefront the following economic demands :—

(a) Safeguarding their land and forests from alienation.

(b) Development of agriculture and shifting cultivation in particular.

(c) Preservation of forests and soil from erosion in the tribal areas.

(d) Effective rehabilitation on land of tribal landless peasants.

(e) Reservation of certain percentage of land for the landless tribals in the States of territories inhabited by them.

(f) Assurance of a fair price and a steady market for their produce.

(g) Introduction of an extensive credit facilities to combat the exploitation of unscrupulous moneylenders.

These demands are just and pressing and form an integral part of the kisan movement all over the country.

The Fifteenth Session of the A. I. K. S. urges upon the Government to enact suitable legislation for the fulfilment of the above demands of the tribal people.

The Fifteenth Session of the A. I. K. S. calls upon the tribal peasantry to organise themselves in peasant associations for the fulfilment of their just demands which can alone link their struggles with the organised kisan masses of India and lead them to success.

This Session of the A. I. K. S. also appeals to the democratic masses of India to support and sympathise with the cause of this most backward and underdeveloped section of the country.

14. ON RURAL INDEBTEDNESS AND CREDIT

The solution of the problem of rural indebtedness and the need to provide timely and cheap credit to the rural poor has assumed great importance to-day, because non-availability of credit at a time of steep rise in prices of foodgrains and other commodities, combined with growth in unemployment has affected adversely the agricultural labourers and poor peasants. This problem is of importance also if the targets of food production of the Second Five Year Plan are to be fulfilled.

The investigation conducted by a committee of the Reserve Bank of India three years ago showed that the total amount of rural indebtedness is about Rs. 900 crores. The experience of the Kisan Sabha workers shows that this is an under-estimation. Furthermore the major part of the debt is owed to moneylenders who resort to various measures, legal and illegal, to exploit their debtors, the majority of whom are landless labourers, share-croppers, tenants and peasants with uneconomic holdings. Year by year the chronic indebtedness of these sections is eating away whatever remains after paying rents to landlords and various oppressive taxes to the government, besides middle man's loot.

The All India Kisan Sabha has continuously drawn the attention of the government and the public to the fact that provision of cheap rural credit is inseparably linked with ending the landlord, moneylender exploitation of the peasants and agricultural labourer, and freeing of our rural economy from the iron grip of the monopolists, foreign and Indian.

But while the government have been forced to recognise the importance of the problem of rural credit and even to come out with criticism of existing structure of rural credit, the programme drawn up by it in the Second Five Year Plan fails to tackle the problem. It does not even touch the fringe of it. The proposals for the supply of credit fall far short of the annual rural credit requirements which are calculated by the Reserve Bank Report at Rs. 750 crores per year.

The principal target for the cooperative credit for the Second Five Year Plan have been fixed only at Rs. 225 crores which include short term, medium term and long term credits. For this purpose, the Reserve Bank has to provide Rs 35 crores only in the whole plan period, the balance to be provided by the State Governments and the cooperative societies. Even if these targets are fulfilled, the cooperative credit will cover up only one fourth of the needs.

In view of the fact that credit is not available to-day in the rural areas and the credit supply is very important for agricultural development, the A. I. K. S. demands that the credit supply should be expanded to a considerable extent in order to meet the minimum credit requirements of the rural masses. At the same time the Kisan Sabha appeals to all organisations of the peasants and agricultural labourers to take keen interest in organising and functioning the co-operatives proposed to be set up under the Second Five Year Plan, in order to provide various forms of relief to the rural poor.

In order that the problem of rural indebtedness and credit is seriously tackled. The Fifteenth Session of the A. I. K. S. demands that :—

1. Redemption of mortgaged lands, cancellation of old debts and scaling down of the rest owed by agricultural labourers and such sections of the peasants as cannot bear the burden of their existing debts. Stoppage of attachment of houses, land and property of indebted peasants and necessary legislation for the same.

