CHAPTER II

MOBILIZATION OF PEASANTRY
An analysis of the modes, methods and ideas of peasant mobilization can afford an insight the political messages being disseminated and the peasants responses to this.

The post-depression period positioned the Zamindari peasant at a critical juncture with exorbitant rents and huge debts, while security of tenure became his main concern. On the other hand, the social reform movement in the 19th and early 20th century, the Gandhian struggle and the literary movement prior to 1930s had already made the peasant politically conscious. However, the trends of peasant mobilization changed radically and there emerged in 1930s a severe battle between the Congress ideology which suggested reformative solutions and left ideology whose agrarian demands were more appealing to the mass of the peasantry. Both these groups ventured to capture the peasant platform but one common point between them was that they did not supersede the national liberation struggle in the name of peasant problems, while on the other they tried and succeeded in bringing the peasant under the fold of anti-colonial struggle. However, the leftists wanted anti-imperial and anti-feudal movements to go hand in hand, a programme which the Congress did not support as anti-colonialism was first on its agenda. Irrespective of their motives, they were successful in stirring the peasant consciousness against British rule and the Zamindari system.

The depression brought commodity prices down, and seriously affected agricultural incomes. This period roughly synchronized with a new phase in the freedom movement in the early 1930s. Following the Gandhi-Irwin pact in 1931, there was a lull in the activities on the part of Gandhi and the Congress. This disillusioned the Andhras, and particularly the young nationalists in the Congress party. A wave of radicalisation swept the ranks of the freedom movement from this period and a number of disillusioned cadres of the Congress created a situation in which there developed a general urge among the left oriented political workers to form independent kisan organisations. The initiative in this matter was taken mainly by
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Congress Socialists and Communists and thus emerged a spate of techniques to mobilise and woo peasants to their respective folds.

Formation of peasant associations; using of press and publications; public meetings; conducting peasant schools; organizing peasant days, weeks, marches; and performing hero-worship (veera pooja) were the important methods used in trying to influence the peasant mind. An examination of each of these techniques follows.

No proper history of peasant movements can be written without a survey of newspapers, which helped immensely in moulding the peasant consciousness. In fact newspaper history is inextricably tangled with political history. To educate, to inform and to enlighten, constituted the duty of the nationalist press, whether they represented the right or left ideology. It manifested a growing self-confidence amongst publishers and subscribers in making their growth almost parallel with the growth of peasant consciousness as a class and pushed further in evolving the 'collectivementiality'.

The initiative came from the educated middle class. This small group of educators, the new intelligentsia of the universities, the religious reformers, free-lancing writers and emerging rich-peasantry became the self-appointed interpreters for the silent majority. Obviously they received stimulus from reformative ideas of nationalism and revolutionary ideas of Russian revolution, but the main impetus came from the study of actual local conditions, which in its turn led to the birth of what might be called peasant consciousness and to the strengthening of peasant motivation to action.

A number of Journals and newspapers were started to highlight the peasant problems. As early as 1920 The Ryot (weekly) was started by N.G.Ranga and his associates, but it was stopped due to internal bickerings in 1933. In 1929, the Ryot Patrika of
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Rajamundry was started by M. Narasanna, but it ceased publication in 1933 owing to financial troubles. The Zamin Ryot started in 1928 by Nellore Venkatarama Naidu, became a premier kisan paper of the Andhra. Vahini of Madras was started in 1936, and NavaSakti of Bezwada in 1937. Prajabandhu of Madras in 1935, Chitragupta a fortnightly magazine in 1933, Prajavani of Srikakulam in 1935. Praja Sakti of Bezwada in 1942 and a host of other papers served the peasant cause.

The veteran newspapers like Andhra Patrika, Krishna Patrika and the English daily Hindu served the interests of the peasantry. However their tone was very mild at times and they shied away from reporting the enthusiastic activities of the peasant's.

Krishna Patrika highlighted the acute food problem existing in Andhra areas during 1940s and advocated the peaceful settlement between the agitating peasants and the Zamindars. It waged a relentless battle against the Communist activities and urged the peasantry to follow Congress to alleviate their problems and to free India from British rule. A creative conversation between two workers published in this paper reveals the paper's stand.

First worker: Congress is a bourgeoisie organisation. It favours capitalists and Zamindars. How can we believe it?

2nd worker (a Congress sympathiser): Congress's primary aim is to achieve independence. So it had to take co-operation from all classes. It had declared that after independence it will establish peasants and workers rule. It has also announced that the Zamindari system will be abolished.

1st worker: Why then is it giving compensation to the Zamindars?

2nd worker: Because it wants to solve the problem peacefully. Congress stands for the poor. It gives food, shelter, clothing, education and health to everyone.

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In yet another article in 1946 Krishna Patrika, tried to persuade the peasant that the Zamindars could be reformed by the Congress policies and that already many Zamindars had immersed themselves in Congress activities and were investing their money in welfare activities. Saying that the "Congress will definitely bring change in the Zamindari class for the betterment of the peasant", it declared in its editorial in 1946 that the only aim of the Congress was to establish peasant and workers rule in independent India. It went to the extent of declaring that Gandhi was more than a Communist in solving the problems of the peasantry. However it also cautioned that the peasant was being pampered and that he was complaining about everything. It maintained that Congress was like mother to Andhras and Congress aims should be the guiding principle of Andhras.

Andhra Patrika was another nationalist paper, which gave importance to the peasant question, but advocated a cautious and reformative approach to solve its problems, without Jeopardising the ongoing freedom struggle and without antagonising any of the classes co-operating in the national movement. However, it was ruthless in criticising the government policies affecting the peasants. In one of its several editorials in this regard, it took the Madras Assembly to task for not taking up peasant issues. It did not miss any opportunity to report the peasant movements going on around the world in order to encourage the Andhra peasant. It reported widely the activities of peasant associations and waged bitter criticism against Justice Party during the 1937 elections and pleaded with the peasants to vote for Congress, which it emphasised would attend to their problems. The debt problem was widely exposed in all its articles during 1934 and 1935 and the Congress ministry was urged to find remedy to this problem. It published several poems in an attempt to make the peasant mind favourable to the Congress party, for instance, "for the well-being of the peasant, Congress should come to power; if taxes are to be reduced—vote for Congress". Another poem written by Settipally Venkataratnam,
entitled "An advice to the Ryot," goes: "election have come to show the might of the peasantry, peasants should roar so that the entire world would bear, come on peasants; come ; to establish your rule, //

G.Brahmayya (INC candidate) like Brahmanayudu (a historical personality) should tumble down the prestige of Challapalli Raja, Narayana (INC) should cut short the cattish strategies of Mirza Zamindar and destroy in the Nuzvid forests//
Baddepudi (INC) lion should pounce upon on Venkatagiri Raja and declare victory//
Ranga, the great sovereign leader of Indian peasant is leading you//
So my dear peasants make Congress a victorious party only to make these anti-Indian Zamindars, a sanyasi folk//"

(It should be mentioned that in the 1937 elections many Zamindari people contested against Congress candidates and were defeated throughly).

Another provocative article, was captioned "Who saves the peasant? It is Pitapuram Raja (Peoples Party) or Pallam Raja (INC)"

The paper gave an opportunity to a number of peasants to enumerate their problems in its paper by allocating space, at regular intervals. It also brought out special supplements on every Thursday from 1933 on the subject 'Agriculture and Co-operative Farming'.

Peasant marches and peasant weeks organised by the various peasants associations were given wide publicity. The editorials ruthlessly criticised on the short expenditures allocated to the agriculture sector in the budgets. When Japan banned Andhra cotton, Andhra Patrika carried a series of articles provoking the peasants to agitate and to take up this matter to the corridors of Assembly. However, in all its attempts, Andhra Patrika like Krishna Patrika underplayed anti-zamindari movements and concentrated mostly in moulding peasants mind according to the Congress ideology and talked less about the needs of agricultural labourers. While welcoming the abolition of Zamindari system, it favoured adequate compensation to be given for the Zamindars. Regarding the peasant-agricultural labourer relationship, it advocated a cordial and mutual understanding to be developed between them, and compared both to a wife and husband and also to two bullocks.
tied to a cart; meaning that the two should go in a single direction in order to reach the destination. 39

The popular English daily Hindu too towed the line of the above two nationalist papers regarding peasant issues. However, it was very useful in exposing the repressive character of the colonial state.

