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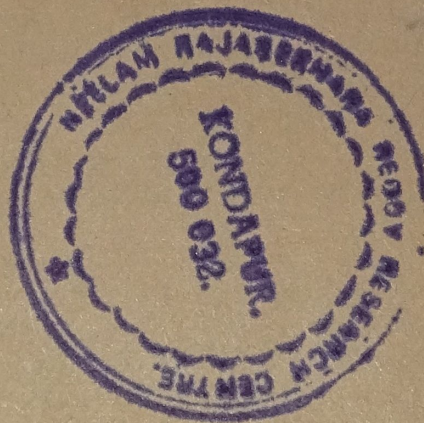
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Our Tasks Among The Peasant Masses

**Resolution Adopted by the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of India**

April 1954

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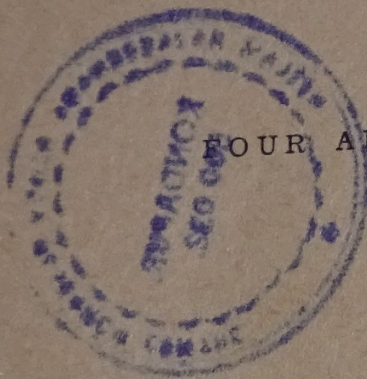


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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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Our Tasks Among The Peasant Masses

**Resolution adopted by the C. C. at its meeting
held in April 1954.**

INTRODUCTION

For the last two years we have been trying to concretise our tasks among the peasant and agricultural labourer masses. In the course of these discussions, various problems and controversies have come to the forefront. The most important of them are as follows:

1. What are the features of our agrarian economy and in what direction is the Congress agrarian legislation modifying it? Does the Congress agrarian legislation keep intact the feudal character of our agriculture or does it weaken it and tend towards development of capitalist mode of production in agriculture? If it is the latter, to what extent and in what form?

Connected with this problem, questions have been raised as to what is the specific character of feudalism in our country's economy; what constitutes the development of capitalism in agriculture, and what is the role of imperialist colonial exploitation in our agrarian economy?

2. Similarly, questions have been raised as to how far class differentiation has taken place among the peasantry. What are its consequences? What should be our demands and attitude in regard to the various sections of the peasant masses? This inevitably leads us to the study and careful analysis of the class composition in the rural areas and to evolve a concrete programme and work out suitable tactics for implementing it.

3. Another basic question that has been raised is whether, when concretely formulating the demands, there is any need to take general propaganda slogans or is it enough to have current agitational slogans only which can be modified into slogans of action from place to place suitable to the needs of the development of the movement.

4. At the same time, questions relating to ceiling, the "right of resumption", rent reduction, tax burdens, economic price for the peasants' produce, indebtedness, consolidation of holdings and prevention of fragmentation, co-operative

societies, panchayats, irrigation facilities, demands of agricultural labourers, separate organisations of agricultural labourers, and the problems of building and activating Kisan organisations, have all become pressing issues before us.

5. And, above all, the question of our attitude to Congress agrarian legislation has become an urgent one.

(i) This resolution does not take up the basic issues mentioned in paras 1 to 3 above, because the C.C. has not yet come to conclusions on them. A solution of these controversies must await further study and discussion.

In this resolution only those issues that are enumerated in para 4 above, which are of immediate practical importance in the Kisan movement, are taken up. The resolution lays down concrete principles on all the issues, which should serve as guidance for our work in the Kisan movement on all these issues.

As for our attitude to Congress agrarian legislation, without going into the question of how far it has weakened feudalism or tended to develop capitalism in agriculture, the C.C. has come to the following conclusions:

(ii) a. Congress agrarian legislation must be looked upon as the product of the growth of peasants' struggles and the general development of the democratic movement. Naturally, where the peasants' movement is more organised, struggles are more intense, and the democratic movement is more advanced, there the concessions are also bound to be more.

b. The Congress Governments adopt two-fold tactics to meet the growing peasants' struggles:

—On the one hand, they enact agrarian legislation giving some concessions. These enactments, however, leave enough loopholes to enable the landlords to evict the tenants and rob the peasants in many ways. As a result, eviction on a mass scale is being resorted to by the landlords.

—On the other hand, the Governments resort to direct police repression and attacks on the peasant masses.

It also raises false issues to create illusions among the peasantry, such as the bhoodan movement, Community projects, and Five-Year Plan development schemes. These issues are intended at the same time to confuse the democratic-minded people about the doings of the Government.

Our tactics must be:—

—Use the concessions in the interests of the peasants and fight for more.

—Defend the existing rights against attack.

—Wage ideological-political struggle and expose the false issues and illusions that are sought to be raised and created by the Government through such slogans as bhoodan, etc.

It should be clearly understood that the Government, faced with the growing peasant struggle, gives concessions, but these tend to be more to the upper section of the peasantry, with a view to divide the peasantry, to create for itself a political base among this upper section, while the Government resorts to repression and attack against the peasantry as a whole. So in utilising these concessions, determined struggle should be waged for uniting the peasants, especially, the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, and defeat the Government's aim of dividing the peasantry.

The C. C. warns against a negative attitude towards Congress agrarian legislation. It emphasises that it is only by utilising the concession, working out and fighting for more, especially in the interests of the basic masses, that we can develop the full demands of the fighting peasants.

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The C. C. also wants to clarify that it is not possible, nor is it attempted in this resolution to give concrete solutions for every issue that faces us in different provinces. The conditions vary from province to province and even from area to area and it is for the respective committees in close cooperation with the peasant masses to concretely evolve the necessary slogans. The resolution gives the broad guidance and lays the basis for doing it.

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The C. C. wants to stress one more aspect: The question of formulating the demands of agricultural labourers and organising them into a separate organisation has become urgent. We have been neglecting it in the past, and this is one of our main weaknesses in the Kisan movement. Without organising the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, there cannot be a wide-spread movement capable of defending the interests of the peasant masses, capable of winning their full demands.

POLIT BUREAU.

I

OUR TASKS IN THE KISAN MOVEMENT

Our country saw the biggest kisan struggles in the post-war national upheaval during 1946. The heroic tenants'

struggle in Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, Punjab, U.P., and Bihar, in Karwar and the Warli area, the Tebhaga struggle of the Bengal peasants, etc., were ruthlessly suppressed by the Congress and League Ministries and the British imperialists. The Telangana peasants' struggle which had begun then, later on developed along the line of seizure of the landlords' land by the peasants and their dogged defence of their gains.

This mass peasant upheaval coupled with country-wide strikes of the working class and the revolt of the RIN in February 1947, followed by unrest and revolts in the armed forces, forced the British imperialists to adopt new methods for continuing their domination in India. They struck a deal with the Congress and League leaderships who agreed to the partition of our country and were installed in power in India and Pakistan. The Congress leaders, after they climbed to the seats of Government continued to follow policies that safeguarded the interests of the princes and landlords, of the British imperialists and of Indian monopolists.

They have gone back on their oft-repeated promises to the peasant masses. They have thrown to the winds the Agrarian Resolution of the Faizpur Congress, which categorically promised immediate substantial reduction in rent, revenue and irrigation rates; fixity of tenure and abolition of arrears of rent and a graded agricultural income tax to replace the present land-revenue system.

But they now speak of zamindari abolition and enact legislations that give the zamindars fat compensation but do not give even the immediate relief that was promised, let alone giving land to the tiller. The Indian Constitution itself, framed by them, guarantees the landlords and vested interests "fair and equitable" compensation.

The policies which the Congress Government has been adopting during its seven years of rule, have resulted in a catastrophic crisis in our agrarian economy. "The production of foodgrains per acre has sharply declined, according to the Report of the Planning Commission itself. Famine conditions have become chronic in many parts of the country. Scarcity conditions prevail in vast areas. With the fall in prices of commercial crops added to the ruin of subsidiary industries like handloom, the distress of the peasant masses has been intensified. Indebtedness of the peasants has increased to colossal proportions. Tens of thousands of peasants have sold away, and are selling away land, their cattle and all their belongings at incredibly low prices due to scarcity and famine conditions. Their properties are passing into the hands of rapacious landlords and moneylenders. On top of

this the Governments in many States resort to coercive measures and sell away by auction the lands of peasants who are unable to pay arrears of land revenue and debt." (*Political Resolution adopted by the Third Congress of the Communist Party of India.*)

This situation is the direct result of the policies of the Government of India—of its refusal to undertake basic agrarian reforms, of its refusal to break with the British Commonwealth and confiscate British capital.

But the peasant masses have not meekly submitted to these worsening conditions. During the last seven years of Congress rule there have been innumerable Kisan struggles against largescale evictions, for rent reduction and against enhanced irrigation and other taxes. The Congress Governments have been resorting to mass arrests, tear gas, shootings and terror to suppress these struggles.

In Telangana and Andhra in over five years, the Congress Government imprisoned over 50,000 persons, raided over 10,000 villages, beat and tortured over a million and a half people burnt down hundreds of villages, uprooted nearly two lakhs of tribal people from their forest abode and drove them into concentration camps, and shot dead about 4,000 persons. All this it resorted to in order to seize the lands from the Telangana peasants and restore them to the landlords. Even now Kisan leaders are facing prosecution in scores of foisted cases; witnesses are being tortured to make them agree to give false evidence. Nearly a hundred Kisan leaders are undergoing sentences of transportation for life. A hundred more are undergoing sentences of various terms of imprisonment.

However, the Congress Government was forced to enact a tenancy legislation, giving certain concessions to the peasants.

In Malabar, in 1948, brutal terror was let loose on the peasants and more than one hundred kisan workers and leaders were shot dead. Their only crime was that they demanded that they be permitted not to pay in kind the rent due to the landlords, but instead pay the landlord's share in kind to the co-operative societies, and pay the landlords in cash. Despite this repression the Malabar peasants have intensified their agitation and won significant concessions in the latest legislation.

In Tamilnad, Bombay, Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Rajasthan and PEPSU, repeated raids, arrests, shootings took place wherein large numbers of kisans were wounded and shot dead, when they were resisting eviction by the landlords.

In Punjab alone, more than a lakh tenants were deprived of their land, and refugee landlords from Pakistan were settled on it, on the plea of rehabilitating the refugees!

Throughout the countryside, the Government is resorting to various penal sections, especially Sec. 107/144, etc. At the same time, the Congress Government is coming forward with various pieces of agrarian legislation, conceding a few minor concessions in its desperate effort to keep the peasant masses under its influence. It hopes that, by its concessions, it will be able to win over at least a section of the peasantry and thus divide and disrupt the developing Kisan movement and the growing unity of the peasants.

The Congress leadership has intensified its propaganda drive, aimed at diverting the attention of the peasant masses and of the general democratic movement from the real issues facing the people and their correct solution.

It promises, to build a co-operative Commonwealth and even a classless society, through bhoodan, through its policies of fixing ceilings for holdings of consolidation, and prevention of fragmentation of holdings; through advocacy of family planning to reduce the population which, they allege, is too much for our country. It promises to do this without doing away with the parasitic landlord class, but, on the other hand, with its active co-operation and participation! It promises to build this millenium following this "unique path", avoiding the "bloody and costly" path which they say the Soviet Union and People's China had trodden.