2. Moratorium on rural indebtedness till the above measures have been enforced.

3. Substantial increase in the provision of rural credit.

4. Immediate opening of ware-houses and grain banks in the rural areas.

5. On the basis of recommendations of the Second Plan immediate revision of rules under which credit is now provided either by government or by the cooperative movement, such as, provision of

credit on personal security, or on the security of crops in place of the present system of credit on the security of land.

The Sabha appeals to all its units to forge unity with other organisations of the rural poor and thus build a powerful movement for the fulfilment of the above the demands in order to secure relief for the rural poor.

15. ON IRRIGATION, FLOODS, DROUGHT AND WATER-LOGGING

This Session of the All India Kisan Sabha views with grave concern the fact that floods, drought, water-logging and soil erosion, have become a regular feature in our country's life and are causing devastating loss to the lives of people and cattle and to the crops and land. Vast regions in Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, U. P., Punjab, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad and Kerala are, for the last four years, experiencing every year, one or the other calamities of the above nature, resulting in big losses in agricultural income.

This Session cannot accept the view that these national calamities are inevitable. If the Government had taken proper and timely measures, these calamities could have been checked and prevented to a large extent. But it is the lack of a proper and coordinated irrigation and flood-control policy that is responsible for the periodical appearance of these calamities.

Many of the major multi purpose schemes taken up are not being energetically worked. In many of the projects, lack of coordination is clearly visible. Even though Tungabhadra reservoir is completed and water is available, the High Level Canal is not yet taken up for excavation and the Low Level Canal, intended to irrigate about 13,00,000 acres, is now supplying only to 30,000 acres. Even though the widening of the K. C. Canal is completed, instead of the expected 2,00,000 acres of additional irrigation, we find only a few thousand acres being supplied water. Krishna Barrage is completed but the canal which would bring an additional irrigation of 1,00,000 acres and which formed part of the scheme, is not dug. The D. V. C. Project is supplying only electrical energy and is not giving either flood protection or water to irrigate the ayacut. Similarly, even though the Mayurakshi project is completed years ago, out of the 6,00,000 acres to be irrigated, only about a third is being actually supplied water. The Nangal Project is completed but the limited quantity of water it is supplying is being supplied only in rainy season when the demand for water is not great. Thus, even though some of the major and medium irrigation works are completed, they are not being fully utilised, resulting in bringing under irrigation an additional area of 40,00,000 acres only, instead of the 85,00,000 acres expected during the First Plan period.

The minor irrigation works, which can be completed in a short period of time and which will yield immediate benefits, are being neglected, even though they serve areas which are not reached by the

major irrigation schemes and which are the usual famine areas. More than two-thirds of the tanks in Andhra badly need repairs but the Government neglect to do the repairs. On the other hand, many tank-bed lands are annually leased out for growing crops, thus making a profit out of the bad condition of the tanks. Many small but turbulent streams and rivulets could have been dammed and small reservoirs constructed but this also is being neglected. On the other hand, many of the minor irrigation works completed or repaired, are going out of commission, as the review of the First Plan admits.

Water-logging has become a serious menace in the recent period. This calamity is largely the result of the unscientific methods of the P. W. D. in constructing roads, cutting canals, etc. Roads were laid without proper sluices and syphons. Canals were cut across the drains, thus blocking drainage of the surplus water. Old and natural drains are not being repaired. Flood banks are constructed without falling shutters, thus preventing the draining of the waters carried by the drains, into the rivers. This unscientific and haphazard manner of constructing the roads, canals, etc. had resulted in water-logging in about 40,00,000 acres in Punjab, which amounts to about one-third of the total cultivated land in that State.