Several other Telugu and English papers expressed similar views. Telugu (weekly twice) was very critical about 1908 Estate Land Act and subsequent Acts of 1934 and 1936 and published a series of articles about the loopholes in these Acts. 40 The Vijaya a fortnightly from Tanuku in its article of 1937 on 'the evils of capitalism and poverty' strongly blamed the zamindary system and British rule for the miseries of the peasants. 41

Stanika Palana, a monthly from Bezwada brought special issues while the Madras Assembly was proceeding with Debt Relief Act and furnished the peasants with reliable information. 42

Vijayavani, from Anantapur followed very closely the Kalipatnam peasant Satyagraha. Swatantra Bharati a weekly from Bezwada was critical of the policy of importing of food grains and demanded the government to take measures to encourage more indigenous agricultural production. Bharati a literary journal urged the peasants to be far away from caste and communal feelings. The Jarnabhumi in its article entitled 'Peasants and Congress', reveals the attitude of the Congress party towards peasants, it reads thus, "as our struggle for independence progresses, its success will depend on the impression it makes on the masses, their active sympathy is essential. We should launch an intensive propaganda throughout the country. If this propaganda is to be effective, it should bring to the peasants, who are the bulk of the people, the concrete nature of the swaraj we aim at. Mahatmaji's eleven points of 1930 include many of the unspoken demands of our masses. It will be useful to consider them in greater detail and evolve a complete picture of what swaraj should do for the peasants. The present legal system is too costly and cumbrous to afford any protection to the peasant against the oppression of Zamindars and others. Some form of panchayat in which the peasants will be in a majority hand which
will have the power to protect the individual peasant from tyranny should be the basis of the swaraj constitution. 46

Zamin Ryot, which began its publication in 1930, was one important paper which concentrated exclusively on the peasant question and was in the forefront in educating and mobilising the Zamindari peasants. In the 1937 elections it worked very efficiently and was the first paper in Telugu to use cartoon pictures. 48 It published articles emphasising the need of peasant associations, the benefits and securities such associations provide. It also published information on the social and economic conditions of peasants in European countries. Its editor Nellore Venkatarama Naidu published his famous song 'we don't want this association with the zamindars' in 1933 which in fact became a magic song stirring the peasants against the Zamindari system. It indirectly helped in strengthening the Congress organisation by canvassing among the peasantry the need for independence along with the abolition of the Zamindari system. Its attack was also directed against the Communists especially in the 1940s when the Communists started supporting the British in its war efforts in the name of people's war. 52

Another peasant paper, which advocated the overthrow of the Zamindari system through violent means was the Vahini from Madras. According to the report of the Commissioner of Police of Madras, its editor K. Brahmalah was a person with Socialist leanings and keenly interested in the peasant movements, and it was felt that the journal was likely to be used in furtherance of the Socialist and peasant movements and that his avowed object was to stir up the ryots and workers. Its articles were worded with provocative sentences, some such were, 'in Zamindari areas the ryot is alleged to be a slave whose vitals are sapped by the village officers to fill their stomachs, what Indian ryot produces goes to foreign countries; the endeavour of Gandhi to awaken the ryots from their lethargy and to unite them are said to have been responsible for the government appointing a Commission (the Linlithgow Commission of Agriculture) whose
recommendations, too, have not been accepted by them. The Congress should use all energies for the protection of the ryot. The article concluded with the observation that until the ryots gird up their loins and enter the field of action India cannot obtain independence and their problems cannot be solved. In yet another article it advocated that Socialism was the only solution to the terrible Indian problem of land; it advanced three reasons for the general decline of the ryot despite the construction of anicuts and reservoirs a) he is not the owner of the land under his cultivation b) agricultural implements are not his c) the produce raised by him is not his; thus in socialism alone lies the ryots's salvation. Justifying its claims for socialism Vahini argues that capitalism stands for the peace and happiness to a few. Political independence would promote peace and happiness among the people, only when it is allied with economic independence. It says "the Zamindars and maharajas are veritably a drag on the community.... class war alone with all its revolutionary forces can solve the problems of our poverty and unemployment. If the Congress desires, swaraj, it should alter the present conditions and bring into force not only political freedom but also the Karachi resolution which defined economic freedom alone as swaraj". Inciting the peasants against Zamindari system, it remarked, "there can be no peace in Andhradesa, unless the domination of these deceivers, the Zamindars, everyone of whom is acting like a Dyer, is checked since the patience of ryots has been exhausted."

When security was demanded from Vahini by the government it ceased publication and its management started a new paper called Kranti from the same press in 1939, and continued its sharp criticism against the government and the Zamindari system. It not only directed its attacks on the British and Zamindars but also against the Congress Ministry for not fulfilling the aspirations of the peasants; "why should we carry on the fight with the British government? If our country comes out victorious from the fight what are the benefits that will accrue to us? Congress should give proper answer." It also, said, "let
peasants and workers struggle for independence, what we want is not mere swaraj but the peasants and workers rule. In its editorial the Kranti writes, "the greatest defect in the Congress programme is, it did not define swaraj it should have declared its chief item of its programme of work the ideal of the economic needs of the peasants and workers." However, throughout their publication Kranti and Vahini preached national liberation and though they criticised the Congress, they never attempted to overshadow the Congress organization in the fight for freedom.

Andhra vani another vernacular paper also raised the problem of the peasantry and in one of its issues it tried to stir the mind of the peasant. "why are you dumb, ye poor raiyats? can you not in a loud voice proclaim your rights? can you not raise your hand and show your might? with a hungry stomach and a naked body how long do you labour in vain? you are not able to support your children, how can you beat the burden of taxes? look at your wailing children and your ailing wives? do they not goad you to stand up demanding your rights?"

T. Prakasam's Swarajya (1921-1935) admirably served the peasant cause. Though the object of the paper was to propagate the ideas and programme of the Congress it published in great detail the problems of the peasantry. It highlighted the views of the Indian League delegation on the poverty in Indian villages. His Village Republic (1940-42) championed the cause of self-sufficient economy.

The Communist dominated papers, Navasakhi and Prajasakti also played a significant role in moulding the mood of the peasantry in the anti-colonial and anti-zamindari agitations. In journalism and literature the Communists were the first to promote simple, clear, and crisp modern prose, in place of the archaic style preserved by generations of established Telugu writers. Though one may not label the Communist propaganda as revolutionary in that it never advocated for a complete change in the land relations; yet it was more radical than that of Congressmen and
Socialists. Though the C.P.I. leadership was essentially elitist, belonging to the middle and rich landlord upper castes, it was also sensitive to the problems of the poor peasantry and lower caste agricultural labourers. As there was a ban on C.P.I. from 1934 to 1942, most of the Communists worked through the C.S.P. peasant associations and foremost part they remained in the Congress itself.

