The narrative, presented in this thesis, deals with a crucial phase of the anti-colonial struggle. The major focus of this study has been to locate the nature, patterns and extent of popular mobilisation during the period of 1930-42. Attempt has also been made to examine the nature of popular response/perception emerging during the period.

As has been seen, the CDM evoked mass response in terms of propagation of the message of Purna Swaraj, Salt manufacturing and selling, picketing of excise shops, and boycotting of foreign cloth. Similarly, the anti-choukidari tax campaign (Balasore) and attempts by peasants/tribals (Puri, Koraput and certain princely states) to assert their rights over forests by defying forest laws also evolved as other forms of satyagraha movement. The campaign against the Chowkidari tax in Balasore was possible because popular discontent against the tax already existed. The preparatory campaign for Salt Satyagraha in Inchudi (Balasore), and the popular enthusiasm for the movement provided the objective conditions and rather necessitated the continuity of the struggle through a shift to the anti-choukidari movement when the monsoon set in. A significant aspect of the campaign was the popular rejection of 'authority' in the forms of assault on police and massive boycott of chaukidars who were seen as representative of the forces represented by colonialism and landed elements.

As far as the patterns of mobilisation were concerned, mass meetings, demonstrations, organisation of volunteer corps, formation of Banara Sena squads, organisation of Sankirtan processions to move around towns/villages to popularise the message of Purna Swaraj, and organisation of underground Congress Ashrams (as in Pharsidinga, Balasore) remained the dominant trends.

In the context of mobilisation, a few other observations can be made. One, the rural hats and temples became important sites for mass meetings, etc. The nationalist
sankirtan parties very often either started from or terminated at temples; and the processionists as well as spectators took an oath for Purna Swaraj in the temples. Second, dominant use of Hindu religious symbols and rituals, such as reference to Lord Jagannath, in the speeches, appeals in the press and orations on public platforms, and offering of puja by the brahmin priest to the Satyagrahis in their long march to salt manufacturing sites or the Hindu rituals (associated with war/victory) performed while flagging off the salt marchers helped to evoke widespread response from the wide social sections. This to a certain extent invested popular consciousness with the notion of a Dharma Yudha fought under Gandhian leadership in the form of Salt Satyagraha against the oppressive British imperialism.

Another significant aspect of the movement was the popular response to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The pact was seen and celebrated as a victory for Gandhi/Congress/people in many parts of the province. It was this sense of victory scored against the British rule which emboldened the people to carry forward the struggle in the face of repression and arrest of leaders in the 1932-34 phase. The local level leaders and satyagrahis during this phase, tried out diverse and innovative methods of struggle to keep up the movement. These methods included resistance to the police, rescue of arrested satyagrahis, recapture of the already seized Congress Ashram, sometimes by women volunteers, or the attempt to sell contraband salt in the court premises.

Attempts to destroy/disturb colonial symbols such as tearing off of police/chaukidar uniforms, damaging of post-boxes, and disruption of court proceedings during revenue sales also surfaced. Another form was the circulation of handwritten/cyclostyled bulletins and news-sheets, including by mango sellers or girls of the orphanages. This not only violated the hated Press Act but also gave guidelines to the people and kept up the momentum of the struggle. At Remuna village (Balasore), leaflets were kept secretly in the
hollow trunks of the trees from where the villagers collected the copies. The no-rent campaign or the demand for remission of rent which featured in certain tracts of the province emerged, as has been indicated, from the peasants' emboldened notion of Gandhi/Congress victory following the pact of 1931. It was in this context that initiatives for the organisation of peasants/tenants associations developed. Moreover, CDM, exerted considerable impact on the peasants of the princely states. The popular discontent in the princely states found expression in diverse forms of popular assertion against oppressive laws and feudal practices. After 1931, the 'Satyagrahis' released from jail and the nationalist press sought to organise the subjects of the princely states against the Rajas by focusing on their grievances.

Similarly, it was under the impact of the anti-imperialist mobilisation that the tribals of Koraput region not only got integrated in the national struggle for the first time but popular protest emerged against exploitation by the muttahadari system as well as estate and the forest officials. On the whole, the Salt Satyagraha in Orissa was marked by a broader social basis as well as the new territorial reach of the national movement; the peasants, tribals, youth and women at a significant scale were drawn into the vortex of nationalist struggle on a significant scale and thus the influence of PCC expanded horizontally.

