
K R I S H I K A R L O K ' S

AIMS AND OBJECTS



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

OF

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National Leader

OF

Bharat Krishikar Lok Party

ON 7TH AND 8TH MAY 1954



First Andhra Convention at Krishiknagar,

TENALI



Dear Comrades and Colleagues,

We meet today to demonstrate once again our loyalty to the noble cause of the toiling masses of our country who are yearning for full economic and social independence and human rights of every individual and to reiterate our determination to work together in loving comradeship of our Party on Gandhian lines of service and self-sacrifice in the interests of the whole society.

We placed ourselves before the Indian public as the Krishikar Lok Party in August 1951. We chose that name because we wanted to partake in the Gandhian heritage of seeking to serve the whole Lok but paying special attention to the needs of all the different groups and categories of toilers on land and those associated with them because of their greater need for social justice and protection.

K. L. P. has come to stay.

Ever since we have been assailed by proposals from different quarters including from some of our own colleagues for merger or association with some one or the other political party or even for mere liquidation, not because of the need of our agricultural and other rural masses for such a Party has been denied or questioned but because of the practical difficulties in building it up into an effective political

force and also because of the rosy promises made by other parties to serve our cause just as well. There were times when so many of us mooted the idea of a merger or atleast association with the Congress Party. But at no time did we think of giving up our fundamental faith in the objective of K. M. P. Raj or the ideal of full-fledged democracy or in the nature of peasant proprietorship and artisanship as a mile-stone in our march towards full employment and complete economic independence.

Many sincere congressmen who genuinely desire a re-union with us wonder why we should be so keen on building up our separate party, when not so long ago, we were content to remain in comradeship with them, within the Congress Party. They fail, however, to fully comprehend the real reason why we had to leave the Congress Party and why the others who have come to dominate the Congress Party were so keen on resorting to such un-Gandhian means in order to prevent us from gaining the upperhand in that party. We left the Congress Party and others made it impossible for us to remain in ascendancy because of our living faith in full fledged democracy and of our genuine and open attempts to utilise the Congress Party to achieve K. M. P. Raj by helping our Kisan and Kalakar masses to regain their lost pre-eminence in our social democracy.

There are some other friends of the democratic cause who continue to suggest why we may not join

the Socialist Party, especially when we too are socialistic in our urges and attitudes. They ignore the important fact that while the orthodox socialists are primarily influenced by Marxism, we are equally influenced by Gandhism, although there may be many common points of agreement. Thus while Socialists approach peasant proprietorship from the Marxian antagonism towards the peasantry, we look upon peasants and kalakars as the harbingers of the much sought - after economic independence of all toiling masses. It is true that Socialists have atlast come to recognise the value of artisans in our Indian economy, but only as an element of decentralisation and to treat their crafts as possessing greater employment potential but not as the bridges to help our toilers suffering from wage-slavery to reach economic independence. We believe that co-operative commonwealth can be achieved only through the preservation and development of these progressive and inspiring institutions of peasant proprietorship and independent artisanship buttressed by their co-operative institutions. Therefore, while they seek to transform peasants and artisans as mere members and agents of compulsorily organised co-operatives, we wish to protect and promote their interests by enabling them to form, govern, control and utilise co-operatives to strengthen and broaden their present enjoyment of economic independence.

This is of great fundamental importance. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the approach made by

the Congress Party towards our peasantry and artisans under its urban, professional and commercial influences is not unlike that of the Socialists and even that of the Communists. That is, they all believe that if a majority of peasants or artisans in any area agree to go into a co-operative, the minority ought to be forced to join it, thus making a mockery of co-operative principles and thus destroying the economic independence of peasants and artisans on the altar of managerial control of the lives of our masses.

It is because of our faith in the progressive and creative nature of these institutions of peasant proprietorship and artisanship that we insisted, even during those dark hours of negotiations with the Congress leadership that this sacred faith of ours should not be encroached upon. It is also because of this faith that I have raised my lone-voice against the Planning Commission's proposals for compulsory co-operatisation of agriculture. We are, therefore, convinced that we can best serve our country and its people by keeping faith with our fundamental function in our society; that is, to maintain our present mead of economic independence, vouchsafed to us through our holdings and our artisan implements and to go on utilising every progressive and modern social and economic mechanism such as co-operatives, better implements, machinery, electric power in order to raise the degree of our independence and economic and social fruits thereof. We can best

promote this faith by developing our own political consciousness, organisation, party and partnership in Governmental authority. Hence our determination to develop our own political platform and party and to gain political powers with the sole purpose of attaining social democracy, with the peasantry and artisans remaining in its very centre and forming the fulcrum, in virtue of their numbers, their fundamentally and predominantly creative activities and their contribution to Society, what are absolutely basic for its very existence and happiness. We are convinced that by undertaking this most essential, though up hill task, we are performing a creative and therefore revolutionary duty towards humanity as such. In short, we will be fulfilling a noble task in the true Gandhian fashion.

Where and why we differ from other Parties?

We know that we are not alone in claiming to work for the achievement of political power for the toiling masses. But the Communists wish to achieve it through violent or non-violent means, as the occasion demands and they pitch their faith in the inevitability of dictatorship either before or soon after the achievement of power and that dictatorship is to be held by the Communist Party during the prolonged period of transition as has happened in Soviet Russia. We are opposed to this Communist methodology and we do not believe that anything good or lasting can be achieved through

dictatorship and violence. Moreover, they believe in the true Marxist manner, that peasants must be liquidated as they are capitalistic in their environment and thought or be turned into proletariat and political power should belong only to the proletariat; hence their insistence upon the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are totally opposed to their analysis of peasants' mind and place in society and also to their faith in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Peasants--A Progressive Eternal Class.

We believe that peasants are a progressive force and element in modern society because, the economic independence which even Communists prefer to work for, try to help the proletariat to attain, after converting everybody first into a proletariat, is already being enjoyed by peasants and they are the best votaries of that much desired economic independence, which has not yet been attained by the Soviet masses. In fact, while the Western tenants failed so miserably to dislodge their landlords and become independent peasants, the peasant masses of Asia, Latin America, South East European Nations have struggled valiantly for so many centuries against their successive rulers and their allies, the landlords and protected their economic independence by clinging to their small holdings.

We are convinced that peasants, as a class, are growing in numbers and in productive power and

economic significance in modern society. Instead of being liquidated, as was so confidently anticipated by Marx and Engels, they have gone on winning successive victories over landlords in country after country. And in the post-Swaraj India, more than ten million people have emerged as independent peasant proprietors.

Peasants are an eternal class. Many a ruler or a ruling class has tried to subvert their status and degrade them into tenants-at-will or day labourers. But they have risen again and again, in every country against their oppressors and regained their rights either in part or in full over their holdings which are the sine qua non of their independence. Their last and latest struggle is in being in Soviet Russia and China and even there, they are regaining their rights, though slowly and after terrible sacrifices. It is impossible for any ruler to destroy this class. It is an eternal class especially because it arises out of and wedded to the most basic and inescapable economic function of society. It is indestructible because, it continually leads the way for society towards that complete economic independence and freedom of one and all, which is desired by all progressives and lovers of freedom and happiness.

The Communists and Socialists have a blissful faith in the ultra-revolutionary urges, capacity and mission of the proletariat and therefore they maintain that all other toiling classes ought to accept them as

their vanguard in their revolutionary march and struggle. We contest these ideas and claims. We know all that the proletariat wish to achieve through their violent revolution and dictatorship is to free themselves from proletarianism and attain economic independence. But our peasantry and artisans already enjoy that status of economic freedom and they know its sweetness as well as its bitterness and so they are attempting to reach upto a higher level of social organisation and progress and individual freedom and happiness. So, why should they ever think of accepting the guidance and leadership of a class which has yet to attain their own far from perfect level of social organisation and freedom? Are they not, on the other hand, more competent to guide and lead the proletariat in their difficult endeavours to free themselves from the rigours of proletarianism and to gain the mead of economic independence and social freedom that they have been enjoying for millenniums, thanks to their status of peasant proprietorship and artisanship? Their present revolutionary but democratic experiments with co-operative re-organisation of various activities connected with their professions are sure to open ever wider and more inspiring vistas of social progress to which the proletariat can look forward and for which they need not make as great sacrifices and contributions as the peasantry and artisans are obliged to offer in their revolutionary endeavours. Therefore if there is any class or classes of toilers who

are really making a constructive contribution to social progress and to the development of the next era of human happiness, it is these classes of peasantry and artisans and so, every revolutionary worth the name, ought to hail these protectors and votaries of freedom as the champions of all toilers of this revolutionary age. As such, any one who harps upon the Marxist-Leninist, Marshall-Planning Commission against our social orders of peasantry and artisans cannot be accepted as a revolutionary but only as a reactionary.

