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# SEVENTEENTH SESSION

OF

# ALL-INDIA KISAN SABHA

HAZIPUR, 17th TO 19th  
MAY, 1960

AIKS PUBLICATION  
NEW DELHI

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## CONTENTS

Proceedings of the 17th Annual Session of All India Kisan Sabha held at Ghazipur (17th-19th May 1969)	1
Presidential Address by A. K. Gopalan	4
General Secretary's Report to the 17th Session of All India Kisan Sabha	17
Resolutions	
On the Third Plan in Relation to Agriculture	28
On Progress of Land Reforms	36
On Kisan Sabha Organisation	42
On Waste Lands	45
Condolence Resolutions	47
On Sugar Cane Growers	47
On Summit Conference	49
On South Africa	48
On India-China Border Dispute	50
On Refugees from Punjab and East Bengal	50
On the Release of Political Prisoners	51
Central Kisan Council Elected in the 17th Session of the All India Kisan Sabha	52

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE 17TH ANNUAL SESSION OF ALL INDIA KISAN SABHA HELD AT GHAZIPUR

*(From 17th to 19th May 1960)*

The 17th annual session of the all India Kisan Sabha was held at Ghazipur under the presidentship of Comrade A. K. Gopalan M.P. from 17th May 1960 to 19th May 1960.

On the opening day at 4 p.m. the Chairman of the Reception Committee Comrade Sarju Panday read out the welcome address in Hindi. In course of his address he described the economic condition of the peasantry of the eastern U.P. He pointed out that in the district of Ghazipur there were 6,50,000 acres of land under cultivation i.e. 1.5 acres per family but there are many big holdings which compelled the bulk of agricultural population to remain landless. He had drawn the attention of the delegates to the conditions of sugar-cane growers who are deprived of the just price for their crops. He accorded the delegates a hearty welcome.

After the Chairman of the Reception Committee had finished the address, he invited the elected president Comrade A. K. Gopalan M.P. to take the chair.

The president then delivered his address. In course of his address the president had surveyed the land legislation in every province and pointed out how the real purpose of the land reform is being vitiated and sabotaged. He pointed out all the loopholes that existed in the legislation on ceilings and called upon the peasantry to unite in mighty struggle for the removal of all these loopholes.

The president Sri A. K. Gopalan drew the attention of the delegates to the present organisational weakness of the Kisan Sabha urged upon them to make it stronger and broader. After

the president concluded his address, several condolence resolutions were passed. Messages and greetings received from fraternal organisations from within and out-side the country were then read out, amidst tremendous cheers. Greetings were received from all most every national section of the World Federation of Agriculture and Forest Workers' Union. The Central Committee of the Federation had also sent its hearty greetings. From within the country from all India Trade Union Congress and All India Peace Council and several other organisations send their messages. After the messages were read out the General Secretary placed his reports, the first session was completed after the report was placed.

On 18th May the session began at 8 a.m. Dr. Z. A. Ahmed introduced the resolution on the organisational problems of the Kisan Sabha. It was followed by general discussion both on the General Secretary's report and organisational resolution. 23 delegates took part in the discussion on organisational resolution. Discussion continued in the afternoon session between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. The report was as per conventional procedure, read, discussed and recorded. The organisational resolution was, with minor amendments passed unanimously.

On the 19th May, in the morning session (7-30 a.m. to 12 p.m.) Comrade Jagjit Singh Layallpuri (Punjab), Joint Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha introduced the resolution on land reform. It was seconded by Comrade Srinivas Rao (Tamilnad). 14 delegates had either taken part in the discussion or moved amendments. With certain amendments the resolution was accepted and passed unanimously.

In the evening session which commenced at 4 p.m. Comrade Bhowani Sen the General Secretary introduced the resolution on the Third Five Year Plan in relation to agriculture. It was seconded by Comrade Abdulla Rasul (W. Bengal). Several of the amendments moved by the delegates were accepted by the mover of the resolution. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Sri Paliwal of the All India Peace Council greeted the conference and read out the message of the Peace Council.

Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, the Treasurer of the All India Kisan Sabha, submitted the statement of account and it was accepted unanimously. The session concluded after the adoption of a reso-

lution on the sabotage of the Summit conference by the U.S.A. reactionaries.

In course of these 3 days of deliberations several other resolutions also adopted. The most important of them were: India-China relation; release of political prisoners and sugar cane price.

The next session of A.I.K.S. was invited to Kerala. All together 106 delegates representing 5,68,531 members attended the conference. The membership is distributed province-wise as follows:

West Bengal—1,42,021, Punjab—1,18,000, Rajasthan—20,000, Kerala—38,000, Tamilnad—91,000, Andhra—20,000, Maharashtra—45,000, U.P.—40,000, Assam—27,460, Bihar—20,000, Orissa—10,050.

At the conclusion of the conference the A.I.K.S met at night and elected the following office bearers for the year 1960-61.

*Vice-Presidents:*

Comrade Bankim Mukherjee

Comrade Manali Kanda Swamy

*General Secretary:* Comrade Bhowani Sen

*Joint Secretaries:*

Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri

Comrade S. V. Parulekar

*Treasurer:* Comrade Dr. Z. A. Ahmed.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*By A. K. Gopalan, President*

Comrade Delegates,

Since the last All India Session of the Kisan Sabha at Mayavaram in April 1959, many local struggles of the peasantry have taken place. But the struggle of the people of West Bengal for the supply of food-grains at fair prices in August-September, 1959 was the most important struggle in which the peasant masses participated on large scale last year. That mighty glorious struggle of the people was a magnificent demonstration of the unity of the masses both in the towns and rural areas of the State and it is a matter of pride for our Kisan Sabha in West Bengal that they were able to bring about widespread and effective participation of broad masses of the peasantry in the common struggle for food. Over a hundred people lost their lives in that struggle. Let us pay our homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives in these struggles.

The Nagpur resolutions of the Congress on land reforms and co-operative farming had created fresh hopes in the minds of our peasant masses that at last the Congress Government and leadership have become alive to their problems. I had occasion to refer to this in my speech last year to the 16th Annual Conference. I then pointed out: The Nagpur resolutions of the Congress on ceilings on land holdings and organisation of co-operatives to serve the various needs of the peasantry are welcome moves. However, while welcoming these resolutions, we cannot shut our eyes to the experience of the last 11 years of Congress rule. The fact that the Congress, though belatedly, has been forced into an obligatory acceptance of ceilings on land holdings is itself a great victory for the Kisan Sabha, who raised this slogan first in the country and has ever since conducted a

sustained campaign. But this victory which is as yet only on principle, cannot be and will not be translated into practice unless we organise and conduct determined struggles in unity with all progressive sections of Indian population, isolate reactionary vested interests both within and outside the ruling party, conduct sustained political and ideological campaigns against them and in the process build up an invincible mass organisation of our Kisan masses to force the unwilling hands of the ruling party to put their professions into practice. Any illusion that the passing of the Nagpur resolutions by the Congress paves the way for a smooth transformation of the agrarian relations in India is not justified by past experience or present trends. . . .”

While experience has confirmed our forebodings regarding the bona fides of the Congress, it has also exposed our weaknesses. The fact remains that we in the Kisan Sabha could not mobilise the broad masses in support of our slogans and to conduct a sustained mass campaign to force Congress Governments to translate into practice their vaunted professions. The events since then have once again proved the lengths to which vested interests will go to prevent the adoption and implementation of any radical programme of land reforms. The Nagpur resolution of the Congress was the provocation for the birth of a reactionary right-wing party in our country, viz. the Swatantra party. And ever since, the party's leadership has blatantly and categorically proclaimed itself against any ceilings on land holdings, against cooperatives, etc.

The vested interests have raised such a hue and cry against the land reform proposals of the Congress at Nagpur that it will be correct to say that they have to some extent succeeded in pushing the Congress Governments and organisation backwards from their earlier positions. It will also be a folly for us to ignore that the campaign of the Swatantra party, Jan Sangh and other such elements have created sufficient confusion among the broad masses of middle class elements both in the towns and the countryside that they have begun to feel apprehensive of radical land reforms. We have to admit that we have not been able to conduct a counter campaign, both ideological and political, to explain our point of view to the broad masses of peasantry. It should also be not forgotten in this connection that the opposi-



tion to ceilings on land-holdings is not merely to be found outside the ranks of the Congress. In fact the story of the sabotage of the comprehensive land reform measure enacted by the Communist-led Government of Kerala both by the Congress organisation at State level and the Central Government—the President's refusal to give assent to the Bill as passed by the Kerala assembly is an eloquent testimony to the hollowness of Congress protestations in this respect.

### *Land Reforms*

Broadly speaking there are two aspects of land reform which we should give serious attention to. First is the question of Tenancy Laws and the second is the question of ceilings on land. Tenancy reform is important because, in spite of the abolition of Zamindari system, quite a sizeable area is held by tenants and sub-tenants of land-holders under varieties of arrangements. According to the National Sample Survey (8th Round) about 24% of the operated area is held on leases of various kinds. In fact in certain States, e.g., Punjab the area under tenancy is as high as 37% of the operated area.

In the field of Tenancy reform, there are three important measures; (i) regulation of rents; (ii) security of tenure; and (iii) confirmation of ownership on tenants. It had been recommended in the Second Five Year Plan that the rate of rent should not exceed  $1\frac{1}{4}$ th or  $1\frac{1}{5}$ th of the gross produce. We demanded that the maximum should be  $1\frac{1}{6}$ th. A number of States have adopted legislations to regulate rates of rent. There are large variations in the rates of rents fixed in the various States. For example, in Punjab, it is still  $1\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the gross produce; in Madras it exceeds even  $1\frac{1}{3}$ rd in some cases. In Andhra, Jammu & Kashmir and West Bengal, it is as much as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the gross produce in some cases.