Even though the Central Flood Control Board and the irrigation Expert's Committee were set up by the Central Government and even though the Central Water and Power Commission has been doing its best, yet, the problems of irrigation, flood control, drought and water logging remain as serious as ever for the fact that the Government and the Planning Commission look at them from a business point of view. The high irrigation rates charged under the tube-wells and irrigation projects are partly responsible for the lack of enthusiasm of the peasants to take water from these sources. Many a project, which if constructed, would have helped in irrigating the areas which often experience drought and are hit by famine, are not taken up on the ground that they are not productive; speeding up of the construction of projects already taken up, is being delayed on the ground that foreign exchange difficulties prevent them from importing machinery for the construction of dams, where as the fact is that machinery used for the construction of Bakhra Nangal, D. V. C., Hirakud and such other multi-purpose projects are lying idle and could have easily been used on the other projects.

One of the main obstacles for the satisfactory solution of these problems is the bureaucratic manner in which the Government carry out these schemes. They do not seek the suggestions and, take the cooperation of the people. The Irrigation Conferences are becoming formal, where are the officials, instead of hearing the demands of the people and tackling their suggestions, simply give them ready-made answers that finances do not allow taking up works suggested by the people or that they will be sent to the concerned officials. Where the cooperation of the people is sought, even in those cases, partisan spirit is being shown, the cooperation and participation of the mass organisa-

tions being disfavoured.

In order to fully develop our water resources and to prevent floods, drought and water-logging, this Session places before the Government the following :

(a) Form irrigation committees at all levels with officials and non-officials, to suggest irrigation, drainage, and flood control schemes.

(b) Construct the irrigation schemes on a no-profit, no-loss basis and in famine areas, irrespective of the returns, as protective works.

(c) Charge water rates on the basis of water supplied and instal meters for readings.

(d) Undertake repair of all existing minor irrigation works which are in a bad condition and construct small dams, reservoirs, etc. on the rivulets, streams, etc.

(e) Repair of all drainage works and keeping them in good order. Excavation of beds of silted up old courses of rivers.

(f) A committee consisting of engineering staff and non-officials to check-up the water let-outs when roads, canals, railroads, etc. are constructed.

(g) Where the ayacut under an irrigation work is increased, additional supply of water to be guaranteed.

(h) A committee to be formed which should go into the availability of machinery for project construction and pooling them for proper use.

(i) Sending pump sets, persian wheels, etc. to places of drought, so that all available irrigation sources can be fully utilised.

This Session calls upon all its units to intervene effectively at every stage, with concrete and constructive suggestions for the construction of irrigation works, drainage and flood control schemes, etc. It is this enthusiasm, creative energy and mass participation that can succeed in getting sanction for the various irrigation, drainage and flood control schemes, in speeding up their execution and in checking corruption, waste and delay.

16 ON DEMOCRATISATION OF ADMINISTRATION

This Session of the All India Kisan Sabha is firmly of the opinion that no lasting improvement in the condition of the peasantry can be brought about without a thorough democratisation of the administration which is responsible for the enforcement and implementation of laws.

The Session notes with regret that despite ten years of freedom, the bureaucracy continues to function in an irresponsible and authoritarian manner and continues to display, as of old, an attitude of indifference and callousness towards the legitimate demands of the peasant masses.

All institutions and organisations set up by the Government in connection with agricultural development and rural welfare, such as Development Blocs, Panchayats, Cooperatives, etc., are getting increasingly bureaucratised and subjected more and more to official intervention and control. The inevitable result is that they function in isolation from, and very often in open conflict with the interests of the common people in the villages. It is a patent fact that most of these governmental organisations, far from improving the living conditions of the peasantry, have become instruments of fleecing the peasants and inflicting economic burdens on them. The link of the bureaucracy with big landowners, enables the latter to monopolise all the advantages accruing from development schemes at the expense of poor and middle peasants.

The pro-landlord character of the entire administrative machinery is seen in every aspect of rural life, from the manner in which land records are maintained by village officials, to the methods adopted by the police and the magistracy to suppress even the most peaceful struggles of the peasants in defence of their rights and interests. Terror-mongering by landlords is often actively helped and connived at by the police. The use of sections 107, 144, 145, of the Penal Laws against the toiling classes has become a normal feature of rural life. The police in league with the landlords does not even hesitate to implicate leading Kisan Sabha workers in false cases of murder and dacoity.

