

Formation and Activities of the Utkal Provincial Krushak Sangha in Colonial Odisha (1935-38)

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ABSTRACT : *The peasants of Odisha came within the ambit of colonial capitalistic economic system after British conquered Odisha in 1803. Up to the end of the Civil Dis-obedience movement, the peasants in Odisha yet remained backward, retrogressive, unorganised and feudal in nature . Out of different circumstances socialism started to germinate in and later on dominated the post-Civil Disobedience movement phase Odisha. The newly indoctrinated socialist leaders took up peasants' cause and organised them against colonial hegemonic rule in different issues by organising a special peasants' organization in pan-Odisha basis. So, this article tries to locate the efforts of the socialist leaders vis-a-vis the peasants through Utkal Provincial Krushak Sangha. It also endeavours to assess the overall activities of that organisation, its tactics in mobilizing peasants in colonial Odisha from 1935 to 1938. Besides, **this** article also tries to present how the Utkal Provincial Krushaka Sangha was formed and how it worked as a platform for the peasants of odisha in co-ordinating, mobilising, educating and organising the agrarian community in 1930s and 1940s..*

KEYWORDS : *Agrarian, Krushaka , Movement, Rebellion , Sangha, , Socialist ,Utkal*

I. INTRODUCTION

Peasants (English term for the Odia word *Krushak*), being a segment in the complex capitalistic farming system, are destined to fulfill its legitimate rights, according to Karl Marx, through prolonged 'class struggle'. This prolonged class struggle of the peasantry usually needs a strong organization, able leadership and a class ideology. The peasantry, due to numerous structural as well as psychological shortcomings i.e., its professional operation from the fellow mate on the basis of place of working and nature of labour engaged, its living in scattered villages in a dispersed way, its complex and heterogeneous composition as a class since it includes bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, semi-proletariat and proletariat, lacks self-mobilization, objectivity in aims and clear cut class consciousness. In the words of Marx, they 'cannot represent themselves and must be represented'¹. Eric wolf contends that the peasants often requires outside leaders for their struggle because of certain characteristics of peasants – first, a peasants' work is activated alone on his land, secondly, the tyranny of work weights heavily upon them². Besides it, they were mostly illiterate, ignorant, back-ward looking and were chained in caste-ridden norms. The struggle of peasantry is not individualistic, rather collective because of complexity and homogeneity of issues of the struggle. That is why a class-based organization, which could provide the platform, leadership, ideology and the line of action, is practically indispensable for the peasantry to fight for their interests.

The process of coming up of special peasants organization had already been started by 1930s with the coming up of Oudh kishan sabha in the alluvial rich Gangetic plain of Uttar Pradesh followed by numerous peasants organization in many parts of India³. But the scope and activities of those organizations were largely confined in many respects i.e., there was no all Indian peasant organization to co-ordinate those intra-national/**regional** organizations, there was no clear-cut peasants' ideologies and with no cadre of specified peasants workers. The equation got changed for peasants' movement with the radical transformations India witnessed with the withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement. **That** transformation manifested in the emergence of radical ideas within and outside the Congress circle, the emergence of class consciousness among the peasants, youths, women and *Harijanas*. Among all those important developments in mid nineteen thirties, the coming of a new and nation-wide awakening of Indian peasants to their own strength and capacity to organize for the betterment of their living conditions was the most important⁴. **That** new awakening was largely a result of the combination of particular economic and political developments i.e., (a) The Depression which brought agricultural prices crashing down to half or less of their normal levels, dealt severe blow to impoverished peasants; (b) The refusal of Government to scale down the taxations ; (c) The stagnation of prices of manufactured goods **and** (d) Inability of Congress to do more for peasants.

The peasants struggle in odisha started as soon as the British occupied odisha in 1803A.D. This struggle centered round only on agrarian issues with less-organized and with no clear-cut class ideology in modern term and conditions. Up to the end of the Civil Dis-obedience Movement the peasant struggle in odisha passed through different stages with changing nature and characteristics from popular autonomous movements (Paik rebellion, *Ghumusur* movement, movement led by Veer Surender Sai and tribal movements) to locally organized peasants movements (movements under District Zamindari *Raiyats* Association in Ganjam District). Alike all Indian scenario, the peasants movement in odisha got a new momentum after 1930s. Odisha, being a part of the colonial empire, bore same symptoms and transformation in post-Civil Disobedience Movement phrase. Despite huge peasants' participation in the civil-disobedience movement, the assurance of Utkal Provincial Congress Committee to the peasants could not be fulfilled, for which the peasants in Odisha were no longer ready to have faith in leaders of Gandhian faith for redressing their class grievances and looked for a new platform to carry forward their movement. Meanwhile, the situation was ripe enough for the emergence of radical ideas inside the UPCC. Those indoctrinated radicals provided the platform to the peasants by instituting a special peasants' organization in the form of Utkal Provincial *krushak sangha*.