The Programme of the Communist Party points out the only way to solve the agrarian and national crisis. It declared: "To develop our agriculture and our national industries, to improve the conditions of the working class, to work our way out of cultural backwardness, and to even make our State stable, it is necessary to create human conditions of existence for the peasants."

To achieve this, it is necessary:

- i) To take land from the landlords and hand it over to the peasants, including agricultural labourers without payment and thus realise the abolition of landlordism without compensation;
- ii) To cancel the debts of peasants and small artisans to money-lenders and provide long-term cheap credit, to enable them to purchase implements, seeds and manure;
- iii) To ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers;
- iv) To guarantee economic prices for the peasants' pro-

duce and to reduce tax burdens on the peasant masses;

- v) To provide irrigation facilities.

It is for the realisation of these demands that the peasant masses have been struggling and have to struggle further. How do the ruling classes reply to these demands?

II

CONGRESS AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

The Congress claims to have abolished landlordism! The Congress Governments in various States have enacted Zamindari or Jagirdari Abolition Acts, and are proposing to bring in Tenancy Legislation, or Agrarian Reforms Bills. They are claiming that by these various Acts already enacted they have already abolished statutory landlordism, like zamindari, jagirdari, inamdari, malguzari, vatandari, biswedari, etc. And, when they enact their proposed Agrarian Reforms Acts, fixing the maximum limit of holdings, they will be completing their programme of abolition of landlordism and of land to the tiller. All this, they claim, will assure agricultural development, and prosperity to the peasant.

The main features of these Statutory Zamindari Abolition Acts are:—

1. The right of collecting rents from the peasants is taken away from zamindars, jagirdars, etc., and vested in the Government, who will collect the same directly from the tenants. In return for this right of collection, zamindars, jagirdars and other statutory landlords are paid huge compensations to the tune of hundreds of crores of rupees.

As regards old arrears of rent, the Acts provide that they are to be collected from the peasants by the Government and paid to the landlords.

In many cases, there is no reduction in the rents. Only the peasants have now to pay them to the Government instead of the landlords. Thus they become land revenue payable to the Government.

2. Absolute proprietary rights are conferred on the landlords on hundreds and thousands of acres of the so-called *Sir* and *Khudkhast* lands. For the tenant cultivators on these lands, no right whatsoever is granted. Neither do they get the land nor even fixity of tenure nor even reduction in the exorbitant rents they are now paying varying from $1/3$ to $3/4$ of the gross produce; on the other hand, the landlords are free to evict them and they have been doing it on a large scale,

fearing any future legislation that may be brought conferring rights on these tenants-at-will.

This right to *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land has encouraged the zamindars to resort to subterfuges to evict even occupancy tenants on a large scale, and seize their land, and claim it to be their *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land.

3. The Government has taken over the rights over forest, irrigation facilities and waste and communal lands from the zamindars. Even here, the rigorous enforcement of Government forest laws has made the conditions of tribal people and the people living near the forests worse. Similarly, Government efforts to auction cultivable waste lands and lanka lands to the highest bidder, are depriving the poor peasants and the agricultural labourers of even those lands, which in many areas they have been cultivating for years.

We also find that these Zamindari Abolition Acts have not been applied in many States where the old landlordism still remains intact. In States where they are applied big landlords continue to exist as owners of *Sir* and *Khudkhast* land.

Nowhere do these Acts give land to the tiller free but all of them impose heavy burdens of compensation and even allow his eviction from his cultivated lands by the landlords.

But, in so far as the right of the zamindars to collect rents on behalf of the Government is taken away and their opportunities for making various other exactions have been abolished, in so far as their authority and grip on the irrigation sources, on the grazing fields and also on forests have been removed—all this involving the curtailment of the omnipotent powers of the landlords—the peasants do get a measure of relief from the oppression of these statutory landlords.

III

The proposed tenancy, or land reform legislation of the Congress Government will not touch the basic question of giving land to the tiller.

(i) The proposal to fix a ceiling or upper limit for landholdings is only in respect of future acquisition or for resumption for personal cultivation. Even so, they reject any idea of taking over the land in excess of this limit, and distributing it free to agricultural labourers and peasants, under the plea that such a measure would be contrary to the provisions of the Indian Constitution.

This allows a landlord to evict tenants from the lands

they are cultivating on the plea that the land with him for personal cultivation is less than the limit allowed. Further, they can and are actually dividing their holdings in the name of their children or close relatives in such a way as to bring their holdings within the ceiling. By this device, no excess land above the ceiling will be left for the tenant to exercise the right of buying such land. Moreover, this device would also entitle each one of those relatives of the landlord among whom his land is divided to evict the tenants from his share of the land. Further, these acts provide that it is for the landlords to choose lands they want to retain which means that the best lands will be concentrated in their hands.

(ii) The tenant is given the first option to purchase the land he is cultivating, only if the landlord has already got land or has resumed land to the maximum upper limit. For this purpose, the price of land is fixed in terms of gross produce or in terms of multiple of land revenue, which the tenants have to pay. Generally this price becomes so high that it enables only a small section of rich and upper middle peasants to purchase land. The vast majority of agricultural labourers and poor and middle peasants are unable to purchase any land.

(iii) The tenancy laws provide for certain fixity of tenure for periods varying from five to ten years and of rent from three-fifth to one-sixth of the gross produce. In some cases rent is fixed as a multiple of the land revenue.

But even these laws executed through the bureaucratic machinery which is not amenable to the influence of the peasant masses. As the peasant organisations are not strong enough to enforce the beneficial part of these laws, their full benefits do not accrue to them.

(iv) The Congress Governments are also proposing steps for compulsory co-operative farming. They are proposing to take over all holdings below a certain limit compulsorily and merge them into co-operative farms. Under such compulsion, the interests of the poor peasants will suffer and the co-operatives will become the instruments of exploitation of the peasantry in the countryside.

v) The Congress Governments have also been enacting legislation prohibiting division of holdings below a certain limit and providing for compulsory consolidation of holdings, the plea being that only thus agriculture can be carried on economically. Such a measure leads in most provinces to depriving vast numbers of even their tiny plots and reducing them to the state of landless agricultural labourers. The process of consolidation is working in most provinces against

the peasants and in favour of bigger landholders.

The real solution is the abolition of landlordism without compensation and giving land free to the agricultural labourers and the peasants.

IV

There are landlords who lease their fields to agricultural labourers and peasants for rent in kind or cash, or on share-cropping. There are other landlords who get their lands cultivated by farm servants and daily wage labour, without themselves doing any essential manual labour on their fields. And there are landlords who lease out some portion of their land for rent and get the rest of it cultivated by employing farm servants.

It is those landlords owning a large portion of the land, who deprive the peasant masses and agricultural labourers of their land. Taking advantage of the growing pauperisation of the peasants, and their total dependence on land even for earning a pittance for their life in the absence of industries or any other avocations, the landlords force them to pay exorbitant rents before they lease lands to them. Again the growing number of landless agricultural labourers and the growing unemployment in the rural areas enable the landlord to dictate to the agricultural labourers and the farm servants, the most miserable wages.

Thus even the question of reduction of rents for the tenants and increase in the wages of agricultural labourers is closely linked up with the distribution of the surplus land of these landlords to the agricultural labourers and to the peasants. To draw these peasants and the labouring masses in the countryside into the movement, the question of fixing up the ceilings for land holdings and free distribution of the land over those ceilings, becomes an urgent issue.

Further, without breaking the monopoly of these landlords over the land, especially the hold of feudal landlords who lease out their lands, it is impossible to increase agricultural production to any appreciable extent to meet the food and industrial raw material requirements of our people.

Certain arguments are advanced that large farms that are using modern machinery and advanced agricultural technique should not be broken up and the land distributed, as it would retard the development of agricultural production. This question should not be looked at from the angle as to whether a few modern farms, in the hands of certain landlords are more productive, in comparison with small holdings.

But it should be looked at only from the angle that in the interests of developing the whole agrarian movement, and of drawing in the masses of peasants by satisfying their land hunger, the break-up of even these farms by fixing a ceiling becomes necessary at this stage. Today the main fetter on production is the antiquated land system itself, which cannot be changed without united struggle of the peasant masses against the landlords. Therefore slogans and tactics must be determined in relation to the need of this struggle. It is only by drawing the peasant masses and rural labouring masses into the struggle, leading to giving them land, that ultimately an appreciable improvement even in agricultural production becomes possible and not by the growth here and there of big modern farms owned by the landlords.

1. We must demand and extensively popularise that the ceiling for landholdings should be fixed and that the land in excess of that ceiling be taken over and distributed free to the agricultural labourers and the peasants.

The ceiling should be such as to allow enough income to maintain a person and his family at least at the same standard as that of a rich peasant, but it must not be so high as not to leave enough land for distribution among agricultural labourers and the peasant masses.

The Party, basing on the above principles, must work out what would be such a ceiling from area to area, in close co-operation with the Kisan Sabha, after a thorough study of all the facts and after inviting a serious and thorough discussion with the peasant masses in the area.

2. We must demand that those landlords who lease out their lands, even though they may own less than this ceiling, shall have no right of resumption, even under the plea of self-cultivation, as it would lead to the eviction of cultivators. They may be paid some rehabilitation grant, or allotted land from surplus land if they want to take to actual tilling and cultivation and live in peace with the people. This is especially so in those cases of statutory landlords like inamdars, etc., who never have been cultivators for generations.

3. There are small landholders, who own less than a family holding. (Family holding being in certain cases, that amount of holding which would give employment for a single family of an adult male worker and his wife, with a pair of bullocks, employing seasonal wage labour, or in certain other areas it will be only that amount of landholding which gives a reasonable standard of living.) They might have leased out their lands because it was uneconomical to cultivate them themselves, or because they might have been forced to take up

jobs or trades in towns or villages. They will generally be factory employees, petty traders, low-paid professionals, etc. Those are not to be confused with landlords; their cases are entirely different.

These small landholders should have the option either to come back and till their land, making it their main profession, or lease it subject to fixity of tenure and reduction of rent as per the tenancy laws, or to sell it, or to take full compensation from the Government at the market price, relinquishing the land to the tenant cultivator. If conflicts arise between these small holders and these tenants who are equally poor, the Kisan movement must strive to bring some compromise to preserve the unity of these peasant masses. But in the case of those who have professions with incomes enough to maintain a reasonable standard of life, they shall be paid compensation or allowed to receive the reduced rents, but shall not have the right of resumption.

It is absolutely necessary to popularise the above proposals of land distribution, because the question of limitation of landholdings has already been brought on the agenda by the Congress, which has brought such legislations in certain States and has decided to hasten similar legislation in other States. Apart from the Kisan masses, even their democratic allies in towns are led to believe by these spurious measures that the Congress Government's slogan of fixation of ceiling really abolishes landlordism and gives land to the tiller. Therefore, it is essential to propose a concrete solution for land distribution, and to mobilise the people for a correct solution of the problem.