The prevailing system of justice is so expensive, inefficient and corrupt that the common peasants are subjected to all types of harassment even in the most ordinary civil and criminal cases.

One of the most objectionable features of the present administration is its utilisation by the ruling party to strengthen its own position. Congressmen exercise without let or hindrance, a decisive influence on day-to-day administration at all levels and thus directly aid and promote corruption, nepotism and inefficiency. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to state that the administration is run today as the hand-maid of the ruling Congress party and is deliberately and consciously directed against opposition elements in public life. In this situation, democracy is reduced to a farce and the fundamental rights of the people, guaranteed by the Constitution, are freely violated by officialdom.

This Session of the All India Kisan Sabha strongly urges upon the Central and State Governments to enforce the following measures for the democratisation of the administration and protection of popular interests :—

(i) Administration Reform Committees should be constituted in all States with wide terms of reference to examine all aspects of the present administration and to suggest ways and means of overhauling it in a democratic direction. These committees should be representative of all sections of public opinion and should therefore include representatives of all political parties and important mass organisations.

(ii) Vigilance Committees consisting of popular representatives and publicmen of recognised honesty and integrity should be established at all levels with powers to receive, examine and investigate into complaints of bribery and corruption.

(iii) The Police Act should be radically amended in a manner as would curtail the extensive and arbitrary powers which were vested in the police by the British rulers.

(iv) All repressive Acts such as Preventive Detention Act, Dramatic Performances Act, and Press Amendment Act should be repealed.

(v) Sections 144, 107, etc., should not be used to suppress popular movements.

(vi) Penal Sections should not be used in land disputes.

(vii) Judicial Panchayats should be established in all States and they should be vested with the powers recommended by the Second Five-Year Plan for such bodies.

(viii) Provision for free legal aid should be made by the government for poor peasants and rural labourers particularly in criminal cases. Measures for cheap and speedy justice should be introduced.

17. ON RAMANATHAPURAM RIOTS

This conference of the A. I. K. S. is shocked to hear about the rioting between two particular castes that took place in Ramnad District in Tamilnad. It is a matter of deep grief and concern that nearly 40 persons have been killed, hundreds of houses have been burnt to ashes and property worth several thousands have been perished. It is further admitted by the State Government that fifteen have been shot dead by the police in the name of restoring law and order. In Tamilnad public opinion prevails that this rioting resulted more because of political competition for domination in that area and communalism has been purposely fanned since general elections by interested parties. This conference strongly feels that if the Government had taken timely measures these cold-blooded shootings could have been avoided. Strong suspicion is expressed openly against the State Government that it has taken up a partisan attitude in fomenting the riots as well as in dealing with them. This Conference strongly opines that in the name of justice and fair play the duty of the State Government is to order for a judicial enquiry into the incidents that led to the shooting.

This Conference earnestly appeals to the peasantry and agricultural labourers there not to fall into the machinations of the reactionary communal cliques fighting among themselves for political domination. This Conference points out that the duty of the peasantry and agricultural labourers there is to stand united and fight against the worst feudal exploitation rather than catching each others neck at the provocative inducement of reactionary political cliques.

This Conference conveys its deep sympathy to all those affected by this worst rioting and requests the public to contribute liberally for the relief of the affected people.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

From 1-10-1956 to 31-10-1957

Receipts

Rs. np

1403.15

3950.86

135.50

683 00

100.00

20.00

Opening balance

Membership fee

Delegates fee

Donations

Loans

Suspense a/c repaid

Postal

Office

Stationary

Travelling

Library

Allowances

Miscellaneous

Suspense

Loans to P.K. Ss

Cash on hand

Expenditure

Rs. np.

137.03

273.13

92.41

1232.78

42.37

2040.00

27.21

60.00

365.00

202.37

6292.51

6292.51

The statement of accounts submitted by the General Secretary is hereby approved.