II. FORMATION OF UTKAL PROVINCIAL KRUSHAK SANGH

Moved by the frustration acquired from the suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement and the zeal to form an organization of radical left wing ideology, a galaxy of eminent leaders of Utkal (ancient name of Odisha) Provincial Congress Committee (UPCC) met secretly and formed Utkal Congress Samyavadi Karmi Sanghathan (UCSKS) with '*Sarathi*' as weekly in 1933⁵. The UCSKS changed to Odisha branch of Congress Socialist Party (CSP) with the formation of Congress Socialist Party in Bombay in October 1934. Coming back from the CSP conference of Bombay, where they were directed to organize the workers and peasants in their class organizations and waggling struggle for their economic demands", coupled with experiencing the activities of cross-Odisha peasants' associations, Malati Choudhury and her associates formed a '*Krushak Sangha*' in which she along with S.N. Dwivedy became the Joint Secretary⁶. Besides, they organized a *Krushak* Conference at the Cuttack Town Hall at the end of the 1934 which was attended by many new youthful *krushak* leaders like Nabakrushna Choudhury, Gour Chandra Das, and Gouranga Charan Das etc. These veteran socialist leaders manipulated every possible opportunity to mobilize, educate and organize the peasants for a more vigorous stage of peasants' movement in the periods to come. It was early 1935 that the Utkala Provincial *Krushak* Sangha (hereafter UPKS) finally came into being under the veteran leadership of Malati Choudhury, S.N. Dwivedy, Naba Krushna Choudhuri, Gauranga Charan Das and many others.⁷ Mahatab became its president while Malati Choudhury as its Secretary.

Aims and objectives of Utkal Provincial *Krushak Sangha* :UPKS was the brain child of the socialist workers who believed in the fundamental tenants of Socialism/Marxism---class-less society, non-existence of private property, dominance of peasants and labours on land and industry, equal distribution of surplus value and an egalitarian society with much say for the oppressed. So, the basic aim and objectives of UPKS, as have been drawn from a close observation of it's' activities, were as follows:

- [1] To lead the half-fed and half-clad masses of peasants by way of holding numerous gatherings in the rural areas and organizing branches of *krushak sangh* among them⁸.
- [2] To arouse, educate, and mobilize the peasants along their interests and for fighting for independence of the country.
- [3] To press collectively before the government for bringing about institutional as well as structural change in the prevalent agrarian system in Odisha.
- [4] To unite the peasant masses and to involve them in the mainstream of the on-going anti-colonial political activities⁹.
- [5] To represent the peasant community of Odisha in the All India Kishan Sabha ,and to disseminate the **All India Kishan Sabha** ideas in Odisha.

III. ACTIVITIES OF UTKAL PROVINCIAL KRUSHAK SANGHA

UPKS was primarily an organization of the peasants, which objectified the Socialist ideas of the peasant leaders. As an advocacy organization it accomplished many an important works manifested in different forms during that time. The first conference of Utkal Provincial *Krushak Sangha* was held at Bagalpur of Cuttack districts. Mohanlal Goutam, the Secretary of Uttar Pradesh peasant organization, presided over the conference¹⁰ while Jayakrushna Das, an elderly peasant of *Bagalpur* village, was chosen president of the reception committee. The conference passed many important resolutions despite the opposition from most of the leaders.