V

At the same time, the immediate and most pressing task of the Party is to take up the struggle *against eviction and for rent reduction*. The Party and the Kisan movement have to fight all manipulations of the Congress Government and all provisions in their agrarian legislation that militate against the interests of the peasant masses and which are leading to the eviction of peasants from their holdings.

In carrying on the agitation and struggles against eviction and for the reduction of rent, the Party and the Kisan movement must utilise to the fullest extent all the concessions and facilities that are given by the existing agrarian legislation however halting and restricted they may be.

It is necessary to come out with positive suggestions for

improving the existing *agrarian legislations* in favour of the peasant masses. We must demand:

1. Zamindaries, so far not taken over by the Government, must immediately be taken over. Proprietary rights of tenants in the *Sir* or *Khudkhast* lands of these landlords be recognised.
2. Compensation to the big zamindars be withheld.
3. Legislation fixing up ceilings of landholdings and providing for surplus land being distributed free among agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
4. Arrears of rent and revenue be abolished.
5. Rents be scaled down to the level of the neighbouring ryotwari rates or by substantial amounts.
6. Exorbitant water and other rates be reduced.
7. All evictions be immediately stopped.
8. Irrigation and forest and grazing facilities be provided.
9. Proper survey settlements at Government's cost—the work of survey to be finished quickly.
10. All major inams, in whatever forms and names they exist, be abolished conferring proprietary rights on the cultivators of inam lands.
11. Proprietary rights to the land held by service inam holders be recognised, freeing them from the obligation of existing services. Separate remuneration should be paid for any services they render.
12. Tenants-at-will:—
 - (i) Tenants-at-will shall not be evicted and shall be guaranteed fixity of tenure.
 - (ii) Substantial reduction of rent.
 - (iii) Kind rents to be commuted into cash rents and meanwhile the peasant be given the option of payment in cash at the market price, even if the agreement is otherwise.

RENT REDUCTIONS

The amount of rent reduction which we would demand would vary from region to region, taking into consideration the actual rents that are being paid now, the consciousness of the tenant regarding the land he is cultivating, and the number and the relative strength of tenants. There are certain regions where the tenants have been cultivating lands of

big landlords for considerably long periods continuously. Here it is possible to demand greater reduction in the existing rents.

But there are certain other regions where due to intensive pressure on land, due to a dense population and where also the landlords have started capitalist mode of farming, vast numbers of agricultural labourers in search of work accept tenancies changing from year to year and as such they have no particular attachment to any particular piece of land. In such cases, it becomes more difficult to demand an immediate heavy reduction in those temporary rents.

When we demand reduction of rent and fixity of tenure, we mean only the reduction of rents paid by the peasants to the landlords, and fixity of tenure to the peasants on landlords' fields. This does not apply in the case of those areas, especially where commercial crops are being grown extensively like sugar, tobacco, etc., and where the common feature is for the landlord to take land on lease from small holders and pay them low rentals. Here, we must demand increase in the rates that are being paid to the peasants by the landlords.

VI

1. *Agricultural labourers* are the most militant section of the agricultural population. The whole agrarian movement is to be based on those 70 per cent of the rural population of agricultural labourers and poor peasants, firmly uniting with middle peasants and winning over rich peasants against the landlords, forging a close alliance with the working class and the democratic movement in the towns.

The struggle of the poor and middle and rich peasants against the landlords for land, for fixity of tenure and even for reduction of rent, cannot be carried out successfully without the active support of and drawing in of agricultural labourers.

Yet, except in Andhra and to some extent in Taminad, Kerala and a few other places, we have not so far seriously taken their problems and fought for them nor brought them into an organised movement. This serious weakness of our movement has to be immediately rectified.

The Party and the Kisan movement must vigorously take up and champion the immediate demands of the agricultural labourers, as well as their basic demand for land. It is only by taking up these demands of the agricultural labourers that we can draw them into the movement against landlordism, against the ruling class and for land, freedom,

democracy and peace. Failure to do this allows these sections to be drawn into communal, disruptive and reactionary organisations. They may be even turned against other peasant masses in the villages, on the basis of caste divisions, disabilities and oppression.

2. Some of their immediate demands are:

- a) Cultivable waste lands to be assigned to them and the poor peasants without any charges at least for the first five years. Grants and long-term loans for purchasing cattle, implements, etc.
- b) Free house sites and equal right to the use of common lands and sites with others. No eviction from homesteads or from the present occupied houses.
- c) Cancellation of their debts to landlords and moneylenders and provision of cheap credit facilities.
- d) Removal of social disabilities based on caste and untouchability.
- e) Abolition of and penalisation of forced labour.
- f) Free medical and educational facilities by the Government.
- g) Provision of employment opportunities by Government starting various irrigation and development schemes.
- h) Fixation of minimum wage for day labour and minimum salary for the farm servants.
- i) The present excessive hours of work for farm servants to be reduced and a minimum number of holidays per year to be given.

The minimum daily wage of an agricultural labourer must be such as to enable him and his dependents to get at least the minimum necessities of life on the day of their working. The minimum wage is for normal work. But the daily wage for harder work or for busy seasons with longer hours will have to be higher than this minimum. The farm servant should get at least 365 times this minimum daily wage, as his minimum yearly salary.

Overshadowing every other problem of the agricultural labourers the problem of unemployment faces them in an acute form. Millions of them have to wander in search of employment and agricultural work even in busy seasons like the replanting and harvesting seasons, does not last for more than a fortnight or at the most a month. There can be no improvement in their conditions until they are provided with

work. The Party must take up their demand for "work or unemployment relief".

VII

Agricultural labourers should be organised separately in independent class organisations apart from the peasant organisations, because, firstly, they have their own separate demands of wages, hours of work, holidays, etc. Secondly, most of these agricultural labourers are from socially backward or even so-called "untouchable" (Harijan) castes and it will be more difficult to draw them and activate them in Kisan Sabhas directly along with the other caste peasants or even if we succeed in drawing them in, it may lead to the other peasants not joining the Kisan Sabha in large numbers. Thirdly, agricultural labourers will become the leading force if they are organised separately and at the same time brought into the Kisan Sabha.

We should try to draw into the agricultural labour organisations all other wage earners in the rural areas, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, earth-diggers and other miscellaneous manual labourers.

But at the same time, it is necessary to understand that, in certain areas where the immediate major struggle of both the agricultural labourers and the peasants is against a particular big feudal landlord or landlords, against forced labour, against evictions, from which both of them suffer in common, the need for separate agricultural labour organisations may not be so urgent. Wherever agricultural labourers are not or cannot be organised separately, there they would be organised into the Kisan Sabhas directly.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the moment this joint struggle achieves some concessions, it is common experience that the erstwhile ally, the rich peasant, tries to take advantage of the concessions to the detriment of the labourers. Then it becomes absolutely necessary to organise the agricultural labourer in his separate organisation, and defend his special demands for better wages and for better conditions of work.

Also, it is to be remembered that, only when we start taking up and championing the special demands of agricultural labourers and fighting for them, the need for their separate organisation also becomes evident. So far, we have been neglecting woefully the demands of agricultural labourers and thus failing to build even the unity of the agricultural labourers with the other sections of the peasantry.

Since their most important demand for land is also the

common demand of the entire peasantry against the landlord and also because their economic tie-up is with that of the peasantry, immediate steps should be taken to evolve a co-ordinating mechanism at every level between agricultural labourers' organisations and Kisan Sabhas drawing both the organisations into closer and closer functioning wherein the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants would be playing the leading role.

VIII

ECONOMIC PRICES FOR THE PEASANTS' PRODUCE

Due to the machinations of the foreign and Indian monopolists controlling the capitalist market, the produce of the peasants, when it comes to the market, fails to secure economic prices; millions have to part with their commodities at prices even far below the cost of production, to the big trading houses, and agents of British and American monopolists out to secure our raw material at low prices. Such is the case specially of producers of jute, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, oilseeds, coir, rubber, copra, etc.

One of the important tasks of the Kisan movement is to demand of the Government to take measures to free the peasants from the machinations of the foreign and Indian monopolists and give protection to the peasant producers by guaranteeing economic prices for his product.

While the Government is always ready to put ceilings on prices of raw materials in boom periods in the interests of the Indian industrialists and foreign buyers, it is not ready to guarantee economic prices in the interests of the peasant producer. This neglect of peasants' interests must be fought.

We must demand of the Government guaranteed minimum economic prices for the peasant's produce and if the market prices fall below the minimum, the Government must step in and purchase the produce from the peasants at the minimum prices

We must also demand that Government conclude a long term trade agreement with the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies to ensure a stable market and fair prices for our products and thus break from the shackles of Anglo-American monopoly of our export-import trade.

In the case of foodgrains we continue to be deficit and prices are still high. The Government in different States continue compulsory procurement to a limited extent to feed the industrial centres or to relieve extreme scarcity in deficit areas. But these procurement prices are half of what

the peasant would get in the open market a few months after harvest.

We cannot demand that there be no procurement or no price fixation, because it is a question of food for the hundreds of millions of the poor in towns and villages. Nor can we demand that controls of the past be brought back, as they had become means of oppression of the people and of profiteering by the few.

The benefit in the rise in prices between the harvest and the later peak price period does not come into the hands of the poor or middle peasants. The lion's share of it goes to the landlord-hoarder or the merchant-hoarder.

So, we must demand that procurement be done of all surplus grains of the landlords, especially from the big ones and big stockists. There should be reasonably fair price fixed for the procurement of the grain and this fair price must be guaranteed even at harvest times to the poor and the middle peasants who are mostly forced to sell their grain immediately after harvest. These prices should be announced far in advance of the peasant actually starting his cultivation.

We must demand that cheap grain shops be opened in all towns and villages by the Government and rationed quantity of foodgrains be increased especially in scarcity areas at times.

IX

FAMINE: Food scarcity and famine have assumed serious proportions. Tens of millions are starving. Yet the Government proclaims that there is enough food in the country and that the cry of famine and scarcity is false. We have to debunk the Government's arguments by showing how the fall in take-off of rations is due to people's inability to purchase the foodgrains at high prices because of extreme poverty, and how it is not because everyone has enough. We will also have to expose that the official claim about the so-called self-sufficiency is based on the acceptance of the sub-nutritional standard of consumption of food.

We demand that in the famine and scarcity areas, the Government should arrange:

- a) immediate establishment of cheap grain depots, relief works and free kitchens;
- b) liberalisation of the famine code in respect of test works, tasks and wages;
- c) productive works instead of stone-breaking and mere

road-building and protective works irrespective of returns be taken up in famine areas as relief works;

- d) moratorium on all debts and remission of arrears of rents and land revenue;
- e) supply of fodder; and
- f) grants of *taccavi* loans to be liberalised.

At the same time, we must organise famine relief committees in co-operation with others and organise relief. Kisan Sabha and units of agricultural labourers' organisations should work in the relief centres, test works, cheap grain shops, to prevent corruption and make them work properly.