It is a trite saying that in India peasants and artisans form the bulk of our population, make the largest contribution to the growth of our national income and wealth but that they find themselves in the weakest position in our social and political dispensation. It is because they have not yet begun to fully recognise their own key and progressive role in society and continue to hug to their bosoms so many of those anachronistic and suicidal social institutions which have been introduced into their life and social matrix by that hierarchy of social leaders who have ruled their destinies for ages. Their pitiful and harmful faith in the gradation of caste with their high and low cadres and their innocent but costly belief in the social superiority of non kisan, non artisan classes of society and their harmful intelligence in fratricidal and inter-caste rivalries and jealousies have contributed and do contribute so much to their continual weakening and to their inability to work,

in terms of modern age, for political and social liberation, advancement and strength.

The political, social and economic interests which are dominant in the Counsels of the Congress party as well as the Communist and Socialist parties are ranged against the peasants and artisans of our country, strange though it may seem, in their attempts to weaken, disrupt and dismember our peasants as a class. Hence the diabolical similarity in their plan to collectivise, co-operativise peasantry through compulsion, whether it be of the Socialist type or of the Nehru type of manipulated majorities favouring the herding of peasants into compulsory co-operatives and consequent degradation of peasants into wage-slaves.

What on the other hand our party is trying to do is to salvage the proletariat from their economic slavery and raise them to the status of peasantry or artisans, aided as they would be by their self-governing co-operatives and also to that of co-operative partners in socialised industries and commerce with their multi-units of co-operative production and distribution. This is a new world which we want to develop and a part of which we have already in our midst and about inadequacies of which we have so much knowledge and to repair and develop which, we are busy forging necessary socio-economic institutions and political power. Thus, an entire age of social experiment and experience differentiates us from

what Communists are trying to achieve by destroying whatever outposts we have of the status they dream of and by defacing even the rainbow of the future social progress which is dawning upon us through the awakened peasantry and artisans in their search after protection, freedom and progress. The Congress and the Communists are thus busy, putting back the hands of progress. We shall not go their way.

Role of Kalakars - a Creative and Eternal Class.

We have four crores of people depending upon cottage industries; more than a crore of them are actual workers. Most of them are working independently on their own implements without having to accept any as their direct masters and employers. But they suffer from many disabilities. Like our peasants they too need much protection from the exploitation of capitalists, merchants and markets. They, however, use their economic independence vouchsafed by the application of their skill with their own implements or raw materials owned by them or lent to them or passing through their hands. Industrial capitalism has been making herculean efforts during these two centuries to swallow up their economic freedom and to degrade them into mere wage slaves. But it has failed, thanks to the heroic sacrifices made by our artisans. We can get a measure of their sacrifices when we remind ourselves of the fact that their quarters used to be known hardly a century ago as the "golden quarters,"

and that they have come to be known today as the most depressed quarters. From generation to generation their incomes have been going down because of the competition of machine made goods. Yet they would not abandon their crafts nor would they abstain from inventing ever new designs, adopting new methods of production and sportively rushing to excel the machine production by their excellent designs and other aspects of artisanship. They continue to produce, more and better products for lesser and lesser incomes and all for the sake of safeguarding their economic independence. What a price they are praying for their economic independence! they alone know its value and taste because they pay for it and suffer for its sake. How can we expect them light heartedly to welcome what the Communists offer to achieve for them i. e. to liberate from their present economic freedom offer them the glorious status of proletarianism with the prospects of some day becoming members of a co-operative or collective dominated by the members of the Communist party. He must be a blind or suicidal-minded artisan to accept such a perverted conception of social status. Fortunately our artisans refuse to go that suicidal way.

A new age has dawned for the artisan section of Indian toilers. A halt is called for the advance of the machine competition. The demands of our artisans for their right to live and work and therefore

for full employment are proving effective. Their endeavours to provide for themselves the benefits of co-operatives in organisation, supplies of raw materials, improved implements, power, credit and marketing are to be strengthened by the State. The exploitation of middle-men is being controlled. Our artisans bid fair to improve their economic independence, thanks to the triumph of the Gandhian conception of social progress and of our 25 years of toil on their behalf through their own organisations. Marxism which believed in the liquidation of independent artisans and the Communist party which has made valiant efforts to fulfill marxism by liquidating this heroic class of independent artisans, have both been defeated by our Kalakars. Thus our Kalakars have demonstrated that they too can grow into an eternal class because their love of economic independence is eternal and their sacrifices for the sake of independence are so precious and stand to their eternal credit.

Peasants' emergence as a Political Force.

Throughout the ages, our peasants have had to suffer encroachments on their realm of economic independence because of their lack of organisation in politico-economic spheres. And the social philosophy of India did not inspire or stimulate our masses to entertain the ambition of attaining political power, to extend their economic freedom and to increase the fruits of economic independence. Therefore so little organised effort was made until 1923 by our

toiling masses especially peasants and artisans to gain political power and thus to improve their economic independence. The Russian Revolution and the Indian movement for Swaraj inspired some of us who are the sons of peasant India, to develop the political movement of peasantry, artisans and rural masses who had been kept in a somnolent state by the traditional leaders of our society. So we began to organise the peasant unions from 1923 and Weavers' Unions from 1925.

We made our first experiment with peasantry in politics in 1923 General Elections. It was confined to Guntur District. Three out of our four candidates were elected. Most of the anti British nationalist elements co-operated with us because the Congress did not set up its own candidates. When later on the Congress came into the election arena, we found that a major portion of rural masses were bent upon subordinating their class interests and supporting the national movement for which the Congress then stood. Peasant's political progress could not make much headway.

From 1928 onwards we (Peasants) have begun to organise ourselves in the Zamindari areas to remove the encroachments on our economic freedom which the Zamindars had made under the aegis of the Mughal and the British imperialist regimes. The Congress was not so keen about our growing passion for politico-economic activity but it needed our political support

for its national liberation movement. We in our turn also needed its political support for our economic advancement. Thus by now i.e. after 26 years of politico-economic struggles against the Zamindari System, we have succeeded in liberating ourselves from the landlordism of Zamindars and attained complete proprietorship over our holdings which are much more to us than what the workshop is to the proletariat, the chistle and hammer for the carpenter, the loom and shuttle for the weaver and kiln and hammer for the blacksmith.

We began to assert ourselves from 1931 against money-lenders and bankers under the terrible impact of the world economic depression and demanded moratorium, liquidation of lode debts, supply of cheaper and more adequate credit and co-operative supplies of credits and all materials needed for agriculture. The popularisation of these demands among us acted such a political pressure on the congress during the 1936 General Elections that the Congress Ministries had to take legislative and administrative steps to declare a moratorium, to scale down our debts, to prescribe a maximum rate of interest and to regulate money lending business.

During all these thirty years and more so since the attainment of Swaraj more and more of us have been wondering whether it might not be better for us, the peasants, artisans and other rural masses to develop ourselves into an independent political force

and organise a separate political party to serve as our political champion instead of depending upon the tender mercies of the urban politics of the Congress. Our patriotism would not allow us to run the risk of weakening the National United Front against the British. Therefore we were then anxious to maximise our efforts to free India from the British Imperialism so that we could begin to build our own politico-economic power and party to achieve economic Swaraj (Social Democracy) under the aegis of our political freedom. The attainment of Swaraj brought in its train the Punjab and Bengal tragedies and also the problems of liquidation of the princely order and Zamindars. Therefore we could not break away from the National Front soon after the attainment of Swaraj.