However, rent regulation can be successful only where the tenants enjoy security of tenure. It is here that the greatest failure is to be seen. Even though many States have put laws giving security of tenure to tenants on the Statute Books, in practice it has been found that these laws are riddled with so many exceptions and loopholes as to leave sufficient opportunity

to landlords to evict peasants on the slightest pretext. In most of these laws, there are clauses empowering landlords to resume land from tenants for 'personal cultivation'. This has led to a spate of evictions and we have to seriously take up the question of amending such laws to prevent eviction for 'personal cultivations. Similarly progress in regard to conferment of ownership to non-resumable tenancies has also been negligible, in most of the States.

### *Ceilings on Land-Holdings:*

It was proposed in the Second Five Year Plan that steps should be taken in each State during the Plan period to impose ceiling on existing agricultural holdings. The Standing Committee of the National Development Council which reviewed the progress of land reforms in September, 1957 decided that States which had not yet enacted legislation for ceiling, should complete the legislative measures needed by the end of 1958-59. The Nagpur Resolution of the Congress called upon all Congress Governments to enact Ceilings legislation by the end of 1959.

Legislation to restrict landholdings had already been enacted in the following states:

Assam  
Jammu & Kashmir  
Pepsu Area of Punjab  
West Bengal  
Former Hyderabad  
Himachal Pradesh.

But except in Jammu & Kashmir State, in none of these States have the legislation been implemented properly. One of the aims of fixing ceilings on existing holdings was to make available surplus land for distribution among the landless labour and poor peasantry. But it is an index of the ineffectiveness of these ceiling legislations that practically no surplus land has been made available. On the other hand the imposition of ceilings has led to large scale eviction of existing tenants and accentuated the insecurity of tenants.

Recently a number of State Governments have brought forward fresh legislations for imposition of ceilings on existing land

holdings. The following States have brought forward legislations during 1959:

1. UP
2. Bombay
3. Bihar
4. Andhra Pradesh
5. Madras

The main features of ceiling legislation to which we must pay attention to are:

1. Level of ceilings;
2. Effect of mala fide transfers on surplus lands;
3. Compensation;
4. Exemptions; and
5. Disposal of surplus lands.

I give below some of the serious shortcomings of the ceiling legislation proposed by the Madras Government, which are more or less common to most of the other proposed legislations.

Firstly, the Madras Bill enables both individual and family holdings to have land up to the ceiling. Several alienations of land and benami transfers have freely taken place in the last seven or eight years. The Government took no steps to prevent these alienations. Hence the right to even an individual to own land up to the ceiling limit reserved in the bill, only shows that the Government is helping to legalise all the alienations made by the big landlords to defeat the very aims of a ceiling legislation.

Secondly, completely contrary to the Second Five Year Plan recommendation that the ceiling should be such as to yield a net annual income of Rs. 3,600 the Madras Bill fixes that an acre of land which pays a land revenue of Rs. 10 or more per acre should be considered a Standard Acre and that 30 such Standard acres should be the ceiling. In consequence the possibility of any surplus land for distribution is considerably reduced.

By the exemption of 10 standard acres for Dowry purposes for each female member, the ceiling extent is further permitted to be raised. By further exemptions to orchards, gardens, land needed for sugarcane cultivation for sugar factories, land needed for dairy farms, grazing land, etc., and many other such provi-

sions to raise the ceiling limit, the whole idea of ceiling on land is made into a farce.

Thirdly, the implementation of the legislation faces the tenants with mass eviction. In the lands to be taken over by the Government as surplus land, no occupancy right is granted to the tenants now tilling them. The cultivating tenant's family can continue to do so only up to his lifetime. If the surplus land is taken by the Government from a person or from a trust, the Bill categorically provides that the cultivating tenant therein must give up the land in his possession. The Bill aims in several ways at depriving the land in the possession of cultivating tenants and almost gives up any concern to protect the tenants who are tilling the land and growing the crops.

Over and above all this, there is nothing in the Bill which guarantees the distribution of the surplus land, if any, which will come to the hands of the Government.

The ridiculousness of fixing ceilings without any provision to prevent evasion of ceilings by prior transfer is illustrated by the report in a Madras daily. It was reported in *The Mail*, Madras of April 12, 1960, that "the uncertainties over the size of holdings led big land-holders to panicky division of property. . . . Until towards the end of March and even in the beginning of this month before the bill fixing up land ceilings was introduced in the legislature, on April 6, there had been hectic division of land. In Tanjore district, there was an instance where a land-holder spent Rs. 1 lakh on stamps alone and another in Coimbatore spent Rs. 95,000 on stamps. In fact a lot of stamps had to be rushed from Madras to some of the districts where there was acute shortage and in many instances, the Government knew there had been black-marketing in stamps". No doubt a ceiling legislation which does not nullify such transfers will be a sham one.

No less a person than Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been extremely critical of the proposals of land reforms of State Government. During a two hour discussion between Acharya Vinoba Bhave and members of the Planning Commission at Meerut recently, the organiser of Bhoodan movement is stated to have expressed "doubts whether the land reforms proposed in various States would make available substantial areas of land for

distribution among landless labourers. He was also not sure if legislation on tenancy and related matters already undertaken would be adequate."

## II. *Third Five Year Plan and Agriculture*

In the context of the failure of the Second Five Year Plan to achieve the desired results in agricultural production, we have to examine the plan for agriculture in 3rd Plan. According to Press reports, the tentative outlay on agricultural programmes during the 3rd Plan will be Rs. 1,000 crores including Rs. 400 crores for Community Development and Cooperation. The production targets proposed for attainment during the 3rd Plan are reported to be:

Food grains	105 million tons
Sugarcane	92 lakh tons in terms of gur
Cotton	78 lakh bales
Jute	65 lakh bales.

This allotment will be in addition to the allotment for major irrigation works and rural credit. Thus it will be seen that the third plan allotments will be substantially higher than those during the 2nd Plan. But the problem of agricultural production is not merely that of funds. There is a controversy going on in the press and also between the Ministry of Food & Agriculture and Planning Commission regarding the insufficiency of the allocations for Agriculture. It would seem from these bickerings that funds alone stands in the way of increasing agricultural production.

The question of increasing agricultural production in our country has to be tackled from the point of view of utilising the available resources to the maximum advantage. The experience of the 1st and 2nd Five Year Plans has shown that even the meagre funds allotted has not been fully utilised in promoting agriculture and what has been utilised has not gone to help the large masses of peasants, but has flown into the pockets of big landlords, corrupt officials and inept bureaucratic apparatus. The major beneficiaries of the Community Development and other programmes have been the richer sections of the rural people. This has been pointed out year after year in the evalua-

ion reports on Community Development. Last year, the Punjab Government appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of General Mohan Singh to review the working of the rural development work. The Committee in its reports points out that "although it is claimed that 80% of rural Punjab has now been covered by the programme (Community development) nothing substantial has been achieved so far."

The Committee feels that even such achievements as are claimed begin soon to crumble away. "In some of the old projects which were started as far back as 1952 and were once applauded for the good work done we found very little trace of development work either physical or in the people's outlook." Regretting the lack of results the Committee says that out of 133 blocks which it studied from reports, only 20 had done good work and of the 11 it studied on the spot, even the progress of expenditure was satisfactory only in four. But more revealing is the committee's observation that "the poor and backward sections of the community have not accepted the programme as their own." Giving the reasons for it, the Committee says that village-level workers are in touch only with the middle or upper class farmers, "thus confining their work mainly to classes which hardly represent 10% of the village population."

This is the crux of the problem. Today, rural development work and agricultural extension programmes barely touches the vast peasant masses. They are not drawn into active participation in the movement for higher production. Primarily this is due to the basic failure to effect radical land reforms and any programme which does not take into account the miserable plight and lack of security of the basic masses of peasantry is bound to lead to only meagre results. But the importance of administrative changes, especially decentralisation and democratisation of the structure of the administration should also be properly realised along with radical land reforms. It is only this two-pronged drive that will achieve quick and lasting results in agricultural sector.

### III. *Agricultural Production Certain Characteristics.*

A characteristic of agricultural production in our country during the years since independence has been its extreme un-

reliability and unevenness. While undoubtedly, the production has been increasing by fits and starts, this meagre increase has been very unsteady and uneven and has to a greater or lesser extent still been dependent on the forces of nature. The index of agricultural production (base 1949-50) which stood at 103 in the quinquennium ending 1938-39 that preceded the Second World War declined to 97 in the quinquennium ending 1950-51, that preceded the First Five Year Plan. During the First Five Year Plan, a certain amount of progress was made and the index of agricultural production averaged 123 during the first three years of the Second Plan period (1956-57 to 1958-59). But a large part of this increase in production was mainly achieved by the extension of cultivation to hitherto uncultivated lands and only a very small part was due to the effect of improved methods of cultivation.

The unevenness in production achievements has been staggering between different parts of the country, and even between cultivators in the same area. Take for example, Assam where traditional (as against the planters) agricultural production has increased only 4% average during the 2nd Plan over the quinquennium preceding the First Plan, 5% in Chota Nagpur area of Bihar and 0.1% in eastern UP, whereas in the Punjab it has risen by 58% and 130% in the Kaira District of Gujerat compared to the pre-First Five Year Plan quinquennium. Similarly the average yields of rice per acre in different States vary between 400 and 1,200 lbs., while the highest yields obtained in crop competitions vary between 3,000 and 9,000 lbs. per acre. What these figures tell us is that while the vast majority of our agricultural economy is in an extremely backward condition, the potentiality for improvement is unlimited. We have only to tap this potential in a proper manner and we will be reaching the era of plenty in agricultural production.

