

Saumyendranath Tagore And Peasant Movements In Thenadia District And Thesunderbans Areas

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Abstract: Saumyendranath Tagore was born in Calcutta in 1901 in the famous Tagore family. He played an important role in the Communist Movement of Bengal. Under his leadership, his party the Communist League of India (hereafter CLI) or later the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (hereafter RCPI) organized powerful peasant movements. These movements were against increase in revenue, illegal cesses such as *abwab*, work without pay and the ryotwari and zamindari systems, and in favour of remission of peasant debts. They raised the slogan “Langal jar jomi tar” (The owner of the plough is the owner of land).¹ In literature, we get a poignant description of this movement: “It is a story from long ago ... A tremendous fight had started in the villages all over the country ... ‘The Owner of the Plough is the Owner of the Land’ [was the slogan]. All the starving, poor, peasant-class people had joined the fight.”² Under the leadership of Tagore the CLI formed peasant organizations in various parts of Bengal. Saumyendranath was actively working in Nadia district and the Sunderbans of the 24-Parganas and peasants committees were formed.³ A number of eminent leaders of the CLI dedicated themselves to the work of organizing the peasantry.

Keywords: Peasants, Communist Party, Saumyendranath Tagore, Satish Samanta, Dibakar Haldar, Zamindari System, Dadon, Ijara, Abwab, Selami, Keru Company, Sunderbans, Daniel Hamilton, Cutcherry, Krishak Sabha etc.

Date of Submission: 27 -06-2017

Date of acceptance: 10-08-2017

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent times attempts have been made to bring to light the lower sections and the voices of the downtrodden, which hitherto had largely remained untold. In this context I found a man who had not been properly assessed in history though he was a champion of the voice and cause of the lower sections of the society. This great personality was Saumyendranath Tagore.⁴ He was one of the main architects of peasant movements and trade unionism in India. He also raised his protesting voice against the rising global trends of Fascism during the 1920s and 1930s. Inarguably, Saumyendranath Tagore was a versatile genius. Unfortunately, however, he has been largely neglected by historians and political commentators because the CLI/RCPI was a relatively small organization and its parliamentary record was inconsiderable. In fact, much of the little that is heard of Saumyendranath revolves around his so-called failure in politics. But it is perhaps more important to remember that his gallant attempt to put his ideas into practice was nobler than the historical detail of his political failure. He failed because he never compromised on his ideology. He was neither an opportunist nor a self-serving wheeler-dealer, attributes we have sadly increasingly come to associate with politicians at large. He was an honest and upright politician of his times. The interest of the country, and the promotion of the socialist revolution in the interest of the country, was his single-minded goal.

He was the first member of the Tagore family of Jorasanko, Calcutta, who actively participated in politics. Furthermore, he was also the first communist of this famous family. Only one book, an autobiography and some articles have been published on Saumyendranath Tagore’s contribution. The book is by Manjula Bose entitled *Saumyendranath Tagore: Karme O Monane* (Saumyendranath Tagore: His Work and Worldview) and was published in 2007. The books and articles written by Saumyendranath are important documents because these not only characterise his personal attitude and thoughts but also reflect policies and perspectives of his party. After the death of Saumyendranath, an anthology of his political writings was edited by Sudarshan

¹ Ganabani 15 December 1985, p. 25

² Choudhury, Supriyo, “Drohaj” in *SaradiaDesh* 1421 B.S. p.207

³ File no. 166/26, I.B

⁴ Henceforth, Saumyendranath Tagore would be simply referred to as “Saumyendranath”.

Chattopadhyaya. This two-volume anthology is titled *Against the Stream* (Calcutta, 1975-84). These volumes form a very important source into Saumyendranath's political mind. Another book named *Saumyendranath Tagore SmarakSankhya* (Saumyendranath Tagore Commemorative Volume), edited by Amit Das, has been published relatively recently in 2002 from Calcutta. This book is a collection of writings on Saumyendranath by different commentators, such as Pratap Chandra Chander, Goutam Chattopadhyay, and others. Amitava Chandra has written three successive articles on Saumyendranath Tagore and his organization in *ItihasAnusandhan*. The poet Jasimuddin in his book *Thakur Barir Anginay* (In the Courtyard of the Tagore House; Calcutta, 1961) too gives some important information on Saumyendranath Tagore. As is evident from the above discussion, though one book and some articles have been published specifically on Saumyendranath, this great communist ideologue and leader awaits an exhaustive historical analysis. Research has not been done to any great extent on the role of Saumyendranath Tagore in the Communist Movement. This study is therefore a humble attempt to investigate the origins and development of the Peasant Movements in the districts of Nadia and the Sunderbans of the 24-Parganas in undivided Bengal.