Mahatma Gandhi foresaw through his prophetic vision that Indian masses should begin to organise themselves independently of the Congress which was till then the embodiment of National Front into their various political parties according to their conception of national development and social progress. So he suggested that the Congress having fulfilled its purpose should liquidate itself. But the then national leadership did not accept that advice. And we did not have sufficient political strength and equipment to break away from the Congress. That was indeed our misfortune as later events have proved.

Mahatma Gandhi did yet another service to us. He sent his message through me as long ago as November 1944 that we should achieve in India Kisan-Mazdoor Kalakar, Buddhijeevi (K. M. P. Raj) and thus enjoy full-fledged social democracy. He gave his message to the nation only a few days before his death that Kisans of India should enjoy real power and attain pre-eminent position in Indian political life.

We should have begun to build the politico-economic platform of our Kisans, Kalakars, and other toilers on the basis of that inspiring message of Mahatma Gandhi, but we had to wait for three years before we could muster strength and courage to bring this party into existence and give a political shape to his message.

There are still many of our sincere friends who continue to believe as we used to, that we could be served through the Congress. But we have seen through our own experiences during the last 9 years of regime of food and other controls how it became impossible for the tallest of us to liberate our Kisans and other rural masses from the vicious clutches of controls as long as we remain under the political leadership of the Congress but how our K. L. P. legislators in MADRAS ASSEMBLY were able to persuade the Congress Ministry to lift the controls in Madras and thus paved the way for their removal throughout India. - If only we had continued to

remain in Congress, would the Nehru Government have ever agreed to allow the Madras Experiment to be made and to permit its extension? Otherwise the urban, professional proletarian interests which were so well entrenched in the present Nehru Congress regime which were responsible for the reimposition of controls after their first removal by Mahatma Gandhi, would never have given up the special privileges and vested interests created for them by the controls. This is practical enough demonstration of the advantages that our Kisans, Kalakars and other rural masses can come to enjoy by developing their own politico-economic movement and party.

There are quite a number of us who still cherish the hope that without having to go through all the sacrifices which are implicit in the development of a separate party, our interests could be promoted through pressure politics. Our answer to them is that in England the champions of Labour who had similar hopes prior to 1900 came to be disillusioned about the incapacity of the Liberal Party which used to play the same role as the Congress party in post Swaraj India to play the role of a silk worm which can yield the eggs only by itself dying. So instead of trusting to the opportunistic vicissitudes of pressure politics, the British Labour developed its own party, achieved political power and placed the British masses on the full-fledged democratic plane of social securities and socio-economic freedom. Similarly in India too our

advocates of pressure politics will have to realise sooner or later the futility of their mission and come to make common cause with us in developing our Party. Indeed everyone of us have had thus to be disillusioned before we could girdle our loins and face up to the present ordeals in the building up of our political Party.

Limitation of Pressure Politics.

If what we aim at is merely a rural reconstruction programme or community project movement or a few favours for different sections of peasants, artisans and various other sections of toilers of different areas, possibly pressure politics may be enough. If we want a few places in the Ministry, a few more places in the services or some such personal favours, then also pressure politics may be enough. But our Kisans and Kalakars and other toilers cannot be uplifted by those means. The social justice that they need and demand cannot be reached by such concessions, their social and politico-economic demands can never be satisfied through mere pressure politics.

Social Justice—Our Aim.

Ours is a movement of higher ideals and legitimate demands to achieve social justice. We do not ask for favours. We do not seek concessions, we are not petitioners. We find that the share of social wealth that we are allowed is very much less than what is

legitimately due to us. For ages we have been impoverished by a continual process of under-valuing our services and over-valuing those of other sections of society through an unjust system of exchanges. Of all the toilers of the world the peasants alone produce 50 to 100 times more than what is given to them as seeds; and our artisans too give best values in return for most moderate payment. Yet ours are the classes which are most exploited by the urban, industrial and commercial classes through their mastery over the world markets, banks, processing operations, communications and industries. While the exploitation of the proletariat is obvious because of the master and servant relationship, our pitiable plight vis-a-vis our exploiters does not become so apparent because for all outward purposes our obvious economic independence is not being infringed while the real substance from out of all our production is extracted through invisible means by the industrial and commercial classes and their allies. This exploitation becomes more glaring when we see even those ministering to subsidiary and domestic needs of industrial and commercial classes and the other urban allies are being paid many times more for their unskilled labours by our exploiters from out of the surplus value extracted from us.

Throughout the ages our produce and products have been valued too low and we have been condemned to pay a heavy toll for the privilege of enjoying our

economic independence by accepting prices which are far below their legitimate costs of production and which condemn us to less than bare means of subsistence. The result of this exploitation is now discovered at last by F. A. O. to be the chronic state of under-nourishment of the great majority of world's masses, most of whom are Kisans and Kalakars like ourselves all over the world. Therefore if we want to raise the nutrition levels of the majority of the world's population, salvage them from their diseases caused by the under-nourishment, lack of minimum clothings and housing facilities and place them once again on the road towards health, happiness and hope, we must join the worldwide movement for righting the wrongs that the present social system is inflicting on us. We have to fight for equal and just exchanges between our services and those of others. We have to destroy the octopus clutches over us of world market. We have to gain through our organisation, unity, moral fervour and strength and politico-economic means our due share of social wealth. We have to force conviction upon all other classes that they can no longer charge more than what is legitimately due to them for their services. That is, agricultural credit has to become more plentiful and cheaper. Such services as transport, processing, marketing and finishing will have to minister to the needs of our producers and consumers and not hold us to ransom as at present taking advantage of their key position. These demands will not be yielded by the other

classes except in answer to a politico-economic challenge backed by a party and movement.

If any proof were needed for this it is provided by the continued refusal of Swaraj Governments in the States and at the Centre to study the costs of production of different crops, to prescribe minimum prices for various products and also to prescribe minimum wages for agricultural workers based upon minimum prices and to agree to assure minimum incomes to our artisans. Our Swaraj Governments have not even accepted the responsibility for these minimum functions. On the other hand, they continued the British policy of imposing controls and compulsory procurement of our food grains at unremunerative prices, all for the benefit of urban, industrial, professional and commercial interests. They have thus demonstrated their determination to accept and enforce the present levels of unremunerative prices and inhuman standards of life of our peasants and agricultural workers which are the result of these uneconomic prices.

Even world war could not enable our peasants to attain equal and just exchanges between their services and those of others. It was so because the political power is not in our hands and political leadership favours our exploiters.

How long are we to tolerate this injustice? How can we fail to challenge such political leadership?

How can we allow this wasting and painful drain of our resources by such unjust politico-economic means of exploitation. Is it not our sacred duty to stop this suicidal process of forcible and continuous impoverishment of ourselves who form the largest section of the society of our country, if we are truly patriotic and we do not wish our social economy to collapse.

Ours is a World Wide Movement.

America discovered as long ago as 1933 that she could get out of the social morass of economic depression only by raising atleast in part the purchasing capacity of our farmers and by establishing some kind of parity between agricultural and commercial and industrial prices. The masters of U.S.S.R have atleast come to be forced by the farmers to recognise that Russia could not prosper if the exploitation of her farmers were to continue. Throughout the world Kisans are today striving for advancement of just and equal evaluation of services of all classes of people. The I. F. A. P. is championing this cause. It has thus become a world wide movement. Let us join this movement.

We are not alone in our strivings after politico-economic unity and power. The International Peasants Union is trying to regain political power and economic justice for the Kisans and Kalakars of South East European countries. The Pan African Congress

is attempting to free the African peasants from the exploitation of European imperialists and their Asiatic tradesmen. The farmers of Newzealand, Australia, Sweeden and Denmark are endeavouring to establish a co-operative commonwealth. And what we wish to achieve in our country is not merely power for Kisans and Kalakars but a co-operative commonwealth in which there will be no scope for exploitation of one class by another, there will be just evaluation of services of all classes and the partnership of every class will come to be prized and utilised for the benefit of all and for the edification and progress of itself. This bids fair to be a world wide movement. This is what Mahatma Gandhi was dreaming of. The Denmark farmers have already gone a long way ahead on this road towards prosperity and progress and happiness and hope. Let us dedicate ourselves to this cause. It will certainly help us to liberate ourselves from out of our present misery of poverty, dispondency and disunity. Let us begin to breath once again in this inspired movement of hope and happiness.