A. I. K. C. MEETING

Immediately after the session is closed, the A. I. K. C. met in the delegates pandal, 42 members attending it. The only item on the agenda was election of the office-bearers and the members of the Central Kisan Council. The following names as office-bearers were proposed and duly seconded and accepted unanimously :

<i>Vice-presidents</i>	:	(1) Sri Bankim Mukherjee, MLA.
		(2) Sri Sibbanlal Saxena, M. P.
<i>General Secretary</i>	:	Sri N. Prasada Rao.
<i>Joint Secretaries</i>	:	(1) Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri.
		(2) Janab M. A. Rasul.
<i>Treasure</i>	:	Sri A. V. Kunhambu, M. P.

Next 20 names have been proposed for election as members of the C. K. C. As Sri Biswanath Mukherjee and Sri A. K. Poduval withdrew their names, the following 18 were elected unanimously : (1) Sri Achintya Bhattacharya (Assam), (2) Sri Mohan Chowdhury (Tripura), (3) Sri Bhowani Sen (West Bengal), (4) Sri Harekrishna Konor, MLA (West Bengal), (5) Sri Indradeep Sinha (Bihar), (6) Dr. Z. A. Ahmad (U. P.), (7) Sardar Harkishan Singh Surjit (Punjab), (8) Baba Gurmukh Singh (Punjab), (9) Sardar Dalip Singh Tapiala (Punjab), (10) Chowdhury Ghasi Ram (Rajasthan), (11) Sri Indulal Yajnik, M.P. (Gujerat), (12) Sri Nana Patil, M.P. (Maharashtra), (13) Sri Sadhucharan Mahanti, (Utkal), (14) Sri Balakrishna Sharma M.P., (15) Sri Y. V. Krishna Rao (Andhra Pradesh), (16) Sri C. Kandaswami (Tamilnad), (17) Sri K. A. Keraleeyan (Kerala), (18) Sri P. R. Madhavan Pillai, MLA (Kerala).

C. K. C. MEETING.

A meeting of the new C. K. C. was held at Bongaon from 10 p.m. on 3-11-1957.

The question taken up first was on Manipur. The Secretary reported that both the groups have participated in the session as full delegates, paying membership quote but disputed over electing the AIKC member. So, the sub-committee met the entire delegation and placed a compromise formula before them. As a special case they would, with the approval of the session, be allowed to send two AIKC members, one from each group. The membership enrolment would be carried on upto the end of January 1958 and a provincial conference would be held on the basis of that membership. This conference would be held in the last week of February or first week of March 1958, under the direct supervision and guidance of the C. K. C. representative. In order to carry on the enrolment and prepare for the conference, an organising committee with equal number of members from each group including two convenors, one from each group, would be formed. The provincial conference would elect a council, which would be the authoritative body

of the State Kisan Sabha. Both the groups agreed to the proposal but they could not agree on the names of the A. I. K. C. members. Having heard their report, the C. K. C. passed the following resolution :

"The C. K. C. heard the report of the sub-committee on Manipur and also read the letters written by Sri Soyam Satradhari and Sri T. Ibotombi Singh and others and endorses the proposal made by the sub-committee, that an organising committee, consisting of equal number from each group and two convenors, one from each group, be formed by the C.K.C. and that this organising committee be empowered to enrol members and to convene a conference under the direct supervision and guidance of the representative of the AIKS, which will elect a regular provincial Kisan Council which will be the authoritative body. The C. K. C. authorises the General Secretary to form an organising Committee with 5 members from each group, including two convenors, one from each group. The C. K. C. hopes that both the groups, which have already accepted the above proposal, would work with sincerity and strive to forge a united, broad-based Kisan Sabha in Manipur State and that they would fully cooperate with the C. K. C. in its efforts to solve the problem."

Rajasthan organisational question was taken up next. Chowdhury Ghasiram had reported that certain disputes have arisen inside the ranks of the Kisan Sabha in Rajasthan and asked for the C. K. C. intervention. So, a sub-committee with the General Secretary, Sardar Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri and Dr. Z. A. Ahmad was formed to go into the dispute and settle it.