The passing of these resolutions in many ways affected the then social order by weakening the rural folk, and as a result of which many Kishan committees sprang up in different villages. Further, to mobilize the peasants and to rally for their cause behind the UPKS, many *Krushak Sangha* leaders like Malati Choudhury and Gouranga Charan Das moved village to village by bullock carts, mingled with people freely as a general man. Their activities were so intensive that several false cases were lodged against them by zamindars-British nexus¹¹ Meanwhile the peasants' movement in Odisha had to witness a further change with two important **incidents** i.e., the formation of separate Odisha provinces on 1 April 1936 on the basis of 1935 government of India Act and the formation of All India Kishan Congress later known as All India Kishan Sabha in the same year and same month. However, the problems of various regions of Odisha, yet untouched, came to be unified, which gave a new dimension to peasants' movement in Odisha. The All India Kishan Sabha, formed by the Congress Socialist Party leaders like Swami Sahajanda, the president, N.G. Ranga the Secretary then, Ram Mohan Lohia, Sohan Singh Ghose, Indulal Yagnik, Jayprakash Narayan, Kamal sarakar, Ahmed Din, Sudin Pramari, J.L. Nehru and others held its first conference in 11 April 1936 at Lucknow.

Odisha was represented by Harekrushna Mahtab, Lingaraj Misra, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Bhagirathi Mahapatra and Surendranath Dwivedy in that conference of AIKS.¹² These activities of these UPKS leaders proved their true efforts to nationalize the peasants' cause and to bring Indian National Congress's attention. Both Sahajananda Saraswati and N.G. Ranga vehemently criticized the British apathy towards the poor *raiyyats*, while Ram Mohan Lohia criticized the Gandhian policies of defeating the landlords vis-à-vis peasants, and Sohan Singh Josh pleaded for combining the struggle for zamindari abolition with National Struggle for Independence.¹³ The peasant leaders in different parts of Odisha observed All India Kisan Day on 1 September 1936 under the banner of UPKS, which signaled the gradual awakening of the peasants to their class interests as well as penetration of all Indian (national) psychosis in *mofussolies* of Odisha. The atmosphere got further impetus when Utkal Provincial congress committee inaugurated its election campaign on 13 September 1937 and PCC's giving peasant leaders as candidates for election of 1937 considering UPKS's strong hold in rural populace. As a result of which the enthusiasm of the peasants of Odisha got a further boost.

The state of peasants' mobilization and the popularity of **Krushak Sangha** among the masses could well be assessed from another evidence of 1936. For the strong hold of **Krushak Sangha** activities in *mofussolies* and its popularity, the Utkala Provincial Congress Committee in its meeting held at Cuttack in October 1936 approved of the manifesto of the **Krushak sangha**. The manifesto stated that abolition of Zamindari system, a complete remission of rents and taxes for all whose annual income was less than Rs. 250.00 and a debt moratorium for five years.¹⁴ Besides it, the manifesto also stated that the final solution of the problems of India lay in the removal of British exploitation and a thorough change in the land tenure and revenue system with elimination of all intermediaries between the state and the cultivators. The month of November in 1936 proved quite auspicious for peasants' activities and mobilization in Odisha, because of certain events i.e., Nehru's visit to Odisha, the holding of second provincial *Krushak* conference in Puri¹⁵ and the *Odia Krushak Sammilani* at Calcutta. Though many newspapers like *Nabeen* ascribed it "as a part of the vote bank politics of the Congress leaders as well as the *Krushak* leaders known as left wing of UPCC".¹⁵ Despite heavy rain coupled with the absence of communication facilities in rural areas, thousands and thousands of people gathered to see and to hear J.L. Nehru and his talk on 12 November 1936 at various places in Odisha viz., Delanga, Jatani, Puri etc. Nehru applauded the mass and told that the oppression of police would cease to exist very soon and "the peasants were requested to join in peasants' movements and conferences in the body". Besides, Nehru called the mass to support the Congress party along with its candidates in the forthcoming election.¹⁶

Invigorated leaders of Utkal Provincial *Krushak Sangha* in the wake of Nehru's visit held the second session of **Krushak Sammilani** (Kishan Conferences) at Puri on 15 November 1936 which was presided by Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, the leader of Bihar Kishan Sangha as well as the founding father of AIKS.¹⁷ The conference was attended by about 3000 delegates. Loknath Mishra, the chairman of the reception committee, outlined the position of the *Krushak Sangha* through his frontal attack to land-lordism and **asked** for its abolition. More than twenty resolutions having socio-economic as well as political contents were passed in the conference. It is interesting to note that the resolutions passed in that conference were based on the All India Kisan manifesto adopted by the All Indian Kishan Committee at Bombay on 21 August 1936, and touched the burning issues of peasants. The peasants present there were highly moved by the **contents** of the proceedings as well as resolutions passed in the conference which included many long demands viz., remission of rents at 50% and remission of arrear land revenue, remission of water taxes, *raiyyat's* full rights over the lands, transfer of lands to the tillers, abolition of Zamindari system, Government acts and regulations for socio-economic development of the peasantry like providing free primary education to the poor students, instituting hospitals for poor farmers in rural areas.¹⁸