Ours is the Movement of 75% of World's Population.

The chief characteristic of our movement which distinguishes it from that of the movements of other classes is that while ours stands for 80 per cent of Indian people and 75% of world's population, the proletarian movement or the movement of middle classes embraces at best only 15 percent of world's

population, or 10 percent of our people. Therefore if and when we achieve social justice and our mead of politico-economic power and other social advantages, others who form only 15 percent or less, will find it easy to reconcile themselves to the changed social order and values ; ensuring social stability and progress for our new order. The same cannot be said of the proletarian movement because it aims at the proletarian dictatorship of a tiny minority over a great majority of the masses and not a co-operative commonwealth as we envisage and the suppressed majority will naturally continue to challenge its social order. Therefore the K. M. P. Raj which we aim at can be achieved and maintained by democratic means and will not ever need dictatorship either for its achievement or for its maintenance.

Revolutionary Possibilities of Just Social Order for Kisans and Kalakars.

Some may wonder how we expect the just social order that we seek, will contribute to the elimination of our present poverty and the development of our prosperity and hope not only for ourselves but for the whole of our society. Evidently they do not realise the deadening and depressing effect that the present unjust social order is exercising on our Kisans and Kalakars. They also underestimate the stimulating influences that the consciousness of enjoying justice and their due share of social power are bound to exercise upon the spirit of enterprise, initiative

and missionary zeal that are latent in every human being and that have been so highly developed in our independence loving Kisans and Kalakars. We have so many triumphs of dynamic and productive achievements to our credit even during this past century of so much politico-economic disability. We have introduced the ground-nut, Virginia tobacco crops into our economy, we have replaced Desi varieties of cotton and sugarcane by improved varieties almost upto 100 percent. We have not only brought all the land under irrigation which could be commanded by all the irrigation works so far established but are also demanding the development of ever new irrigation works to irrigate our lands and thus to enrich our country. We are growing more green manures and utilising more and more chemical manures in order to increase our yields. We have responded to the call of our nation for the production of more food grains, jute, cotton, sugarcane and oil seeds. There is not a sphere of agricultural production in which we have not responded to the national needs.

Let us contrast this with reactionary and antipeasant policies and attitudes of our Governments. While textile controls are removed, the price control of cotton is retained. While the production of jute is sought to be encouraged, peasants are left to the mercies of merchants. While flue cured tobacco and cane are produced by peasants in larger and larger quantities, they are left to the tender mercies

of mill owners, and European monopolists. We have demonstrated our ability to produce all the sugarcane needed but the Government and mill owners continue to discourage us by depressing cane prices. We have gone beyond the plan's targets in the production of groundnut crop but the exports are banned in the interests of Vanaspathi manufacturers. We produce Gur beyond the needs of our people without seeking any protection from Government but its exports are banned. We need more credit at cheaper rates and we are obliged to pay 12 to 24 percent interest for whatever little credit we are able to obtain. On the other hand the Government has founded Industrial Finance Corporations at the Centre and in the States and is now busy forming Industrial Development Boards with adequate funds. Similar step-motherly treatment is meted out to our Kalakars and their small and cottage industries. Are not our present achievements in the face of all these frosty and inhuman neglect of government really revolutionary and dynamic? Is it not therefore very easy for any one to imagine how greatly the tempo of our economic progress will come to be enhanced under this spur of attainment of social justice, just and equal exchange relations and our share of politico-economic power and responsibility within the

K. M. P. Raj.

The phenomenal success of the Japanese method of cultivation with the least expenditure from Government sources and the record breaking

maximum yields of paddy under the stimulus of prizes lend colour to the glorious prospect of alround social progress that can be achieved under the aegis of K. M. P. Raj.

We Take Proletariat Too in Our Stride.

It is the duty of all of us never to allow our movement to be confined to our Kisans and Kalakars alone or even to our rural people but to try and embrace the urban proletariat and the toiling sections of the middle classes and win their comradeship. Ours is a movement of all toilers, of all genuine shramiks and for the achievement of social justice for all. Therefore we have to take in our stride all those urban toilers who are willing to join our comradeship. In fact our movement stands for the progressive socialisation of all large scale industries and for the rapid development of social securities for their professional and proletarian employees. The re-organisation of all small-scale and cottage industries on co-operative lines is on our boards. Therefore we aim at the promotion of the proletariat into the co-operative partners of socialised industries, thus attaining their mead of economic independence and coming to be on a par with our Kalakars and Kisans.

Glorious Vista of Our Movement.

This is our movement, it is progressive, it is protective, it is dynamic, it is constructive and it is

democratic and therefore truly and fully revolutionary. We are not conservative in seeking to promote the existing degree of economic independence enjoyed by our Kisans and Kalakars. We are dynamic in our attempts to liberate our proletariat from their wage slavery and co-operate with them in their attainment of co-operative partnership.

Splendid Display of Our Moral Values.

Such is the glorious vista of our K. M. P. Raj movement. To achieve it we need ambitious, sincere and powerful colleagues and comrades. More and more of them are needed in every district and every State as more and more of our masses come to be awakened to their responsibilities and opportunities in this movement. But there is many a pitfall in the long thorny and painful path towards our goal and every other political party is trying to tempt our workers to fall away from our path and join them so that we can be weakened. Our recent experiences in Andhra and Rajasthan warn us how great are the temptations held out to our workers. Ministership was also thrown into the balance. We can therefore see what a high value is placed not only on our comradeship but also on the means of weakening of our comradeship. It is all the more reason why our masses should prize their workers and our workers should love our masses and cherish our movement. Both our masses and comrades have received inspiration from the noble examples set by Shri

N. V. Rama Rao who would not fall for repeated offers of Ministership, Sardar Latchanna who joined the Ministry only with the permission of the party and resigned from ministership at the bidding of our party and all other legislators of our party who refused so many offers and overcome so many temptations. Our movement has come to be ennobled by their steadfast loyalty. It is with such comrades and through such faith that Mahatma Gandhi was able to build up our National Movement and achieve our Swaraj and we feel confident that the rank and file of our comrades will rise to these inspiring heights of loyalty, sacrifice and sincere faith in our ideals displayed by our legislators and will come to be a beacon to our masses in their search for social justice, politico-economic freedom and hope.

Scope for Immediate Economic Development.

The achievement of Social justice by us is not one day's work. It takes a long time. It needs a veritable revolution in the social relations as between different classes of our people and a metamorphosis of the very social matrix of our masses. In the meanwhile, the continuation of the present drain of our resources, which are so vital for our mere existence, into wasteful channels of consumption by the other classes of Indian and world society, will be doing incalculable harm to our physical and moral well being. There is only one way of arresting the cumulative growth of its ravages. That lies in the

development of the socio-economic environment of our agriculturists and rural people. That is the development of the irrigation, flood control, river and sea conservancy, anti-erosion and soil-erosion and soil conservancy and developments, processing storage, communication and easy and cheap credit facilities, supplies of organic and chemical manures, better cattle, cattle breeding, feeding and protection facilities is the most urgent need of our agriculture and associate activities. It is true that as all this development takes place and more wealth is produced by us and placed at the disposal of the society, ever larger percentages of our wealth will be absorbed by other sections of our society through their mastery of the present-day unequal exchanges, world markets, key services, and last but not the least, the political leadership and machinery of State. Yet, even as a matter of our survival and for the sake of developing economic environment we have to demand and achieve this development. It will build up the needed environment, which will stand us in good stead by the time we achieve social justice. Therefore we are ready to co-operate with the present day political leadership of our Governments in achieving this development. Our grievance is that the Congress Ministries are proving themselves more and more incompetent even to achieve this much-needed development because of its anti-peasant policies and its own immoral political activities and its failure on the international arena to extract from the rest of the

world, the share in world's surplus wealth that is, our due.

Our Need for World Peace.

We are convinced that world peace is absolutely necessary if India is to attain this minimum of development in her socio-economic equipment, so badly needed by her agriculturists, and industrialists, arts and crafts. The visitation of another world war is sure to prevent this development by upsetting world commerce, by preventing the rest of the world from giving us any help and by diverting our own national resources from production and constructive activities to destructive purposes. Hence our support to our national endeavours in the cause of world peace.