### *Problem of Agricultural Labour*

Every year we have been discussing and passing resolutions on the question of agricultural labour, but very little is being done to organise agricultural labour in the country. According to certain calculations 39.8% of the rural families are wage-

receiving category against only 25.1% who come under the wage-paying category. The intermediate group which are both receiving as well as paying wages is 35.1% of the rural population. It can thus be seen that 40% of the rural population come under the category of wage-earning population and the importance of organising this section cannot be over-emphasised. Both from political and economic points of view, it is the agricultural labour which should form the bulwark of our organisation. We have, therefore, to take urgent steps to organise agricultural labour unions and affiliate them to the regular Kisan Sabha units.

The problems which should demand our attention in this connection are:

- (i) Fixation of minimum wages at all levels of operation;
- (ii) Higher wages with increase in productivity and increase in cost of living;
- (iii) Social oppression and caste, communal and religious persecution;
- (iv) Employment;
- (v) Indebtedness;
- (vi) Distribution of waste and fallow and surplus lands and
- (vii) Housing and House sites.

We should as a matter of fact pay serious and immediate attention to the question of distribution of all waste lands among agricultural labour and poor peasants. This is a demand which we have been placing every year. Let us take a decision here and now that if the Governments do not take steps within a specified period say, the next six months the Kisan Sabha will call upon the agricultural labour and poor peasants to occupy all waste lands and start cultivation immediately.

### *Our Tasks!*

Finally, I come to some of our urgent tasks. First of all, I wish to emphasise that our style of work has to change if we are to make an impact on the peasant masses in the changed circumstances of to-day. What are those changed conditions? Firstly, while the problem of agrarian relations still continue to be the major problem in our midst, we cannot shut our eyes to the new awakening among the peasant masses. This awakening



prods them for attaining higher and higher cultural and material standards. The peasants realise to-day that it is not enough to have land, but he should also know better techniques and should attain better levels of education to achieve better results from the available land. To the extent we are able to help the peasant masses in increasing agricultural production we will be coming nearer to them. It is therefore necessary that while our cadres should be the most militant defenders of the interest of Kisans in their struggle for land and security, we should also be in a position to help them constructively by teaching them better methods of farming, helping them to procure better seeds, manure, etc. Our Kisan Sabha cadres should undertake study of modern farming methods; those of our Kisan Sabha cadres who own lands should themselves become model farmers by scientifically applying the fruits of research to their lands and showing higher results. We should also help Kisan masses in getting education run adult education centres, help in the building of schools, hospitals, wells and canals, etc. Our cadres should also take active interest in running of Co-operative Societies, credit institutions in rural areas, etc. It is only by such multipronged drive among the peasantry that we can win their confidence and make our Kisan Sabha the bastion of their rights and the hope of our peasantry.

In this connection, I would suggest that there should be one-full time worker of the Kisan Sabha in every village. This should be our target. Regular classes should be held State-wise to educate our Kisan Sabha workers on the problems of political, organisational and production work among the peasantry. Unless we raise the style and the quality of work and improve the methods of approach and organisational pattern, we will not be in a position to move forward in the coming period. Let us be clear that in the coming period we are going to face serious tasks, if the Kisan masses are to be drawn into the defence of democracy, if they are not to be misled by the false slogans of Right wing political parties like Swatantra and Jan Sangha, if they are not to be carried away by the communal and religious fanaticism and obscurantism of reaction, we have to sit up and clearly guide them along the correct path. This requires not merely day-to-day agitational struggles for land and security, but

also constructive approach towards production and other social material and cultural needs of the peasants.

This session of the All India Kisan Sabha is meeting at a moment when the heads of the Governments of the four Great Powers have begun their Summit meeting at Paris. The very fact of their meeting is the most telling evidence of the new period of relaxation of international tension into which the world has entered and which can lead to the fruition of the hopes of mankind for general and complete disarmament and world from which war has been banished for all time.

Our Conference sends its warm greetings to the Statesmen assembled at Paris and wishes them success in their deliberations.

The All India Kisan Sabha is proved of its association with the Peace Movement and its participation in the great campaigns for disarmament and peace launched from time to time by the movement. To-day once again, when disarmament has become a most vital issue facing all humanity, the Kisan Sabha reiterates its fervent desire for early agreements among the great powers within this year itself for total universal disarmament. The Sabha expresses its wholehearted support for proposals towards this end made by the Soviet Union.

This last year has seen a rapid and unprecedented development in the struggle of the peoples of Africa against colonialism and imperialism. Country after country in Africa is winning its independence, writing fresh sagas of people's heroism and courage. The Algerian people's war of liberation continues, ever winning fresh laurels, inflicting defeat after defeat on French imperialism. And now the attention of the whole world has been gripped by the barbaric massacre of innocent unarmed Africans in South Africa. The vicious character of the racialist policies of the South African Government has been exposed as never before and the clamour rises from every country, calling for a halt to this outrageous violation of all that man stands for, of the United Nations Charter, of the Declaration of Human Rights.

The All India Kisan Sabha gives its full support to all the resolutions and decisions of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference held at Conakry and will continue to do all in its

power to forge Afro-Asian solidarity which is so vital a factor in building world peace.

I would particularly appeal to all units of the Kisan Sabha to observe with all other patriotic organisations June 26 as South Africa Day and to collect funds for the assistance of the brave fighters for South African independence.

Let us be ever vigilant against the machinations of the imperialists, who, as they face their doom, as they lose support and as the contradictions amongst themselves increase, are becoming more and more desperate. They are committing provocation after provocation, with a view to halt the process of relaxation of tension. The latest example of this is the sending of the US spy plane over Soviet territory. But each time, as so splendidly demonstrated in this case, the forces of peace and socialism defeat the heinous attempts of the imperialists, expose their real designs and bring into the struggle against imperialism more and more millions of people. The imperialists are feverishly building up military pacts and alliances into which they seek to draw the independent countries of Asia and Africa, thus robbing them of their freedom, creating divisions amongst them and increasing world tension.

The imperialists and their agents in our country seek to reverse our policy of non-alignment and peace so that they can drag us into a military pact, resulting in foreign soldiers once again marching on our soil. Let the imperialists know once and for all India's Kisans will never permit imperialist soldiers ever again to lay their feet on our sacred Motherland.

The Kisan Sabha is confident that the dispute with our neighbour, the People's Republic of China, will be speedily resolved, following the positive decisions taken at the recent meeting between Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai. Our Sabha will continue to do everything to ensure a peaceful solution of this dispute and to combat the sinister attempts by the imperialists to utilise this discord between the two countries to drag India into its military pacts and to reverse the policy of peace and non-alignment pursued by our Government.

# GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT TO THE 17TH SESSION OF ALL INDIA KISAN SABHA

Dear Comrades,

At the 16th Session of the All India Kisan Sabha, held at Mayavaram, we had taken the vow that the organisational position of the Kisan Sabha must be improved. It is necessary to review how far we have succeeded.

In order to get a picture of the organisational position of the Kisan Sabha, let us start with its membership. The highest level of membership reached was 10,86,909 in 1955. Since then, the membership was reduced in the two following years as follows :

1956	.....	7,36,575
1957	.....	6,09,301

In 1959, apparently there was a higher record in the sense that about 8 lakhs membership was enrolled but it must be contrasted to the quota of 1½ million taken in the annual Session of 1955. Moreover this membership was actually two years' aggregate membership; because, the fifteenth Session being held in October-November, 1957, the 16th Session was held in May, 1959. Now, in the current year (1960) the total Membership for which quota have been received up to the date is not more than 5.71 lakhs. This reveals how serious the organisational position is.

Since the last General Election in Andhra, the major failure to enrol membership was in Andhra. But in 1955, inspite of the fact that Andhra's enrolment was nill, the total figure was above one million, because membership in West Bengal exceeded two lakhs, Punjab 1½ lakhs, Bihar one lakh and each of the Province of Uttar Pradesh, Tamilnad, Rajasthan and Marathwada exceed-

ed 50 thousand, while Maharashtra enrolled above one lakh. But since then the position was deteriorated in all States.

The organisational problems of the Kisan Sabha have reached a stage when thorough discussions on the issues involved are extremely urgent at all levels. If the situation is allowed to drift nothing will remain of the mass organisations of the Kisans.

The organisational crisis of the Kisan Sabha is reflected in the continuous falling curve of the membership as shown in the previous paragraph. The very fact that the membership in 1955 touched the mark of one and a half million, shows the possibility that exist. But the drop since then is wholly unwarranted by the objective situation.

This fall in the membership in contrast to the growing Kisan movement in different States on local and partial demands, must receive our special attention.

In *Punjab* the glorious struggle against the Betterment Levy continued to make certain further achievements in the current year. Yet the organisational position cannot be said to be one of continuous progress.

It is *Maharashtra* that considerable improvement is noted. After a few years of inactivities, the Kisan Sabha work has been revived this year with a great promise. In this year's Conference old Maharashtra, Bidarbha and Maratwada have been unified into a single Maharashtra State Kisan Sabha. In this connection we must record our satisfaction at the great achievement of the people of Maharashtra in achieving a separate Province with Bombay as its Capital. Let us pay our homage to the martyrs who had laid down their lives to achieve their objective.

The unified Maharashtra Kisan Sabha has enrolled 45,000 members and this is undoubtedly a record of progress.

At the background of the organisational progress, the struggle of the agricultural workers for waste land was the most significant event. In this struggle about 10,000 courted imprisonment. The struggle was conducted under the leadership of the Republican Party with which the Kisan Sabha has developed friendly relations.

In *Tamilnad*, the enrolment of 91,000 members is a record of achievement. Here, the organisational progress of the Kisan

Sabha was held in the background of campaign for Land Reform and wage increase for agricultural workers. A special Conference for Land Reform was convened to discuss the issues involved.