The awakened peasant community, especially those who had personal **contacts** with the leaders and heard the voices of reality in them could not stop themselves in **materializing** the provisions passed in the conference. On 16 November 1936, a number of peasants visited the sub-divisional officer of Puri and made various demands like the removal of the Salt tax, strengthening of certain embankments and stopping of oppression of certain zamindars.¹⁹ Against this background when peasant mobilization was at its hey-day, another Odia *Krushak Sammilani* was organized on 29 November 1936 at Calcutta. This *Samailani* or conference was attended by a galaxy of eminent Krushak Sangha as well as CSP leaders of Odisha like, Harekrushna Mahatab, Jagannath Das, Dwarikanatha Das, Bhagabati Charan Panigrahi, Surendranath Dwivedy, Gour Chandra Das, Anata Patnaik, Pari Shankar Roy, Rajkrushna Bose, and Nabakrushna Choudhury²⁰. The Willington Square of Calcutta witnessed a mass peasant rally who shouted "*Lal Jhanda Ki Joy*", "*Mazdoor Kishan Ki Joy*", "*Duniyaka Mazdoor Ek ho Jao*" while handling Red Flag with their hands. The conferences was also attended by many prominent peasant and labour leaders of Bengal with all India influence. This conference was presided by Nabakrushna Choudhury who stressed, in the conference, on the utility of "Revolution" to "bring inclusive growth and social justice to farmers and laborers". He also stressed on the fact how a self sufficient village economy that not only Odisha but also India had **possessed** from immemorial times was destroyed by the nexus of capitalism and colonialism." The peasants present there were greatly moved when Nabakrushna Choudhury declared that real freedom of mass would only be possible by destroying colonial state and its apparatuses. The Calcutta conference passed many pro-peasants resolutions including all that passed in 2nd UPKS conference at Puri.

The Congress party tactfully enjoined itself with Krushak Sangha and canvassed for votes in Muffussallis. On the otherhand, by nominating pro-peasant leaders i.e., Chakradhar Behera and many others for coming election and by adding **Krushak** demands on its election manifesto, the Congress could prevail upon the mass. As a result of which the peasant community attended Congress election rallies, asked masses for votes, and became the safety cordons for Congress. Another important reason behind the mobilization among the peasant community along political line instead of class interest was twofold i.e., (i) The visit of national leaders J.L. Nehru, Sahajanada and others and their stress on fulfillment of peasants' class interests by means of Congress (ii) Grand success of Peasant Sabhas under Congress influence. The leaders of Odisha did not remain unmoved in between Congress electoral politics. They really tried to disseminate new thoughts and ideas by making the peasants more organized and democratic in nature. With this very objectives on 20th March 1937, a meeting was held in the house of Raghunath Mahapatra at Bhubaneswar which was attended by local Congressmen like Digambar Srichandan, Nirakar Mangaraj, Kulamani Das, Bali Sahu and Banchhanidhi Nanda.²¹ They decided to organize Krushak Sanghas at village level consisting of members in each Chaikidari union and to encourage people to join the Sangha on payment of half anna as monthly membership subscription. Decision was also taken to supply news papers to every village and to start village reconstruction work.