They ran Prabha under the guidance of Gadde Lingayya in 1935 for a few months to propagate Marxist ideas. But the publication of Navasakti from Rajamundry in 1937 with Madduri Annapurnayya as its editor marked the beginning of a fullfledged Communist paper in the Andhra area. Very soon it was shifted to Vijayawada and continued to be published as a weekly till it was banned during second world war. It directed a number of peasant marches, and played a very important role in bringing the peasants to give witness before the Prakasam Committee. It warned the Madras ministry that if the Prakasam Committee recommendations were not implemented, peasants would resort to violent methods. Navasakti highlighted and focussed on the Kalipatnam, Challapalli, Munagala satyagrahas. It advocated the abolition of Zamindari system. In its Tripuri Sanchika, Navasakti, published a front page article on various peasant struggles that occured in Indian history and urged the peasantry to be vigilant of the exploiters and be ready to fight against them. Apart from reporting peasant events, it allotted two pages to world news, two to national news and a special feature when Navasakti was banned in 1939, the Communists brought out a secret cyclostyle paper named Swatantra Bharathi to propagate its ideas. In 1945, Prajasakti came out as a daily from the Communist party. It followed the footsteps of Navasakti. It was more successful in bringing the agricultural labourers to its fold by advocating the distribution of banjar lands to them, and preaching for peasant-labourer unity, and adequate wages. However, though it was bitter in its criticism against
the Congress in regard to the peasant question. *Prajasakti*, from the beginning wrote articles encouraging peasants in their fight against colonial rule and favoured Gandhi in his fight for freedom. Its headings ran like this, 'peasant is the patriot', 'peasant is the backbone of freedom struggle', 'peasant and worker co-operation should be the founding stone of free India.'

In all most all the papers satirical cartoons were carried. They exercised an influence all out of proportion, in the political and cultural life of the peasant. They expressed the growing feeling of antagonism towards the exploiters. At a time when the literacy rate was still very low, these cartoons spoke volumes. Few were spared and all sorts and conditions of men were freely caricatured and it proved to be an impressionistic device that needed no translation.

Yet it would be not right to claim too much for the press as the majority of the people did not see newspapers, let alone read them. The credit goes to the peasant activists who ventured to go to the villages to convey to the villagers what was written. We will see in a later section how this mechanism functioned.

Apart from newspapers and journals, several books were written to educate and inform the peasant about the exploitative mechanism of the colonial rule and Zamindari system and the ways and means to get rid of this evils.

In this regard, the first book to be mentioned would be *Malapalle* written by Unnava Laxminarayana in 1922, where the author unravels the way in which capitalists, landed aristocrats and bureaucrats were trampling under foot the toiling masses, and the growing nexus between the various limbs of the government such as the police, the magistrate, the Judicial and Jail department and corrupt, dishonest and cruel officials. The peasants and workers thereby affected are awakened, become class
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conscious, form union and work for the emancipation from alien
and exploitative rule. He ends the novel where India achieves
independence and fashions a type of government suited to meet the
demands of the peasant and working classes and all are happy.
However, throughout the novel the author stresses the
underlying need for peasant worker co-operation and in the novel
a Kamma landlord's son helps the agricultural labourer belonging
to a harijan family in his attempts to secure minimum wages for
the agricultural labourers. The book was proscribed by the
Government in 1932, for its attack on government departments.

Closely following the above novel, N.G.Ranga, wrote in 1933 a
novel Harijana Nayakudu, which emphasises the need for peasant
worker coalition, to achieve their respective goals. He
visualises a situation where the peasant and his labourer live
happily respecting each others needs. This story is about an
agricultural labourer belonging to a harijan family who attempts
to reform his community socially. Finally he succeeds in his
venture with the help of his master, a Kamma landlord's son. In
each and every page Ranga tries to see that the agricultural
labourers praises the benevolence of the rich peasant class.
Though a mention is made about a few greedy and cruel peasants in
the story, he ends it with the impression that the landed
peasants and agricultural workers will lead a happy life if their
efforts are coordinated with the peasant at the helm of affairs.
To quote few references will make the intention of the author
very clear. Basavalingayya, the harijan leader says, "I along
with my community will always serve the peasants with loyalty,
patience and strength, for the generosity you have showered upon
me". Replying to this, Ramanayya, the landlord blesses
Basavalingayya, "like you, the entire community of yours should
serve us faithfully, loyally and with respect".

Ryotu Bhajanavali, which was first published in 1934, served
the interests of the peasant by not only informing them of the
deplorable conditions surrounding them, but also roused popular
sentiment of the peasants and helped to activate their energies
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in full strength. The Burrakatha troup of G.Venkatasubbayya, Bhajana Samaj of Chityala, Band troup of Divi taluq, Hutchinsons Recording company, students of peasants institute, peasant marchers etc., carried these songs to all corners of Andhra. The appealing strength of the poems will be known if one reads them. These poems were collected and edited by N.G.Ranga and printed at the Swarajya printing press in Bezwada. One song reads like this:

We do not want this association with Zamindars, lying in ambush for our lives, it has destroyed our honour, though there is a failure of crops, they will not give up taxes, they will file rent-suits which would be followed by distress, they would set upon their agents and would shoot us down, if we were to make a protest, every year they enhance the assessment; when will their violence cease?
when we tell them that banks have breached, they turn a deaf ear, put an end to their cruel administration, oh God, In the Venkatagiri Zamindari they collected Rs.70/- per acre, oh, Father (God) we cannot hear the burdensome taxes which bring tears to our eyes we prefer to migrate to government villages at least, there is no system of imposing taxes, they do it blindly, we labour eternally without minding the hot sun and raise crops, in the end they snatch, we have to pay bribes publicly, besides there are court-expenses, when can the ryot live happily? they would not spend even a pie for the benefit of the ryot,

They would spend money like water on polo games without realising that it is the people's money, it seems they would go to the legislative council on our behalf, but having gone there, they would ruin us, they execute decrees (against us) and holding the bowl in their hands, they come begging for votes, they impound cattle, catch hold of the milch buffalo and trouble us for votes, they dont allow land revenue remissions to be decided by legislation, they would even bribe politicians and rally them to their side concealing the fraud, they would make them write such good reports upon themselves (Zamindars) so that the world might appreciate the latter, Oh, God we don't want this association with Zamindars.

An another poem, entitled 'why do you do nothing',

why do you do nothing? you, the kisan king, can't you tell people your rights?
can't you publish your prowess with gusto?

how do you bear this burden of taxes?
while failing to feed your beloved family,

wadding through mud, walking through thorn,
crops you raise after untold sufferings, yet, you don't find
enough to eat,
is there then no limit to your slavery?

you ply the plough, break open our beloved mother earth,
and these millionaries, butterflies, are dancing your death
dance dance.

The poem 'unite, unite, oh, the peasant' celebrates the
unity of peasant.

we yearn for food, for freedom, for favour,
if only we all are united,
we, the peasants,
we, the workers

Might there is today amidst the peasant and the proletariat,
caste or creed we need not bother,
together we live, united we inarch.

Another poem encouraging the peasant and treating him as
national hero read thus,

The entire country is now depending upon you, oh, peasant,
you are the crusader oh, peasant,
come on come on, and show your power, oh, peasant.

Showing direction to the peasant mass, one song runs like
this,

To establish the rule of all hard working people,
peasant-labour people unite and march forward,
establish a rule where the peasant get his proper share of
production
establish a rule where the worker does not succumb to exploitation,
establish a rule where the artisans live strengthening the
country side,
political independance may come,
alien rule may go,
but real life to the country will come
only when the peasant is developed
To establish a rule where all hard working people take part.

Another song entitled Peasant's State: envisions a peasant
rajya:
Did Gandhi tell simply, that if peasant comes to power, Rama Rajya would have come for the peasant is innocent and uncheatable.

Oh, peasants, the state is yours, hey, peasant king, you are kings, peasant days have already come,

come on come on- for peasant's service, freedom and food, the peasant will give, peasants should rule and we should see Rama Rajya.

In many songs the message was clear, raising protest meant changing the order of domination and sub-ordination. However, in these songs both millenarian and mundane aspirations and concerns were linked with the concept of Ram Rajya and Swarajya.

Apart from Ryotu Bhajanavali, several other books containing similar songs were published during this period and important among them was the book entitled Karshaka (meaning Peasant). In this the author asks the peasants to ward off caste feelings which would prove suicidal to the cause of the peasantry. He questions the existence of God for not helping the peasants to resolve his problems. He provokes the peasant by saying that" you are the maker of the state, not the aristocracy". He accuses scholars and poets, who are not working for the cause of the peasantry, that they sold themselves to the donkeys who have money.