We have been anxious that India should not be isolated in her non-involvement policy. We must do our best to win friends from among other countries which will also insist upon being non-involved so that neither of the powerful blocs led by the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. will dare to pounce upon us and drag us into the maelstrom. In this direction, the Nehru Government has not been sufficiently active or successful. We are glad that it has begun to realise this need, though it is already too late. We can only hope that the decisions of Colombo Conference of the Prime Ministers of the South Eastern Asian countries will lead to extension of the area under non-involvement and find ways and means to remain un-involved.

World events are marching too swiftly. The recent activities of U. S. A. have made us fear that the peace we are now enjoying may not last long and world war may not be so far off. The U.S-Pak Arms Aid-Pact together with the Turkey-Pak Pact has dragged us into the area of vulnerability. The proposed Pacific South East Asian Security Candominium will narrow down our breathing space. The Bay of Bengal may be turned into a pestering wound on our side. Indo China and Malaya are today the manoeuvring and training and testing grounds for the rival blocs and their poisonous fumes of international rivalries are sure to foul our political existence.

Disappointment with the "Democratic Powers Bloc."

Is it then any wonder that we feel very disappointed with the statesmanship of that part of the democratic world which wishes to rival with the Soviet world? We cannot therefore continue to cherish much longer that community of feeling and sense of comradeship with them which has been growing because of our common faith in Parliamentary democracy, democratic liberties, principles, and decencies. A wide gulf in yawning between them and ourselves. We know not what political philosophy and practice will emerge on their side as an aftermath of this Hydrogen Bomb Age and the war it presages.

Our National Sheet—Anchors.

Under these terrible circumstances we have our sheet anchors ; of non involvement, of comradeship with all the freedom loving people, especially of Asia and Africa, of unconditional opposition to Imperialism and Totalitarianism of every kind and of devotion to the ideal of the completest possible democracy. We will continue to judge every move or activity of world importance, coming from these rival and powerful world blocks from this standpoint and take our stand in a fearless manner. We shall continue our present policy of co-operating with the Nehru Government to promote these aims.

An appeal is being made repeatedly by Pandit Nehru and it is being popularised by his ministerial and Congress followers for National Unity. What kind of national unity do they envisage? If they want all other democratic parties to merge, once again, in their Congress party, they will be seeking an opportunistic advantage out of the present world situation, because, the very existence and functioning of rival democratic parties is a guarantee of democracy in such a crisis.

As a matter of fact, it is the Congress and Prime Minister Nehru who have failed to show their appreciation of whole hearted co-operation that all the democratic parties have been offering to them, without standing on any formalities. They have

on the other hand, abstained from invoking the aid of other democratic parties, on the party to party basis under the false notion that such action would give strength to their political rivals. We can only say to them that they will be asking for the impossible if they expect all other democratic parties to liquidate themselves and join the Congress party just because of their patriotism. We are convinced that the national interests can be served best only by our remaining as independent political parties and then offering our co-operation to Prime Minister Nehru if he desired it on that honourable basis. Moreover, our Kisans and Kalakars have already suffered most by placing all their resources at the disposal of the Congress during our national struggle and long thereafter, without developing their own political leadership and party organisation and their failure to get even a modicum of social justice during the last 8 years of national freedom is proof positive that they should not repeat that mistake again. Therefore, the best way we can serve our country and the cause of democracy is to remain independent, as a political force and party but to co-operate on an honourable basis with Nehru Congress and other democratic parties in this period of world and national emergency.

Congress Threat to Democratic Cause.

We will be blind however, if we do not recognise the growing threat to our cause of democracy

emanating from the Congress leadership. We have seen how the Congress in the Andhra Assembly has been managing, though remaining one of the minority parties, to maintain its ministry by indulging in unashamed political immorality. We go again aghast at the indecent political manoeuvre by which the Congress and Rajapramukh have managed to put one of the smallest parties — the P. S. P. — in the ministerial saddle in the T. C. state, making a mockery of democracy.

We have known by what dishonourable means, the Congress ministries in many other States have been keeping their ranks together, building up their legislature parties, financing their election campaigns and exploiting their political power by subverting administration into the handmaid of their party, whereas it ought to be above parties and treat all citizens alike irrespective of their political association and activities. It is one of the tragedies of post Swaraj India that Prime Minister Nehru, who ought to have known better especially because he has inherited so much power and popularity from Bapu, should be failing to realise what is obvious to any citizen, that by such immoral political methods, unscrupulous indulgence in power politics and by such invitation to the disease of power; he is not only undermining the morale of his party and its supporters but also digging the grave of democracy in India.

Surely it was not through such means and love of power at any cost that Bapu has led us towards

Swaraj. On the other hand, it was through his highly moral and noble example of caring as much for honest and decent means as for the ends that he has nurtured our national champions. It is a national tragedy that Nehru's leadership should be destroying the foundations laid by Bapu. It is therefore all the more our duty and all other lovers of democracy to hark back to Bapu's moral methods and noble example and uplift our public life by ourselves behaving as we used to when we were working for Swaraj under Bapu's leadership. It is because our K. L. P. legislators and so many of our rank and file comrades are displaying such Gandhian scruples that we are proud of them and feel confident of the future of our party and democracy.

The enthusiasts, workers and rank and file of our movement have to beware of two powerful means of disruption by which our enemies are always trying to weaken our morale and break up our ranks. One is to work up rivalries as between different castes in which we find ourselves whether we are Kisans or Kalakars. We have to try to become immune to this disruptive influence. We have to do our best to rise above communal interests and learn to subordinate them to the interests of our class and what is even bigger, our movement. It is not an easy task but it is our most essential and urgent duty. Having done this duty, most sincerely and to the best of our capacity, we have to develop missionary confidence in

ourselves and our movement and refuse to be diverted from our path of service, by the wild or interested accusations that our political opponents may hurl at us and by the stabs in the back which some of our own misguided erstwhile colleagues may indulge in because of the instigations of our enemies.

Beware of Our Internal Conflicts.

The other disruptive means which Communists and erstwhile Zamindars and some Congressmen are trying to utilise is the conflict of economic interests that may arise in the mutual relations between land owning peasants and tenants and cultivators and agricultural workers. We will be able to reach a progressive solution to whatever contradictions and conflicts which may arise as between ourselves, if we begin to tackle them on the principle that our mutual relations must be based on non-exploitative and co-operative basis. Whatever savours of exploitation must be removed from our economy. The relationship that should subsist between landowning peasants and tenants can be understood in proper perspective if we compare them to teachers on leave and acting teachers. We are convinced that the peasant proprietors who cultivate their own lands ought to be given the privilege of taking occasional leave from their cultivation activities for various but legitimate purposes such as for mere rest and for recuperating health, education of children. But there ought not to be any scope of exploitation of tenants i. e. acting

cultivators. So, we have been advocating since 1936 that the minimum tenure of tenancy shall be fixed at 5 to 10 years and that the rent shall be not more than half net income or one-third gross income and that the owner shall give an year's notice before he can come back into cultivation work. Since then, solutions for various other aspects which are of minor importance have come to be offered. Therefore, the relations between these two categories of Kisans can be placed on a harmonious basis.

We also recognise that our landless agricultural workers have their rights too. We have always pleaded, that is, ever since our movement took birth in 1923, for adequate protection in their relations with other sections of our Kisans, apart from demanding equal opportunities and power in political life. We were the first to demand adult franchise especially because it would act as the first leverage to this section of our Kisans. We are also anxious that as many of them as possible should be given the advantages of peasant proprietorship. So we were the first to offer the solution as long ago as 1926-34 that all the Government owned cultivable waste lands which is one-third as much as all the cultivated land should be placed at their disposal for co-operative cultivation. Secondly we demand that the surplus lands of big proprietors over and above the prescribed maximum extents ought to be purchased on the basis of pyramidal and tapering process of compensation

and placed at the disposal of local agricultural workers for co-operative cultivation. By these means, we are convinced that a very large percentage of agricultural workers will come to enjoy the advantages, and atmosphere of co-operative ownership of their lands. In this way, the advantages of the status of economic independence that emanates from proprietorship of land can be extended to an ever widening circle of our Kisans.