The peasant movement under the banner of *Krushak Sangha* witnessed a conflicting situation in the wake of the Congress election. The conflict involved between the so called 'right' wing headed by Nilakantha Das and the left wing headed by Harekrushna Mahatab of the Congress as to whether *Krushak Sangha* be an autonomous body or within the Congress party. **Congress** demanded that "congress was itself a organization of all classes, and so there would not be a special class organization for peasants." From March to the end of the year 1937, our evidence shows that, the peasant community was mobilized on different issues and by different leaders. A peasant conference was organized at Bhubaneswar on 27 March 1937 under the **presidentship** of Harekrushna Mahatab who **encouraged** the people to observe *hartal* (strike) on 1 April 1937 in protest of the formation of interim government by Maharaja of Paralekhimundi.²² Another peasants' conference was held at Balanga, Nimapara on 17 April 1937 which was attended by 2,000 peasants. The proceedings was commenced with the recitation of *Chasi Gita* depicting miserable conditions of the farmers.²³ In order to strengthen the Krushak Sangha, the peasants were called upon to give priority to the most glaring issues prevalent at that time viz, (i) every *raiya* would enlist himself as a member of the Krushak Sangha and primary Krushak Sangha would be formed in every villages. (ii) They would initiate strong and very widespread agitation all over the districts to get remission of land revenue at the rate of 0-8-0 per acre (iii) Demand of all kinds of illegal exactions (*abwabs*) levied by zamindars and his men be **resented, stopped** and brought to the notice of the authorities (iv) The *raiya*s would not pay zamindars without rent receipts (v) Not to go to the zamindars *Kutchery* (Office for arbitration at any dispute in the villages).²⁴ So far as leadership factor was concerned, peasants were lucky enough as they were greatly benefited from the duet between Krushak Sangha and the UPCC. The prime aim of the Krushak Sangha was to redress the grievances of the peasantry whereas Congress, though with equal aim, relatively stressed on its stronghold in rural areas. Against this background the congress organized 'Lok Sabha'²⁵ which met in market weekly in the villages and these Lok Sabhas intended to redress the peasant grievances.

Smt. Sarala Devi, a noted Congress leader in a meeting of the Lok Sabha held at Delang on 9 May 1937 passed a resolution saying that the object of the Krushak Sangha and the Lok Sabha was same and therefore the Lok Sabha would adopt the minimum demands of the Kishan Sangha. On the other hand the local leaders of the UPKS organized village Krushak Sanghas and discussed the important points that they had been forming in various meetings and conferences. Many regional level leaders attended the meetings of the Lok Sabha or village Krushak Sanghas in order to mobilize them. The Krushak Sangha demanded retransfer of the land to the tenants who had lost land to their zamindars for arrears of rent at the time of agrarian distress. In a peasant conference of the Krushak Sangha held on 23 June, 1937 at Salandi under Krishnaprasad Police Station a resolution was passed demanding transfer of those lands to the tenants.²⁶

Since the formation of the UPKS and government declaration for election to the Legislative Assembly of Orissa, the leaders--Nationalist as well as Regional--of peasants community laid stress on the zamindari abolition on various platforms---conferences, local sabhas or *Baithakas*, which was a glaring issue as far as peasants were concerned. In a meeting of the Krushak Sangha held at village Mukundapur on 13 May 1937 under **his** **presidentship, Nilakantha Das, the right wing leader of UPCC,**²⁷ **strongly** advocated the abolition of the zamindari system as a measure of Agrarian reforms. Other leader like Karunakar Panigrahi and Harekrushna Mahatab laid stress on “the zamindari system would no longer exist provided we gained Swaraj under Congress leadership. In another Krushak meeting in June 1937 presided over by Nilakantha Das, leaders discussed about the abolition of the zamindari system and doing away with the zamindars as a class.²⁸

Meanwhile Puri became the hub center of peasants’ mobilization. The leaders like Harekrushna Mahatab, Lingaraj Mishra, Rajkishore Bose and other organized another important peasant conference on 15 June 1937 at Banpur Bazar in Puri District, which was also attended by about 1500 peasants.²⁹ The Central issues which were dealt by the leaders were flood and drought situation, out-migration of the pauperized peasants of Odisha, atrocities of the zamindars as well as moneylenders etc. Rajkishore Bose, while canvassing support for Congress laid stress that the Congress had launched the peasants’ movement in order to **ameliorate** the condition of the peasantry. He entrusted the audience with forming peasants’ associations in every villages and maintain unity among them. Arakschitha Patra laid stress on the fact that the peasants should have their own organization and at the same time the peasants should not forget the Congress. Harekrushna Mahatab presided over the Banapur peasant conference of UPKS. It was he who **vehemently** criticized those Congress leaders of Odisha who wanted Krushak Sangha be merged with Congress. Godavarish Mishra, an MLA and notable Congress leader, criticized the action of the Governor of Odisha for letting Maharaja to form the interim government. The leaders present in the conference---Arakshita patra, Rajakrishna Bose and Godavarisha Mishra--- helped the following resolution passed in the Banpur *Krushak* Conference.³⁰

- [1] Abolition of the post of the *Sarbarakanas* and appointment of clerks in their place to realize.
- [2] Amendment of forest laws and granting of more privileges to the tenants.
- [3] Construction of good roads.
- [4] Abolition of taxes levied for fishing in chilika.