This was also the time when many young people were turning to the Marxian thought following the success of the revolution in the Soviet Union, and the growth of left wing in the Congress party. Formation of the C.P.I and C.S.P gave further fillip to this trend. The economic deterioration of the peasantry in the wake of depression clubbed with the disillusionment of Gandhian style of politics, a section of Andhra youth advocated a radical approach in solving the peasant problems. Narrating this trend in later years, N.G.Ranga observed, "during this period(1930-40), leftist literature was a craze among us all. The publication of
the 'Left Book Club' of London, Soviet literature and also the books of John Stratcly and Jawaharlaljee, Edgar Snow, Maxim Gorky, G.H.D.Cole were extremely popular. Literature on China, had a vogue of all their own". P.Sundarayya in his autobiography, states that after reading Communist Manifesto he became a ardent Communist and started spreading Communist ideology among masses.

Krishna District Congress Socialist Party published a telugu book entitled Life of Lenin to encourage the peasants to turn to Lenin's mode or agitation. However this book was proscribed by the Government.

Another book Socialism Ante (What does Socialism Meant) demanded that land, industries, cultural institutions etc., should be equally distributed and enjoyed by all citizens. Sandesam (Message) which was a telugu translation of 'Appeal to the Youth' written by the French Anarcho Communist Prince Kropotkin, deplores the unjust and one-sided law of the country and calls on young men, women, peasants, workers and military to join hands to destroy the law of the country and over-throw the present social order in which zamindars and landlords live at the cost of the poor labouring classes.

Karl Marx Upadesamulu (the teaching of Karl Marx) was a translation of Lenin's The Teachings of Karl Marx. It advocated that the lower middle class small manufacturers, small traders, handicraftsmen, peasant proprietors— one and all fight the bourgeoisie in safegaurding their existance as sections of the middle class. This book too was proscribed by the Government in 1937.

Lenin Upadesamulu (Teaching of Lenin) was a telugu translation of the book Lenin by R.P.Dutt. Its forward 'Russia Viplavam 1905' was banned by the Congress Ministry in the Madras Presidency, on the grounds that it contained passages tending to incite armed rebellion and the commissioning of offences.
involving violence, and that it was expressly published to serve as a help in devising programmes and in working them out in practice.

Paris Commune was a literal translation of Lenin's book The Paris Commune. It characterises the Paris Commune of 1871 as the dress rehearsal in world history of the socialist revolution of the working class. The object of this translation seems to be to rouse the working class in India to militate action for the violent overthrow of the present order of society.

India Bhavishyathu (the Future of India) argues that the conditions in the country would remain the same so long as the Zamindari and capitalist system continue to prevail and says that if India wants real independence these evil systems should be removed. Another book arguing on the same lines was Swatantra Garjana (The Roar of Independence) written by V.V.Subramanya Sastry. Viplava Yugamu (Terrorist Age) says that the conditions of the poor peasants is deplorable and that the women folk of poor ryots, who failed to pay their taxes and rents were forcibly removed to bungalows and raped.

The telugu drama Zamin Ryot depicts the conditions of peasants in the Zamindari areas. From the beginning it narrates the ill-treatment meted out by the Zamindars to their tenants and the resulting hardship of the latter. It was calculated to discredit the Zamindari system. The Government of Madras prohibited this on the grounds that the drama might create unnecessary tension between the Zamindars and their servants.

Another telugu drama entitled Guru Babu designed to foster Communist ideas in the minds of the masses was proscribed.

Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto, Engels Communist Fundamentals, Lenin's Imperialism were among the number of translations made into Telugu. This trend was given further
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fillip with the establishment of Vishwa Sahithya Mala Publications at Munganda (East Godavari District) in 1935. It is said that the publishers themselves took these books to the houses to introduce them to the masses. During the second world war, Communists launched Prajasakti publications and published Communist literature. It was responsible for the publication of Maa Bhoomi (Our Land) drama which was staged several times in Andhra.

A pamphlet entitled Peda Ryotula Kashtalela Potayi? (How will the difficulties of poor peasants be solved?) was very critical of Congress agrarian policies. It demanded progressive taxation of agricultural communities, and land for the tiller. It appealed to the middle peasants to co-operate with the labouring class in solving their problems.

The pamphlet issued by the 'Workers and Peasants' Party and addressed to the Congress as early as 1927 demanded that if Congress comes to power it must guarantee to the peasants that the land belongs to the tiller, reduction of land rents, exemption from rent for poor peasants, protection against the avarice of money-lenders and assistance by means of credits to the cultivator. It appealed to the Congress, that if it wished to conduct the struggle for national liberation, it must become the party of the people, representing not only the few of the electorate, but the unfranchised majority.

Sri Sri, the idol of two generations of aspiring telugu writers, was a revolutionary poet leading a writers' movement a full decade before the C.P.I. organized its literary front in the form of the All India Progressive Writers Association in 1943. This organisation gave much attention to the cultural and social development of the people.

Though many of the books of leftist leanings did not exclusively deal with the question of peasantry, they reflect the radicalisation of thought, in the country-side, and providing
wide canvass for the peasant mind to respond. They created a suitable environment, conducive to rational and radical thinking. The symbols and slogans of the Russian revolution became very popular.

Kambhampati Sathyanarayana was another active Communist ideologue who deeply appreciated the Communist movements in USSR. He authored Soviet Union Today, Dialectical Materialism: Ends and Means, and also translated Stalin's Foundation of Leninism.  

Apart from these Communist produced literature, special mention needs to be made of Prof. N. G. Ranga, who gained prominence for his techniques of peasant mobilisation. He wrote several books on peasant problem. The following are the books written by him.  

Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, Deltaic Villages, vol. I, 1926,  
Economic Organisation of Indian Villages, Dry Villages, vol. II, 1928,  
Hand-loom Weaving Industry, 1930  
Economic condition of the Zamindari ryots, 1933,  
Tribes of the Nilagiri's - Their economic conditions, 1928,  
Harijana Nayakudu, 1933,  
Agricultural Indebtedness, Remedial measures,  
Labour in South India, 1934,  
Modern Indian Peasant, 1936,  
Kisan Speaks, 1937,  
Peasants and Congress, 1937,  
History of the Kisan Movement, 1939,  
Kisans and the Communists, 1942,  
Outlines of National Revolutionary Path, 1945,  
Challenge of World Peasantry, 1942,  
Colonial and Coloured Peoples, 1942, etc., 

In all these books he gave prime position to the peasant. The peasant's social, economical and cultural problems were thoroughly probed. Peasant-labour relationship was discussed; peasants role in freedom movement was prescribed. These books were translated into telugu and were widely popularised. He advocated peasant-labour unity. For him most of the grievances of the landless peasant against landed peasant could be remedied in a remodelled economy, provided both make common cause and
present a united front against the common exploiters— the capitalist class and their allies. He was a bitter critic of Zamindari system. He argued that the colonial peasantry were the greatest revolutionary force.

In his book 'Peasants and the Congress' he advocated that on the basis of truth and non-violence and democratic discussion and genuine mutual forebearance, both Gandhites and socialists can co-operate with each other as kisan sabhaite and work for the establishment of not only political independence, but also the ultimate peasant' and workers' Raj. He says that the long term object of the peasant movement was the complete capture of power in the State. He argues that the peasants, more than industrial workers, enjoy certain advantages in developing their organisation, and they are a) the peasants are still near to their village traditions of self-government, b) they are more self-reliant, c) they have more self-confidence, being in charge of food production and d) the Indian peasants to this day settle their social affairs through their local caste of group Panchayats. He popularised such ideas by organising associations, peasant institutions, marches, conducting tours, etc.,. He provided a central organisation, leadership and an inspiring ideology during 1930s even before the Communists could think of the peasant question.