Nevertheless, a good percentage of the small-scale peasant proprietors, tenants and a large portion of agricultural workers will have to work as annual workers or wage earners. They too need protection; to a greater degree than others. Therefore we have been stressing the need for Society to accept the responsibility of prescribing and enforcing minimum wages for these Kisans then prescribing minimum prices for agricultural commodities on the basis of the minimum scales of wages and thus ensuring that both the landless and landowning kisans come to enjoy minimum and humane standards of living. This has been done in so many European countries, notably in England and in Canada, Australia, Newzealand, and also in U.S.A. In this manner, we are convinced that we can resolve any possible conflict of interests that may arise between the cultivating Kisans and wage earning Kisans. We have advocated that big landholdings which cannot be conveniently and profitably cultivated by peasants and which lie in

areas where there is too much pressure for land from our landless Kisans ought to be treated differently from those which lie in undeveloped areas, where the demand for land is not so great. Secondly a ceiling upon the holdings has to be placed, beyond which no Kisan can be allowed to purchase land. Thirdly all surplus lands over and above the ceiling limits are to be open to be acquired by State on payment of compensation and also to be leased out by a local co-operative of Kisans. Such general principles can come to be agreed upon as between the representatives of different categories of our Kisans, with special reference to varying conditions of agriculture prevailing in different States. The most important thing that has to be agreed upon is that all these three categories of Kisans are essential for the proper functioning of our agriculture, that peasant proprietors have to abjure all practices of exploiting other categories, that tenants must be protected, that agricultural workers have to be assured of non-exploitative relations with others and also of decent conditions of working and adequate remuneration for their toil and all the three categories have to work on a co-partnership basis without giving room to any conflict or suspicion that one wants to rob the legitimate fruits of labour that should go to the other. Such a harmonious relationship is possible to be achieved if only the State is peasant minded and is keen on achieving and maintaining co-operative relations among our rural masses.

This is not to say that at present such harmony exists or that our peasant proprietors are able to fully realise their duties. Unfortunately the social matrix and habits and environment of our peasants have been poisoned by the traditional castism and its disabilities of our masses. More than their economic weakness, the social disadvantages of our agricultural workers are poisoning our rural social life. And their social disabilities intensify their economic troubles too. So a herculean effort has to be made by our Kisan masses, especially by the peasant proprietors and the champions and architects of our movement to clear up this awful debris of our bad social heritage and to achieve equal, honourable and progressive socio-economic relations between our peasant proprietors, tenants and agricultural workers. There is great urgency for achieving this; as there is as otherwise parties and interests who are keen on exploiting these socio-economic diseases of our rural masses will work havoc and destroy all possibilities of achieving the desired unity among our Kisans and rural masses as a whole.

I feel confident however that we can and will succeed in this difficult, yet, noble task in view of the triumph we have achieved in the course of the last 25 years on the artisan front. For instance, when we started our organisation's work among weavers in 1925, the castism among the six big castes of weavers proved a big obstacle. But we persisted in our

propaganda that weavers, as a class, have interests which are stronger and nobler than their casteism which only weakened them by creating inter-caste disunity. By now, our weavers have come to be united as one class for all practical purposes, although for purely social purposes their castes continue to function, without indulging in their former mischief. We are hopeful that similar success can be achieved on the Kisan Front too, of course, by our making greater sacrifice.

Overcome Social Disabilities.

It is most unfortunate that in our country, a large majority of our landless Kisans happen to be our Harijans, the erstwhile untouchables and they have had to suffer under great and age-long socio economic disabilities, such as bad and insanitary quarters within any village, lack of house sites and housing accommodation, tied cottages and want of adequate drinking water facilities. No one peasant can be blamed individually for these disabilities but the whole of rural society is responsible for this putrid social heritage. It is our duty now to try to overcome these social troubles, of course in co-operative effort. We can and ought to expect the State to do its bit. But we cannot afford to wait upon the governmental conveniences. We have to use our influence over our village Panchayats and other Local Boards, Co-operative Societies and other social institutions to improve the sanitary and public health

equipment of the quarters of the Harijans and other poor sections of our rural masses, to find some playing grounds for their children, see that house-sites for all our agricultural workers as well as Kalakars are provided, either on village commons, other Government lands or sites and to attempt to build, over a period of years, say five or ten, as per plan, decent commodious and not costly houses for the homeless. If roads and culverts, soak pits, trench lavatories and communal baths have to be provided. Small areas of land have to be acquired, preferably near drinking water and wells or tanks, for co-operative production of vegetables and fodder crops. Tanks and wells have to be utilised for nursing fishes, so that, on occasions fish can be freely distributed among the landless workers, fruit trees have to be planted on all possible communal areas, along roads and in open spaces and their fruit freely distributed among the children of the rural poor. There are many such avenues of developing social wealth and well being and good feeling and our rural masses and our leaders must be always exercising their inventive and constructive abilities to increase such points of social comradeship, service and mutual co-operation.

Bhoodan not to Jeopardise Small Holdings.

We are convinced that a holding is not only a source of economic help to the peasant but also a stimulant to evoke his spirit of enterprise initiative and social service. It is his insurance—partial

though it may be again unemployment and economic slavery—it also assures some social security for himself and his children, especially in such predominantly agricultural and peasantwise countries like ours. Cherishing this conviction as we do, we cannot subscribe to the idea that for a peasant to hold land is a sin.

We cannot also appreciate the idea that to give away one's land without a second thought for one's own responsibilities towards one's family to assure the minimum of employment and social security that are instinct with one's small holding is a socially progressive Act. Indeed society ought to be grateful to our peasants and artisans who do not make the same claims on it as the educated, professional and other urban classes for providing them with social security for the whole of their career. Our peasants and Kalakars who find their own employment and security, at least in part on their own holdings and in their crafts are a distinct source of strength to Society. Therefore it can only be a retrograde and suicidal policy to demand that our peasants should give away their holdings and our artisans their implements, just because some of us do not happen to enjoy that much of social security from the vicissitudes of economic existence. Therefore we are performing a progressive social function in exhorting our peasants to tend their holdings with the best skill and to intensify their cultivation and thus maximise their own

employment on their holdings and minimise their unemployment or under employment because we are thereby relieving our society of its responsibilities to look after them.

Rich Peasants to Offer Bhoodan.

There are yet quite a number of peasants whose holdings are much bigger than what can be conveniently, profitably and progressively cultivated by all the members of their families with the occasional help of agricultural labour during the busy seasons. We have to approach these friends, persuade them to make a free gift of as much of their excess holdings as can be parted with benefit to themselves and to society. We shall utilise all such Bhoodan land for the co-operative use of our landless workers and Kalakars. In this manner we will and can make an effective contribution to the development of social harmony in rural India and to remove the pestering disadvantages of so many of our poorer brethren.

Let us also organise cosmopolitan socials on all such occasions as the festivals for seed sowing, harvesting, cattle fairs and implements. Sree Ram Navami, Birth Day of Lord Krishna, Bapu's National Week. Another means is to start the fashion of addressing each other in an honourable and egalitarian style. Yet another is to break away from the conventional social separation that prevails between the quarters of different sections of our rural people and hold processions and socials, by

turns in every quarter and thus usher in a sense of unity.

Government's Helplessness - Need for Self-help.

Government has realised that it cannot touch even a fringe of our social problems and help our people, because of its inability to overcome the power of the urban and industrial, commercial and professional interests and to achieve social justice as between the rural and urban, Kisans and Kalakars on one side and other on the other. So it has been trying to lean upon the Bhoodan Movement to serve as a weapon against our peasantry and as a magic wand to put our agricultural workers to politico-economic sleep.

We are equally keen that similar movements of Dhana Dan, Griha Dan, Shrama Dan have to be started in towns only as the vanguard of what the State has to do in order to achieve more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunities as between the urban classes themselves and as between the urban and rural peoples.

We know that any State is slow to achieve any constructive programme. But the sufferings of the people have to be minimised, in the meanwhile. Therefore we realise our duty to contribute our best to the development of such social institutions and activities as well to improve the capacity of our masses for self-help and self-reliance. So we have to do all

we can to build up multi-purpose co-operative societies to serve the varied needs of our workers, tenants, other Kisans and Kalakars and to save them from the exploitation of money lenders, merchants and other middlemen.

