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## IDEOLOGY OF PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

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### ABSTRACT

*India is an agricultural country. Agricultural production has been the means of the live of the Indian people since ages. In ancient and medieval India, states formed and abolished because of agricultural production. The rich agricultural production situation attracted many invaders to attack on India. Agricultural revenue was the main source of income for the states in India. In ancient and medieval India, states became powerful Due to the revenue collection. But, during medieval period, tax revenue collection was not oppressive. Therefore, peasants' movement did not appear till medieval period. But, the arrival of European companies, brought new revenue collecting pattern. Their objective was to get more benefits because the foundation of those companies was done for doing business. The British East India Company of England conquered India by politically as well as economically. It imposed high taxes on the peasants and interfered in their social, political, economic and religious matters. Because of these reasons, the peasant movements emerged in India.*

*The present paper will focus on those ideologies which play role in the peasant movements in India. In this paper, main focus will be on some questions like 'what is peasant movement?', 'What is peasant society?' and what are the circumstances that lead peasant movements? This paper will focus on mainly two ideologies of peasant movements in India such as Gandhian ideology and the Communist ideology. The paper will also give a short introduction to the peasant movements which were based on these two ideologies.*

**KEY WORDS:** *Gandhian ideology, Marxist ideology, peasant movements, land-revenue, non-violence, Satyagraha.*

### INTRODUCTION

Peasant movements are the movements which are done by the peasants because of agrarian reasons. Ideology of class conflict also plays an important role in peasant movements. Karl Marx considers the peasantry to be passive, while Lenin, Fanon and Mao have placed peasantry at the centre of the revolution (Rao, 2000. xviii). Dipankar Gupta argues about the two kinds of agrarian movements in independence

India. First, those agrarian movements which are done by the poor agriculture labourers and marginal farmers, and these kinds of movements are known as peasants' movement. Second, those agrarian movements which are done by the owners of the land and these are known as farmers' movement. The first type of agrarian movements are led by political parties such as Kisan Sabha, Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-

M), Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) etc. The second type of agrarian movements are led by political parties such as, Bharatiya Kisan Union which is active in west UP, Punjab, Haryana; the Shetkari Shangathan in Maharashtra and Rajya Ryota Sangha in Karnataka. The basic difference between these two groups of parties is that the first group of party works for the poor peasants, and the second group of the party, works for the landholders (Gupta, 2002.192-195).

### **PEASANT MOVEMENT**

Peasant movements are the movements which are done by those sections of society which are involved in agriculture work. These movements are social movements. Ideology of class conflict also play an important role in peasant movements. Karl Marx has considered the peasantry to be passive, while Lenin, Fanon and Mao have placed peasantry at the centre of the revolution (Rao, 2000. xviii). Dipankar Gupta argues about the two kinds of agrarian movements in independence India. First, those agrarian movements which are done by the poor agriculture labourers and marginal farmers, and these kinds of movements are known as peasants' movement. Second, those agrarian movements which are done by the owners of the land and these are known as farmers' movement. The first type of agrarian movements are led by political parties such as Kisan Sabha, Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M), Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) etc. The second type of agrarian movements are led by political parties such as, Bharatiya Kisan Union which is active in west UP, Punjab, Haryana; the Shetkari Shangathan in Maharashtra and Rajya Ryota Sangha in Karnataka. The basic difference between these two groups of parties is that the first group of party works for the poor peasants, and the second group of the party, works for the landholders (Gupta, 2002. 192-195).

### **Definition of the peasantry:**

Peasants are the people who engage in agrarian work. Peasants groups have a well-known history in the social movements in India and the world around. Irfan Habib defines peasants as, "A person who undertakes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements and using the labour of his family" (Habib, 2007. 109). In the same way another definition about peasantry has been given by Gough who defines peasants as, "people who engage in agriculture or related production with primitive means and who surrender part of their produce... to landlords or to agents of state" (Gough quoted in Singh, 2000. 93). Engels has a more balanced view about the peasantry. He is of the view that the peasantry is as an internally divided unorganized and politically important unless mobilized by the organized working class (Engels cited in Dhanagare, 1983. 1-5). Goldschmidt and Kunkel have defined peasantry as, 'the community in