In *Andhra* the enrolled membership this year is only 20,000, thought in respect of movement and activity of the Kisan Sabha Units the record is not indicative of such a poor membership. There are notable achievements in respect of the distribution of Waste Land. Thanks to the agitation of the Kisan Sabha, the biggest category of waste land under the occupation of peasants led by the Kisan Sabha has not been included in the prohibited area. This is an indirect recognition to peasants' possession. The ceiling bill before the Assembly is also being exposed as a measure to benefit the landlords.

The question therefore arises why in the background of this canvass of activity, the membership enrolled is not more than 23,000.

In *Kerala*, an extraordinary situation prevailed. The General Election under unusual circumstances made it impossible to organise an enrolment of membership for the Kisan Sabha. In the campaign for General Election, the Kerala Agrarian Relation Bill was one of the central issue; besides there is a grand record of constructive activity for small irrigation and other means of improved agricultural production.

*Uttarpradesh* began with a big promise and immediately after Mayavaram Conference organised a membership fortnight in which 20,000 members were enrolled. But the work was interrupted by the sudden emergence of an agitation on the India-China Border issue and lull prevailed in Kisan Sabha activity. In spite of this they have been able to enrol 40,000. One of the most important activities was the participation in the Sugar Cane Growers' strike which was faced unprepared by us. It was of course, an all-Party struggle. After two or three days, the strike fizzled out as the price of sugarcane was raised from Rs. 1-7-0 to Rs. 1-10-0.

In spite of the fact that the strike had fizzled out, in spite of the fact that the cane growers could not get the full demand of Rs. 2 per maund, yet it was a significant struggle for getting fair price for agricultural goods. The problem of jute growers re-

main unsolved and no mass action has yet been possible to take any concrete step.

The *West Bengal* Provincial Kisan Sabha organises campaigns, every year, for a just price of jute. They also invited the AIKS centre for coordination of several jute growing provinces. But this could not be materialised because in other states our activities among the jute growers is almost nonexistent.

In West Bengal, this year the membership enrolled is a little above one lakh and 41 thousand though the background is one of big struggles and campaigns. Two of these big campaigns deserve special notice : The great food movement of 1959 in which 82 persons were shot dead and the worst victims of this brutal repression were the peasants who marched to Calcutta. The other movement is the struggle for surplus land. Though this movement the sharecroppers have, in certain areas, partially succeeded in getting the temporary possession of surplus land.

In *Bihar*, the membership enrolled is only 20,000, though there was a bigger prospect. The struggle against high taxes and high food prices was launched in June to October 1959. In this struggle 14,000 persons offered satyagraha and 2,000 courted imprisonment. Satyagrahis were ultimately unconditionally released and some reduction in taxes was also secured. The biggest campaign in progress is against the high ceiling introduced in the Bill.

An enrolment of 25,000 members in *Assam* is a significant achievement made through campaigns against evictions and the distribution of waste land. The Assam Provincial Kisan Conference held on 21-3-60 was indicative of the rising tempo of the Kisan Sabha organisation. We want to learn from the delegates how far the tempo is maintained.

The above record makes it clear that the organisational weakness of the Kisan Sabha is not at all inherent in the situation.

But before we discuss this question further, let us sum up the manifestation of organisational crisis.

All the outset we mentioned decline of membership which is of course the most important indication of the organisational crisis.

The other manifestations are :

At the levels from the top to the bottom, the office bearers of the Kisan Sabha do not submit themselves to the full time work for the Kisan Sabha as such. In many instances even Secretaries are not prepared to devote their main time and attention to this work. At no level has the AIKS Units any whole timer of its own command. Even the top leaders at the Centre are not in a position have their assignments from the AIKS Centres. The whole organisation has to function with the voluntary service of cadres without any definite guarantee of continuity and regularity. No mass organisation can function like this. I do not mention here how the letters of the Constitution are not observed, because the whole basis of functioning is sporadic in character.

But there is another aspect of the whole question. The Kisan Sabha has become reduced to the position of getting the allegiance of a particular section of the politically organised Kisans. Though during great movements, the barriers some time breakdown, yet such a breakdown of the barrier is only temporary and the Kisan Sabha, in the consciousness of the Kisan, does not yet occupy a position of a mass organisation of all Kisans.

Unless this barrier is consciously broken through the activity of the Kisan Sabha functionaries—the Kisan movement led by the Kisan Sabha can not be raised to the status of a country-wide national movement.

The objective possibility already exists. The campaign for land reforms is steadily passing out of the stage of State movements. After the imposition of the ceiling Bills introduced in the various legislatures the movement for Land Reform, for the distribution of land, organisation of the proper type of Cooperatives and other activities for the improvement of agriculture, can become transformed into a national upsurge. But all these developments can take place only if the All India Kisan Sabha becomes a fully mass organisation of Kisans irrespective of their political allegiance.

Such an opportunity arose when the Congress at its Nagpur Session passed a resolution for the speedy implementation of ceilings and state-trading etc. It was the task of the AIKS to avail of this opportunity by taking the initiative to convene joint



conferences, conventions and Table Talks for evolving common proposals for ceiling and State Trading with a national sanction and thereby build up a movement. But this was not done. Even now, in order to expose the futility of the proposed ceilings and sabotage of State trading the AIKS can take similar initiative.

In order that the seriousness of the situation arising out of the new Ceiling Bills is properly appreciated. Let us have a glance at existing provision as well as the new Bills on ceiling.

### LEVEL OF CEILING ON EXISTING HOLDINGS

#### *Acts*

West Bengal	25 acres
Jammu & Kashmir	22 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres
Mysore (Karnatak Area)	Land yielding net income of Rs. 3,600. (18 to 270 acres).
Punjab	30 standard acres or 60 ordinary acres in two districts.
Assam	50 acres.
Himachal Pradesh	30 Standard acres in two districts. Net income of Rs. 3,600.
Andhra Pradesh (Telengana area)	

#### *Bills*

Bihar	30 to 90 acres depending on the class of land
Andhra	Net income of Rs. 3,600
Bombay	Net income of Rs. 3,600
Kerala	15 acres for standard family
Madhya Pradesh	32 to 96 acres according to class of land
Mysore	Net income of Rs. 3,600
Orissa	33 to 99 acres according to class of land
Rajasthan	30 Standard acres
Uttar Pradesh	40 to 80 acres depending on the rent rate
Manipur	25 acres

We do not propose to dilate further on the subject because that is out side the scope of this report. The purpose here is to point out that the latest position with respect to ceilings is raising the whole question of land reform to a new height. Now in all the States, the uniform position is that through high ceilings and loopholes, land is being denied to the tillers of the soil. The very purpose of ceiling has been sabotaged.

Through the agrarian measures of the Congress Government, a class of beneficiaries are the new landlords some of whom had been former intermediaries, some of whom were formerly in the position of raiyats. There some rich peasants also among these beneficiaries. They monopolise land, they monopolise agricultural credit, many of them are also traders in agricultural goods. They employ either wage-labour or share croppers. They are in better link with Government offices, they often hold the key positions of Panchayats and Cooperatives.

This rural gentry is the major beneficiary of Government measures, it is growing more and more powerful in the countryside, controlling the destinies of the peasants. This class is the bastion of Reaction in the countryside against whom the main edge of the peasant movement is being spontaneously directed. So far about the objective course of the Kisan movement. It shows that the situation is developing when the Kisan Sabha Centre will be faced with serious tasks.

Let us now pose the problems at the AIKS Centre.

We have at last been able to solve the problem of having a wholtime Office Secretary. Our new office Secretary is expected to stick permanently to this work.

We have been able to have 3 CKC meetings within the year with full quorum and this a great improvement from the past.

We have began to republish the KISAN BULLETIN. But the response from the Provinces is yet very unhelpful for its continuity. We do not even get acknowledgements for the issues received. Besides, the postal packages often do not reach the destination. We propose that all functioning District Committees should directly subscribe for the BULLETIN.

On behalf of the AIKS we had submitted to the Planning Commission a memorandum on the Third Five Year Plan in rela-

tion to Agricultural production and another memorandum with mass signature from Kerala-peasants was submitted to the President of the Republic for the implementation of Kerala Agrarian Relation Bill.

But, we have not been able to go to the help of the Provinces as desired because only the President, the Secretary and occasionally the Treasurer were available for this task; naturally, they could fulfil only a small part of the demand for the tours, but they toured the provinces as best as they could.

In order to make the A.I.K.S. a living organisation, we must be able to hold frequent meetings of the CKC and the A.I.K.C. for the purposes of lifting the local and partial movements to the level of All India national movement. But this is clearly related to finance.

The attendance to Committee meetings on the part of the members thereof becomes often difficult on account of financial reasons. There are CKC members, who sometimes wish to attend the meetings and yet become unable to do so because the CKC cannot pay for their travelling. In such a vast country, travelling is very expensive. CKC members are to rely on their individual resources for the purpose of attending CKC meetings. This problem is only a part of the bigger problems of finance for the All India Kisan Sabha.

The membership fee is, now a days, 10 nP. per year per member enrolled. The Centre's quota is 1 nP. per member. If there are 10 lakh members, the Centre's income would be Rs. 10,000 per year. But if we are to pay for the members T.A., for at least 4 meetings of CKC in the year and pay the T.A. 20 out of the 25 CKC members at the rate of Rs. 100/- per member per attendance, the annual expenditure would turn out to be Rs. 8,000/-; membership being less than 10 lakhs, even the whole of the fund would be insufficient for this. Besides, there are other organisational expenses.