II. METHODOLOGY

The study is based primarily on archival materials preserved in the State Archive of West Bengal, Calcutta; printed official reports of the Government of Bengal available at the National Library, Kolkata; and other primary sources. A lot of secondary works, memoirs and some newspapers have also been consulted. General histories of the Communist Movement in India and Bengal before Independence have also been explored to develop the overall contextual framework for this research.

III. PEASANT MOVEMENT IN THE NADIA DISTRICT

Saumyendranath was actively working in Nadia district from 1926. On 28 May 1926, Bengal Provincial Conference of the Workers and Peasant Party (here after WPP) was held at Krishnagar. Tagore, Mani Mukherjee, Hemanta Sarkar and others distributed the manifesto of the Communist Party of India. It was published by J.P. Bagerhatta and Muzaffar Ahmad, from 37 Harrison Road of the Bengal Peasants and Workers party on behalf of the Communist Party of India. The manifesto was addressed to the workers in the cause of independence and said that freedom could only be obtained by an economic programme with the idea of social equality. They also distributed copies of the *Langal*. In March 1935 Saumyendranath Tagore got some organizations on behalf of his party at Ranaghat(Nadia district).⁵ In December 1937 the Bengal Provincial Peasants Conference was held at Burdwan. Saumyendranath attended the meeting. It was decided to carry on vigorous agitation throughout the country. Tagore visited Nadia district. Peasant Committees were formed in pursuance of his instructions and branches of the Political Prisoners' Relief Committee were also started. Saumyendranath opened an all-India publicity office of the Krishak committee in his own house of which he was the president. On 21 December 1937 Saumyendranath Tagore arrived at Krishnagar. He delivered speeches at Gangnapur and Santipur. In January 1938, Tagore visited Nadia. He came in touch with ex-detenues and other members of the different revolutionary groups. He addressed meetings of the youth and peasants with a view to consolidating his own party. In February Tagore again visited Nadia to organize a rival peasant organization with the help of the AnushilanSamiti⁶ and the Congress Socialist Party. According to a secret intelligence branch report in the month of December 1938, Tagore was successful in securing a large number of followers in Nadia. He started parallel peasant organization in rivalry with the BPKSabha. In May 1940 Saumyendranath Tagore went on an organizational tour to Santipur in Nadia district.⁷

On 13 September 1941 Tagore visited Bhaluka village near Nabadwip. His intension was to invigilate the district organization of his party. He was assisted by the general secretary of his party. Saumyendranath met some of the leaders of his party secretly. He ordered them to take over the district student organization. On 14 September 1941, Tagore again visited Krishnagar. He discussed the organization of Communist League with the college students. He returned to Kolkata on 15 September 1941.⁸ In December 1941, Tagore attended a private meeting of the delegates to the Bengal Provincial Students Federation conference at Krishnagar in Nadia district. He urged them to unite the industrial and agricultural workers for the final struggle for independence.⁹

⁵ File no. 166/26, I.B.

⁶ AnushilanSamity was a Bengali Indian organization. The Samity challenged British rule in India by engaging in militant nationalism including bombings, assassinations and politically motivated violence. Gradually the Samity began to disseminate into the Indian National Congress and Communist politics in India.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Bose, Somendranath, *Sarkari File-e Saumyendranath Tagore* [Saumyendranath Tagore as represented in official files], PustakBipani: Kolkata, 1978, p.47

⁹ File no. 166/26, I.B.

The English Zamindar Keru company in Nadia used to exploit the peasants. They had huge agricultural lands at their disposal to manufacture country liquor. The peasants were made to cultivate sugarcane on this land through the 'Dadon' system at a nominal wage. Apart from this the company used to buy sugarcane from other peasants of that area. However they never paid the peasants the correct amount of money; in fact they delayed the purchase so that they could depress the prices and then buy sugarcane at a very cheap rate. They also cheated the peasants in weight and then delayed the payment. Under the leadership of Sudhir Dasgupta, Harendranath Basu and Someshwar Mukherjee (of Chuadanga) the Communist League started a movement against this exploitative system. The demands were: right price, correct weight and payment immediately after sale. Under the leadership of Tagore's party, the peasants stop selling sugarcane for three or four days. As a result the factories shut down. Because of this movement ultimately the company was forced to accept the demands of the peasants.¹⁰

According to an I.B. report on 15 March 1942, Tagore and other members of his organization were planning to organize a movement against the payment of rent among the peasants of Nadia. On 14 January 1944 secret branch reported that Joganath Mukherjee was an active member of Tagore's party in Krishnagar Town. He was an ex-convict who had been convicted in a procession case and also for abusing police officers of Krishnagar police station and sentenced for 2 years R.I. in 1942.