which the population consists chiefly of agriculture production who have rights in the land that cultivate and produce primarily for own subsistence needs though also for exchange and forms part of a state-organized political system' (Goldschmidt and Kunkel, 1971. 1058). Stephen P. Dunn has considered peasantry as 'a category of people whose connection with the land is so intimate and organic that they cannot be deprived of all access to it, or of all rights to its products, without thereby ceasing to be peasants and becoming something else - slaves, landless agricultural laborers, potential or actual industrial worker, or declassed lumpen - proletarians' (Dunn, 1976. 639). Redfield argues about peasantry as 'culturally unsystematic, unreflective, unsophisticated and non-literate, constituting the mosaic of the "little tradition" (Redfield quoted in Singharoy, 2005. 5505). After studying these definitions about the peasants, we can say that, the peasants are the group of people who get employment from agriculture. They have rights on agriculture land and do cultivation for their own need. But in Indian context, we see different situation regarding the peasantry. In Indian society most of the peasants were landless agriculture labourers before independence. The land belonged to a certain class of the big landowners. But after independence, the land reform bill was passed by the government in which *zamindari* system was abolished. The Indian government did some reforms in landownership. The lands were distributed among the depressed sections of the society.

### **IDEOLOGY OF PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA**

Peasant movement is a kind of social movement, therefore, by and large, peasant movements have same reasons and ideologies which play their role in other social movements. Indian peasant movements can be classified into two categories on the basis of ideology. First, peasant movements based on Gandhian ideology. Bhoodan Movement of Vinoba Bhave and Sarvodaya of Jai Prakash Narayan can come under Gandhian Ideology. Second, peasant movements based on Communist ideology. Telangana peasant movement, Tebhanga peasant movement and Naxalite movements are guided by Communist ideology (Rao, 2000. xviii).

### **GANDHIAN IDEOLOGY OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT**

Gandhi is, perhaps, the first Indian leader who tried to organise the masses for freedom. Gandhi, at first, tried to understand the nature of Indian masses and then he formed certain methods which he used during the national movement. Gandhi's ultimate value-goal was 'Truth' which was very much related with '*Ahimsa*' or non-violence. For Gandhi, non-violence was a wider name of fraternity, Swaraj or liberty. He propagated the methods of performing a value-creating function which would achieve

ultimate values like purity. Gandhi was very much influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and other non-violent religions. Gandhi adopted a practical ideology which he developed during his political career (Bandyopadhyay, 1973. 17-21). Gandhian ideology was based on Satyagraha. Gandhi defines Satyagraha:

*'Satyagraha is soul force pure and simple, and whenever and to whatever extent there is room for the use of arms or physical force, there and to that extent is there so much less possibility for soul force. There are purely antagonistic forces in my view, and I had full realization of this antagonism even at the time of the advent of Satyagraha'* (Gandhi, 1928. 105).

For Gandhi, Satyagraha is free from the use of any kind of force. A Satyagrahi should not use the physical force but he or she should use the force of their soul. According to Gandhi, Satyagraha is based on Non-violence. Gandhi has drawn distinction between Satyagraha and Passive resistance. According to Gandhi, 'we are weak and helpless and therefore offer passive resistance, our resistance would never make us strong'. He saw 'passive resistance' as a 'weapon of the weak'. He writes, 'we are Satyagrahis and offer Satyagraha believing ourselves to be strong' (ibid. 123).

Gandhi used his ideology of Satyagraha and Ahimsa (non-violence) in those movements which he led. Gandhi was not in favour of using arms in the movements. Gandhi claimed that, 'I can definitely assert that in planning the Indian movement there never was the slightest thought given to the possibility or otherwise of offering armed resistance' (ibid. 122-123). Devi Prasad perceives Satyagraha as the way to live truthfully and constructively. He considers Satyagraha as a war against injustice. For Prasad, Satyagraha is the process of transformation of society (Prasad, 2005. 44). Hettne suggests that it is very difficult to translate Gandhian Satyagraha because it has many meanings like, 'Ahimsa' i.e. non-violence which is the context of Satyagraha and 'Tapasya' i.e. self-suffering. Gandhi's Satyagraha is also based on love, Tapasya and constructive action (Hettne, 1976. 227). Abha Pandey argues that Gandhi did not distinguish trusteeship from passive resistance. Gandhi was of the view that the trusteeship would solve all conflicts among the classes (Pandey, 1978. 1077). After coming back to India in 1915, Gandhi followed the same policy to not use force in any movements. Gandhi used truth and non-violence in all the peasant movements in which he participated. Gandhi was very clear about the path which he had to follow in the peasant movements in India. He always talked about heart-change. He was of the view that that the non-violent heart of human being can do any movement non-violently. Therefore, he was not in favour of violence. Gandhi had a very clear view regarding why one should follow the path of non-violence. He