One of the major thrust of the thesis has been to map the nature and extent of ideological orientation and the attendant popular mobilisation attained through the strategy of constructive activities such as organisation of Congress Ashrams, Seva Dals, various training camps, promotion of khadi, campaign against untouchability and for village industries, education, socio-economic upliftment of the Harijans, etc. The activities of the Congress Ashramites, in the absence of top-leadership, provided a vigorous thrust to the anti-imperialist movement in 1932-34 and more prominently in 1942. Besides the khadi march by the lead-
ers, organisation of spinning exhibition in mass meetings, establishment of schools for untouchables, organisation of feasts attended by people from all castes including tribals, initiative for temple entry of Harijans, organisation of conferences of the outcaste, and the overall reformatory campaign among tribals, to quote a few of the innumerable efforts by the leadership during the non-mass movement phase, not only helped to mobilise the socially oppressed classes but also lent them a powerful sense of identity. One would like to suggest that the sweepers strikes in Cuttack, Puri and other places focusing their demands, which one comes across at different stages right since 1932, were the result of the subtle campaign against untouchability by the leaders. The political vacuum created by the withdrawal of CDM came to be filled up by the remarkable campaign around constructive activities. This is perhaps one of the major explanations for the powerful anti-imperialist current of 1942.

Similarly, while dealing with an otherwise neglected area of modern Indian history, i.e., 'Individual Satyagraha', in so far as it was a part of the nationalist strategy in the non-mass movement phase, we have attempted to locate the forms and extent of popular mobilisation under this strategy, thereby assessing its strength and viability as a method of struggle. In this connection, we have tried to suggest that the Individual Satyagraha should be seen as a strategy linked to the broad mass movement of 1942 precisely because it sought to mobilise the people at rural levels and kept them ready for the subsequent onslaught on imperialism. This movement thus went into the making of the sweep of the forceful anti-imperialist movement characterising the 1942 struggle.

The newly emergent leadership of the post-CDM phase with its prolonged and profound experience of the previous mass movements came to face the twin problems of the peasants/tribals and the popular protest against repression in
the princely states. The agrarian leadership which emerged during this period and championed the cause of tenants both in British Orissa and the Garjats was remarkably radical. The other noticeable feature of this period was the thrust of radical ideology inside Congress movement. The broad left ideology over the Socialists, Communists and the followers of Nehru and Bose stirred the youth throughout which led to the perceptible transformation in the nature of post-CDM leadership. The broad left wing leadership of the Krushak Sanghas sought to popularise the demands of the peasants and focused their grievances. It thus prepared the initial condition for the subsequent transformation of the agrarian structure. The campaign by the overall Congress leadership and more particularly by the Kisan leaders during 1935-39, sought to transform the peasants consciousness in a radical direction.

In fact, it is in this radicalised context of mid-1930s that the Congress accepted office under the 1935 Act. The Congress Ministry attempted to encompass both agrarian radicalism and anti-colonialism, without being co-opted into the colonial structure. The perspective envisaged by the Congress Ministry vis-a-vis agrarian policies was one of class adjustment and not of sheer class struggle. This understanding was reflected in various measures of tenancy legislation, initiated by the Congress Ministry. The objective of the Ministry was to meet the challenge offered by the Act of 1935 by undertaking popular and ameliorative legislation. The strategy was to undermine the hegemony of colonial state by arousing and appealing to rural mass level grievances. This also helped the Ministry to acquire the status of a popular representative and also to help overcome the post-CDM disillusionment.

In the context of popular movements in princely states, popular assertion and militancy scaled new heights during the phase of the Congress Ministry. The Congress Ministry displayed remarkable radicalism in supporting the popular movements in the princely states in the name of protecting
civil liberties. Similarly to a considerable extent, the Ministry defended the leftwing Kisan leaders, when the latter incurred the wrath of the colonial authorities for fomenting militant struggles against landed elements.

It is needless to point out that to a great extent, the Ministry through its action and pronouncements could create the right conditions for the awakening as well as transformation of the popular consciousness. And as has been repeatedly pointed out in the case of peasant/tribal mobilisation of 1937-39, the popular consciousness came to be invested with a radical vision of Swaraj. The inspiration sought to be drawn at popular levels was from the subjective notion that Congress was ruling India. This not only helped to overcome the post-CDM disillusionment but considerably eroded colonial hegemony. Interestingly, the broad leftwing leadership came to defend the Congress Ministry in the face of rightist-opportunist attempts to dislodge the Ministry. This also proves the radical orientation of the Ministry, though based on the perspective of class adjustment.