IV. PEASANT MOVEMENT IN THE SUNDERBANS

From 1934 Saumyendranath and his party played a significant role in the peasant movement that took place in the Sunderbans region of the 24 Parganas. The Sunderban region was the *khas* holding of the government. The entire area was divided into segments which were known as 'Lot' or 'Lat'. After the new settlement of land in 1879 those who came forward to buy Lats were businessmen, famous barristers of Kolkata, other lawyers and some zamindars. These people were known as Latdars and they did not directly undertake the cultivation of the Lats. They handed out the Lats to other people in *ijaras*¹¹ to cultivate the land and the latter were known as the Chakdars. The Chakdars on their part worked out a settlement with the ryots. Among the peasants were bargadars and farm labourers. The bargadars leased lands from the ryot, the Chakdars or sometimes from the Latdars themselves.¹²

Landless cultivators came pouring in from districts such as Medinipur and neighbouring states such as Bihar, northern Orissa, from eastern Bengal and from the Santhal Parganas in the middle of the nineteenth century.¹³ A significant proportion of these people were Santhals, Oraons and Mundas. The land was given as *ijara*. One important condition for obtaining an *ijara* was that recovery of forest lands be made and cultivation be extended over them. As a consequence, the Latdars and their Naibs and Gomastas, the Chakdars and later on the rich ryots attracted the landless farmers by telling them that if they reclaimed the forest lands for cultivation, they would be given permanent cultivation rights on these lands. As a result these landless peasants struggled fearlessly against tigers, crocodiles and saltwater floods to reclaim the jungle. Ultimately dense forests soon became fertile cultivated fields. But these people who could so bravely fight the forces of nature could not fight the exploitation of the combination of Latdars, Chakdars, Jotedars, Gomastas and Naibs.¹⁴

In Basirhat, Hasnabad, Sandeshkhali, Haroa and Canning police stations a large number of peasants was evicted and widespread discontent resulted. The landlord had ejected a number of poor peasants from their homesteads and cultivated lands and converted these lands into *khas* (own) possession.¹⁵ From 1936 organized struggle against these lawless expropriation started. In this year the first Krishak Sabha convened at the village of Uchilda of Haroa. At this Sabha Saumyendranath, Muzaffar Ahmad and others delivered speeches. At the Krishak Sabha of Uchilda Tagore pointed out that the real enemies of the farmers were the Latdars and urged that the peasants should fight against the oppression of these Latdars to re-acquire the reclaimed lands from which they had been expropriated. To achieve this, Tagore argued, the peasants would have to organize a movement. In another meeting of the Krishak Samiti, Saumyendranath and others took the decision that if a ryot was oppressed by the zamindars then everybody should be informed publicly about this oppression. Tagore visited Darahatpur, Sandeshkhali, Gosaba, Kumirmari and Pairatan. Under the leadership of the CLI an attempt

¹⁰ Padachinno in Ganabani, 15 December 1985, p.16

¹¹ The word *ijara* means rent in Arabic. Specifically, *ijara* is an exchange transaction in which a known benefit arising from a specified asset is made available in return for a payment, but where ownership of the asset itself is not transferred.

¹² Bose, Manjula, *Saumyendranath Tagore: Korme O Manone* [Saumyendranath Tagore: His work and ideology], Tagore Research Institute: Kolkata, 2007, p.133

¹³ Ghosh, Amitav, *The Hungry Tide*, Ravi Dayal publishers: New Delhi, 2004, p.52

¹⁴ Ghatak, Moitriya, "Kakdeep 1946-50", in *Dastrabyo Bortika*, Calcutta, 1986, p.13

¹⁵ Bhattacharyya, Dipankar, *Peasant Movements in Bengal and Bihar 1936-47*, Rabindra Bharati University Press: Calcutta, 1992, p.26

was made at this time to form peasant organizations at various villages of the 24-Parganas. The peasant leaders were Satish Samanta, Dibakar Haldar, Subodh Bhattacharyya, Hatem Sardar and others. These leaders on the one hand had to deal with the police and on the other had to fight against the Latdars.¹⁶ Most important among the Latdars of the 24-Parganas were the Port Canning Development Company and the zamindari of Hamilton.