argued that when we do violence, we cannot understand the truth. He said that if one wants to finish the enemy, he should finish the enemy from within (Gandhi, 1932. 6). Gandhi considered non-violence as his God. He wrote in *Young India* in 1925 that, 'Ahimsa is my God, and Truth is my God.' When I look for Ahimsa, Truth says, 'Find it through me.' (Gandhi, Undated. 5). Gandhi not only talked about the result but he also talked about the path that lead to the result. Gandhian ideology was more concerned about the means. For Gandhi end depends on means therefore, means should be focused more. If our mean is clear then our end will also be clear. He was of the view that we do not have control on the end but we have control on means (Gandhi, 1924). Gandhi was the most important leader of Indian National Congress at that time, therefore, those movements which were led by Indian National Congress, were based on Gandhian Ideology. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of Gandhi, mobilised masses. The Indian National Congress emerged as a nationalist political organization under the leadership of Gandhi (Heeger, 1972. 1).

### **PEASANT MOVEMENTS BASED ON GANDHIAN IDEOLOGY**

Many peasant movements occurred in India which were based on Gandhian ideology. We can take examples of few peasant movements such as peasant movement in United Province. United Province was one of the most important province of British government. Peasant movements occurred in various parts of United Province, especially in Awadh, after the emergence of Gandhi in Indian politics. In 1921 the peasants of Awadh started movements against colonial government with the help of Indian National Congress and Kisan Sabha. The peasants of Faizabad district, Rae Bareilly district and Sultanpur district, started movement. Earlier, these peasants adopted violent method and looted bazars, shops, attacked on the houses of *landlords* and they also opposed police. The same situation occurred in Agra province also. These peasant movements became known in national politics at that time, therefore, the nationalist leaders like Gandhi, Nehru<sup>1</sup> and many other local leaders paid their attention towards these movements. Gandhi went to the peasants of Awadh in February 1921, and told them that as they were fighting for attaining Swaraj, they would have to follow some principles in their movements. Gandhi provided some oaths to the peasants so that they would not be violent. The oaths were like, they would not hurt anyone, they would not loot any shop, they would show kindness, and they would not refuse to give taxes to the government and landlords. Peasants were also suggested to complain about their problems against

<sup>1</sup> In this paper, 'Jawaharlal Nehru' and 'Nehru' have been used interchangeably.

*zamindars* to Pandit Motilal Nehru, they would treat *zamindars* as their friends. These oaths were especially to those peasants of Awadh who were engaged in the violent actions and activities in the movements. In this way Congress, under the guidance of Gandhi, tried to lead these peasant movements peacefully (Pandey, 2010. 143-155).

The main cause behind the peasant's movements in Bihar was the effect of indigo cultivation on the land fertility. The peasants were forced to cultivate indigo in a fixed area of their land. Gandhi came to Champaran and saw the situation of the peasants on the request of Rajkumar Shukla, a local peasant of Champaran. After Gandhi's visit at Champaran, the colonial government constituted a committee to see the situation of the peasants and to solve peasants' problems (Mittal and Dutt, 1976. 25-34). In 1930s, the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (BPKS) played very important role in building a rural base for Indian National Congress in Bihar. Kisan Sabha convinced Indian National Congress to look into the peasants' issues (Singh, 1992. 21-25). Peasant's movements followed non-violent path during Non-Cooperation Movement in Bihar.

But peasants' problem did not end in Bihar because peasants were continuously opposed by the zamindars. This act of zamindars became the cause of another movement which is known as 'Santhal Bataidars' in Puranea district of Bihar in 1938. This movement continued till 1942. Bihar Province Kisan Sabha led this movement (Chakravarti, 1986. 1900).

Many peasants' movements occurred in Orissa during and after the Non-Cooperation Movement. These movements were also led by the Indian National Congress. The reason behind peasants' movement in Orissa was the exploitation of peasants by the zamindars and the colonial government. The Utkal Provincial Congress Committee played very significant role in these peasant movements. Utkal Union Conference was also a peasants' organization which participated in these movements. The leaders like Lala Hansraj, A.V. Thakkar, and Mohanlal etc. participated in these peasant movements. Gopabandhu Das opened 'Satyabadi School' in Orissa province. Gandhi appreciated the role of Gopabandhu in these peasant movements (Acharya, 2008. 49-52 and Pati, 1983. 25). The peasant movements in Orissa were based on Gandhian ideology because these movements followed the path of non-violence.