X

INDEBTEDNESS: We have been slack in taking up this demand for cancellation of debts of the village poor to money-lenders and to landlords. Vigorous campaign for immediate moratorium and for legislation for scaling down and abolition of old debts should be carried on.

But legislation will not be of much use unless we see that the Government takes steps to provide cheap credit for the peasants.

The present scale of *taccavi* loans through Land Mortgage Banks or Co-operative Credit Societies is too meagre to meet the need. We must demand enormous increase in these facilities. Loans to the peasants must be at lower rates of interests and the recovery must be on easy instalments spread over a long period.

XI

CO-OPERATIVES: The Co-operative Societies are generally in the hands of landlords and rich peasants. Whether they be Credit Societies, or Market Societies, or Purchase and Sale Societies, or even Producers' Co-operatives, they have been utilised by the landlords and the rich peasants to serve their own interests to the detriment of the needs and interests of the poor and the middle peasantry. This has been so especially where the Kisan movement is weak.

This state of affairs, however, must not blind us to some of the facilities which the Government gives to Co-operatives. The Government continues these facilities and wants to develop the Co-operatives more extensively, to create the illusion that a really Co-operative Commonwealth can be built in this fashion. But, without ourselves falling under these illusions, it is necessary that we actively participate in the Co-

operatives and try to utilise them, to cater to the needs of the agricultural labour, poor and middle peasants. We must fight corruption in the Co-operatives and demand more democratic rights.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: The Congress Government has enacted legislation in different provinces, for the formation of village panchayats elected on the basis of adult franchise and varying powers are given to them over village affairs; we must take keen interest in them and see that the landlords and village reactionaries do not get hold of them. We must endeavour to see that they are under the control of genuine representatives of peasant and rural labour masses. We must utilise these panchayats, take measures to improve the village assemblies, especially in the interests of the poorer sections. We must be constantly fighting against encroachments by the Government officials on the powers of panchayats and against various obstacles that they would be creating. We should demand greater facilities and powers for them. For instance, we can demand that the administration of irrigation sources, grazing fields and forests, distribution of manures and agricultural implements, collection of land revenue, etc., be handed over to these panchayats.

REDUCTION OF TAX BURDEN: We have to formulate demands for reduction of various tax burdens and demand institution of graded agricultural tax. The agitation against imposition of new tax burdens on the peasants is to be intensified and all such efforts resisted. The Party and the Kisan Sabha should be in the forefront in this struggle.

XII

TRIBAL: (1) Reserve line to be kept one mile distant from the villages.

Areas marked as reserves, but without forests, to be given for cultivation. Liberalisation of rules relating to shifting cultivation. Forest panchayats to be formed. Forest produce to be utilised freely by the tribals for their use as well as for sale. Co-operatives for tribals wherein they can fell trees for sale.

(2) All types of landlordism in tribal areas to be abolished and old debts liquidated.

(3) All exploitation by the contractors to be checked and fair prices for the forest collections of the tribals and proper wages for their work.

(4) Medical aid through dispensaries, touring health officers, special measures for special maladies prevalent in tribal

areas, disinfection of drinking water wells, ponds, and special measures to counteract malaria.

Veterinary dispensaries and touring veterinary officers to prevent cattle epidemics.

(5) Special educational facilities in tribal areas, education through their own language; free supply of school material; night schools for adults; free scholarships in secondary and University courses; training of teachers from the tribals.

XIII

IRRIGATION FACILITIES: The Government boasts of its few big multi-purpose projects but neglects many immediately necessary minor irrigation projects. Even these big projects which, taken by themselves are useful, are proving so costly to build, thanks to the bureaucratic inefficiency and rampant corruption, thanks to the employment of a large number of costly foreign experts and refusal to utilise and encourage the talents of Indian engineers and technicians, that people will not get the full benefits from them.

While pointing out the inadequacy of taking only a few of these multi-purpose projects, it is necessary to demand of the Government to devote enough funds for the minor irrigation projects. Without developing these, the big projects alone will not solve the irrigation needs of our peasantry.

It is necessary to systematically work out the most necessary and important minor irrigation projects in each district or region and build up agitation for them. We must even mobilise the peasants to build them, forcing the Government to give maximum help.

In this connection, betterment levies on all the peasantry, in many cases even before the completion of the irrigation scheme, that the Congress Government contemplates to impose on the basis of acreage, must be opposed, as this would make the poor and middle peasant more indebted and ruined. But we can put forward alternate suggestions of graded betterment levies on the landlords.

It is time that the Party and the Kisan movement come forward not only as a critic of the Government policies and actions, but even as builder of projects, organiser of famine relief and flood relief; as a force capable of looking to every institution like Co-operatives, Rural Banks, Marketing Boards, Panchayats and schools; cultural activities, agricultural research centres, etc. It is true, without full power and a people's democratic government, these will not become all-

inclusive but they will serve limited purposes and as examples of what we and the people are capable of building, if only the present rule of the Congress, of the landlords and monopolists is abolished.

The habit of looking down upon "constructive" programmes, without carefully studying them from the point of view of the peasantry and the people, of sneering at working for "reforms" must be given up. The fear that such work will lead us into "reformism" and that we will be creating "illusions" among the peasantry must be given up. It is by successfully leading the peasant masses to achieve these small reforms, and win successes, however small, in all fronts, against the landlords and their Government, that we can inspire and lead the peasant masses into action for realisation of their full demands.

XIV

Vast millions of kisans who see their needs and aspirations embodied in these concrete demands and slogans are moving into action to achieve the same. Even large masses of peasants who still have great illusions that these land relations can be basically altered through the Congress and its Government, are all the same desiring that these demands be fulfilled and aspirations realised. It is this that makes possible united struggles against the most reactionary elements in the country and develop a broad-based Kisan movement and draw in all these elements to join even the Kisan Sabha.

Millions of Kisans, who are disillusioned with the Congress, have been groping their way to solve their problems. Large sections of them are under the influence of the Praja Socialist and other parties.

In Punjab, a large number of Sikh peasantry are still following the Akali Party.

Throughout the country, large masses of agricultural labourers belonging to the Harijan community, are behind the Scheduled Castes' Federation.

So, it is necessary for the Party and the Kisan movement to make the utmost efforts to draw in these masses and Congress and P.S.P. workers into united front actions and it is through these actions that they would shed their illusions. At the same time, it must be realised that it is only if the Party carries on a systematic ideological struggle against the fundamentals preached by the Congress as well as against the Sarvodaya plan of solving the land problem through Bhoodan and other movements, that this process of dis-

illusionment can be successful. We must make special efforts to work unitedly with the workers of the P.S.P. and other democratic parties, while not hesitating to criticise the reactionary policies of the leadership of the P.S.P. and other parties wherever it becomes necessary.

This ideological struggle and united front actions will have to be strengthened through systematic organisational work with a view to the drawing in of the millions of peasants and agricultural labourers into the movement for agrarian revolution.

It is the job of the Party to see that the appeal of the All India Kisan Sabha, to all other champions of Kisans and Kisan organisations which are today outside the Kisan Sabha to come into the fold of the All India Kisan Sabha, is implemented. This can be done, as the All India Kisan Sabha itself points out, by first forging unity in action, to wage joint struggles against evictions, against imposition of new taxes, for rent and revenue reduction as well as forming joint committees of struggle. The Kisan Sabha's appeal to all its lower units to make a concerted drive to form joint committees of all the existing Kisan organisations to fight Kisan struggles on specific issues, has to be carried out. It is then only that the whole mass of kisans can be rallied behind a united organisation.

2. Building of the unity of the entire peasantry against the landlord-imperialist exploitation becomes the most important task in order to develop a broad united Kisan movement.

The problem of unity of the peasantry is mainly a problem of uniting the agricultural labourers and the peasants, including the rich peasants, against the exploitation of the imperialists, feudal landlords and Indian monopolists. An attitude of drift and spontaneity in this respect or failure to study the problem in all its relations leads to either the neglect of agricultural labourers, their demands and struggles, or the emphasising of their conflict with the peasantry divorced from the common conflict of both against feudal exploitation. It is mainly from the former neglect that the Kisan movement has suffered till now.

While coming forward more consciously and determinedly in defence of the wage and other demands of rural workers, however, Kisan workers have to realise that the objective conditions for peasant-agricultural labour unity are daily growing and not declining.

Taking the agrarian policy of the Government as a whole, particularly in respect of compensation to landlords, the prices

of agricultural goods, taxation, famine relief, taccavi and so on, the peasantry as a whole is becoming more and more hostile to the Government and the classes the Government defends, and wants allies in its struggle against them. At the other end, the labourers are also realising that, short of acquiring the lands of the landlord and State-owned cultivable wastes, no other measure can give them a suitable assurance of even a moderate standard of life. Considering these factors, Kisan workers have to go all-out for uniting the forces of agricultural labourers and the entire peasantry for united onslaught against landlordism.

3. To develop the broad united Kisan movement, it is necessary that we popularise the victories the Kisan movement has achieved, the various concessions which it has been able to wrench from the hands of the Government in the form of various legislations as a result of the heroic and persistent struggles waged by the Kisan masses. Too often the tendency is to narrate only the hardships that the people are suffering and to ignore the successes that their struggles have won in the mistaken belief that reference to such successes will breed reformist illusions, while the reality is that, in order to inculcate confidence in the masses, confidence that unity and struggle can win demands, it is essential that such successes won by the people, no matter how small, are widely publicised and made the basis for further advance.

It is also necessary to rouse and organise the peasant masses, by pointing out to them how in the past, the peasants have heroically fought and won many a demand and blazed a path of heroic tradition in the struggle for national liberation.

4. To develop the broad united Kisan movement, it is necessary that we utilise every piece of legislation that has been enacted to the maximum that is possible, to further the interest of the Kisans. We must see that every concession, or facility granted in the legislation is actually enjoyed in practice by the peasants and agitate for further rights and facilities.

We must utilise the forum of Legislative Assemblies to improve the existing legislation as well as to ventilate the grievance of the Kisan masses and get relief for improving the lot of the peasant masses. There must be far greater linking up of our Parliamentary work with the Kisan work outside.

To develop a strong Kisan movement, it is necessary that Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labour Organisations should take up all those tasks which will raise the social, economic and cultural level of peasants and agricultural labourers such as organisation of literacy classes, sports and cultural activities, relief and self-help movement, struggle against social

disabilities, organisation of medical, public health and other forms of moral uplift.

Offices of Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labourers' Organisations must function, daily attending to the various difficulties the kisan masses face, in their relations with the landlords, Government officers and other public institutions; provide them with legal assistance, help them to improve their agriculture by bringing to their notice the latest methods of improving agriculture; help them to fight pests that affect their crops and cattle; help them to get good seeds, implements, manures, water to their fields in time; and similar other multifarious activities connected with the whole life of the peasant and his daily occupation.

In one word, the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labourers' Organisations must become an integral part of the peasant's life, from where he gets constant advice and help.