Daniel Hamilton had his zamindari in the Sunderbans area of the 24-Parganas. He ran his zamindari by oppressing the peasants ruthlessly.¹⁷ Actually in the 1930s Daniel Hamilton bought ten thousand acres of the tide country from the British government. Gosaba, Rangabelia, Satjelia— these were all his.¹⁸ Amitav Ghosh writes, “When Sir Daniel Hamilton, the Scotsman, looked upon the carb-covered shores of the tide country, he saw not mud, but something that shone brighter than gold.”¹⁹ Just as the peasants of the Sunderbans had to fight ferocious wild beasts such as tigers, crocodiles and snakes to extend cultivation over forest lands, they also had to fight against more ferocious beasts in the shape of Hamilton and his Latdars, Chakdars and Gomastas. The zamindars snatched away the lion’s share of the yield through various illegal cesses such as *majuriana*, *jalnikashi*, *paharadari*, *parbani*, *nazrana*, *selami* and also by arbitrarily raising the revenue demand. They often expelled the peasants from their lands and impoverished them by forcing them into heavy farm debt. The farmers were rapidly reduced to landless farm labour.²⁰

In 1938 under the leadership of the Krishak Sabha the peasants surrounded the Zamindar’s scutcherry at Daudpur in Sandeshkhalithana and burnt all the documents there. Actually discontent had started from 1937. They also beat the Naib of the zamindar dead on that occasion. In retaliation, the police and the *lethels* (strongmen) of the zamindars together carried out brutal torture on the peasants. The local peasant leader Umasankar Maity died in an encounter with the police.²¹ The district magistrate therefore declared that he would carry out investigation at the site of violence. To welcome him and to arrange for investigation the Port Canning Development Company constructed a marquee. This of course enraged the peasants because it was the Port Company against which charges of violence had been raised. As such, the peasants dismantled the marquee. When a guard of the zamindars came to stop them he lost his life in popular anger. As a result, the brutality of the zamindars and the police increased.²²

In November 1937, at Albert Hall in Calcutta, a peasants’ conference was held. Several speakers who addressed the conference were protesting against the maltreatment meted out to the peasants by zamindars. The peasants were fighting under the leadership of Saumyendranath Tagore, Bankim Mukherjee, Mansur Habibullah, Naliniprava Ghosh, Hemanta Ghoshal, Jyotish Roy, Probodh Roy, Nurul Huda, Monoranjan Sur and others. They were requested to continue their struggle. In 1938 as a leader of the Krishak Samiti Saumyendranath organized peasant struggle at Basanti, Gosaba, Satjelia, Rangabelia, Hasnabad, Sandeshkhali, Haroa, Basirhat, Taki, Canning, Amtala, Bishnupur etc. He personally toured the places of the Sunderbans.²³

Within the zamindari of Hamilton (Gosaba, Satjelia and Rangabelia), the oppression was the maximum. This operation was carried out in the name of the cooperative.²⁴ There was a Central Bank of Gosaba, village reconstruction centre, cooperative, rice mill and there was even a Gosaba currency.²⁵ The notes or coupons that were introduced in Hamilton’s zamindari prevented the peasants from buying and selling outside the zamindari. The cooperative bought all the crops from the peasants at a nominal price in exchange for these coupons. And the peasants were forced to buy their essential commodities at a very high price from the cooperative. In this way the peasants were robbed of all their profits. Over and above this there were the atrocities carried out by Hamilton’s manager Sudhangshu Mazumdar and his brother-in-law, the naib of Satjelia Haripada Dutta.²⁶

Saumyendranath presided over a massive public meeting at Rangabelia. At this meeting the peasants presented the accounts of their exploitation and torture. Tagore declared that till the demands of the peasants were met, the struggle would have to continue. After this meeting the struggle to occupy land attained a powerful form under the leadership of Dibakar Haldar and Satish Samanta. Eventually Dibakar Haldar and Gora Gayen were arrested and jailed for nine months and six months respectively. On 18 February 1938 a meeting

¹⁶ Padachinno, Ganabani, 15 November, 1985, pp.18 and 20-22

¹⁷ Chakraborty, Manohar, “Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone Saumyendranather Bhumika” in Amit das, ed., *Saumyendranath Tagore Smarak Sankha*, Baitanik, Kolkata, 2002, p.92