Several government legislations were translated into telugu to keep the peasant abreast of the situation around them. For instance, Madras Debt Relief Act was translated in 1938. Government Reports were also immediately translated to inform the peasant mass along with critical analysis of the same. N.G.Ranga's Enquiry Report on the economic conditions of Zamindari peasants and Prakasam Committee's Report on Madras Estate Act were given wide publicity in the Andhra country.
Apart from these, several other books were written highlighting the problems of the peasantry. R.M. Sarma’s *Zamindari Ryotu Samasya* (Problems of the Zamindari peasant) and Gorrepati Venkatasubbalah’s *Hana Zamindarilu* (Our Zamindars) deserves special mention. R.M. Sarma gives a detailed account of the development of the Zamindari system in India and argues that the Zamindar is not the owner of the land. He also brings out the rack-renting by the Andhra Zamindars and furnished statistical data in an accessible manner to common man. Gorrepati Venkatasubbalah explains the evils of Zamindari system and brings out the bad habits of the Zamindars and the manner they squander the public wealth.

Peasant leaders undertook frequent tours addressing the peasant population about their problems and enlisting their support for anti-colonial and anti-feudal struggle. National leaders also visited the rural areas to mobilise the peasantry in this regard.

Nehru’s tour in 1936-37 was a highly successful one in persuading the peasantry to support the Congress so that their problems would be eradicated. To quote some of his speeches would be relevant at this juncture. In his speech at Punanipadu (Krishna District) he said "India is full of peasants and peasantry have much the same difficulty all over India, therefore the problem of peasants is an all-India problem. In swaraj, they will not be exploited." In Itchapur speech he claimed that "there are eighty percent of the peasants in the Congress party all over the country." He declared that "the fight for swaraj is a fight for peasants rights". Though the peasants generally could not quite understand his plea for socialism when they came across a reference that carried definite local implication like 'the Zamindari system should go' they cheered. Wherever he went he talked about agrarian uplift and the amelioration of the peasant classes. He exhorted the ryots to form peasant association and to affiliate them with the Congress so that they might form the militia of the Congress in
the fight with British *imperialism*. He opined that the British *imperialism* and the Zamindari system were responsible for the poverty of the masses in the country, and said that "capitalism and Zamindari system never stood for the rights of the peasants and they were against purna swaraj". He touched on poverty and unemployment and attributed these to the Zamindari system.

M.N.Roy during his tour in 1937 urged that propaganda should be undertaken in the villages to carry on the fight for political and economic freedom. He stated that the Congress was the medium through which the revolutionary vanguard could establish contact with the masses and asked the peasants to support the Congress. S.S.Batliwala, Socialist leader from Bombay, toured the Andhra area and asked the audience to form 'watch and ward' groups in every village to keep under observation the conduct of government officials and to convey to the Congress Ministers the grievances of the villages. He closed his speeches with a slogan 'long live revolution' which was repeated by most of the audience.

P.V.Sivayya, a Socialist leader in his speeches visualised that "it is only so long as the British government remains in the country that the Zamindar will exist. When the British government leaves that country, then the system of exploitation will cease". He also provoked the peasants to get organised, "so long as you depend on petition and good will, there is no salvation for you, do not fall prey to caste distinctions, does a Reddy landlord give more wages to a Reddy labourer? This is only a trick, a trick to break the unity among the workers. This will be useful for enhancing the richness of the wealthy. There should be village, taluk and district unions, if you achieve this, the money lenders will see their end.".

P.Sundarayya, who was the Secretary of the Madras Provincial Labour Protection League and Provincial Trade Union Congress and Joint Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Congress Socialist Party in his speech at Rajamundry in 1936 said that "the government,
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Zamindars and sowcars should be destroyed even if it meant a violent revolution, we should establish a real workers and peasants government, there is a difference between communism and Socialism. Socialism is only the first stage of communism, while Socialism insists that every person should be paid the same wage, men are expected to work to the best of their ability and are provided in the Communist system with the necessaries of life in proportion to the work done by them. We have to fight these Zamindars and capitalists on one hand and with the arbitrary British government on the other.

N.G.Ranga toured the length and breadth of the Andhra area and the general tone of his speeches was anti-zamindari and anti-colonial. For instance, he said "the country would roll in prosperity when its labourers and peasants are in good condition. We should not give up our agitation until these estates are taken out of the control of these Zamindars, and are placed in the possession of a Collector of the government. Even the Congress has accepted this socialism. It has agreed to improve the conditions of the ryots and labourers. Those who try to ruin the country are eunuchs."

In yet another speech delivered at Nuzvid, Ranga said "the government say they will give swaraj. They give us that swaraj wanted by the Zamindars, by the millionaires, and by the Rajas of the Native States. The Zamindars are also saying within their own minds that they want swaraj. They do not want the swaraj which we want. They are already in possession of the swaraj which they want. The British is trying to create endless trouble between the Zamindar and the ryots. If you do not convert Malas and Madigas (Harijans) as your own people, they will fall into the hands of the white people and stay with them. We must have to celebrate the downfall of Zamindars as we feasted for the death of Narakasura (a demon by name Narakasura, who was killed by Sri Krishna and for which the festival Deepavali is being celebrated)." Where ever he spoke he ended his speech with the slogans of victory to Swatantra Bharath, the Zamindari system should perish, and land tax should go.
These speeches and tours created a deep disaffection and stirred peasant consciousness to raise their voice against the exploitation of the Zamindars.

Formation of peasant associations marked the beginning of the growth of peasant awakening towards their political, and economical conditions and responsibilities. Several associations were formed in the coastal districts of Andhra. In 1905, Gudivada Taluk Peasant Association was formed. In 1915 Krishna District Peasant Association was formed and annual conferences were held since then. By 1923 peasant associations at district level were formed in Guntur and East Godavari districts. Due to the efforts of N.G.Ranga, M.Bapinadu, Bikkina Venkataramnam and others Andhra Provincial Peasant Association was formed in 1928 in Guntur, and it was registered in 1936.

In 1929 Andhra Provincial Zamindari Peasant Association was formed under the guidance of N.G.Ranga and Rebba Pragada Mandeswara Sharma. In 1931, Peasants Protection Committee, in 1935, South Indian Federation of Agricultural Labour and Peasants was formed. These organisations made the peasants feel confident to voice their grievances and agitate for their redressal. The evidence of these organisations directing the peasant movements can be seen throughout 1930s and 1940s. They emphasised modernisation of the peasants social and cultural outlook so that they might prepare themselves socially and politically to establish their millenarian peasant raj or swaraj. This perception was repeatedly put forward in Ranga's speeches and articles.

The most outstanding novel development in educating the peasant population was the establishment of the Indian Peasant Institute in Nidubrolu on 12th April, 1934 by N.G.Ranga. This was the first such institute to be established in India. All the prominent social and political leaders of Andhra were invited to deliver lectures to the students on social and economic problems facing the country. The students belonged to local
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peasant families, though few people came from other areas of Andhra. Ryotu Bhajanavali was selected for the daily bhajan and with this the organisers helped to attune the students with the agitating peasant approach to Indian nationalism. The press of the day published extensive reports of daily speeches and the lectures delivered there to spread the cause of peasant problems. The institute also held its sessions in various parts of Andhra to popularise and train the youth to take up the peasant cause. The main purpose of this institute was to unite agricultural labourers and peasants, to educate them the peasant culture, their needs, and to train them to run peasant movement and to serve the peasant cause.

In its deliberations, discussion on socialism, Gandhism, women upliftment etc., were conducted. Seminars were organised to enable the students to exchange their views. It was made compulsory for each student to speak on issues either supporting or opposing. Mock parliament sessions were run in the Institute. Various issues were discussed in the Institute, for example, Internaional problems as perceived by Gandhi, Political and economical system that protects coloured people, How Gandhism emerged, The aims of Congress, 1857 Revolt, American Revolution, History of Sun-Yet-Sen, China, French Revolution- Its aims and achievements, Afghan's struggle for Independence against England and Russia, Irish peoples freedom struggle, Lessons from South American Revolutions, The evils of capitalism, The need for united anti-imperial struggle, How peasants became a revolutionary class?, Peasants economic problems- Low prices and high prices, The problems of agricultural labourer, What is the chief objective of a colonial peasant? Amindari system in a historical perspective, Revenue system in India, National planning- its necessity, etc.