Develop Co-operatives.

We appeal to our educated and public spirited youths and workers to exert themselves even more enthusiastically and vigorously in organising and running co-operatives, in freeing co-operative societies from the evils of factions, inefficiency, favouritism or corruption and in bringing more and more of our masses within their orbit and in extending the social activities of co-operatives. Similarly we are anxious that our local leaders should display their organisational constructive and political abilities by administering village panchayats honestly and progressively. Let us gain experience and prepare ourselves for our future opportunities and responsibilities in our cherished K. M. P. Raj by creating ever new and more socio-economic organisations and by running them honestly and efficiently and by developing our moral standards of service.

K. L. P's Contribution to Sarvodaya.

I am glad to say that in Andhra, our Kisan and Kalakar comrades have led the way in many a direction of creative service and selfless activity. We have played our part in the adult education and rural

library movements. We took the initiative in organising village panchayats on a large scale. We led our masses in undertaking the construction of many a drinking well, tank, irrigation work, village road, bridge, culvert or rural school, library. We initiated the Grow More Food and Tree Planting campaigns which later became All India Movements. We have realised the need for developing Ayurvedic Veterinary Treatment and have done much in popularising it under the guidance of our Dr. Sreeramulu. We have organised a number of schools for tribal people, for Harjans and we are glad to say that most of our workers have done excellent and honest relief work during the recent terrible Rayalaseema famine, under the guidance of our Bharati Devijee. I am therefore hopeful that our Kisan and Kalakar masses and our comrades will offer their services with greater zest and agree to work on a higher tempo of missionary, faith and discipline and make a success of the constructive programme indicated by us.

It is because of our extreme anxiety to relieve the sufferings of our masses and improve their social environment and equipment, that we have offered to co-operate with this Government on its Bharat Sevak Samaj, Women's Small Savings Committees and Handloom Board, Sugar Committee etc. We shall continue to offer such co-operation so long as we are convinced that Government are keen on developing

such social and constructive activities on a really non-partisan lines.

Immediate Programme for the Andhra Party.

We have rightly decided to oppose the new taxes that the Governments of India and Andhra are imposing upon our masses, especially the agriculturists. It is highly improper for the Central Government to impose new excise duties, even while the taxation Enquiry Commission is studying the problem. These new excise duties touch the pockets of every man and woman in the country and bid fair to become a growing burden on their resources. We oppose them especially because the standard of living of our masses has not been raised to any noticeable degree.

We Oppose New Taxes.

The Andhra taxation proposals seek to increase the tax burdens of our ryots who have been clamoring for a long time for relief from the land revenue which acts as a tax on work, enterprise and indeed, on our very source of employment and income, without making any distinction between the poor and the rich. The so called Betterment Tax is not justified because the people concerned cannot bear it. The surcharge on water tax is not reasonable, as its proceeds are not intended to improve the local water supply sources or drainage facilities or develop local social services. We can contemplate such duties or surcharges only for specific periods for certain local

purposes, specially to protect and benefit the concerned people. Therefore our Legislature Party has rightly decided to oppose these taxation proposals.

It is said the Government needs funds to minimise its budget deficit. Is it unreasonable to ask whether the possibilities for economy, avoidance of postponable or non-urgent expenditure and other sources of revenue have been exhausted.

Everyone knows that the Andhra Government is proposing to spend huge sums on non-urgent works. That it sticks to prohibition, which has been admitted on all sides to have miserably failed after 7 years of costly experimentation only for the sake of prestige; thus continuing to forego easily Rs. five crores per annum a revenue to be derived only from duties on drinks other than toddy. That there is scope for considerable economies in its various avenues of expenditure. Under such circumstances, it is criminal to impose these additional tax-burdens on our peasantry.

Tappers Demand.

The Andhra Ex-Tappers have made a legitimate decision to go on Satyagraha if Govt. does not permit them to go back to their traditional employment of drawing Neera or toddy or fails to provide them with alternative employment. I think our party is justified in offering its support to these forty lakhs of hard working people who have been deprived of their

employment for the last seven years, and who claims for alternative employment have been so sadly neglected. The previous Ministry gave a solemn promise during last year to provide alternative employment but even that pledge has been broken. We are not particular that toddy drawing alone should be shown to them as a means of living but when Government has failed to do anything to relieve the distress of these people for all this time, it has no right to keep them away from their own traditional employment.

The Andhra Government has behaved so shabbily towards the people of Srikakulam, Vizag, East Godavari, Krishna and West Godavari districts by postponing the Vamsadhara making a pretext of conflicts among local public; in dropping at the Planning Commission, the five irrigation projects of Vizag which it has recommended at Kurnool, in abandoning the Torrigadda Pumping Scheme at the last moment, though the Engineers hailed it as the best and the cheapest and in abstaining from undertaking the Budamery Flood Control Scheme, though the local peasants are prepared to pay fully for its costs.

We have to mobilise public opinion against this mad and vengeful policy of the Government.

The Andhra public and all political forces deserve congratulations upon its initial success over the

Nandikonda Project despite the undisguised opposition of Andhra Government. There is need for persistent vigilance and effective activity in Parliament and Assembly to see that this vindictive ministry does not go on slowing down its progress. Our own party has contributed its share and will continue to do so, thanks to our passionate champions of our Kisans in this field.

The Inamdari Ryots have been most unfortunate among our suffering peasants because they have been betrayed too often by Congress Governments. The Andhra Government has broken its pledge and has so far failed to prevent atleast their forcible eviction by the Inamdars. Both our legislature wing and party organisation have to intensify our agitation for their immediate protection. The Lanka Ryots too need protection from us.

Tobacco Ryots are groaning under the weight of their accumulated stocks valued at Rs. 6 crores. The Union and Andhra Government have given some relief by reducing the Excise Duty on Lower Grades. That is not enough. They have to organise monopoly State Trading and to take over these stocks and pump credit into the tobacco growing masses and devise ways and means to control the vagaries of the foreign monopolists. Our Party will support the Governments in whatever effective and protective steps they may be emboldened to take.

Andhra cane growers who supply cane to the Mills have been afforded some protection through the SISMA formula. But the promise made by the Central Food Minister that a portion of the profits made by the mill owners would be passed on to our cane growers has yet to be implemented.

Those cane growers who produce GUR continue to suffer from the wrong policy of Government of India. Though we have told them repeatedly that the export of GUR does not injure the interests of South Indian Sugar consumer as South India is surplus in GUR, Government of India continued to ban its export. It is the duty of Andhra Government to protect these cane growers by fixing a minimum price and by getting the ban on export lifted. We shall reinforce the Andhra Govt.'s efforts to improve the marketing prospects and to lift the ban on exports of Andhra's commercial crops. But we have to oppose its new impositions on small traders who deal in our commercial crops, because the traders disabilities result in lower prices for our producers.

So little is being done for the protection and promotion of interests of tribal people and backward classes. The Andhra Government has not yet implemented its pledge to abolish the Muthadari system. The oppression of the tribal people is such that our party will have to concert active steps, at an early date, to force the Government to do them justice.

We appreciate by the dynamic and daring services of our Beesatti Apparao, Pentunna Naidu in opening up these areas, organising these people and facing all consequences. The Backward classes too need our special services. We are glad our Kavuri Venkayya is at this task.

The management of the hostels, which are being subsidized by Government needs much improvement. It is high time that Government appoint an independent commission to study their working, improve their management and supervise them with the special purpose of seeing that the students' interests are served best.

Panchayat System.

The first general elections under the Panchayat Act have been completed. So many defects in the working of the Act have come to light, especially in connection with the elections, we will like the Government to examine ways and means by which evils of majority rule can be minimised if not eliminated, and the conflicts between the presidents and members are avoided, and the present scope for Panchayat officers to play mischief in elections is removed and all the election and other disputes arising out of Panchayat administration are decided, not by the Ministry but by a quasi-judicial tribunal, presided over by a High Court Judge.