While attempting to locate the transformation of the Congress socio-economic ideology in a mass radical direction right since 1935 and the growth of left movement within the broad Congress movement, the last chapter deals with the Quit India Movement. The Quit India Movement, which marked the climax of the mass movement against British Imperialism, was equally conspicuous by its quantitative and qualitative territorial reach as well as broad social basis. What had gone into the making of this intensely powerful anti-imperialist movement was not only two earlier phases of the mass movements (NCO and CDM), but the consistent ideological campaign built nearly over two decades in Orissa. Various ideological strands in the Congress - Gandhians, Socialists, Communists - had shared in the propagation of this ideological discourse. In particular, after the formation of Congress Ministry, a rich anti-imperialist political climate took shape. The Ministry as observed earlier, also helped
create the space for progressive peasant mobilisation. What is also important was the conceptualisation of 'Swaraj' at popular level - a process which the ministry from the day one kept enhancing through its limited legislative and extra-legislative positions. After all, the subjective feeling that the people were having 'their' Government vis-a-vis British rule had emboldened them and bred a strong anti-imperialist sentiment. Afterwards, the shifting positions of the Congress in terms of anti-war campaigns, and the rehearsal in the pre-quit India phase in the form of "Individual Satyagraha" along with necessary organisational preparedness, all combined, had really generated the psychological urge at popular levels to drive the British out of India. Of course, as has been brought out in the treatment of the January-July 1942 phase, the notion at popular plane of the collapse of British imperialism had hastened the above process. In a way, the masses at local levels had been so considerably ideologically trained over the years and had in fact expected a crisis in terms of the end of world imperialism and the attendant dawn of Swaraj that they were prepared to carry on the struggle even in the absence of established leadership. Besides, the open-ended character of Gandhian message in connection with Quit India, was enough for them to keep the movement going. As we have seen, the anti-feudal current inside the Quit India movement was there, but remained muted in the face of the anti-imperialist current. The peasants, after all, had been drawn into the struggle to liberate the country first. The innumerable instances of attacks/raids/looting organised around colonial symbols bring out this aspect. Whatever anti-feudal currents and anti-zamindar violence emerged during the course of the movement were primarily in those areas where the roots of Kisan Sangha had been strengthened in the post-1937 phase (particularly coastal Orissa, Koraput) and was directed mainly at grain seizure because of shortages of foodgrains during the war or were the result of concerned zamindars' pro-government and anti-movement stand.
As we have noted, the attempt to form 'parallel Government', 'liberated zone' and to adopt methods of 'guerrilla warfare' for this purpose could take place in the context of virtual breakdown of authority or the inaccessibility of the tracts in terms of flooded regions or jungles. These were, however, short-lived phenomena which vanished in the face of the all out colonial repression. But these developments do point to the depth of 'Quit India' feelings in these areas. Particularly, in the princely pockets, where both colonialism and the Raja were bracketed together as sources of oppression and exploitation, the popular response to any scheme which was evolved by the leadership was momentous. The movement was marked by the participation of all classes except very big landlords. However, with the progress of the movement, many of the small landlords positioned themselves neutrally and, in certain cases, some of them supported the movement, both financially and in other ways. At least in one instance a zamindar joined the people in the attack on the police in Bari. As has been observed on several occasions, there was large-scale erosion of loyalty at the subordinate levels of British bureaucracy. The clerks, peons, choukidars and even the police Inspectors, not to mention teachers and doctors and lawyers and people from all walks of life, came under the spell of the Quit India spirit. The instances of a constable firing in the air instead of into the crowd in Khaira (Balasore) and the Inspector/Post Master going on leave knowingly on the day of the burning of the Thana and the post office in Bhandar Pokhari and the indifference of police in arresting local leaders in Eram (Balasore) were clear indicators of the extent to which they had been swayed by nationalist fervour.

Students, of course, often gave the lead for the movement in different areas. The Congress Ashramites played a vital role in organising the movement in different areas in the absence of top leaders. The wide participation of women was another notable feature of the Quit India Movement in
Orissa. We have shown how in Nimapara the wife of the zamindar and her son helped in the burning of police Thana. The movement was joined both by high castes and low castes, tribals and non-tribals, and peasants and agricultural labourers/wage earners. Peasants actions in terms of 'paddy extortion', stealing of paddy from schools/houses of paddy owners, cutting of trees in jungles, burning of accounts books of sahukars, attacks on liquor vendors, 'looting' of rice mills, 'eating away' of sweetmeats from the shops in the hats, 'stealing' of cash and opium, ordering the rural rich to organise feasts for the tribal 'crowd' and insisting on the host (a non-tribal caste) to join the tribals in the same feast, and looting of hats were the diverse forms which co-existed with the usual forms of struggle. However, broadly these forms of protest had already surfaced in these areas earlier during 1937-39 phase - mostly due to the impulse generated by the Congress Ministry, as has been examined in the concerned chapter.

In fact, during 1937-39, the notion of Swaraj came to be conceptualised in a multi-hued manner at popular levels on the basis of the assurances and expectations drawn from the very fact that it was the Congress - the saviour which was ruling the people and not the British Government. Also, the mobilisation of peasants and tribals in these pockets/regions during 1937-39 by the Congress leaders had strengthened the notion. Consequently, the manifestations of nationalism at popular levels during the course of Quit India movement should not be seen as primarily spontaneous expression but rather attempts to express the already imbibed notion of Swaraj by the peasants - a phenomenon reinforced by the call for Quit India. To be more precise, the long-term ideological orientation imparted in the course of anti-imperialist movement by the Congress had shaped the popular perception of Swaraj in varied forms.