Naturally, the question is how to raise finance for the All India Kisan Sabha. A solution of this problem is possible only by issuing a Fund Call each year, particularly after the grains are reaped. The peasants cannot make monthly contribution, but when grains are collected, they will readily contribute. Once

a year, after the reaping is over the whole Sabha must organise a grain collection movement, sell the stocks and deposit the money. This collection drive can be associated with the holding of the annual Conferences. The total amount should be apportioned between the different Committees at different levels up to the CKC. We can raise such a fund with cadres at the disposal of the Kisan Sabha provided they work exclusively for the Kisan Sabha. If such a campaign becomes a regular feature of the Kisan Sabha, then the offices can be maintained, the whole timers paid for and the cost of attending the CKC meeting borne by the CKC itself.

If I have dealt with this particular question (attendance in meetings) with so much emphasis, it is only to show a concrete instance concerning the financial problem. It should not, however, be thought that this is the main problem concerning finance. The main problem at the moment is the maintainance of the whole time cadres for the Kisan front, from the lowest to the highest organ of the Kisan Sabha. In many states, we have lost, in course of the last decade a number of experienced cadres who had built up the Kisan movement with ability and we lost them originally because the Kisan Sabha could not provide them with some means of subsistence.

Now the situation demands that the Kisan Sabha must be able to provide for more whole timers at all levels out of its own funds. Unless this is done, the vast extension of our work needed in the villages, cannot be guaranteed. The Kisan Sabha has begun to be contracted at a time when the possibility as well as the necessity are there for a tremendous expansion. This anomaly can be explained only if we realise that we are relying on primitive methods of organisation. Only if an adequate number of whole timers function properly, many part-timers, at all levels, can be set into motion, thereby releasing the compressed energy of the entire membership. To achieve this end:—

- (i) The membership campaign must be carried on throughout the year, with extraordinary emphasis during the reaping season.
- (ii) During the harvesting season, special volunteers should be mobilised, the task of the volunteers shall be to help

- the peasants in reaping and stocking the crops, to enrol new members, to realise the subscription of old members and collect donations.

(iii) Throughout the whole year the local branch office must function.

The existing situation is that there are functioning primary committees worth the name, with some notable exceptions of course. It is easy to understand without regularly functioning Primary Committees, there cannot be any day-to-day activities it is impossible to maintain a mass organisation with living links among the people. The primary units of the Kisan Sabha, besides fulfilling the general tasks concerning agitation and movement, must take part in every activity in which the peasant's genuine interest lies. Such activities should range from affairs concerning disputes with the exploiters upto so-called "constructive" works including such items as labour cooperatives, cooperative credit, road-building, irrigation works, education, culture and sports. But in order to assure the fulfilment of these tasks, every branch must have a paid whole-time secretary, the payment being guaranteed out of the local funds; but for a new branch, higher Committees has to subsidise.

It must, however, be understood that the introduction of paid whole-timers on such a big scale is not possible all at once. Moreover, the need must be felt by the rank and file membership and certain attitude of active interest developed among the branch members. It is the responsibility of the top leaders upto the district level to import this enlightenment to rank and file members.

But, without a proper approach to the whole organisation on the part of its effective cadres (whether paid whole timers or honorary functionaries), not a single step can be taken forward. But any new step is impossible without a regular programme for the training of cadres. Training has to be imparted to our cadres in two parts— (a) common knowledge and (b) special knowledge covering Kisan Movement. No stereo-typed scheme can be made in advance for the organisation of cadres' Training class, we should learn and advance, advance and learn, through trials and errors, through collective reviews and self-critical evalua-

tions. But it must be one of the regular responsibilities of every district Committees. Two types of school may be maintained - (a) regular night schools at the village level and periodical camps in certain regional countries. Members of the CKC and the PKC's must be made readily available as teachers for these schools.

Cadre-training should embrace all those who can be organised into a volunteer corps and this volunteer corps should be main prop of the whole organisation. The transformation of the Kisan Sabha from a loose-amorphous body (what it is at present) into an organised mass force is possible only if such volunteer corps is set up. Enrolment of membership, collection of donation, helping the Kisans at times of dangers and calamities, the running of campaigns, participation in struggles and day-to-day "constructive" activities—all these tasks should constitute the regular activity of the Kisan Sabha volunteers. Every Branch Must Have Its Volunteers Corps — let this be our immediate slogan. This volunteer Corps must be a peasant Youth Organisation with athletics, games, music and similar other functions. To the extent we can mobilise the peasant youth (organising both boys and girls, jointly or separately as the local situation demands), in this volunteers corps, our aims to transform the All India Kisan Sabha into a militant mass organisation, 5 million strong, can be fulfilled within the next 10 years. This perspective may sound too idealistic at present movement from the point of view of our present state of organisation, but from the points of the developing objective situation the target is a realistic one. Such a growth requires not only organisational steps but an upsurge of the Kisan movement throughout India, and the upsurge has to be guaranteed by a regularly functioning strong centre, indicates that all the office bearers of the CKC must function as active office bearers to be at the back and call of the Kisan Sabha Cadre.

# RESOLUTIONS

## ON THE THIRD PLAN IN RELATION TO AGRICULTURE

The Seventeenth session of the All India Kisan Sabha expresses its deep concern at the fact that even after the completion of two Five Year Plans, agriculture still continues to be the major bottleneck in economic development. Although in 1958-59 agricultural production was the highest so far on record, yet, in the main, it is dependent upon weather conditions even after an expenditure of over 1000 crores of rupees under Five Year Plans. This Session draws the attention of Planning Commission to the fact that the rate of growth, compared to the huge expenditure on development projects, is extremely low in agriculture. The gravity of the situation can be realised if it is noted that in order to fulfil the proposed targets of the Third Five Year Plan, production of food grains has to be increased by almost 44% over the record of 1959, while the increase in 1959, under exceptionally good weather conditions, was only 6% above 1955-56, after an expenditure of about Rs. 1000 crores.

The All India Kisan Sabha has always maintained that agricultural development is hampered not so much due to lack of an investible surplus as to the outmoded agrarian relations. Concentration of land in the hands of a small minority of big landowners and the impoverishment and landlessness of the great bulk of the tillers of the soil constitute the main stumbling block to an upsurge of agricultural production. This Session draws the attention of the Central Government to the existing state of affairs in the land relations of the country, even after the abolition of the intermediaries. The very fact that about one-third of cultivated land is in possession of 4% of the landholders, possessing 25 acres or more per household, ruins the initiative of the tillers of the soil. The All India Kisan Sabha has always been emphatically of the opinion that without rousing the creative initiative of the tillers, through the imposition of a ceiling and the distribution of the surplus land to the land-

less and poor peasants, neither the initiative nor the capacity of the peasants can be roused.

The peasant and agricultural workers all over the country are seriously perturbed by the fact that on the eve of the preparations for the Third Five Year Plan, the planning authorities have ceased to assert the case for urgent measures of land reform. This silence on the part of the planning authorities and representatives of the Central Government is partly the result of the pressure of landlords against the imposition of any ceiling on landholdings and partly because the planners are themselves satisfied with high ceilings, ridden with abundant loopholes. This Session of the All India Kisan Sabha calls upon the people of the country to assert themselves through a mighty national movement for the imposition of a ceiling on landholdings so that the major part of the land belonging to big land holders is available for distribution to the tillers of the soil. These and similar other measures of land reforms are urgently needed for an upsurge in agricultural production. It is clear to all that the land reform measures adopted under the Second Five Year Plan have completely failed to give land to the tiller, to protect the tiller from eviction or to eliminate land monopoly.

The All India Kisan Sabha regrets that the planning authorities have not given adequate attention to the question of the distribution of waste land to the actual tillers of the soil. Government policy with respect to waste land is yet confined to pilot schemes which can no longer be adequate. Unless waste land is distributed to the tillers of the soil, particularly to agricultural workers, along with sufficient money and manures and machines for reclamation, the whole question of increasing agricultural production will remain only on paper. The All India Kisan Sabha demands that under the Third Five Year Plan effective steps will be taken in this direction.

The All India Kisan Sabha draws the attention of the people to the fact that actual amount provided for agriculture under the Third Five Year Plan is, however, only Rs. 600 crores, and not Rs. 1000 crores as is claimed by the Government spokesmen, because Rs. 400 crores have been earmarked not directly for agriculture but for Community Projects and National Extension Services. Even official reports, concerning the working of



these projects and services have already underlined the fact that under the First and Second Five Year Plans, expenditure made through Community development and N.E.S. Projects for the purpose of agricultural improvement has become wasted without providing the desired result. This has happened because rural vested interests which have a monopoly over land, credit and the market grab the resources and the real persons who count in actual productive activity are more often than not, kept out any reach to them. The All India Kisan Sabha emphatically maintains that such a state of affairs is to be accounted for by the fact that the administration of these projects and blocs is conducted with political bias and partisan interests, in violation of the fundamental principles of Rule of Law. This Session demands an immediate stop to this illegal practice.

The widespread waste and the pilfering of the development resources are not confined to the affairs of the C.D. and N.E.S. blocs. Agricultural credit provided through the administrative channels and cooperative Societies presents not much better picture. Wherever the Kisan Sabha is either non-existent or weak, the great bulk of the middle and poor peasants do not even know when and how agricultural loan is disbursed. The cooperative credit societies are mostly in the grip of traders, moneylenders and rich peasants. Just because the amount of credit distributed is extremely inadequate, it becomes difficult for the poor peasants to push themselves forward to get a share of the credit. Under the existing laws and rules, it is almost impossible for sharecroppers and agricultural workers to obtain credit. In spite of that, due to the active part of Kisan Sabha in some villages, the poor peasants and agricultural workers obtain credit from cooperative societies. At the time of realisation of credit with interest, only the interest may be realised and principle must be renewed of those members who want credit for the next year, so that they have not borrow money from the village money-lenders at the high rate of interest which varies from 200% to 300% for a few days. The Seventeenth session of the All India Kisan Sabha regrets that a meagre sum of Rs. 400 crores has been provided as agricultural credit to be annually disbursed under the 3rd Five Year Plan while the actual requirement is approximately Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2000 crores per year. The

problem of the credit cannot, however, be solved without nationalising the Banks; but even this meagre sum will not reach the hands of the most of those whose need is most on account of administrative corruption. The administration of the co-operative societies and agricultural loans must be so reorganised that rural credit is distributed in such a manner that the most needy poor peasants and agricultural labourers derive the maximum advantage.