6. To develop a strong Kisan movement, it is necessary to draw the kisan masses into discussions for formulating their immediate demands. The party and Kisan Sabha organisation must be all-attentive to what actually they have got to say and be extremely flexible in giving shape to the formulations of their immediate demands on the basis of the actual reality and the concrete situation.

This cannot be too much emphasised, especially in view of the fact that most of the active workers in the existing Kisan Sabha Committees, practically at all levels, are not those who carry on agricultural occupation, but who are more of political workers.

7. In developing Kisan struggles, we must show extreme flexibility in adopting the forms of struggle suited to local conditions, to the mood and preparedness of the Kisan masses and to their organisation. All forms — petitions, signatures, demonstrations, marches, strikes and hartals and even civil disobedience, etc.—are to be adopted according to the situation existing.

8. In developing these struggles or even preparing for them, we have been failing miserably in our agitation to explain the grievances from which the peasant masses have been suffering and against which they are preparing to fight, in as wide an area as possible, depending on the importance of the issue involved. It is only when we can effectively popularise our demands, that we can draw in other sections in other areas who are suffering from similar difficulties, to join with us and fight effectively. The struggles, when carried on on an extensive scale, would be far more likely to achieve successes than when confined to limited areas or localities. It is

also only when we can effectively popularise our demands and the struggle far and wide, and especially in the neighbouring countryside and the towns, that we can win the sympathy and support of all democratic elements.

XV

1. To achieve success in our Kisan struggles, the active support of the working class is to be achieved. But it is here that the Party has been failing. We have not been able to popularise the demands of Kisan masses among the working class. We have not been able to make them realise how intimately their life and problems are connected with the outcome of the Kisan struggles and hence the necessity of coming all out in support of these struggles. We have not been able to bring the working class to hold meetings, demonstrations, leave alone coming out in general strike, in support of the Kisan demands.

The Party also must popularise working class demands and struggles among the Kisans and bring them in support of the working class struggles and demands. It is only thus that we can forge unity between the working class and the peasantry which is the guarantee of our ultimate victory.

The Party must make determined efforts to send working class Party cadre from industrial centres to neighbouring peasant areas to develop the Kisan movement.

2. The Party and the Kisan movement must rouse the Kisan masses against the manoeuvres of warmongers, led by the U.S. imperialists and their junior partners, the British imperialists, to unleash a third world war.

It must rouse them to the realisation of what the outbreak of war would mean to their own democratic struggles for land, bread and a decent life; to their kith and kin and cherished desires of peaceful and prosperous livelihood; to their sons and husbands being dragged into bloody wars to safeguard the profits and loot of the millionaires and the landlords and the foreign imperialists.

It must rouse them to demand that our Government follow a consistent policy of peace and against war; demand the withdrawal of all foreign armies from the Asian and African countries; free and equal trade and cultural relations with all countries, especially with the Soviet Union, China and East European Democracies and closer trade and cultural ties and alliance with Pakistan.

It is also necessary to extensively popularise among the agricultural labourers and the peasant masses, the achieve-

ments of the Soviet Union, People's China and other People's Democracies; this will create confidence in their own strength to strive to achieve similar objectives. It will consolidate the feelings of international solidarity, which would help to bring them against all the plots of American and British imperialists to unleash a world war against the Soviet Union and People's China and make them champions of peace.

3. It is also necessary to popularise the Programme and Policy of the Communist Party of India and its unflinching stand in the service of the people and especially the Kisan masses. A systematic campaign of recruitment into the Party of Kisan and agricultural labour militants and their education on the one hand, and a systematic sending of Party cadre coming from the middle class and intelligentsia to work among the peasant masses on the other, have to be undertaken. It is only thus that we can strengthen the ideological-political and organisational ties of the Party with the millions of peasants and agricultural labourers, which is one of our immediate urgent tasks.

Failure to do this will disarm the masses of peasants and agricultural labourers against the onslaught launched by the imperialists, feudal landlords and monopolies, and against the various forms of petty-bourgeois ideology.

4. The Party and the Kisan movement must make special efforts to rouse the Kisan women to join the Kisan Sabha and participate in its multifarious activities. Special efforts are to be taken to formulate women's demands, especially those that affect the Kisan women; and necessary steps to fight for them should be taken. Special efforts should be made to educate the Kisan women cadre.

Similarly, the Kisan youth are to be organised and drawn into Kisan Sabha activity. For this, cultural, sport and other activities and social services should be organised. Peasant youth can be organised into strong disciplined Youth Leagues, to carry out the Kisan Sabha activities and struggles.

5. On many issues, we are lagging behind the movement. One of the reasons is the lack of clarity and confusion on many issues and lack of theoretical understanding of basic concepts. The Party must make an analysis of the classification of the peasantry, the colonial structure of Indian agrarian economy, the recent trends in the development of agriculture, the directions of the Congress Agrarian Legislation, etc. The Central Committee, in consultation with the leading comrades of the AIKS, has to do the job.

6. Functioning the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Labour

Organisation at all levels, should be taken by the Party as one of its most important tasks.

The problems facing the provinces are varied and can be tackled only in the provinces. No day-to-day directions and guidance can be given from the Centre. Hence every effort should be made to strengthen the Provincial Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labour Unions. They should be made the real guiding and leading bodies of the agrarian movement in the province. The function of the AIKS should be realistic and limited. It should pool the experiences of various provinces, exchange them, give assistance to weaker provinces in building organisation or studying problems and so on. It is again the job of the Provincial Kisan Sabhas to organise special Kisan schools for the training and education of the large number of Kisan cadres that are newly coming up.

Collection of donation for the Kisan Sabha is one of the items of routine jobs of a Kisan Sabha worker. He can especially collect funds while running campaigns and conducting struggles and holding public meetings.

The village or union or thana Kisan Sabhas should be live and real functioning bodies, which conduct day-to-day work and struggles. So far these units remain only nominal on paper. To build and activate them is one of the key tasks.

It is absolutely essential that we make a determined effort to get capable peasants and agricultural labourers, who are actively engaged in their occupation, to be on various committees at all levels, and to make them function in them, so that the Kisan Sabha may develop as a real mass organisation and not allow the present position of their being only Party or all-Party political bodies. Only then it becomes possible to forge the live organisational links with the Kisan masses.

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సంపాదకుడు,

మా. వేంకట కృష్ణ శర్మ.

మ హా త్నా - నం ద.

(మాలయోగి)

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చెన్నపురి:

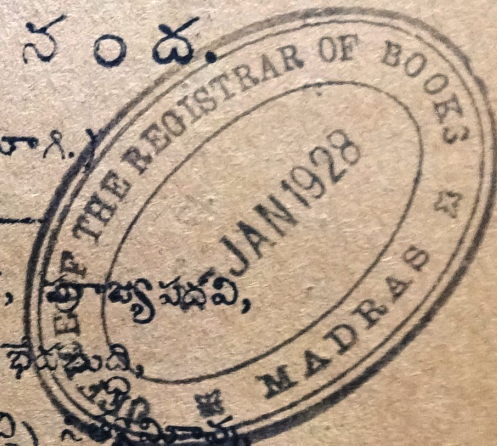
[పాతచాకలపేటయం దుండు

పమ్మి - త్యాగరాయ సెట్టి అండు నన్నువారి
శ్రీరాజరాజేశ్వరీని కేతన ముద్రాక్షరశాలలో
ముద్రింపబడినది.

కాపీరైట్ రిజర్వ్.]

1927

[వెల. 0 8 0.



S.No: 2424
Acc.No: 26243

దేశబంధు గ్రంథమాలా బాంధవులు.

- శ్రీయుత. లింగా. పాపారెడ్డి కంట్లకర్త గారు,
 సుబ్బారెడ్డిపాలెము.
- ” లింగా. రామచంద్రారెడ్డిగారు, ”
 ” నా. వేంకటస్వమింహులురెడ్డిగారు, ”
 ” త. కృష్ణప్పచారిగారు, ”
 ” పె. వేంకటసుబ్బారెడ్డిగారు, అత్తిపట్టు.
 ” దు. సిద్దులురెడ్డిగారు, వెంకటరెడ్డిపాలెము.
 ” గో. సుబ్బరాయలు శెట్టి గారు, ”
 ” క. వేంకటసుబ్బయ్య శెట్టి గారు, ”
 ” ఓ. కుప్పస్వామిరెడ్డి గారు, వెళ్లవుత్తూరు.

వీరికి నాకృతజ్ఞతా వందనములు.

సంపాదకుఁడు,

దేశబంధు గ్రంథమాల.

సుబ్బారెడ్డిపాలెము,

మింజూరుపోస్టు, చెంగల్పట్టుజిల్లా.

ఓమ్.

మ హా త్నా - నం ద.

(మూలయోగి.)

- క. శ్రీకర ! మునిజనహృదయ వ
 శీకర ! సర్వాఘనాశ ! సేవకఫల ప
 ద్ధాకర ! తామసపుంజ వి
 భాకర ! త్రైగుణ్యరహిత ! పతితహితరతా !. ౧
- క. కలదుగదా కైలాసం
 బిల జనులకు మోక్ష మొసఁగి యొసఁగెదదానిం
 బలె దక్కినంపుదిక్కున
 నలరుఁ జిదంబర మనంగ నవ్యయపద మై. ౨
- క. ఆక్షేత్రం బెల్లప్పుడు
 మోక్షాకాంక్షులకుఁ గల్పభూజచ్చాయా
 నిక్షేప మై తనర్చును
 సాక్షాత్కారప్రసన్నజనసంకుల మై. ౩
- క. ఆపురి కిరువదిక్రోసుల
 దాఁపునగల దాదనూరు ధరణీదేవ
 ప్రాపకము నగ్రహారం
 బేఁపున సస్యాధ్యమగుచు నెసఁగెడు నందున్. ౪
- క. వేదాధ్యయన ధురీణులు
 నాదోపాసకులు, విశ్వనాథార్చకులు

భేదాతీతులు, తత్వా

మోదులు పెక్కండ్రు గలరు భూసురు లందున్. ౫

ఆ. వారిలోన నొక్క వసుధామరుండుఁ గ్రూ
రాత్తుఁ దుండెఁ జంపనాగమందు
భుజగ మున్నపోల్కి, బోనంబులో ముల్లు
రితి, విప్రనరుల ఖ్యాతిఁజెరుప.

౬

ఆ. చదువు సంధ్య గల్గి, సంపదలుండియు
జ్ఞాన మింతయైన లేనివాఁడు
సర్వసమత లేని స్వార్థపరుఁడు ఛాంద
మండు వానికి దయ సుంతలేదు.

౭

క. ఆవిప్ర గృహస్థునకుఁ
సేవకుఁ డై మాలయొకఁడుఁ సేద్యముచేతఁ
జీవనము చేయుచుండును
బావనుఁ డామాలఁ డెపుడు భక్తిఁశ్రద్ధన్.

౮

క. ఆమాలఁడు యజమానుని
నీమాలను నిర్వహించు నిర్మలవృద్ధయుం
డై మానసాంబుజంబునఁ
గామారిని మిగుల భక్తి కలనంగొలుచున్.