¹⁸ Ghosh, Amitav, *The Hungry Tide*, p.51

¹⁹ Ibid, p.49

²⁰ Chakraborty, Manohar, “Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone”, p.92

²¹ Bhattacharyya, Dipankar, *Peasant Movements in Bengal and Bihar 1936-47*, p.26

²² Padachinno, Ganabani, 15 November 1985, p.22

²³ Chakraborty, Manohar, “Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone”, p.93

²⁴ Padachinno, Ganabani, 15 November 1985, p.18

²⁵ Ananda Bazar Patrika, 24 January 2015

²⁶ Chakraborty, Manohar, “Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone”, pp.93-94 and also see Padachinno, Ganabani, 15 November 1985, p.18

was held in Khirishtola (Kamapukur), the 24-Parganas. Saumyendranath presided over the meeting. Speeches delivered by Naliniprava Bose, Satish Chandra Samanta, Mammoth Hazra and others also. About 2000 persons attended this meeting. The meeting ended at about 7.30 pm.²⁷

According to Sunil Kundagrami, an assistant to the office of the Bengal Provincial Kisan Committee that early in 1937 reported that the BPKC was an all party organization. Some times after Saumyendranath Tagore with his supporters had separated from this organization. They had formed a rival organization under the name "Bangiyopradeshik Krishak Sabha" at 220, Cornwallis Street. On the one hand there were Bankim Mukherjee, Muzaffar Ahmed and Niherendu Dutta Majumdar and on the other hand were Tarapada Gupta, Sudhir Dasgupta, Satish Samanta and Tagore. During the month of March 1938, Saumyendranath again visited the 24-Parganas. He wanted to organize a rival peasant organization with the help of the Anushilan Samiti and the Congress Socialist Party.²⁸ He was successful in this work.

Saumyendranath said in 1939 that he had heard that Hamilton's naib Haripada Dutta had sent 100 armed men to go to Laxman Mondal's house and robbed paddy from his store. When some farmers protested Dutta threatened then at gunpoint. In the altercation, one peasant snatched the gun for him. As a result a fight ensued in which the naib's head was fractured and later he succumbed to his injuries at the hospital. Ever since police atrocity has increased and even women are not being spared.²⁹ At Hamilton's zamindari at Canning some zamindars had stored forcibly harvested crops of the peasants. The police report tells us that in February and March 1939 Saumyendranath organized two meetings at the zamindari of Hamilton. As a result of these meetings the peasants were greatly inflamed. He also held secret meetings where he advised the peasants to rob the zamindars of their illegally stored crops and to divide it equally among themselves. If the naib tried to stop them they should cut off his head. According to the police report dated 15 February 1939, some 300 peasants gathered and attacked the naib. They beat him till he was half-dead. Further a number of cases of arson and looting of crops were reported from this region.³⁰

In 1939, between Daniel Hamilton and peasants in Gosaba several incidents occurred. Daniel Hamilton complained to K.A.L. Hill, the district magistrate of the 24-Parganas that "lawlessness in fact [is] increasing in the Basirhat subdivision and nothing [is] being done to stop it ... the whole sub-division from here to Hasnabad is setting with unrest and crops being looted... I requested to send down here immediately a body of soldiers to preserve law and order."³¹ The police report of 21 February 1939 tells us that the zamindar of Suryaberia, Iswar Chandra Dindahad agreed to give every peasant two bighas of land as *salami* against every ploughshare they possessed. However not all zamindars had agreed to do so. In fact many of them increased their atrocities against the peasants. The Krishak Samiti Union Board of Sambhunagar tried to decrease the rate of interest imposed on the peasants. They further demanded that half of the outstanding loans should be cancelled and the remaining half should be made payable in easy instalments. To the zamindars their demands were that land must be given to the farmer and between the zamindar and the peasants there should be half-and-half crop-sharing. Further, half of the production and implement cost should be borne by the zamindars. From the Special Branch police report of 03 May 1939 we come to know that the Krishak Samiti secretary of Tyangrakhali, Debendranath Kayal had distributed propaganda material. In this material it was said that due to the efforts of Saumyendranath and Dibakar Haldar, the Krishak Samiti had been formed and the peasants had got relief from the oppression of the zamindars.³²

A book named *Chashir Katha* was published by Saumyendranath Tagore in July. The book depicted how the peasants of Bengal were being tortured, exploited and robbed by the zamindars' touts and by moneylenders. The book also indicated the path which peasant movements in Bengal should follow. On 22 November 1939 this book was impounded by the British government under the Defence of India Rules.³³ This book was published by Probhat Sen from the Ganabani Publishing House, 220 Cornwallis Street and printed by him at the Rabi Press at 27A Beadon Street, Calcutta. The government thought that the book contains prejudicial report of the nature described in clause (7) of rule 34 of Defence of India Rules. Therefore the Governor declared that all copies, reprints, translations or extracts from this book be forfeited to His Majesty.³⁴