The All India Kisan Sabha considers that next to land and credit which are of supreme importance for agricultural production, the problem of price-stabilisation at reasonable level is of great concern for the entire peasantry. The phenomenal rise of prices despite the increase in production is hitting the rural people very hard particularly because the majority of the peasants do not get the just price of their products, while they have to pay ever increasing prices for manufactured goods. In consequences, the terms of trade continue to remain adverse for the rural sector. This Session emphatically demands that reasonable prices of agricultural goods must be fixed as well as the maximum prices of industrial goods at reasonable level. State trading must be extended in order to defend the price line. But it should be noted that state trading, where it is undertaken, is done through the appointment of licensed traders and is vitiating the very purpose of it in so far as the Rural Sector is concerned. It must be reorganised with a state-trading Staff so that private business interest may not vitiate the very purpose of State Trading. At the same time priority in trading in the agricultural goods must be undertaken through co-operatives of agriculturists and in cases where it may not be possible through state trading in order to guarantee fair price for the producers of agricultural commodities.

The All India Kisan Sabha regrets the wrong impression in the minds of the Planning authorities that as a result of high prices of food grains, the peasants are earning extraordinary profits. This propaganda is being carried out also in order to justify the levy of more taxes on the peasant producers. But the reality is that 75% of the peasants, possessing tiny holdings are forced to sell their products, at unreasonably low prices, during first 3 or 4 months after harvesting. When the prices

begin to rise, the stocks are in possession of landlords and traders, and a section of rich peasants. They are the real holders in the countryside.

Irrigation constitutes the most important technical factor for increasing agricultural production. Irrigation potential already created through big multi-purpose projects, is not being fully utilised on account of high rates and betterment levies. We demand that working peasants are relieved of such taxes. The All India Kisan Sabha urges upon the Planning authorities, without any prejudice against big multipurpose projects, that in the Third Plan attention should also be given to varieties of small and medium projects. Schemes for the elimination of water-logging as in Punjab, West Bengal and other states and adequate drainage schemes must receive topmost priority. Under the head of Irrigation and flood prevention extensive small and medium irrigation can raise agricultural production in rapid strides as well as rapid out turn of capital invested. The Sabha deplors that even at the end of 2nd Plan period the elementary and essential task of protecting agriculture from the ravages of floods, as are usual in several parts of India, remains unfulfilled: rather, the embankment work and river control plans completed so far, have become the cause of floods in some areas unaffected by floods. As a result, fresh miseries are imposed on the lives of peasant producers due to the intensified ravages caused by floods.

The Sabha demands that determined effort must be made to control and prevent floods in the 3rd Plan period, basing mainly on River control projects.

Fertilisers and manures stand next to irrigation in the order of importance and the gap between the demand and supply is hindering agricultural progress. Under the Third Plan, additional fertiliser factories must be set up in order to make India self-sufficient in chemical fertilisers. Of no less importance is the price at which the peasant can obtain them, for the available fertiliser is sold at a very high price by the government itself. Scarcity and blackmarketing are also so rampant that the poor peasants cannot afford to procure fertilisers. In spite of price-controls and Government schemes of distribution through licensed dealers, fertilisers frequently disappear into the

blackmarket. The change over to the system of cash loan for fertiliser from the system of direct fertiliser loan in some states has only helped the blackmarketeers and has defeated the purpose of fertilising the lands.

The Government seed stores as well as the co-operative seed stores advance the loan of improved variety of seeds at the rate of 25% of the interest to the peasants for six months only. This rate is excessively high and should be reduced to 4% if the lot of the peasantry is to be improved.

The Session draws the attention of the people to the fact that after the abolition of the intermediaries, the landlords employing either agricultural workers or share-croppers or both and in possession of large holding, have entered into trading in agricultural goods. In command of land, credits and the market, this rural gentry, appropriates the major part of the surplus from agriculture. It is increasing its social influence by evicting the peasants on a mass scale and exerting a pressure on the ruling authorities against the land reform, State Trading and co-operatives. Development resources pumped into the rural sector are often grabbed by these elements by virtue of their social prominence, links with the administrators and corruptive influence.

The All India Kisan Sabha enjoins upon the peasants to launch a vigorous struggle against their domination, exploitation and corrupt practices; it calls upon the Planning Authorities to take effective steps to eliminate the vested interests in the interest of planning for progress. The All India Kisan Sabha will take steps to mobilise all parties and groups and people in fulfilment of the above objective. This session calls upon all the Kisan Sabha Units to appeal to all those interested in economic uplift jointly to mobilise the entire peasantry against mass evictions, for the extension of agricultural credit, for the fair distribution of fertilisers and seeds and also to take part in day-to-day constructive activities in a big way so that the development resources may not be misappropriated by the anti-social elements. Organised constructive activity for small irrigation works, for water conservation and drainage, etc., must be accompanied by increasing state provisions to employ the rural poor and unemployed labour in these works.

In contrast to the enrichment of the rural gentry, the wages of agricultural workers are being continuously depressed. The agricultural workers, constituting about 40% of the rural population, are the most neglected section of the people under the two Plans. Even minimum wages have not been statutorily fixed in the majority of States. This session of the representatives of the organised Kisan movements demand that the directives of the Third Plan must make it obligatory upon the States to fix minimum wages for agricultural workers at reasonable levels and adequate works throughout the year and to take proper steps to implement minimum wages. Besides minimum wages, rather more important than that are the priorities of work, housing, education and health services for agricultural workers.

The Seventeenth Session of All India Kisan Sabha, while reiterating its full support for rapid industrialisation, extension of the public sector and the emphasis of heavy machine-building industries, records its emphatic protest against the levy of an increasing burden of taxation on the rural poor. The proposal for an additional taxation of Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 crores to be raised through surcharge on land revenue, commodity cesses, Betterment Levy and Higher Water Rates have produced grave apprehensions in the minds of the entire peasantry. This session is emphatically of the opinion that these taxes will accentuate the crisis in rural economy by impoverishing the peasant mass still further. The All India Kisan Sabha has always maintained that the elimination of land-monopoly will open the flood gates of resources as well as of the creative initiative of the peasant masses so that it will be possible to undertake even a bigger Plan without curtailing the consumption of the masses living on the wrong side of the margin of subsistence. But the Planning authorities are laying down totally a different policy, the policy of imposing a higher burden on the poorer strata of the people, of curtailing the consumption of the masses living on the sub-marginal level of subsistence, while keeping the exploiting classes in full command over the destinies of the rural people. In consequence the backbone of the working peasants and agricultural labourers is being strained to the utmost, thereby ruining the very source of this creative initiative.

This session emphatically protests against the slanders that

the peasants do not want to pay taxes but only demand subsidies. The All India Kisan Sabha draws its attention to the fact that the major burden of indirect taxation falls upon the peasants while the profits are grabbed by Bankers, Industrialists, Trading Monopolists, Landlords and Usurers.

The All India Kisan Sabha issues a solemn note of warning particularly against any further excise duties on essential commodities, against betterment levies and higher water rates on the peasants, and calls upon all Kisan Sabha Units to organise mass struggles against these unfair and oppressive taxes which hit the poor but relieve the rich.

The Seventeenth Session of the All India Kisan Sabha draws the attention of the people to the weakest aspect of the Third Plan so far as the growth of rural unemployment is concerned. The most pitiable picture is that vast unused labour power of our country, instead of being made the main basis for our National Plan, as are being done by the socialist countries, has become a cause constant terror to the present Government of our country. During the recent year, rural unemployment has alarmingly grown and the conditions of the agricultural workers have been tremendously depressed. This problem can be tackled to much extent only by means of regional Planning in which network of small and medium industries must be developed with a scheme of small irrigation works, road-building, land reclamation, soil conservation and plant-protection. Fifty to sixty thousand Service Co-operatives proposed to be set up under the Third Plan can be of effective use if they are formed and aided for the purpose of developing such constructive schemes. Labour-co-operatives should therefore have a prominent place and be equipped with adequate monetary advances for taking up constructive schemes of the above-mentioned type. The All India Kisan Sabha is emphatically of the opinion that a determined attack on rural unemployment must have the top-most priority in the agricultural development projects under the Third Five Year Plan.

This session considers that the most important aspect of Planning is its elimination of bureaucratic red-tapism, over-centralisation, multiplication of commodities, departmentalisation and an officialdom disinterested in development schemes

are the biggest stumbling blocks to realisation of Plan objectives. The fact that reluctance of the authority concerned to accept people's cooperation in implementation of plans is also another stumbling block.

The All India Kisan Sabha demands that the entire administration for the implementation of the Plan must be simplified and the duplication and multiplication of committees, offices and officers must be eliminated. Officials for the implementation of the Plan should be recruited in a new way so that the proper type of cadres can be obtained with an outlook reoriented for planned economic progress.

The most important guarantee for the successful implementation of the schemes and projects is the setting up of popular Committees with whose cooperation the administrative officials must be compelled to work. The All India Kisan Sabha urges upon all parties, to keep politics out of the administration concerning the Plan, cooperation of the All India Kisan Sabha will always be available.