౯

క. నందుఁ డని యందు రాతని
పొందున నా మాలపల్లె పూజ్యతఁగాంచెఁ
నిందించువారుఁ గల రటఁ
గొందఱు నా మాలపల్లెఁ గ్రూరస్వాంతుల్.

౧౦

ఆ. మత్స్య మాంసములను మానివేసెను దినఁ
గల్లుఁ ద్రావఁబోడు ; కై వువస్తు

వొకటియైన ముట్టఁ డిఁకనాతనికి సముల్
గలరె? త్రిభువనములఁ గానఁగలమె?.

౧౧

ఆ. భూతనాథుఁగొలుచు ; భూతిని ధరియించు ;
భూతదయను మెలఁగు భాతిలేక ;
తనకులంబువారు తప్పుదారుల పొంతఁ
బోవకుండునట్టి బుద్ధిసెప్ప.

౧౨

క. ఆనంద పరవశుండై
యానందుం డాడుఁ బాడు నభవుఁగొలుచున్
దీనుఁ డయి యేడ్చు నొకపరి
మానంబున యోగిపోల్కి మలయుచునుండున్.

౧౩

క. దయ్యము పట్టినవడువున
నొయ్యన 'నటరాజ ! గావవో ?' యని యడుగున్
గయ్యమునన్ నెయ్యమునన్
వియ్యమునన్ శేరిపలుకు వీడనిభక్తిన్.

౧౪

క. ఒకనాఁడు మాల లండఱు
వికలమతులు నందునిఁగని 'వీరులగాకే
సకలాత్ము నీశుఁగొలుచుట
లకటా! మన కెగ్గుదెచ్చు నది విడువుమురా ?.

౧౫

క. వీరఁడు కాటమరాయఁడు
మారఁడు పోలేరు, యల్ల, మల్లమలన్ మై
లారులను గొల్వవచ్చును ;
మారహరున్ గొల్వరాదు మాలకులంబుల్.

౧౬

క. సురమత్స్య మాంసభుక్కులు
పరమాత్మునిఁ గొల్తురేని పాపము పొచ్చున్

- ధరణీసురవరు లాడిన
పరమార్థం బిదియ వినుము! బదు లాడకుమీ. ౧౭
- ఆ. అయ్యవారిమాట లాదరణీయము
లధికమంగళదము లావిధాన
ములను మాని, నీవు మొఱకువైనటరాజ
భజనసేయఁదగునె? ఫలము రాదు!. ౧౮
- క. నీవలన మాల లెల్లఁ
గేవలశివభక్తు లగుచు గీడులపా లై
చేవచెడి యందు రకటా!
పోవల దామార్గమునను బుణ్యము సెడున్. ౧౯
- క. శక్తికి మించినపని న
వ్యక్తుం డొనరించి, తుదను వ్యర్థుండ యగున్
ప్రాక్తన కర్మ ఫలములు
త్యక్తంబులు గాని వసుచుఁ దలపునఁగొనుమా!. ౨౦
- క. జాతికిఁ దగు కర్మములు
నీతులు, మనపెద్దలెల్ల నెలకొల్పి రయో!
బ్రీతిమెయి నడువ దానన
ఖ్యాతియు నిహంపరములందు గాంక్షలు దీరున్. ౨౧
- క. ఇఁకమీఁద హరునిఁ గొల్చిన
వికలునిఁగా దలఁచి నిన్ను వెలివేయుదు మో
యి కలంక! నీకు దెల్పితి
మకటా! నీచెయిది కులము నంతను జెఱుచున్. ౨౨
- తే. కులమునుండి బహిష్కృతి వలచితేని
వారణము క్రొవ్వి మట్టి నవారిగాగ
జల్లుకొను నట్టివిధి నీకుఁజెల్లుననెడు

- కులమువారికి నందుఁడు తొలఁగి నిలిచె
తనమనస్సాక్షి నే నమ్మి ధైర్యముగను. ౨౩
- క. కులపతుల మాటలకు మది
కలఁగఁడు పైఁ బైని ధైర్య కలనం గనె న
త్ఫలదాతఁ గొలువరా దను
పలుకుల కలుకుదురె? భక్తి పరు లెందైనన్. ౨౪
- ఆ. నందభక్తుమాట లందు గారవ ముంచి
మాలకులములోని మాన్యవరులు
దేవపూజలందు దినములు గడపుచు
నీశు నాత్మఁగొలువ నెలమిఁ గనిరి!. ౨౫
- ఆ. గోపునచ్చెనేని గోసి తోలును దీసి
యిచ్చువారె కాని, యిచ్చగించి
పలము దినఁగబోరు; పుచనవాసన నైన
ముక్కు కెక్కనీరు పెక్కురందు. ౨౬
- తే. నందశిష్యు లెల్ల న్యాయంబుఁదప్పక
సుకృత దుష్కృతముల సొరిది యెఱిఁగి
బత్తెమిచ్చువారి పనులుసేయుచునుండ్రు
గురువు—శిష్యు లిట్లు కుదురఁగలరె! ౨౭
- క. నందుని చేష్టలు కులమున
కందము కావనుచు మాల లందఱు గుమిగాఁ
గొందల మందుచు జని యా
నందునిపతిఁ జేరి యనిరి నమ్రతతోడన్. ౨౮
- క. "మావాడలోని యువకులు
నేనాపరతంత్రు లయ్యుఁ జేసెడిపనులన్

వనై నము చెలియ కయో

పాపననామా! ప్రభూ!! శివా!!! యంద్రుకటా?. ౨౯

క. ఏనాఁడులేని వాడుక

లీనాటికిఁ గల్గె నింక నే మగునో? తా

మీనాఁడు సెప్పకుండిన

జ్ఞానాభావంబుచేత గాంతుమె సుఖముల్?. 30

ఆ. ఒక్కప్రొద్దు లంట యుపవాసము లటంట

వ్రతము లంట ధ్యానపథక మంట

లేని వెన్నొచ్చెప్పి కానిచ్చు నందుండు

బ్రదుక లేము వాని బారినుండి. 31

క. తన్మయమంట ధన్యంబట

చిన్మయమంట దృశ్యమంట యదృశ్యం బంటా

ఉన్మనియంట యేమో నంట

జన్మము కర్మములంట సావు లంటంటా! 32

క. మానవు లెల్లరు సములంట

ప్రాణము దేహామ్ము భార్య బంధుగు లనఁగాఁ

గానసములోని మృగములు

గా నెఱుఁగుట యెఱుకయంట! కంటిమె యెందున్?. 33

క. పరిణయ మాడిన యువకులు

పరమువెదుక గోరి భక్తి పరవశు లగుచున్

సరసను జేరక సతులన్

జరచుర జూచెర, రిదేమి చోద్యము సామీ! 34

క. మీపాద మాన మమ్ముం

గాపాడఁగ నలయు ననుచు గాఁకొంపఁగ నా

పాపులయెడఁ గనికరముం

జూపుచు బ్రాహ్మణుండు నందుఁ జల్కనసేసెన్. 3౫

క. ఇటులను గొన్ని దినంబులు

గటువుగఁ గడచనఁగ వాసకాలము వచ్చెన్

బటపట పొలములు దున్నిరి

చటుకున నాట్నంబు లయ్యె సంతస మొదవన్. 3౬

క. వర్షాగమంబు చేతో

హారం బొడగుార్చు; జీవ నాధార మిదే

కర కులకు మరి భారత

వర్ష మునకు సర్వజంతు వర్ణంబులకున్. 3౭

క. జౌలములలో నెఱుఁజూచిన

బలుపచ్చని పైరుమొలచి భవ్యతరం జై

మిలమిల కలుముల చెలివలె

గలిగించెఁ బ్రమోద మఖిలకర్ష కతతికిన్. 3౮

ఆ. అయ్యవారిసేద్య మాలస్యముగ నుండ

నదియ నెపము గాఁగ మదినిఁగోప

మొదవ బ్రాహ్మణుండు నెవ నుంత దయలేక

నందుఁ దాకి కొట్టె మందబుద్ధి. 3౯

ఆ. ఒడలువాచునట్లు లూపిరిపోనట్లు

కనులు తిరిగి చొంగ కారునట్లు

లేవలేనియట్లు లెక్కిడ రానట్లు

మాలవాఁని బెట్టె మంచిపెట్టు. ౪౦

క. కోపి యెఱుంగఁడు ధర్మముఁ

బాసము పుణ్యమ్ము శాంతి భక్తి విరక్తుల్

చేవుణుకువాడెఱుంగునె

చాపప్రా భవము లస్త్ర సంయోగవిధుల్? ౪౧

క. కొట్టిన గట్టియ విఱిగెను;
దిట్టిన వా నొచ్చె చేఱితిపులు హెచ్చెన్
కట్టడి యాపారునిమన
సెట్టిదా? సుంతైనజాలి యేర్పడ దకటా!. ౪౨

క. దెబ్బలు తగిలిన కొలఁదిని
తబ్బిబ్బేమియునులేక తనరినభక్త
'అబ్బా! నటరాజా! నన్
దబ్బున గాపాడు'మనుచు నందుఁడు వలుకున్. ౪౩

క. అయ్యా! ననుగొట్టిన మీ
కెయ్యది లాభంబు? లాభ మేర్పడునేనిన్
వెయ్యారు సార్లు గొట్టుఁడు
కుయ్యిడను మనంబునందుఁ గోపముఁజెందన్. ౪౪

క. నటరాజ రక్షకుం డని
పటుతరముగ నామనంబు భావించె నయా!
కటువగు దండస్పర్శనఁ
గటగట! మీచేయి నొచ్చె గాబోలుశివా!. ౪౫

ఆ. ఎట్టిబాధకైన నే నోగ్చుకొందును
మీకు శ్రమముగలుగఁ మేలుగా న
టంచు నాదుచిత్త మల్లాడుచుండును
తండ్రుబాధ తనయఁ దగులుగాదె. ౪౬

క. శిలకంటె కఠినమైనది
గులకంటె విషమ మైన మాలనియొడలన్

బులుకంటె మెత్తనైనది

పలుచనిమీకరము పెక్కు బాధలఁ బొందెన్. ౪౭

ఆ. తప్పలేనివారి దండింపబోవరు
నత్యవంతు లెపుడు శత్రునైన,
తప్పలేనియొడల దండింతునే నన్ను
ధర్మమర్మ మెఱుఁగు దయ్య నీవు. ౪౮

క. మీయానతి మీరనిననుఁ
గాయము నొవ్వంగఁ గొట్టఁ గాఁ గాయంబున్
బాయుదు గుండను మఱి, మీ
కా యవకీ రెట్టు తొలఁగు; సయ్యా చెపుడి!". ౪౯

క. మాలం డిటువల్కిన విని
పోలన్ విప్రుండు శాంతిఁ బొందియుఁ ద్వరగా
చేలం దున్నించెను గడ
చాలున నాటించెఁ బైరు నక్కగ నెదిగెన్. ౫౦

