Spanning a period of nearly three-quarters of a century, the Indian national movement is one of the longest mass movements in modern history. Based on the urge for a common nationhood and a reaction against and opposition to colonial rule, it roughly began over a decade before the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, and uninterruptedly continued until the achievement of independence in 1947. It is a humanly difficult task to cover the entire period and the entire country in a time bound Ph.D. programme. Hence a short period of 10 years (i.e., 1920-29) and a small area (i.e. Orissa) was taken for the purpose. However, such a micro level study will not be, I hope, irrelevant for the understanding of this prolonged as well as widespread movement. Hopefully a regional study of this nature may be helpful in examining the broad observations being made in various general level studies.

The present work, as the title suggests, is an attempt to make a comprehensive study of the national movement and politics in Orissa in the 1920s. During the period the Non-Cooperation Movement was a major political development. Hence the study roughly covers the movement and its aftermath in Orissa. Based on contemporary newspapers, government records and the writings of the participants in the movement, it proposes to discuss the various aspects of the nationalist politics during the period. Stretching over
five chapters, it begins with the emergence of nationalist forces in the late 19th century and covers the period upto 1929, the eve of the ensuing Civil Disobedience Movement.

The first chapter introduces the reader to the regional peculiarities of the state and tries to help him to understand and examine the national movement in the given historical context. It discusses the genesis of nationalism in Orissa in the late 19th and the first two decades of 20th century. The focal points of the discussion are the emergence of a new intelligentsia as the opinion maker of the society, its concern for a modern social order, the formation of the Utkal Union Conference (UUC), an organised forum of the political class, in 1903 to counter the colonial hegemony as well as the neighbouring middle class domination, the different political trends within the UUC, the forms of agitation in the early days, and the organisational link between the UUC and the anti-colonial forces outside Orissa. Besides these, the introduction also traces the internal struggle between different political trends for hegemony over the emerging nationalist agitation, and emphasises how the emergence and subsequent assertion of one trend led to near marginalisation of the rest in politics.

The second and third chapters deal with the Non-Cooperation Movement. On the eve of Non-Cooperation, various local political forces merged into a broad nationalist
the stream and they together launched movement. The creation of a local ethos, the use of local cultural symbols and mobilisation of the people on many local issues without contradicting the broad nationalist strategy of the Congress were significant. While the first chapter and the first part of the second chapter concentrate on the general developments during the movement, the second part of the second chapter discusses the response of different sections of the people to the movement, the different forms of agitation, the reasons why some particular forms became popular, the different types of nationalist institutions created during the course of the movement, and their overall impact. While evaluating the movement it equally emphasises the spontaneous participation of the students, as well as the poor response of the tribals. It also tries to determine the reasons for such poor response amongst a section of the people whose revolutionary potentialities were obvious during the period as well.

The fourth chapter is on the aftermath of non-cooperation. Described as the 'non-active' phase, the period (1923-27) witnessed many 'negative' developments such as the growth of regionalism, factional politics, charges of corruption against many prominent Congressmen and the rise of communal tendencies amongst the nationalist forces. The chapter also examines the political programme of the Swarajists and the No-changers, and the differences and
co-ordination between the two.

Between 1928 and 1929, once again, new forces such as students and youth, 'lower' castes, women, labour, peasants and tribals began to emerge. The fifth chapter deals with this aspect. For their political development as well as for their emergence, the entire credit is not given to the Congress leadership; at the same time nationalist influence on them is not ignored. It also tries to discover the role of the local leadership behind their emergence and tries to show that such local leadership even when it had very little organisational link with the Congress at no point poses a challenge to the latter.

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