A number of the students of the Institute rose to become prominent public workers in the ensuing peasant and national movements. It held its sessions in Rayalaseema in 1936-37, in Madanapalle in 1938, in Vizagapatnam and Srikakulam in 1938 and 1939, in Cuddapah and Guntur districts in 1940 and 1941, in Krishna in 1947-48 besides its annual or biannual sessions in.
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Nidubrolu throughout this period. Several of the graduates of the Institute organised preparatory schools in almost all the districts and conducted weekly or week-end sessions for many years. The leftists also ran a number of such schools and a government Fortnightly Reports that in Manthanavarpalem (Guntur district) the lecturers were largely Communists from North India and the general tendency of their lectures was to disparge the philosophy and patience of non-violence.

Traditional methods were used for spreading enlightenment among the public, such as the burrakatha, jangam katha, veera katha and mono-acting. A number of the traditional bards were hired to sing and popularise peasant songs, poems, ballads, which were specially composed, which proved extremely popular during the 1937 elections. Infact the Communists after studying these methods of propaganda, developed them and made effective use of them and subsequently the Congress too came to utilise them enthusiastically.

The Institute also initiated the practice of honouring writers and poets who devoted their writings to political and social problems. For instance Garimella Satyanarayana, the author of the famous song 'we do not want a white government', Adavi Bapi Raju and Sree Swami Siva Sankara, and several others were thus honoured in the Peasant Institute. This encouraged many other writers to devote themselves to writing poetry on peasant and political themes. Kavi Brahma Etukuri Venkata Narasayya, Venkata Kavi, Palnati kavi Veerabhadrachari etc., were encouraged to contribute valuable poems on the plight and problems of peasants. A special reference can be made regarding the kisan poet, Settipalli Venkataratnam, wrote inspiring songs and presented them at the Institute.

The institute gradually became a powerful lever, for stimulating the youth to undertake the onerous responsibility of leadership. The students were appointed as the Chairmen of Reception Committees, Presidents or Speakers in various activities conducted by the Institute. Another important thing
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taught in this institute was how to report about the meetings, narrate the troubles of peasants, enumerate their grievances against Zamindars and moneylenders in such a way as to find place in the press. Much importance was given for the publicity of conducting peasant institution. To put in Ranga's words, "students should realise that it is not enough to hold meetings, organise marches, conduct demonstrations and carry on propaganda and other educational work. They will have to see that as much publicity in the press for such activities as possible is obtained."161

Another technique to mobilise peasantry was the observance of all-India days, in order to develop all-India kisan unity. The Lucknow session of All India Kisan Sabha, inaugurated the all-India kisan day on the first of September every year. The observation of this Day was intended to make peasants feel, think and act in terms of their all-India needs, responsibilities instead of each province being left to look after itself. This was the tradition established by the Congress to bring the Indian masses under its fold through its national days. This technique proved successful as peasants enthusiastically observed this Day. Encouraged by its success AIKS organised several such days and were followed by the Provincial peasant organisations. For instance in 1938, five all-India days were celebrated bringing the peasants scattered throughout India together to express their sympathy and support for sections of peasantry in their struggle against their exploiters: 1) all-India Debt Cancellation Day was celebrated on 27th, March 2) All-India Mandsa Day on 3rd April, 3) All India Mangrol Day on 3rd, July, 4) All-India Rayalaseema Famine Relief Day on 20th August and 5) All-India Bihar Kisan Day on 23rd, January, 1938. Accordingly, peasant weeks were organised at frequent intervals, during which peasants grievances were brought into focus by organising meetings, reporting to appropriate authorities, distributing pamphlets, etc. On these occasions new associations were formed wherever such organisations did not exist and new members were recruited. Resolutions like, 'struggle for freedom; abolition of Zamindari system' were passed.
Such propaganda methods succeeded in ranging myriads of peasants enthusiastically on the side of peasant associations to achieve at least minimum demands. 166

Peasant marches was another effective method employed. The marches for the peasant was to enliven them politically. Though taking out marches may be a simple activity, and they might not have much of a message to deliver, the very fact of a batch of strangers coming into a village would be sufficient to arouse interest and make peasants think. The marches became a reality to the masses, since 1933. These marchers used to start from a meeting ground and proceed to the collectorates, or taluk offices or panchayat offices and submit a list of demands. Apart from local demands—the list generally included the ultimate demands like abolition of Zamindari system, establishment of socialised industrial system etc.

These urged upon the Government, the need for immediate legislative action on the basis of the appeals received from time to time by the provincial ryots associations. As these marches were found to be of some help, they attracted a number of peasants and succeeded in stirring up the rural atmosphere. As the movement developed the demands of the peasants have come to occupy a prominent place in the national programme. 168 It is said that the peasant marches resulted in strengthening the Andhra Provincial Peasants Association in having a membership of 56 thousands with eight affiliated district associations. As these marches were organised to bring pressure on the government to pay greater heed to the needs of the peasants and to take immediate legislative action, they gained a political importance and brought political consciousness in the peasant mass.

During the marches, a fine-batch of peasant youth volunteered for the marches singing peasant songs all along the streets, keeping the peasant morale in high esteem. In this regard N.V. Naidu’s inspiring song, ‘we do not want association with this
zamindars’ became the clarion call to all the peasants. The atrocities of the Zamindars and moneylenders were voiced from the house-tops. These marches made the peasant demands echoed from every village. The wonderful propaganda of the leaders and workers created a spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence in the masses.

To consolidate, and give a definite shape to the general awakening that resulted from this propaganda, the Andhra Peasants' March was organised under the leadership of Andhra Provincial Ryots Association. It started on 3rd July 1937 from Itchapur in Vizagapatnam district and reached Madras on 27th March 1938. It was led by Komma Reddy Satyanarayana Murty, President of the Andhra Provincial Peasants Association and Joint Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Chalasani Vasudevarao was the General Secretary of the Peasant Association. N.G.Ranga M.L.A(Central) and President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, inaugurated the march. Prominent Congress leaders, Communists and others co-operated with the marchers and contributed towards the success of the march. Many youngmen on behalf of the socialist, youth and labour organisations also participated. The marchers carried on their programme since their start covering on foot the districts of Visakapatnam, East and West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Kurnool and other places. They sang songs along the route condemning the Zamindari atrocities, rack-renting, debt problems etc.. In the name of paisa fund, they collected money for this march. They raised slogans like 'abolish Zamindari system, down with imperialism, long-live revolution'. On the whole the march covered 1,512 miles on foot, 542 miles on bus, for 130 days. They visited 525 villages and secured 800 petitions signed by 25,000 peasants, and gathered 300 appeals of peasants and workers in regard to their respective local grievances. Copies of these petitions were submitted from to time to the local district authorities concerned. They also organized meetings in 500 villages and 60 firka ryot conferences. It is said that these meetings were attended by around 450 thousand of peasants and workers.
This march enabled peasant associations to have excellent mass contact. It was intended to unite the diverse elements in the peasant community, to boost their activities and to focus the attention of the Congress Ministry on the day-to-day grievances and immediate demands and to get mass sanction to all their demands. It submitted a memorandum to the government demanding reduction of rents and water-rates, remissions, improving of irrigation sources etc.,

This march created tremendous awakening among the peasants. Their demands for the immediate declaration of moratorium, reduction of land revenue and improvement of the status of Zamindari tenants pressurised the Madras government pass Agricultural Debt Relief Act on the 1st of October 1937, and appoint an enquiry committee to probe into the conditions of zamindary ryots.

The success of the march can be seen when the peasants presented their evidence before the Committee bravely. They presented their memorandum and oral evidence in an organised, uniform and effective manner.