క. వెలివిడి నై చినపైరులు
మొలచి యెదిగి చూపరులకు మోదముగూర్చెన్
అలకానినాథుఁ గేరుచు
మెలఁగిరి కృషికులును దీరె ఋణము లటంచున్. ౫౧

క. వెన్నులు వచ్చెను వెలుపల
కన్నులు మిరుమిట్లుగొలుప గంటలు గట్టెన్
జెన్నుగ భరమై వ్రాతెను
బన్నుగ గోతలకు నయ్యెఁ బ్రారంభంబుల్. ౫౨

క. రత్నంబులు సత్కవితా
రత్నంబు లుదారసుగుణ రాజితయోషి

ద్రత్నంబులు బహువిధ వసు
రత్నంబులు భరతఖండ రవణంబు లగున్. ౫౩

క. కోతలకాలము వచ్చిన
రాతిరులుఁ బవల్లు నాక రభసముతోడన్
నాతులు పురుషులు గోసియు
పాతర నిడి రల్లవడ్లు పదిలముగాగన్. ౫౪

క. గడుసైన పాలము లంతట
నడుసునైరు నాట్నమేయునద నేతెంచెన్
తడవాయె విప్రునేద్యము
కడ కిన్నూరేకరములు కందుగ నుండెన్. ౫౫

క. ఆవుడు చిదంబరపురమున
విపుల బ్రహ్మాత్సవంపు వేడుక లలరెన్
ఎపు డెప్పు పోదునా యని
తపియించెను నందమూర్తి తనహృదయమునన్. ౫౬

క. 'యజమానుఁ డాజ్ఞయొనఁగును
నిజముగ నటరాజుఁగాంతు నెనరుందీఱున్
వృజనములు దొలఁగు సంతత
విజయం బిహ పరములందు వెలయునటంచున్. ౫౭

క. నందుం డాత్మదలంచుచు
నెందుచు గొరవడని వినయ మెసఁగగ విప్రున్
గొందక 'చిదంబరము జన
డెందమున కోర్కెపాడమి దెప్పరమయ్యెన్. ౫౮

క. చనియెద నానతి నొసఁగిన
ననునందుని గాంచి విప్రుఁ డతికోపముతో

'చనియెదొ చిదంబరం? బే
మనువాడను నీకు నిట్టి యహము గల్గెనే? ౫౯

క. ఇన్నూరెకరములపాలం
బున్నది నాట్నంబువేయ నుడిగితె దానిన్
మన్నిక నొనర్చిపొ' మ్మన
మిన్నందిన సంతసమున మించె నతండున్. ౬౦

క. నందుఁడు నాట్నముకొఱకున్
బొందుగఁ బూనంగఁదనదు పుత్రులు గణముల్
సందడి నేయఁగ శంభుఁడు
కందువ లేకుండ నందు కార్యముదీర్చెన్. ౬౧

క. ఒకపగలు నొక్కతేయియు
సకలాత్తుం డీశుఁ డధికసంతోషముతో
నికబాకి లేనియట్టుల
నెకరము లిన్నూరు నాట్న మేర్పడఁజేసెన్. ౬౨

క. నందద్విజస్సుఁ డాదిగ
నందఱు విభ్రాంతు లగుచు నాదిమపురుషుం
డిందుధరుసాయ మిది యని
చిందులు ద్రొక్కిరి యభిన్నచి త్తములతో. ౬౩

ఆ. ద్విజుఁడు నందుఁ జీరి "తీరె నాగర్వంబు
జ్ఞానమార్గ మెఱుఁగఁ బూనినాను
నీవు గురుఁడవై తి నిజమైనతత్త్వంబు
తెలుపుమయ్య నన్ను తేర్చుమయ్య". ౬౪

క. నీమహిమఁ దెలియఁజాలక
శ్రీమహిమోన్నతినిఁజేసి చేసినతప్పుల్

నీమదిఁ దలంపఁబోకుము

కామారిపదాబ్జభక్త! కాపుము నన్నున్. ౬౫

క. అని పలుక, నందుఁ డిట్లను
“తనయఁడ గద నేను నీకు త ప్పెన్నుదునే?
జనియించె భయము నాకున్
మనమున ; గురుపదము నాకు మాన్యమె?తండ్రీ! ”.

క. గురుమంత్రార్థముఁ దెల్పెడి
గురుఁడే సద్గురుఁడుగాక—గుణసంగుం డై
పెరవారిధనముఁ గోరెడు
గురుఁడు గురుం డనఁగఁదగునె? కోవిదవర్యా! ౬౭

క. తిరమగు చిత్తము లేకయె
గురుఁడను నే నంచు పలుకుకూరులను జగ
ద్గురుఁడు గృహం రక్షించునె?
గురుపాతకకూపమందు గూలఁగద్రోయున్. ౬౮

ఆ. ధర్మగుణము గల్గి తప్పొప్పు లారసి
యుపనిషత్తు లెల్ల నూఁది తెలిసి
మనల నుద్ధరింప మహికి వేంచేసిన
శంకరుండె గురుఁడు సాధువర్య! ౬౯

క. మానవ జీవితతత్వము
లో నతి ముఖ్యము భక్తి లోలత్వమే
గాని మఱి వేరు గా దని
పూని వచింపుదురు మిగుల పూజ్యులు ధాత్రిన్. ౭౦

క. నందుఁడు పతియా నతిఁగొని
కందర్పకహారుని చూచుకాంక్ష దలిర్పన్

విందగు చిదంబరము జని

యెం దగ నా జన్మ నేడె యీడేరె ననన్. ౭౦

క. ‘మాలలు దేవళమును జొరఁ
జాలరుగా యేది తెరువు? శంకరుఁ జూడన్
జాలని నాబ్రతు కేటికి
కాలుఁడు నను మ్రింగఁడా యెఁగా’ యని వగచెన్. ౭౧

క. అక్కడి పూజారులు ‘వీఁ
డెక్కడి భక్తుండు చూడ హీనకులజుడే
నిక్కము తెలిసెను, నీచా!
చక్కం జొరబోకు దైవ సన్నిధి’ కనుచున్. ౭౩

క. కనరిన ; నందుఁడు మదిలో
రొసరొస లేకుండ హృత్పరోజమునందున్
కుసుమాస్త్ర వైరిఁ దలఁచుచు
నసమంబగు భక్తి నాట్యమాడుచుఁ బాడెన్. ౭౪

క. ‘నీసన్నిధి రారాదఁట!
చేసిన నాపూర్వకర్మ శేషం బిదియో?
దోషమఁట! మాలజన్మము?
ఈసున ననుఁజూడనేఱ, ఇభచర్మధరా! ౭౫

క. పూర్వభవంబులఁ కర్మలఁ
బూర్వము నెంతెంతజేసి పొంగితివో! యో
సర్వాత్మ! నేఁడు తత్ఫల
ముర్వర ననుభవము నయ్యె, నురగాభరణా! ౭౬

క. నీకడకు నేనువచ్చిన
సోఁకును దోసం బటంచుఁ జొరనీక బలే

కూక లిడుచున్నవిప్రుల

నేకరణిం దృష్టిసేతు నెందుంజొత్తున్. 22

క. అణువుమొగలు బ్రహ్మాంశము
దనుకల్ గణియింప నీవు దారనిచోటుల్
కనఁగలరె యెవ్వరై నను?

మనుజుల కీ భేదబుద్ధి మంచిది యానే? 23

ఆ. నీవు లేనిచోటు నీవు కాననివస్తు
వీవు లేనిజీవ మెందుఁ గలదె ?
సర్వమందు నీవు నకలంబు నీయంద
సత్తుచిత్తు లనఁగ జాలియుండు.

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క. కొందఱు ప్రకృతి యనంగా
కొందఱు ప్రకృతీశుఁ డనుచు కూకలిడంగా
నందుఁ గలనిజ మెఱుంగక
మందులు కొట్లాడుచుండ్రు మతములపేరన్.

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క. శివుఁడ వన మాధవుఁడ వన
రవి యస చంద్రుఁడ వనంగ రాజీవభవుం
డవనఁగ దిక్పాలకు లనఁ
బ్రవిమల ! నీమూర్తు లగుచు బరగుంగాదే.

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క. నాడై వము నాచుతమున
కీది జగమ్మన సమాన మెఱుఁగు మటంచున్
వాదులు పల్కెడువారలు
నీదుమహాత్వం బెఱుంగ నేర్తురె ? యథవా!.

27

క. అష్టాక్షరియు పడక్షరి
శిష్టము పంచాక్షరియును చేరిన సర్వా

కృష్ణప్రణవము నీ వై
వ్యష్టి నమష్టివ్యపేత మైతివి, దేవా !.

28

క. అందిం దని యనరాకే
కందును లేకుండ నుండు కాలాచ్ఛిన్నం
డందురు నిను బుధు, లన్యులు
కొందఱు మతభేద మెంచి కూలుదురు తుదిన్.

29

గీ. 'ఓంసమశ్చివాయ ఓంసమోనారాయ
ణాయ' యనెడువారి మాయత్రాళ్లు
త్రేంచి మోక్ష మీయఁ దెంపరి వై శివ
కేశవుండ వగుదు కీలక మిది.

30

గీ. మూఁడుకాలములను మూఁడుమూర్తులతోడ
మూఁడుగుణములెన్న మొనసియందు
పంచభూతములను పంచాక్షరములతోఁ
బంచపాతకములఁ గొంచెపరతు.

31

క. ఆరక్షరముల మంత్రం
బార్గురు శత్రవులఁ బట్టి యడఁపగఁ దోడై
చేరు నఁట కమలవట్కము
సారం బాధార మీవె నకలంబునకున్.

32

క. మూఁడై దా రెనిమిదికిఁ
దోడై, ప్రాణంబునైన తొలియక్కర మై,
పోడిమి చెడనిది 'ఓ' మ్మను
నాడెపు ప్రణవమ్ము ; నీదు నామము కాదే.

33

క. ఆక్షరమన కాశ్వతమట ;
అక్షయపద మిచ్చునదియె నక్షరమట ! ఆ

య్యక్షరమే ప్రణవం బంట

అక్షయుఁడవు నీవ ప్రణవ మది వే కానే.

౧౯

ఆ. అక్షరస్వరూప మది నాదమునఁ బుట్టె
నందులోనఁ గల్గె బిందురూపు
నాదబిందువులకు నాడెంపుకళ పుట్టె
నాదబిందుకళల కాది వీవు.

౨౦

క. అల్లాయన హరిహరు లనఁ
జెల్లును క్రీస్తువు ననంగ సేవాఫలదా!
కల్లయగు పెక్కుదైవము
లుల్లసిలుట నీవుగాక యురగాభరణా!

౨౧

క. ధర్మార్థకామమోక్షము
లర్చిలి నీమంద నేను నర్పించితి నా
మర్మా ఘాతము సేయక
నిర్మలపద మిమ్ము వేరు ని న్వేడ నయా!.