## ON PROGRESS OF LAND REFORMS

The AIKS had repeatedly pointed out that our agriculture even today, is in a deplorable position. Overwhelming majority of our agricultural population is landless or land poor and for the greater part of the year they are unemployed or under-employed. Thus vast productive forces are being wasted. Capital formation in agriculture is low, resulting in the low technological development of it. Even the rate of growth of food production is extremely meagre, necessitating large import of food grains from America, with all the harmful results. This agrarian crisis is leading to serious impediments being placed in the path of rapid re-organisation and development of our national economy in a planned way.

The AIKS, since long, has been voicing the national demand that the present antiquated land relations are standing in the way of rapid development of agriculture and that

in order to remove these impediments radical land reform measures are immediately needed. But the legislative measures so far passed by the Congress government in various states have failed to tackle this most urgent and burning problem. On the contrary they have allowed landlords and big landowners to retain their lands by fixing high ceiling and they contain so many loopholes that monopoly in land has remained intact.

The AIKS is of opinion that these lacunae in the laws are not fortuitous but are the result of deliberate policies pursued by the Congress Governments. As Sri G. L. Nanda, Union Planning Minister, himself admitted, that strong political and social pressures are being put by the landlords elements and the Governments which are greatly influenced by those landlord sections are allowing all sorts of concessions to them. In this context this Session reaffirms the fundamental position taken by the AIKS, that real land reform means that land must belong only to the actual tillers of the soil.

In this respect, the stopping of eviction of tenants was of primary importance. But the security of tenure legislations passed by various State Governments in the country are so defective that often these legislations have become the causes of eviction of tenants in large scale. The definition of tenants was left loose in many legislations, thus debarring crop sharers of West Bengal, partners in cultivation (Sanghas) in U.P., and such other categories of actual tillers of land numbering millions, from enjoying this right. Even to those who were given the status of tenants, the security of tenure was made conditional, firstly, in their ability to prove that they hold the land of tenancy; secondly, that it is under their continuous possession for a number of years; and thirdly that there are no arrears of rent to pay. In the absence of proper land records these conditions made the necessary security of tenure superficial for a very large number of tenants.

Above all, the security of tenure of an actual tenant was drastically curtailed by the right of the landlords to resume land for so-called personal cultivation.



With these big loopholes left in the legislation and concessions granted to the landlords, the implementation of these measures have been entrusted to bureaucratic official machinery, which is strongly pro-landlord and has enabled the landlords to evict the tenants on a large scale.

Thus the security of tenure legislation has become a farce and in actual practice opened a way for the landlords to evict millions of tenants all over the country. In the absence of any effective measures granting security of tenure to the tenants, the rent reduction measures have been of no great benefit to the tenants except in areas where the Kisan movement is strong. Harassed and coerced by the threat of eviction every year, the tenants have to accept the tenancy on very high rates of rent, which in many cases, all over the country, still amount to one half or even more of the gross produce of land.

Since after the independence, through the process of eviction of tenants and otherwise, the big landowners have been able to further concentrate large areas of land under their so-called self-cultivation. In order to break their monopoly over the land and secure it for distribution to the landless and land hungry peasants, the demand for putting a ceiling on land holdings was voiced by the Kisan Sabha. It was supported by the entire people and ultimately the Planning Commission also accepted it in principle at the time of drafting the Second Five Year Plan.

But the recommendations made by the Planning Commission and accepted by the Central Government in respect of the legislation to be passed regarding ceiling on landholdings, were so ineffective and pro-landlord that the monopoly of landlords over land could not be broken and practically no surplus land for distribution could be available. The recommendations laid down a policy regarding these legislations, which granted a very high ceiling limit to the landlords, took no effective measures against transfers of land etc., and granted exemptions to the landlord's farms, in the name of orchards, plantations, sugarcane farms, cattle breeding farms, efficiently managed farms, co-operative farms, fisheries and so on. Thus in effect they

guaranteed retention of land by landlords and intensified eviction of tenants.

The Amritsar Session of the AIKS held in September, 1956 stated that "the proposals have been made in such a way that almost all the farms of landlords would be exempted from ceiling and nothing should be left surplus for distribution. Even the modest recommendations made by the Size of Holdings Committee of the Panel of Land Reforms were not accepted over a 'firm recommendation for the restoration of evicted tenants and amendment of mala-fide transfers by landlords was made. Hence the whole issue has, in the opinion of this session, become a caricature of the ceiling of landholdings which the peasantry demanded and can never help in the solution of the land problem".

The type of legislations passed by the various State Governments since then and the actual experience of their implementation have confirmed the view expressed by the AIKS nearly four years ago. During this period in spite of various legislations on ceiling on holdings very little land has become available for distribution.

In contrast to the legislation dealing with the problem of land reform in other states, the Communist-led Government of Kerala took legislative measures to tackle the problem of land reforms in a correct way. The Government lost no time soon after it came to power in issuing an ordinance banning eviction of tenants on any account and thereby, left no room to the landlords to defeat the objective of land reforms measures which were to follow. The ordinance was soon followed by a comprehensive legislative measure dealing with the problem of ceiling. The main features of this legislation were that, the ceiling was fixed at a reasonable level, on the family basis, all transfers were banned, no exemptions whatsoever in the name of orchards, plantations, sugarcane farms, cattle breeding farms, efficiently managed farms and so on were allowed. It was this legislation which inspired the peasantry of Kerala, as it knew full well that if implemented about 5 lakhs of acres would be available for distribution to agricultural labourers and poor peasants in Kerala.

The AIKS regrets that this legislation has not so far received the assent of the President for the simple reason that it is in direct conflict with the policy which the Central Government and other State Governments have been following.

The Central Government with the aid of Congress-PSP led Government in Kerala is hatching a plot to reverse the policy of land reform adopted by the Communist-led Government by so amending the Act as to grant exemptions to kayal land, orchards, fisheries, plantations, efficiently managed farms, lands belonging to the religious and charitable institutions.

The AIKS appeals to all peasants and to all others interested in genuine agrarian reforms to defend the legislation passed by the Communist-led Government and to defeat the attempts of the Central Government and the State Governments to amend it in a reactionary and a pro-landlord way.

The AIKS appeals to the Kisan Sabha Units of the provinces to mobilize broad masses of people, various Parties and groups interested in radical agrarian reforms to build an effective and powerful movement against the farcical and ineffective legislations passed by various State Governments for fixing of ceiling of land which defeat the very objective of fixing ceiling and for the realisation of the following demands :—

- 1) No eviction of tenants or share croppers should be allowed. All resumption of land by landlords and big landowners by evicting temporary or permanent tenants must be declared null and void.
- 2) Tenants and agricultural labourers must not be evicted from the homesteads which they occupy and which belong to landlords and they must be declared the owners of those homesteads.
- 3) That the limit of ceiling should be fixed on a family basis at such reasonable level as to make available adequate surplus land for distribution among agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
- 4) No transfer or partition of land should be allowed and all transfers and partitions made by land-

lords after 1954, in order to defeat the purpose of ceiling on landholdings should be declared null and void.

- 5) No exemption, except reasonable amount of land for homestead must be allowed.
- 6) The ownership of all excess land of landowners which is now vested in Government must be taken away immediately and it must be distributed among agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
- 7) Various measures of land reforms must be implemented in co-operation with popular peasant committees.

The AIKS directs the Central Kisan Council to chalk out a coordinated plan of campaign throughout the country in consultation with the Provincial Kisan Councils as soon as possible for mobilising the mass of peasantry for appropriate and necessary mass action, to get the above demands realised.

The AIKS calls upon its Units and appeals to the peasants to launch a broad-based campaign for the realisation of the above demands, for taking practical steps to resist all evictions which are likely to be intensified as a result of the implementation of ceiling legislations and other legislative measures of the State Governments and for developing the struggle for radical agrarian reforms.

The AIKS further appeals to all parties, groups, organisations and the people who are interested in genuine land reforms, in the well being of the vast mass of peasantry and in the rapid progress of the country to respond to the call of the AIKS for building a united mass campaign. The AIKS assures its full co-operation to all such organisations, parties, and people in fulfilling these tasks. ✓

## ON KISAN SABHA ORGANISATION

This 17th Session of the All India Kisan Sabha having reviewed the progress of organisation and work at various levels of the AIKS is of the opinion that organisational work as existing to day is quite unsatisfactory and enough attention is not being paid to the improvement of this sorry state of affairs. The correct decisions taken at Moga for building of the Kisan Sabha as a strong and active mass organisation remained on paper in most cases and the actual performance during the period does not in any way reflect this consciousness.

In the considered opinion of this Session, there are vast possibilities of developing our organisation into a much stronger one. Millions and millions of Kisans are coming into our movement and are strengthening it. Functionaries are getting more experience and are looked upon by the masses as their champions. Hence it is only the lack of proper appreciation of building the Kisan Sabha at all levels as the strong, active, mass democratic organisation which is responsible for organisational weaknesses.

Hence, in order to improve organisational work, this Session sets the following tasks to be fulfilled in the coming year:

- (1) 15 lakhs of members should be enrolled during the next year.
- (2) Enrolment should be carried on throughout the year. Each PKC should fix up two months in a year during which period, all Kisan Sabha units should carry on an intensive enrolment campaign.
- (3) All Provincial Kisan Sabhas and major District Sabhas should set up offices and ensure their proper functioning by appointing whole-time office secretaries to man the Offices.
- (4) Every DKC and PKC should meet at least once in three months and attendance of all members should be compulsory, exceptions being made only in extraordinary cases. PKC and CKC also should meet at least once in six months.