Whenever peasant associations conducted its meetings several interesting and inspiring programmes were organised in their premises. For instance when AIKS organised its annual meeting in Vijayawada, cattle exhibitions, health exhibitions, scientific and cultural shows like burrakatha, (a distinctly telugu folk form of ballad singing), street plays and folk dances were conducted which infact appealed to the peasants more than the speeches and resolutions passed at the Session.

True to the traditional saying that a nation lives by memories of its heroes, the peasant leaders cultivated the cultre of worshiping the heroes like Shivaji, Brahmanaidu, Balachandra etc,. Whenever national leaders visiting Andhra huge processions were taken out to garland them. The poem, written by Kaviraja,
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"we have brought heroic scent, tell us who is the hero; we will apply it and garland him", was very popular among the masses. 176

The peasant associations also took up minor and small issues that happened in the village, say some problem, some dispute or conflict and intervened to solve them, so that such participation and involvement would help to identify the organisation with the common masses and also help to activise village level units. Primary health centres were also organised in the villages to help and attract poor peasants to join their associations. 177

As national flags were usually hailed by the peasants, the same were unfurled at the peasant meetings. But where greater strength was sought to evince red flags also were used.

Another interesting technique followed was to publish the investigative reports relating to peasant problems and familiarise their content to the possible extent, or the peasant associations themselves appointed enquiry committees to investigate into the conditions of the peasants and bring out the facts. Generally such enquiries were conducted in new areas, where the peasant movements were sought to be developed, to highlight the economic conditions and sufferings of peasants and suggest remedies. Proceedings of such enquiries were published widely in the press, to create interest. Based on the report a schedule of minimum demands was prepared and published by a conference of the peasant of that district. A district peasant association was then formed in the wake of the conference to popularise and give effect to that schedule of minimum demands and gradually penetrate, into the peasant mind and making him to think favourably of the association. The best example to this type of operation is the appointment of Zamindari Ryots Enquiry Committee by the Nellore District Ryots Conference in 1931 to enquire into the conditions of the peasants in the Venkatagiri Zamindari with N.G.Ranga as president and N.V.Naidu as the secretary.
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The mere visit of the committee to the remote villages created a stir in the mental and social atmosphere of that area and its people. The very fact of an enquiry in a zamindary area stunned the peasants, and soon they started questioning the atrocities of the Zamindar. It was the Venkatagiri peasants who waged one of the first battles against the Zamindari system. Thus the enquiry turned out to be an active instrument to awaken the peasants and inspire them to feel free and important.

Another such enquiry on an all-Andhra scale was appointed in 1933 by the third Andhra Zamindari Ryots Conference. This, the All-Andhra Zamindari Ryots Enquiry Committee with N.G.Ranga as Chairman and N.V.Naidu and R.M.Sarma as other Members, toured through almost all the estates, met thousands of peasants, interviewed local leaders, delved into the zamidari records, inspected irrigation channels, tanks etc., and passed through forests, embracing grazing areas. This Report was published in the vernacular press and was given widest publicity, preparing the public mind to sympathise with the victims of the Zamindari system. The full Report was presented to Gandhi in 1934, thus provoking the Congress to bring into its orbit the Zamindari peasants problems.

These activities gave a coherent political expression to all expressions of peasant dissent, apart from creating national consciousness, which helped the Congress in bringing about all-class harmony during the national movement. These mechanisms made the peasants aware of the problems faced by them in the Zamindari system and colonial exploitation. Politically, the peasant became more mature and conscious than before.

The evidence of the success of these techniques of mobilisation can be seen at the turn of the nineteen thirties. Anti-zamindari movements spread like a wild fire sweeping the entire tracts of Andhra estates. The peasants in Munagala, Muktyala, Kalipatnam, Challapalli, Gampalagudem, and other areas
waged relentless battles to cut into size the Zamindars and their powers. The abolition of the Zamindari system by the Congress ministry was not a manna from heaven but the hard earned achievement of the peasants. The credit goes to the peasant associations, which employed new methods in uniting the peasantry and bringing them to the battle front.

Hunger alone cannot arouse the people, neither can mere exploitation howsoever ruthless. But the urge towards action comes when they are moved by some elemental idea such as nationalism, revolutionary socialist ideology, or religion. When made keenly conscious of their conditions, when organised into a well-knit party, and political leadership emerges, when animated by a strong sentiment of nationalism and at the same time confronted by exceptional crises like economic depression, famines, war or acute unemployment, the peasantry turn to action. The ideology should be made meaningful and understandable for the less sophisticated and here comes the necessity of imaginative techniques of mobilisation.
REFERENCES:


5. N.G.Ranga, Peasants and Congress, Madras, 1939, p.3.


7. G.O.No. 2879, Home (Conf) Department, dt.26.10.36.


13. Its Editor was Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, was a Zamindar, banker, and managing partner of the Amrutanjan Co. ltd., as published on the back cover of the book, Why Village Movement? written by J.C.Kumarrappa, Rajamundry, 1935; He purchased 'Krutti Venu' estate consisting about 2000 acres in 1933. However, he invested all his incomes arrived from the lands in the improvement of the estate and was popularly known as a benevolent Zamindar. Infact, when Prakasam Committee, was on its tour taking oral evidence, several of the witnesses gave a good account of his administration in the estate. Gorrepati Venkatasubbayya, Deshodhharaka Charitra, (Biography of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao Pantulu), 1967. Andhra Patrika, though never compromised in reporting the pathetic tales of the peasantry, it did not propogate radical ideas among the peasantry.

14. Started on 1.2.1902 by Konda Venkatappaya and Dasu Narayana Rao. Mutnuri Krishna Rao, became its editor in 1907 and continued for four decades in that position. These people were ardent Congressites, and they tried to mobilise the peasant population to come under the Congress fold.
15. Hindu, 20.9.1878 (first issue). It was also a nationalist paper and voiced peasants issues mainly from Congress perspective. It was associated with Maharaja of Vijaynagaram, for some time at the turn of the century. C.J.Nirmal, Op.Cit., p.67.


17. Krishna Patrika, 17.7.43.

18. Ibid, Editorial, 16.3.46.

19. Ibid, 9.3.46.

20. Ibid, 16.3.46.

21. Ibid, 13.4.46.

22. Ibid, 27.4.40.

23. Ibid, 16.3.46.

24. Andhra patrika was established in 1908 in Bombay as weekly and was shifted to Madras in 1914 and continued as daily from then onwards. It was supplied freely to all libraries in Andhra at free of cost for nearly two decades. It also advertised free of cost, the Communist literature like 'Communist Manifesto' in its issues. Y.V.Krishna Rao and Etukuri Balarama Murthy, (ed), Andhra Pradesh Darshini, Visalandhra Pub., House, Hyderabad, 1987, Part II, Pp. 97-98.


26. Ibid, 21.10.33, for instance, it reported about American peasants who were agitating during that period for the redressal of their grievances.


28. Andhra Patrika, 1.2.37.

29. It brought out the report of W.R.S.Satyanathan on debt problem in the Madras Presidency in telugu on 14.9.35.

30. Andhra Patrika, 1.2.37.

31. Ibid, 10.9.37.

32. Ibid, 8.2.37.

33. Ibid, 7.2.33.
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34. Ibid, 9.2.33.
35. Ibid, 18.2.33.
36. Ibid, 27.2.33.
37. Ibid, 20.6.33.
38. Ibid, 26.1.47.
39. Ibid, 30.3.49.
41. Vijaya, 1.2.37.
42. Stanika Palana, 30.3.38.
43. Vijayawani, 5.3.39.
44. Swatantra Bharathi, 5.7.47.
45. Bharrathi, May, 1942.
46. Janmabhoomi, 1.3.30.
47. Zamin Ryot was started by Nellore Venkatarana Naidu (N.V.Naidu), following the establishment of Nellore District Zamin-Ryot Association on 19.10.1929. This paper stood by the side of the peasant throughout its career and largely voiced the stand taken by N.G.Ranga as against the Communists during forties.
48. Zamin Ryot, Silver Jubilee Issue, 4.4.54.
49. Ibid, 30.3.49.
50. Karnati Laxmi Narasaiah, General Secretary of Andhra Nataka kala Samiti, says that the song was enthusiastically received by the peasants during thirties and forties. Interview taken on 23.9.90 in Vijayawada.
51. Zamin Ryot, 4.4.54.
53. C.O.No,2879, Home (Conf) dt. 26.10.36.
54. Vahini, 8.1.37.
56. Ibid, 29.1.37.
57. Ibid, 24.6.37.
58. Ibid, 8.7.37.
69. Interview with Parakala Pattabhi Rama Rao, on 22.9.90, in Vijayawada.