౨౨

క. లక్షల కొలఁదిని జన్మలు
లక్షల కొలఁదులుగ శిక్ష లభియించె నికేణ
రక్షణము సేయఁదగదే
రక్షోగుణశిక్ష! భక్తరక్షణదక్షా!

౨౩

క. నీకన్న రక్షకుండును
నాకన్నను ఖలుఁడు పాపి నయదూరుండున్
లేకుండు టీ వెఱుంగుదు
లోకేశా! శ్రోవు పాపలోలుపు నన్నున్.

౨౪

క. నన్నంట రానిదేహము
నిన్నుఁ జూడరానికనులు నీగుణపుంజం

బెన్నంగరాని నోరును

అన్నన్న! భరింపరాని దా నందఱకున్.

౨౫

ఆ. ఆత్మమిత్రు లనుచు నంద అందురుగాని
చేరుసరికి వారు 'భీ! భీ!' యందు
రట్టిమానవులకు నప్పజెప్పకు నన్ను
నిన్నె సమ్మినాను నిశ్చయముగ.

౨౬

క. ఈపాడుదేహమును గొని
నాపడుపాల్లెన్నియందు నాథ యిక ననున్
గాపాడుము! కాదేనిన్

ఆ. ప్రాపెవ్వర పతితతికి పర మిచ్చుటకై?

౨౭

క. అని మానస కమలమున
నునిచి సర్వశక్తియుక్తు నుతిసేసిన భ
క్తుని నందుని బ్రోచుటకై
చనుదెంచె వృషాంకుఁ డగుచు సర్వేశ్వరుడున్.

౨౮

క. జయజయ! జయ నటరాజా!
జయజయ! సర్వాఘదూర సత్వవిహారా!
జయజయ! కరుణామూర్తి!
జయజయ! బుధమానసాబ్జ సంతతవర్తి!

౨౯

ఆ. జాతి మతములందు సంబంధ ముండిన
జాడయైనఁ జూపఁ జూల వీవు
జాతి మతములకును సంబంధమేలేని
జానువైన నిన్ను గాన నయ్యె.

౩౦

క. ఈదేహం బీరూపం
బీదుష్టేం ద్రియప్రసక్తి యింతటనాశం

బై దహియించిన మే" లని

నేదనబడు నందుకోర్కీ వృథ కాకుండన్. ౧౦౧

ఆ. భస్మమయ్యో నంద భక్తునిదేహము
జీవతేజ మీశుఁ జేరె నపు
'తత్వమసి' కి లక్ష్యతత్వ మా నందుండు
స్వప్రకాశుఁ డనఁగఁ జాలె నేడు. ౧౦౨

క. 'నందుండు గుడిఁ జొరరా' దను
మందులు వాఁ డటులబడఁగ మహితాశ్చర్యం
బొందిరి నందుని యందున
నిందుభరుం డుంచినట్టి ఇచ్చోన్నతికై. ౧౦౩

ఆ. "ఇంకనై నఁదెలియుఁ డీశునిదృష్టిలో
జాతి మతము లేదు ; నదయులార !
ప్రేమయొండె కలదు బిగ్గబట్టుడు ; దాన
హాని తొలఁగు" ననుచు వాణి పలికె. ౧౦౪

క. సత్యము ధర్మము కరుణయు
నిత్యానుష్ఠేయములు పునీతు లగుటకుఁ
ప్రత్యామ్నాయము మోక్షం
బత్యాశ్చర్యంబుగాదు హైందవతతికిన్. ౧౦౫

క. కయ వాత్సల్యము భక్తియు
ప్రియము కరుణ మైత్రి స్నేహవిశ్వాసములుఁ
లయ మయ్యో ప్రేమలోపల ;
భయవిరహీతుఁ డగును ప్రేమ భావస్థితుఁడున్. ౧౦౬

గీ. నేడు జీవతేజ మేదిక్కుజూచిన
కోటిభానుదీ ప్తికూటువ యయి

మామనమ్ములందు మసలుచుండఁగఁజేసి
ఆదరించు మో మహాత్మా-నంద !. ౧౦౭

సర్వశక్తి ! చిదాత్మక ! సత్యమూర్తి
అఘవిరామ ! మహాత్మా ! నందాఖ్యచరిత
మర్పణము చేసితిని నీ పదాంకితముగ,
దీని స్థిరముగ నిలనిల్పు దేవదేవ !. ౧౦౮



దేశబంధుగ్రంథమాల.



దేశముకొరకు—మతముకొరకు—సంఘము కొరకు— సర్వత్యాగముచేసిన మహాత్ముల చరిత్రములు, పద్య, గద్యరూపములుగ వీలుచిక్కినపుడెల్ల ప్రకటింతును. సమాజములకు, స్త్రీలకు, ఆదిమాండ్రులకు, తక్కువ జెలల కీగ్రంథము లీయబడును. (భారతదేశాన్నత్యము కొర కీగ్రంథమాల యథాశక్తిని తోడుపడునని నవినయముగ విన్నవించుచున్నాను.) (ఓక్కొక రకము పుస్తకములు 12 నొకటేతూరి కొనువారికి మాతపాలు సెలవులతో పుస్తకము లంపబడును.) ఆండ్రులెల్ల కీగ్రంథమాలాభివృద్ధికి తోడుపడవలెనని భగవానుని ప్రార్థించెదను.

౧. చిత్తరంజననిర్యాణము:— నంగ దేశసార్వభౌముడై—భారత ప్రభుత్వమును గడగడలాడించిన సహాయ నిరాకరణ వ్రతమును పూని—నెలకు 50 వేలరూపాయలు సంపాదించుచుండిన వకీలువృత్తిమాని—సోమరులైయుండిన భారతీయులను తట్టిలేపిన వీరవరుడగు దేశబంధు చిత్తరంజనదాసు చారిత్రము సన్వయరూపముగ లిఖింపబడినది. రాష్ట్రమాతలు భారతమాత నూరడించు నట్టివిధము చదువరుల మానసములను కరగించును.

వెల 0-1-6

౨. మోతీలాల్ నెహ్రూ:—సక్షమున కొకపరి తన వస్త్రములను ప్రాస్తు దేశమునకుపంపి చలువకూలి 7 వేల రూపాయల నిచ్చుచుండిన నాగరికుడు—భూలోక దేవేంద్రుడని పొగడ్డగన్న విలాసవంతుడు—బ్రటిషు ప్రభుత్వమే యుద్ధరింపగలదని నమ్మిన రాజభక్తుడు—తుదకు గాంధీమహాత్ముని సహాయనిరాకరణమే దేశము క్తికి యుక్తమైనదారియని తెలిసికొనిన మతిమంతుడు—అగు పండిత మోతీలాల్ గారి జీవిత సంగ్రహము గద్యమయముగ లిఖింపబడినది.

వెల 0-1-0

౩. వి. వి. సుబ్రహ్మణ్యయ్యరు:— దరిద్రకుటుంబమునపుట్టి బియ్యే బియ్యేల్ చదివి, ఇంగ్లండులో తారిస్తరు పరీక్షనిచ్చి, ప్రభుత్వము వారి వారంటుకు చిక్కక ప్రాస్తు, జర్నలి, టర్కీ, కొలంబు, ఈజిప్టు దేశములకు మారు వేషములతో యాత్రచేసి పుదుచ్చేరికివచ్చి యరవింద ఘోషుతో మైత్రి నెరపి, ద్రావిడ గ్రంథములు పెక్కింటినివ్రాసి, 'దేశభక్త' పత్రికా సంపాదకుడై, జెయిలు కేగి, శేర్నహా దేవిగ్రామమున గురుకులము స్థాపించి, కూతురితోడ కల్యాణనదీజల సాతమునకు బలియైన వీరునిచరిత్రము.

వెల 0-3-0

౪. మహాత్మా—నంద:—

వెల 0-2-0

౫. సరోజినీ దేవి:—బంటరిగ 14 సంవత్సరముల యీమన సీమకేగి యం. యే. పరీక్షనిచ్చినచ్చి—భరత ఖండములోని స్త్రీలవిద్యకు, స్వరాజ్యసిద్ధికి తీవ్రప్రయత్న ప్రచారములు చేయుచు—కాంగ్రెస్ సభ కధ్యక్షత వహించునంతటి గౌరవముపొంది—హిందూ దేశకోకిల ము, అని కీర్తినిగడించి—సంఘ సేవ, దేశ సేవలు చేయుచు స్త్రీలకు మార్గదర్శినియైయున్న నారీమణిచరిత్రము, ఉపన్యాసములు సంగ్రహముగఁ దెలుపబడినవి. వెల 0-5-0

౬. ఈశ్వరచంద్ర విద్యాసాగరుడు:—బీదకుటుంబ మునపుట్టి—సంస్కృతమున నపారసాండిత్యము సంపాదించి—గవర్నరునకు మిత్రుడై —గౌరవభంగమని యుడ్యోగమువదలి—స్త్రీవిద్య, బాలవితంతు వివాహము, కన్యాశుల్క వరశుల్క ఖండనము—ఇత్యాది సామాజిక వ్యవహారములలోదిగి—పరమకారుణ్యమూర్తియని పడఁతులుపొగడ నెగడిన పుణ్యనిచరిత్రము. వెల 0-1-0

దేశబంధుగ్రంథమాల,

సుబ్బారెడ్డిపాలెం, మింజూరుపోస్టు, చెంగల్పజిట్టుల్లా.

రెడ్డి రాణి.

రెడ్లయొక్క సాంఘిక, ఆర్థిక, నైతిక, మతవిషయములను గూర్చి చర్చించునట్టి సచిత్ర మాసపత్రిక, రెడ్డి శాఖలవారందరును తప్పక చదువ తగినది. భాషావిషయములు నిందు కలవు. సం. చందా. 3-0-0

రెడ్డి బ్రదర్సు

రాయవరము, గోదావరిజిల్లా.

దేశబంధుగ్రంథమాల.

ఇందు దైవభక్తులయు, దేశభక్తులయు సంఘ
భక్తులయు చరిత్రములు పద్య గద్య నాటకనూపములుగ
నుండును.

చిత్తరంజననిర్యాణము (పద్యములు)	0-1-6
మోతీలాల్ నెహ్రూజీవితము	0-1-0
వి. వి. యస్. అయ్యరుజీవితము	0-2-0
మహాత్మా—నంద (మాలయోగి)	0-2-0
సరోజినీదేవి (జీవితము-ఉపన్యాసములు)	0-5-0
ఈశ్వరచంద్రవిద్యాసాగరుడు	0-1-0

జాతీయ విద్యాలయములు, గ్రంథభాండాగారము
లు, స్త్రీసమాజములు, ఆదిమాండ్రసంస్థలు. వీటికిని
గ్రంథవిక్రేతలకును తక్కువవెలలు.

౧౨ పుస్తకములకు తక్కువ వి. పి. సంపాదకడు.



వలయువారు:—

దేశబంధు గ్రంథమాల,

సుబ్బారెడ్డిపాలెము,

మింజూరుపోస్టు, కెంగల్పట్టణజిల్లా.

అనివ్రాయవలెను.