The C. K. C. next discussed the venue and time for holding the next annual session. The following motion was adopted :—

"On the invitation of the U. P. Kisan Sabha, the C. K. C. resolves to hold the 16th Annual Session of the Sabha in U. P. in October 1958. If for any reasons the U. P. Kisan Sabha could not hold it in U. P., the C. K. C. decides to hold the Session in Tamilnad not later than November 1958."

Next question taken up was the last date for enrolment. After some discussion, the C. K. C. found that it would be better to decide it in the next annual session. As for the coming year, it decided that, as the next annual session would be held either in October or in November 1958, enrolment can be carried on until July end. Hence the following resolution was passed :

"The C.K.C. is of the opinion that the question of fixing the last date for enrolment of members should be postponed till the next annual session is held.

"In view of the next session being held in October or November of 1958, the C. K. C. extends the time for membership enrolment upto July 31, 1958. It expects that all the units of the Sabha would energetically work for enrolling members in large numbers and exceed the quotas they have taken."

The next question discussed was the procedure for electing the president. The formula suggested by the old C. K. C. with a slight modification, in that, instead of any primary member, it is a delegate elected to a provincial conference that should propose the name for presidentship, was accepted. The following is the full amendment.

Replace Section 5 of Article VIII by the following :—

“Section 5 : The President of the Sabha shall be elected in the following manner.

“(i) Any delegate elected to the provincial Kisan conference may propose the name of any member of the Sabha for presidentship for the ensuing year, within the date prescribed by the C. K. C.

“(ii) The AIKS Office shall announce the names of the candidates for the Presidentship, if they are more than one, within 5 days of the closing date for receiving nomination papers.

“(iii) If only one name for presidentship has been received by the last date, the General Secretary of the AIKS shall announce the candidate as duly elected.

“(iv) In case the candidates are more than one the delegates elected to the AIKS Session shall assemble in their respective provinces and cast votes for the election of the President. The P. K. S. shall intimate the AIKS Office the number of votes that each candidate has received, within 5 days of the casting of votes.

“(v) The General Secretary of the AIKS shall officially declare the candidate who has received the largest number of votes as duly elected”.

It was decided that the next meeting of the CKC should be held in the first or second week of February in Meerut or some other place to be selected by the Secretary.

Next, the quota of the A. I. K. S. from the AIKS fund was fixed for each P. K. S.

It was decided that a paid Office Secretary should be appointed soon with requisite qualifications and Dr. Z. A. Ahmad was requested to find one person for that job.

The other amendments proposed to the Constitution were decided to be taken up in the next meeting of the C. K. C.

The resolutions referred to it by the delegates session were discussed and adopted, the drafting to be finalised by the office-bearers.

The meeting closed at 1 a. m. on 4-11-1957.

QUOTAS FOR 1957-58

Province	1956-57	Quota taken for 1957-58	
	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Money</i>
Assam	1,152	25,000	Rs. 100.00
Tripura	30,000	40,000	Rs. 100.00
Manipur	4,025	10,000	Rs. 100.00
West Bengal	1,01,997	2,00,000	Rs. 300.00
Utkal	2,016	20,000	Rs. 50.00
Bihar	4,992	1,00,000	Rs. 100.00
U. P.	54,720	1,50,000	Rs. 300.00
Punjab	1,25,000	3,00,000	Rs. 400.00
Rajasthan	26,000	1,00,000	Rs. 200.00
Madhya Pradesh	7,600	25,000	Rs. 100.00
Maharashtra	50,000
Karnataka	3,000	15,000	Rs. 50.00
Tamilnad	49,478	1,00,000	Rs. 200.00
Kerala	1,85,521	3,00,000	Rs. 750.00
Andhra Pradesh	14,400	1,00,000	Rs. 250.00
Total	<u>6,09,301</u>	<u>15,35,000</u>	<u>Rs. 3000.00</u>

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