70. It brought out every minute details of the Andhra peasant marches, and gave prior publicity in the villages about the advancing marches and encouraged to participate.

71. Ibid, 19.1.38.


75. Ibid, 8.3.39.


78. It started as weekly in 1942 with Katragadda Rajagopala Rao, Chalasani Vasudeva Rao, Tummala Venkataramanayya and Kondapudi Laxminarayana as editors and turned out as daily on December 3rd, 1945 and continued till it was banned on April 22, 1946, Interview with Parakala Pattabhi Rama Rao.

79. Prajasakti, 7.10.72.

80. Ibid, 27.10.43.

81. Ibid, 5.11.43.

82. Ibid, 26.7.44.

83. Ibid, 18.3.44.
The above cartoon depicts Rajaji screaming that Zamindars were being hurt while T. Prakasam hitting the Zamindars with his Report to save tenants from the Zamindari system which is compared here with a frying pan.

86. G.O.No. 1023, Home (Conf.) Department, dt.3.7.36.
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89. Ryotu Bhajanavali, Andhra Provincial Ryot Congress, Vijayada, 1949. The writing of peasant songs for the peasant institute started from 1934 and each year's number of such songs were added to this list. They largely contained Soviet-oriented leftism, which during this period was dominating the intellectual thing. According to Gorrepatl Venkatasubbayya it was first published on 22.4.1934, Op.Cit., P.144.

90. Ibid, p.146.

91. This poem was written by N.V.Naidu and printed in 1935 edition, of Ryotu Bhajanavali published by G.Laxminarayana of the Peasant Institute popularly known as Ramaneedu Vidhyalaya, at Nidubrolu, in Guntur district.


93. Ibid, Written by K.V.Ramakrishna, p.25.


95. Ibid, p.71.


100. Socialism Ante? (What is Socialism?), Rajamundry, 1938.


102. Karl Marx Upadeshalu (Teachings of Karl Marx), Laxmi Pub., Kakinada, 1936, p.40.

103. G.O.No. 925, Public (General) Department, dt.19.5.37.


105. G.O.No. 1560, Public (General) (Conf.) Department, 1938.


107. It was a speech delivered by K.Radhakrishnamurthy at the school of politics conducted at the Japobin Lodge, Guntur in October 1943 and was published in book form India Bavishyathu (Future of India), Renaissance Publications, Tenali, 1944.

108.V.V.Subramanya Sastry, Swatantra Garjana, (The Roar of Independance), Andhra Vani Press, Vijayawada, 1941.

109. Kranti Kumar, Viplavayugam, (The Age of Revolution), Swechapuram, 1941, p.4.


112. *G.O.No.2049 Public (Conf.)Department*, 18.1.41.

113. Interview with Parakala Pattabhi Rama Rao.

114. *Ibid*.

115. *Peda Ryotula Kashtalela Potayl* (How will the difficulties of poor peasants be solved?) Nellore, pp.2.13.


118. Sri Sri was the first poet who transferred Marxist ideas into a simple and yet powerful poem Mahaprastanam, which influenced the minds of thousands of young nationalists.


122. The starting of All India *Kisan* Publication in Madras in 1933 facilitated for the publication of *N.G.Ranga's* books.

123. The first eight books were written under the category of Andhra Economical Series. He obtained his B.Litt degree from Oxford University for his research paper on 'The Economic Organisation of the Cotton Industry of Southern India'. This experience helped him to probe the economic conditions of *zamin* ryots.

124. For instance in his book *Kisan Speaks*, he says 'this book is primarily intended to show out *kisans* and *kisan sabhas* what all can and has to be done *immediately* and inevitably, if even *minimum* of relief from their troubles and assistance towards progress were to be vouchsafed to out masses without any more delay', Madras, 1937, p.ii.


129. Wadrevu Bapiraju, Madras Ryotu Runa Nivarana Chattarn, (Madras Debt Relief Act), Rajamundry, 1938.


132. Gorrepatipati Venkatasubbya, Mana Zamindaru (Our Zamindars), Gantasala, 1944.

133. Under Secretary Safe (Secret) Files, No.982, dt. 10.1.37.

134. Ibid, No.981, dt.10.1.37.

135. Ibid.

136. Fortnightly Reports, for the first of September, 1937.


138. Public (General) Department, D.O.No.p.4-17, dt.20.9.37.

139. G.O.No.1090, Public (General) Department, dt.27.6.38.

140. Public (General) Department, From S.B.CID, (Strictly Con) NO.658/C, dt.15.3.38.

141. G.O.No. 2618-19, Home (Conf) Department, dt. 7. 10.36.

142. G.O.No. 353, Public (Conf.) Department, dt.28.2.35.

143. Ibid.

144. Speaking at All India Kisan Sabha (Faizpur) Session in 1936 about the need for formation of peasant associations N.G.Ranga observed that 'this alone can solve the demands of peasants and also paves the way towards the advent kof kisan and mazdoor Raj, N.G.Ranga, Kisan Speaks, Op.Cit, p.iii.


146. Andhra Patrika, 2.8.28.


149. Y.V.Krishna Rao, Andhra Pradeshlo Ryotu Udhyamalu: Poratalu, (Peasants Movements in Andhra Pradesh), 1990, p.61. The
Zamindari Peasant Association and Peasant Protection Committee were affiliated to Andhra Provincial Peasant Association, N.G.Ranga, History of *Kisan Movement*, Madras, 1939, p.108.

150. It popularised the faith of the absolute need for peasants and agricultural workers to cooperate with each other and work together for their mutual benefit and also their dependance upon each other, N.G.Ranga, Fight for Freedom, *Op.Cit.*, p.227.

151. For instance, speaking at the Andhra Provincial Ryots Conference in 1929, he said "if the ryots won't work from now onwards with alertness, social unity and cooperation in thinking and capture the coming Swarajya government, then they will be destroyed", *Rural India, vol. IV, no. 12*, Dec, 1929, pp.269-81.


157. Fortnightly Reports, 10.6.38.

158. Communists used Burrakatha very widely to propogate their ideology. Nazar, the most famour burrakatha troupe leader and other Communist burratha performers propogated the necessity of peasant association and movements among the peasantry of Andhra during this period. Interview with Mukkala Nagabhusanam.


160. Settipally Venkataratnam, a peasant poet, began his career from 1934, writing songs every year which were favourably received by the peasants. However he died in 1939 at the age of 26. Following his death all his songs were published by N.G.Ranga. Interview with Daruvuri Veeriah.


164. Andhra *Patriak*, 18.2.32.


167. Kommareddy Sathyanarayana Murthy, 50th Death Anniversary
168. This is evident from the Karachi Congress resolutions which demanded substantial reduction in agricultural rents or revenue paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary.


175. Eighth All India Kisan Sabha, Bezwada, 1944, pp.14-19.


181. Nehru, while speaking on the need of separate kisan sabhas observed, "the important fact to be borne in mind is that there is deep ferment in the peasantry all over India and a powerful, though partly un-conscious, desire on their part to do something to get rid of their main burdens, which have quite unbearable. They are expectant, and if the Congress cal does not reach their ears, some others will and they will respond to it. The Congress has realised this in a large measure, and inspire of its political pre-occupations, it has laid down an agrarian programme", N.G.Ranga, Peasant and Congress, Op.Cit, p.8.