In Kerala, Mappilla revolt occurred during the Non-Cooperation Movement. Mappillas were the Muslim community of Malabar district of Kerala. Earlier, they were in good position and their trade developed, but after the arrival of European colonial power in India, Mappillas became peasants and lost their command on trade. But after the establishment of British government their condition became too pitiable. High taxation and establishment of *zamindari* system became the cause of their problems

(Hardgrave, Je. 1977. 57-62). They rose their voice against both the British Government and Hindu landlords. All India Home Rule League (AIHRL) and District Congress Committee (DCC) started participating in these movements against the exploitation of Mappilla peasants. Many Indian National Congress leaders along with Gandhi, participated in this movement. Gandhi gave his support to this movement in early phase but soon this movement became violent. Many Congress leaders argued that the British government was responsible for making this movement violent, but, finally Gandhi decided to withdraw from this movement. Gandhi did not want to lead any movement which was based on violence (ibid. 85-93). Gandhi has been criticized by E.M.S. Namboodiripad because he stopped supporting the Mappilla rebellion (Namboodiripad, 2010. 12).

Peasant Movements started at Mewar in Rajasthan in 1905. This movement was against Parmar Rajput who was a *jagirdar* of Bijolia *Jagir*. This movement was done by the peasants. There were 86 different cases on the peasants, therefore, the peasants started protest in 1905. But this movements could not continue for long time. It was stopped by the local power but again it started in 1913. This time this movement was led by some leaders like Sitaram who was a *sadhu*. In 1915, some new leaders joined this movement. They started 'no tax campaign'. Later, the leaders of this movement joined Indian National Congress unit in Rajasthan (Singh, 1985. 31-32). Again, the peasant movement started by the tribal peasants in this state which was known as Bhil tribal peasant movement. Gandhi participated actively in this movement. Later, this Bhil movement also merged in national movement. There were no violent incidents in this movement and the leaders were related with the Indian National Congress, therefore, this movement was also supported by Indian National Congress.

Bhoodan Movement was launched by Vinoba Bhave after Independence in 1951. This movement was started in Telangana. Bhave appealed to the landlords that 'we are all brothers. Give us an equal share. We conceive *dan*, that is, charity, as an equal distribution of one's riches' (Anonymous Correspondent, 1970. 1517). Vinoba's intention was to change the heart of the big *zamindars* and landlords. Vinoba had very clear view about land holding. He refused to accept less than two acres from those *landholders* who had hundred or more acres land. He wanted social justice for all. He initiated this movement at the old age of sixty years. Vinoba appealed to the big landowners to show charity for the poor peasants. Nehru said about Vinoba Bhave that he was the true successor of Gandhi. Vinoba also followed the Gandhian Ideology of peace and appealed for heart change. After independence, the Congress government

started the policy of 'instrument of accession'<sup>2</sup> which was very much based on the idea of Bhoodan movement (ibid. 1517). The aim of Vinoba Bhave was to create a casteless, classless and stateless society which should be based on love and non-violence. Therefore he adopted the idea of utopian society, based on Bhoodan, Shram Dan, Buddhi Dan and Prem Dan. He also developed the concept of Gram Dan<sup>3</sup>. His idea of Bhoodan was based on the concept of Sarvodaya. He found that the problem of land is one of the most serious problems in Indian society and there was only one solution to this problem that the land should be distributed among all. Vinoba was not in favour of taking land by force but he said that if a landlord has five sons then he should consider them six and the sixth part should be given to the landless (Srivastava, 1967. 206-209). The Bhoodan movement was successful and many landlords gave their land as a charity.

A movement may be based on violence or non-violence. As far as the peasants movements are concerned which happened under the Gandhian ideology, they were based on non-violence. If Gandhi saw that any movement was going on violently, he withdrew from that movement. Gandhi had a very clear view about non-violence. Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, tried to initiate the movement through non-violent way. Gandhi insisted on non-violent methods because he was of the view that violence took us away from the truth. So for him, everyone should follow the non-violent path to know the truth.