During October 1939, Dibakar Haldar was touring in the Haroa jurisdiction on propaganda work for Tagore's Krishak organization. He was distributing Bengali leaflets which were issued in the name of Saumyendranath as an appeal for solidarity amongst the peasants, with some instructions for conducting the

²⁷ File no. 166/26, I.B.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Bose, Manjula, Saumyendranath Tagore, Korme O Monane, pp.136-137

³⁰ Ibid, p.136

³¹ Bhattacharyya, Dipankar, Peasant Movements in, p.28

³² Bose, Manjula, Saumyendranath Tagore, Korme O Monane, p.137

³³ Chakraborty, Manohar, "Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone, p.93

³⁴ Bose, Somendranath, Sarkari File-e Saumyendranath, pp. 25-26

movement against the oppression of the zamindars. The leaflets in Bengali entitled “Sunderban Abader Chasi Bhaider Prati” (to the peasant comrades of Sunderbans) were being distributed at Pergumti in Hasnabad police station area.³⁵ Following the example of the Russian peasants Saumyendranath inspired the Bengali peasantry to carry out revolution in order to capture power. The peasants from Basirhat, Sandeshkhali, Gosaba, Satjelia, Rangabelia, etc. were visiting Saumyendranath and telling him that the people of zamindars were trying to harvest forcibly the ripened crops of their fields. Saumyendranath sent two peasant leaders Dibakar Haldar and Satish Samanta to take stock of the situation and plan a future course of action.³⁶

As a result of this mobilization, it was reported that between September 1938 and May 1939 the peasants, acting against the order of the police, robbed the crop from the *khas* lands, refused to pay taxes and physically assaulted a naib of the estate of Daniel Hamilton.³⁷ In April 1940, Tagore deputed several of his party members to the interior of the 24-Parganas to organize the Krishaks. He gave his party members several copies of *Chasheer Katha* for circulation among the peasants.³⁸ In this period Saumyendranath composed a musical play called ‘Chassi Holo Majoor’ (the peasants become labourers). In this play he described the class character of the oppressor and the oppressed. This song became so popular that they were sung by the peasants and fisherfolk in the villages, fields, roads and rivers of the Sunderbans.³⁹

It has been reported on 26 September 1941 that at the Amtala Bazar of the 24-Parganas a farmers’ office had been opened. The aim of this was to capture the Union Board. The Union Board Election Committee has been formed on 10 November 1941 by the 24-Parganas Sudder Mohakuma Krishak Samiti to win the next Union Board Election. During October 1941, Saumyendranath, to bring the peasants into the fold of his party, had given 1,000 rupees interest-free loan to the farmers of Canning, Sandeshkhali, Bistupur and Joynagar. The result was that on 08 November 1941 it was reported that in Suryaberia and other places of the 24-Parganas the number of peasant members rose significantly.⁴⁰ In 1941 Satish Chandra Samanta was working among the peasants in Sandeshkhali and Hasnabad areas in the 24-Parganas and tried to open an office of the party there.⁴¹

V. CONCLUSION

The Tagore’s party met with remarkable success in these districts. They wanted to free the peasants from the extortions and exploitation of the zamindars and their staff. The aim of the CLI was not only to protect the peasants from tyranny and oppression, but also to awaken revolutionary consciousness among the peasants for the socialist revolution. But due to the growth of rather similar associations or prajasamatis at the same time among the same sections, tenants were mobilized under diverse influences and their organization revealed a lot of internal variations and their struggle also remained separate.

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³⁵ File no. 166/26, I.B.

³⁶ Bose, Manjula, Saumyendranath Tagore, Korme O Monane, p.136

³⁷ Bose, Somendranath, Sarkari File-e Saumyendranath Tagore, pp. 40-41

³⁸ File no. 166/26, I.B.

³⁹ Chakraborty, Manohar, “Sunderbaner Krishak Andolone, p.94

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IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) is UGC approved Journal with SI. No. 5070, Journal no. 49323.

Dr.Satyabrata Bhattacharyya. "Saumyendranath Tagore And Peasant Movements In Thenadia District And Thesunderbans Areas ." IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS) 22.8 (2017): 19-25.