- (5) At least three Office-bearers of each DKS and PKS should devote their whole time to Kisan Sabha work and should function for their respective centres. Only those comrades should be elected to the leading bodies of the Kisan Sabha who openly undertake to devote their main attention to the Kisan Sabha. It should be declared obligatory on the members of the CKC to submit periodical reports of their activities and programmes to their respective committees. These reports and when they are not forthcoming, that fact may be circulated to the Central, Provincial and District bodies of the Sabha.
- (6) Regular reports, at least once in two months, be sent by DKCs to PKCs and PKCs to CKC.
- (7) Mass collection of funds by Kisan Sabha units should be made obligatory and each PKC and DKC should fix a period during which grain collections should be organised every year.
- (8) Maximum efforts must be made by PKCs to organise training schools, to educate the Kisan Sabha workers. Some pamphlets which can be of help in educating local Kisan cadres and which can be used by District Kisan leaders in preparing lectures for local Schools should also be brought out—about all-India problems by CKC and State problems by PKCs.
- (9) All Kisan Sabha Units must make serious efforts this year to organise Kisan Sabha Volunteers.
- (10) By the end of July 1960 all PKCs should meet and work out concrete programmes on selected burning issues basing themselves on the resolutions of this Session for mass campaigns in the coming year. Proper allocation of workers and division of work should be planned out in these meetings.
- (11) Proper preparations should be made for delegate Sessions at each level so that urgent mass problems are properly posed and discussed, past activities are checked up and revived and the expe-

riences of different areas and units made available to all. This should be the special responsibility of leading cadres at all levels.

- (12) Check up on these organisational decisions should be continuously taken up through publishing reports in the Kisan Bulletin and through CKC meetings etc. and not left over for delegate Sessions only.
- (13) In order to organise exchange of experience, reports of State Kisan Sabha Sessions and reviews of important struggles when prepared by State Kisan Sabhas be printed in the Bulletin or otherwise circulated to AIKC members by Central Office.

On the question of improving the work of the Central Kisan Council the Session takes the following decisions:

- (i) At least three Office-bearers of the CKC should be attached to the Centre and function from the Centre.
- (ii) There shall be at least two CKC meetings between AIKS Sessions. No member of the CKC should be absent for two consecutive meetings of the Committee. If any member fails to observe this rule he should be deemed as having resigned and the seat declared vacant.
- (iii) Division of work should be properly planned out among the Office-bearers of the CKC who are attached to the Centre.

ZONAL COMMITTEES should be formed and members of the CKC from the respective areas as well as President and Secretary of the Provincial Kisan Sabhas to be members of the Zone. The task of the Zonal Committees is to exchange experiences and coordinate movements. One office bearer of the Central Executive will be in charge of the Zone.

It should be as follows:

1. Karnataka
- Kerala
- Tamilnad

} A. K. Gopalan, M.P.,  
President.

- |  |   |                       |
|--|---|-----------------------|
| 2. Andhra<br>Maharashtra<br>Gujarat                | } | S. V. Parulekar, M.P. |
| 3. Uttar Pradesh<br>Madhya Pradesh<br>Bihar        |   | }                     |
| 4. Punjab<br>Rajasthan<br>Himachal Pradesh         | } |                       |
| 5. Bengal<br>Orissa<br>Tripura<br>Manipur<br>Assam |   | }                     |

This Session calls upon all the units to treat improvement in the organisational work as the most crucial task which should be properly carried out by the time the next Session is held. DKCs and PKCs should send reports to higher committees stating as to how they are implementing these organisational decisions.

## ON WASTE LANDS

Despite completion of First Five Year Plan and Second Five Year Plan which is nearing completion, the food crisis in country continues to be as serious and acute as before. The country has relied on imports from foreign countries of food grains in large quantities; for making up the deficit and in the future also it will be importing food grains in the main from the U.S.A. This has adversely effected the pace of national development.

The deficit could have been considerably reduced if the government had not failed to take effective measures in the last 8 years, to bring under cultivation millions of acres of cultivable waste lands. As a matter of fact, the Government took no such step at all. This failure on the part of the Government is one of the major factors responsible for the persistence of the food crisis in the country in an acute form.



What is still worse and reprehensible is that in several States the Governments have been evicting peasants who have brought such lands under cultivation and have thereby indirectly contributed, though in small way, for the solution of the food problem by increasing production of food. Such peasants are being prosecuted and harassed by State Governments.

The following official figures show the extent of waste land that may be available for cultivation in addition to what is already cultivated.

	1952-'53	1953-'54	1954-'55
	<i>(In million acres)</i>		
Uncultivated land excluding fallow land	99.00	97.70	98.00
Fallow lands other than current fallow	33.3	31.3	31.8

In view of this situation to take effective and immediate steps to bring into cultivation all available cultivable waste lands has become a national task of urgent and vital importance. Any delay in taking such effective steps immediately will be most harmful to national interests.

This Session of the All India Kisan Sabha greets the agricultural labourers in Maharashtra who launched a heroic struggle for waste lands under the leadership of the Republican Party and in cooperation with the Maharashtra Kisan Sabha.

The AIKS feels it necessary to draw the attention of and appeal to all Provincial Kisan Sabhas and other Units of the Sabha to the fact that unless they take up the question of distribution of waste and fallow lands in Government possession among agricultural labourers and poor peasants, take up this campaign as one of its major immediate tasks this year and mobilise the entire peasantry and the people in support of this demand, the Government is likely to tackle this problem in the immediate future. Broad masses of the rural folk and other people should be drawn into the campaign and struggles should be launched on as big a scale as possible for securing those lands and cultivating them.

## CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

This Seventeenth Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha deeply mourns the death of the following comrades and offers heart-felt sympathy to their bereaved families:

1. Comrade Dhiren Gain, of 24-Parganas district, W. Bengal who was killed by landlords.
2. Comrade Mandal, of Midnapur district, W. Bengal, who was also killed by landlords' men.
3. Professor Mota Singh, President of the District Kisan Committee, Jullundur, Punjab.
4. Shri Ram Krishan, President of the District Kisan Committee, Karnal, Punjab.
5. Comrade Giriresh Chandra Roy, President of the Mayurbhanj District Kisan Committee, Orissa.
6. Comrade Kunjukunju, Kaviyur, Central Travancore, Kerala, who was murdered.
7. Comrade Chathan Kalyathara Venmony, Central Travancore, Kerala, also murdered.
8. Comrade E. La-Ra, of Mannargudi, Tanjore District, Tamilnad.
9. Narmada Patra, daughter of Bepin Patra of Dhas Para in P.S. Sagar in 24 Parganas.
10. Brojanath Mondul of Jibantala
11. Bhugabat Dey of Dhaterbati

## ON SUGAR CANE GROWERS

The sugar cane growers of the country have been constantly demanding adequate increase in the price of sugar cane for years. The U.P. and Bihar Legislative Assemblies also passed resolutions demanding increase of sugar cane prices.

The Bihar Assembly this year, keeping in view the general rise in prices, specially rise in the price of sugar, passed a resolution demanding Rs. 2 per md. to be fixed. U.P. and Bihar have been witnessing broadest possible movements of the sugar cane growers every year for the last 4 or 5 years. The AIKS expresses its grave concern and anger at the fact that the Central Government have been constantly turning deaf ear.

## **ON INDIA-CHINA BORDER DISPUTE**

The All India Kisan Sabha notes with satisfaction that the talks between the two Premiers of India and China and the decision to continue exploration of factual material at official level and further talks at the highest level has contributed to bring improvement in India-China relations, which is in accordance with the ardent wishes of the common people of both the countries. The Sabha expresses its concern over the activities of certain elements in the country that want to prevent a settlement of the border problem, worsen relations between the two countries and use this as a lever to change India's foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. While warning the people and especially the kisans against the machinations of these reactionaries the Sabha is confident that the path of peaceful negotiations will bear fruit and the border problem will be solved in consonance with the principles of Panch Sheel. The Sabha directs its units to carry on a broad-based campaign for peaceful negotiations, for improving India-China relations and for exposing and defeating the game of elements hostile to peaceful settlement of the problem.

## **ON REFUGEES FROM PUNJAB AND EAST BENGAL**

The Seventeenth Session of the AIKS strongly condemns the policy followed by the U.P. State Government with regard to refugees from Punjab and East Bengal settled in Tarai area of Nainital District.

The State Government is slandering and uprooting the Punjabi refugees who in accordance with the policy of the Central Government helped in grow-more-food campaign by turning wild jungles into fertile land for growing food.

This Session strongly regrets the action of the State Government in not giving timely help to those East Bengal refugees who were given land but no implements and tools with the result that the loan given to these refugees has been spent for routine expenses.

This Session demands from UP State Government to take appropriate measures to settle these refugees from Punjab and East Bengal by giving them land and implements so that they become independent and start earning their livelihood.

## ON THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Quite a number of long-term political prisoners are still rotting behind the prison bars in West Bengal, Kerala, Tamilnad and U.P. They have been serving their terms as a result of their participation in the struggle of kisans and workers and most of them have already spent several years in jail. They are moreover not treated as political prisoners and are deprived of amenities as such. After twelve years of independence it is high time they were released unconditionally.

There are prisoners like Comrade Kanasari Halder, M.P., and Jogen Guria who are being tried on charges which are 11 years old, while there are others against whom equally old warrants are pending. There are prisoners of Kakdwip Conspiracy case. Ram Mohammad Singh and his friends of Basti (U.P.) sentenced to transportation are still in prison. In Tamilnad three political prisoners are in jail.

This 17th Session of All India Kisan Sabha considers that, whatever may have been the charges against these brave fighters for the rights of kisans and workers, there is no justification for keeping them in jail any longer, and demands that they should be immediately released and the pending cases and warrants withdrawn.

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TO STUDY

- \* THE PRESENT AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS,
- \* KISAN MOVEMENTS AND AGITATIONS IN VARIOUS STATES,
- \* CEILING ON LAND,
- \* FOOD SITUATION ETC.,

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