### **COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY IN THE PEASANT MOVEMENTS**

Communist or Marxist ideology is one of the most important ideologies of the world which have played a very important role in social movements as well as peasant movements all over the world. Communist ideology presents an economic system in theory which will satisfy all the needs of the society without exploiting any of its member (Bowles, 1962. 553). Marxist ideology was the product of industrial development in Europe and it emerged against capitalism. This ideology was against class based differences. Communist ideology came into existence in India during 1920s with the establishment of Communist Party of India (Marxist). The communist ideology focused on class struggle and started movements against the capitalist powers. They also focused on peasants' problems and tried to solve them by armed struggle. (Rao,

2000. 149-150). They started peasant movements in some parts of India like Bengal and Telangana. These peasant movements continued for very long time and after independence, they led many peasant movements. There are some important peasant movements which were based on communist ideology such as Telangana movement, Naxalbari movement and Tebhaga movement. If we see communist ideology in Indian context, we find that the differences in the Indian communist ideology resulted in the establishment of three political parties, namely, the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) and the Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML). These three political parties have some ideological differences. The CPI believes in armed struggle and applied this in Telangana during 1950s. The CPI-M does not believe in armed struggle and it supports the struggle according to constitutional method. The CPI-ML believes in armed struggle and it believes that the methods may be changed according to the situation. Communist ideology believes that social movements can start with protest and then it can take its different ways like armed struggle (Rao, 2000. 149-150). Sumanta Banerjee has seen Naxalbari movement in north Bengal as a peasant movement (Banerjee, 2002. 125-188). He has discussed the role of Left parties in Naxalbari movement. In his article '*Naxalbari and the Left Movement*' Banerjee has discussed some speeches which were spoken by left thinkers. He has cited the speech, given on Radio Peking broadcast on the Naxalbari uprising on 28 June 1967. The speech was 'this is the front paw of the revolutionary armed struggle launched by the Indian people under the guidance of Mao Tse Tung's teachings'. Another statement is cited by him is, 'Naxalbari has shown us the way to the Indian people's democratic revolution as much as it has unmasked the true face of the neo-revisionists...'. This statement is a part of the declaration of the revolutionaries of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) on November 1976 (ibid, 2002. 125).

### **PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN TELANGANA**

Telangana peasant movement was based on communist ideology. Earlier, Telangana was a part of Andhra Pradesh. Telangana was under the control of *Nizam* whereas Andhra was under the control of British government where the government had introduced *raiyatwari* system. The first communist group entered Telangana politics in 1939-40. This group was illegal and they functioned under the umbrella organisation called Andhra Mahasabha and their aim was to promote the cultural and political interests of Telugu-speaking people of Hyderabad. During mid-1946, the movement had become a part of the national liberation struggle and the people of Telangana wanted to be free from the *Nizam's* rule. In this situation, the C.P.I. established its effective

<sup>2</sup> Instrument of Accession is a legal document. Through this process Maharaja Hari Singh had merged Jammu and Kashmir in India.

<sup>3</sup> Gramdan movement was also a part of Sarvodaya of Vinoba Bhave in which the whole of a major part of a village land was to be donated by not less than 75 per cent of the villagers.

organization in this area and started armed struggle in Telangana. The communist power emerged in Telangana after the end of nationalist movement. The *Nizam* had refused to merge his state into India which also became a reason for the movement. This movement followed the same nature as the Chinese Revolution. This movement was supported by China. The Chinese leader Liu Shao-chi announced that 'the road of Mao Tse-tung was the path for other colonial countries and armed action was the main form of struggle whenever and wherever possible' (Ram, 1973. 1025 -1026). Telangana peasant movement was based on communist ideology. But after independence, Indian government forced *Nizam* to merge his state into Indian state and when *Nizam* did not agree, the government decided to use armed forces against *Nizam*. After the intervention of Indian army, Hyderabad merged into Indian state. The communist party continued its movement in this area and adopted armed protest. But in October 1951, this movement was withdrawn by the communist leaders (ibid. 1025-1030).