Similarly there is need to improve the Governmental side in the Co-operative movement. It is high time that all disputes arising out of the elections and management of co-operatives are left to be decided by a high power Tribunal as is the case in Bombay and the Ministry's interference is removed. It is good that the States Reorganisation Commission is appointed to suggest a more reasonable reorganisation of our states. The Commission were good enough to invite me for discussion with them. I have suggested to them that since there are bound to be certain border areas of 2 or more language groups, in most States it is best to demarcate all such areas and devise certain special means to protect their rights as for language, culture, education and employment. Secondly I have suggested that a linguistic and cultural Minorities Commission should be permanently established to protect the rights of these minorities. Any one aggrieved by the activities of any state Government or even the Central Govt. would be entitled to appeal to the Commission. Thirdly I have asked that the tribal peoples in any language area should not be handed over to the administration of that language state but should be given the same privileges as are accorded to the self-governing Assamee tribes. The advantage of such a step will be that they need not be submerged in any one or the other rival language groups but can come to have self governance for their provincial needs.

Then I have stressed the need for transferring to Andhra Bellary town with a small connecting area in view of its obviously Telugu character. The need for including into Andhra the Telugu but contiguous areas from Tamilnad, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh was also presented to them. Visalandhra can come only when the people of Telanghana desire it and when Hyderabad comes to be disintegrated and so all we can do is to desire such a consummation.

Irrigation in Scarcity Areas.

Central Government has atlast realised that it has a duty towards the scarcity areas of our country. We have been demanding that an All-India Famine Insurance Trust should be created and that the Central Government should put into it annually Rs. five to ten crores and that the scarcity areas should be developed irrigationally and otherwise with grants from this fund. So far the Planning Commission has not yet accepted our suggestion. As a token of its recognition of its responsibility towards our scarcity areas in Rayalaseema it has granted Rs. 4 crores for the remodelling of the long-neglected Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal. It is hoped that nearly one and half lakh of acres will be brought under irrigation in addition to fully irrigating the half of a lakh of acres which is within the existing ayacut.

It is good that the Andhra Government is pressing for funds for the development of the

Tungabhadra High Level Channel, which will protect some portions of Anantapur District. We are also keen on the early development of Gandikota and Somasila Projects so that Cuddapah and Nellore Districts can be afforded irrigation facilities. If only the international situation permits, and if the Central and Andhra Governments set their houses in order and avoid unnecessary wastage of public funds, there will be scope for the development of Siddheswaram, Vamsadhara, Sarada, Arundel, Varaha, Sabari, Godavari projects, besides the utilisation of waters of all vagus and protection of lands by river and sea.

Weavers.

We are glad that at long last the first Co-operative Spinning (Textile) Mill controlled by Weavers themselves has gone into production in Guntakal. We have witnessed the celebration of the first All India Weavers Week about which I had dreamt as long ago as 1925 and which was hailed by Ministers and Governors. Thanks to the acceptance of our demands for the raising of funds for the development of handloom weaving from the Textile Mill Industry and the reservation of a portion of cloth market for handwoven goods, we hope that within a few years, our great weaving industry will begin to breathe freely and hopefully.

We are anxious that all other artisans in other crafts should be organised and co-operatives be

developed to strengthen their activities and to service their business and funds be provided by State and Co-operatives for financing their constructive activities. We offer to do our bit to assist them.

Political Service is to serve people all the time.

Let us remember that political service is not completed by electioneering or occasional tours, conferences and celebrations or protecting the people from intriguers and corrupt politicians. It becomes truly a service only when we stand by the people, help them in their day to day travails and make every section of people feel that we are their true friends in need and tried servants for offering good advice and comradeship. Such has been our conception and practice of political services.

Most unfortunately our stand in favour of Tirupati for Capital and Guntur-Vijayawada for High Court came to be misunderstood, during that awful period of 8 months, and our political enemies, especially in the Congress, carried on the dishonourable campaign that we were opposed to the Rayalaseema claims. They did not care to remember that we stood for Tirupati for years and not for Guntur-Vijayawada because we wished to give first preference to Rayalaseema and that it was because of our anxiety to save Andhra as a whole from the effects of their political chicanery and opportunism that we had to protest against their unashamed campaign against

the coastal districts and insist upon a proper consideration being given to these delicate questions. Even our sportsmanlike offer to restrict the choice as between the two areas Kurnool and Guntur-Vijayawada was not accepted. In the end, all their machinations failed to create the disastrous split they hoped for as between the circar people and also as between the coastal and Rayalaseema people. Let us hope that the legislators and leaders of all parties in Andhra will be good enough to forget those fruitless but painful quarrels and help the people of Andhra to settle down to their constructive activities.

I am glad, that our party has come out of this awful controversy completely unscathed and both our comrades and our masses in both areas of Andhra are as united with each other as ever.

Famine and Floods.

Our Party's Service.

Two awful crises came upon Andhra during the last 3 years and our party was able to rise to the occasion and served the afflicted people and thus made them feel proud of our movement. First came the terrible famine in Rayalaseema. The sufferings of the people were first brought to the notice of the public by our party, only a month after the General Elections of 1951-52. Bharathideveeji rushed into this more difficult famine relief campaign. She toured the whole of Rayalaseema in that mid-summer, organised Relief Committees, formed the bands of relief workers, and

everywhere she was the first to offer some consolation to the famine stricken people and assure succour. Then she toured in the Coastal districts, collected funds, grain, cloth and fodder. Everywhere the Revenue Authorities, Famine Relief Officers, Rama-Krishna Mission and Jeeva Karunya Mission bore testimony to our constructive work.

More than a lakh rupees worth of grain came to be thus distributed to the really needy and I must pay my tribute to our local workers who have fulfilled Devijee's wishes that every grain should be given where it was most needed and treated as if it was more precious than a diamond.

The other crisis was created by the great Godavari rising to a new height of fury and floods. There were moments in that awful August 1953, when not one steam launch would be taken up the river from Rajahmundry and not one officer would venture to think of reaching the people on the upper reaches. At such a moment there arose our Rama Rao with his heart pulsating with those of thousands of our masses of Rajahmundry, Bhadrachalam etc. who were cut off from every other area and whose villages were washed away. He somehow chartered a steam launch, ventured to go up the river, reached upto the mouth of Pappy Hills, shouted and roared to the people who were clustering on top of hills, mounds, housetops and trees that rice would be brought to them and the outside world was thinking

of their succour. On his return he fought and cajoled the authorities and took more than a thousand bags of rice in four consignments, distributed them among the isolated sufferers and thus saved their lives. His brave voyage broke the spell of fear from which all others had suffered and launches and officers, merchants and public workers began to go up the dreaded river and thus help began to reach the sufferers. And, even after that he and myself were the first to reach Bhadrachalam and Nugur taluks, deliver rice and quicken the official nerves of service and succour. Thus did our Rama Rao come to deserve well of Andhras and qualify himself to be hailed as the second Sardar of our Movement and Party. We have thus set up noble records of courageous initiative and scrupulous service.

I have also to pay my tribute to the Andhra Prabha, and all other Telugu Press, Rama Krishna Mission and other Missions, students and many an unknown officer in the Civil and Military service who have all rendered yeomen help to the sufferers of these two disasters.

Thanks to Andhra Public for their Support.

I have had the privilege of touring for a month in this March, April in six out of our eleven districts and our Sardar Latchanna toured for another month in February-March in the Coastal and Rayalaseema areas. Everywhere the Rural masses and towns

people have given us such hearty welcome and made us feel what a mass movement ours is and how greatly cosmopolitan, non-communal and all embracing is our party. Thousands flocked to our receptions where only hundred could be ordinarily expected; and hundreds thronged where only tens could generally gather and they reached the meeting places after travelling for miles and waited for hours after the scheduled time, all for the sake of giving their salutation to us and to assure us of their faith in our ideal, movement and our Party. Such gatherings are not so frequently met with in the ministerial tours, now is there any evidence of such spontaneity or intensity of feeling and faith. Why then have those lakhs of Andhra masses rushed to us to assure their comradeship with us? We are not ministers, nor can we dispense any gifts or favours. But they did not care for such immediate worldly benefits. They came to satisfy their yearning for the fulfilment of our aims and ideals, and for the progress of our movement. I wish to express my gratitude from this platform, to all those comrades who have thus strengthened our faith in them and in ourselves and I trust they too felt the same; that ours is a noble and inspiring movement, we live so fully for our cause and we are bound to achieve happiness and hope for all toilers.

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