### **NAXALBARI MOVEMENT**

This movement was started in West Bengal under the guidance of CPI-M which came into the power in Bengal in 1967. Bengal has also the same problem of land reform as it was in other parts of India. Harekrishna Konar, the minister in charge of the land and revenue, announced that the land would be distributed soon among all peasants. But, this was not easy because of some reasons such as, first, the Marxist government had no planning about the land distribution, and second, Marxists were aware about the fact that the landlords would not give land easily. Therefore, there was difficult position before CPI-M (Banerjee, 2002. 125-126). One member of Naxalbari movement argued, in the meeting of Kishan Sabha in 1964, Konar had accepted that they would follow the path of armed struggle because without it they could not solve the problems of the peasants. In 1967 election, CPI-M found itself in a new position of responsibility and they supported revolutionary methods. They thought that the mobilization of the peasants would be the challenge before Indian National Congress. Darjeeling District Committee (DDC) was dismissed and the members of this party were excluded from the party. The Communist Party of China (CPC) supported the armed methods in Naxalbari movement. There were many other groups in this movement whose ideology was based on explicit Maoist ideology. They opposed CPI-M. Naxalbari movement was based on extremism in which the leaders adopted the methods like hunger strikes, hartals and armed revolution. The Central government also tried to stop this movement by force but this movement could not be stopped (Mukherji, 2000. 17-83).

### **TEBHAGA MOVEMENT AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY**

Tebhaga movement took place in Bengal in mid-1940s. This movement was based on left wing ideology. This movement happened because of the 'permanent settlement' in Bengal which became the cause of the peasants' problems. The permanent settlement created a big gap between the landlords and the peasants. The peasants of Bengal became organised during 1920s under the left wing enthusiasm. Nalini Gupta and Muzaffar Ahmad were the main communist leaders who played important role in this movement. Ryot-Krishan Sabha was an organization of rich farmers which was conservative in nature. Another organization was also working in Bengal which was known as The Krishan Proja Party and this organization was also led by rich peasants. Its leaders opposed communism. This party was led by leader Fazlul Huq.

The Bengal Kisan Sabha (BKS) was established in 1936, and it played an important role to give platform to the Leftist forces. Its leaders were mainly from either non-cultivating classes or *jotedar*<sup>4</sup> families. In the beginning, its leaders focused on local issues. In 1937 election, the Proja Party promised that it would abolish landlordism but it did not fulfil its promise, therefore, Kisan Sabha changed its attitude towards agriculture problems. Both Hindus and Muslims participated in this movement. This movement performed some actions of violence. Some clashes occurred between the police and the peasants in various parts of Bengal, like Danapur district and Mymensingh district. Many peasants along with many communist leaders were arrested in these areas. In 1946, the peasants started massive protest and boycott against the *zamindars*. Dhanagare argues that this movement had some limitations also. He argues that the Muslim peasantry did not participate effectively in this movement because of the communal politics in Bengal (Dhanagare, 1983. 155-175). Bandyopadhyay argues that the leadership of communist party was mainly in urban areas and their most of the members were from urban areas. They had little base in rural areas of Bengal (Bandyopadhyay, 2001. 3907).

### **CONCLUSION**

Peasant movement is a very important part of social movements. Social movements happen because of the social exploitation of the lower sections of the society. Peasant movements in India happened because of many reasons like the exploitation by the colonial government, exploitation by landlords and *zamindars* and other elite sections of the society. Peasant movements have also the same nature and ideology which the social movements have. Peasant movements have also some concepts like collective mobilization, organization, leadership, ideology, nature etc.

If we see peasant movements in Indian context, we find that the peasant movements in India

<sup>4</sup> Jotedars were peasants with small landholders.

have been discussed by three categories of scholars such as Marxist scholars, nationalist scholars and subaltern scholars. The peasant movements in India were guided by two ideologies such as Gandhian ideology and Communist ideology. Both ideologies have some differences in nature. Gandhian ideology focuses on non-violence and Satyagraha. This ideology emphasises on non-cooperation with the ruling class. Gandhian Satyagraha has no possibility for the violence or any kind of physical force. In Gandhian ideology, the Satyagraha is a process of transformation. Gandhian ideology is based on heart change, therefore, in many movements, Gandhi believed that the heart of the ruling class would change. Gandhian ideology was used by many leaders of Indian National Congress like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and many local leaders of the various parts of the country. Those peasant movements which were based on Gandhian ideology, followed non-violence. The Indian National Congress did not support those movements which were based on violence.

Indian communist ideology is divided into three party such as C.P.I., C.P.I.-M., and C.P.I.-ML. Communist ideology does not believe in non-violence methods. The nature of communist ideology depends upon the situation. In communist ideology, achieving goal is important, therefore, the communist peasant movements are based on armed struggle. We can take the example of Telangana peasant movement, Tebhaga peasant movement and Naxalbari peasant movements. All these movements were based on armed struggle.

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