The impact of strong organization as well as leadership that peasants of Odisha got during that time were resulted in the widespread tension between the peasants and the landlords in the three coastal districts of Odisha. The **peasants** had been stirred to such a level that they had transcended the fear of landlords, money lenders and the police. The peasants’ leaders magnificently criticized every meager opportunity to keep up the peasants’ mobilization intact. They could not let the peasants forget about the fundamental basis or ideological basis of their class struggle. The peasant leaders like Malati Choudhury and Nabakrushna Choudhury, organized the All Indian Kisan Day celebration at the Cuttack Municipal ground on 1 September 1937 which was a major event in the history of the peasants’ movement in Odisha,³¹ symbolizing the culmination of a year of bitter struggles and hopes which had given the peasants an identity and had radicalized them. Nearly 10,000 peasants attended the celebration from all parts of Odisha.³² There was a huge procession of peasants, with national and red flag with hammer and sickle shouting the electrifying slogans like ‘*Down with Imperialism*’, ‘*Abolish Landlord*’ ‘*Matha Dhana Otha new*’, ‘*Bana Kara Banda heu*’, who marched through the Cuttack stress. Prominent leaders present in the meeting were Gouranga Charan Das, Chairman, Malati Choudhury Secretary of the Utkala Kishan Sangha respectively, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Harekrushna Mahatab, Mohan Das, Pranakrishna Padhiary, Baidyanatha Rath and others. The prime aim and objectives of the **peasant** leaders organizing this gigantic meeting was “to facilitate and interview the Congress ministers and to put pressure on them to bring legislations for **redressing** of the grievances of the peasants and for immediate reduction of rent”.³³ The peasant leaders tried tooth and nail to mobilize the peasants on different ‘issues’ in that meeting. Prana Krishna Padhiary, who chaired the meeting, **encouraged** the people to organize a countrywide revolution against British colonialism and capitalism.

Finally he exhorted the audience to stop the *Suniya Vethi* to the land lords on the New Year's day – October 1937.³⁴ Gouranga Charan Das, the secretary of the Cuttack District Kisan Sangha, outlined the peasant demands before the newly formed Ministry under Biswanath Das. Malati Choudhuri, the Secretary of UPKS, demanded the quick government interference in flood affected areas and to constitute a committee to enquire into the grievances of the peasantry.³⁵ Mohan Das, another peasant leader present, said that the peasants were yet to devise means for fighting against British imperialism. He also advised the peasants not to pay *Sunia bheti* to their zamindars. **Whereas**, Harekrishna Mahatab made the peasants understood the fatality of the new constitution and working of Ministry. The direct consequence of the meeting was that after returning from the rally the peasants of the three coastal districts stopped giving '*Suniya Vethi*', Which shows the amount of energy they got from the peasants' meetings. In a cause-effect relationship, in October 1937 peasants of Cuttack demanded postponement of the collection of land revenue. In 1938 the first conference of UPKS was held at Sergarh of Ganjam district attended by peasants coming from far off places³⁶. The leaders, here, intensified agitation demanding certain immediate reforms in the existing Tenancy laws. The UPKS launched a weekly newspaper—*The Krushak*—as their mouthpiece on 13 January, 1938 under the editorship of Bhagabati charan Panigrahi³⁷ with a view to propagating the ideas of UPKS and mobilize popular opinion around different day to day peasant issues.

IV. CONCLUSION

The activities of the Utkal Provincial *Krushak Sangha* right from its formation in 1934 to early 1938 had been remarkable and spectacular not only for its tactical move to urge the government to bring reforms on peasants' issues but also for their level of mobilization and integrity for common class cause. Right from the very beginning of the **peasants'** movement in Odisha under UPKS leadership, there came a remarkable change in the scope and dimensions of the peasants' movement. The period from 1935 to 1938, what we observe, witnessed an upward movement of peasant mobilization under the patronage of UPKS. The major achievement of the Utkal Provincial *Krushak Sangha* can be enumerated as : The UPKS, from its inception, culminated in to a common platform for poor peasants. It too provided an ideological basis in the form of socialism to the **peasant** leaders. From a practical point of view, it accomplished some yeomen works. The leaders of UPKS personally visited the *moffussiles* irrespective of weather, communication, and circumstances They viewed the peasants' plight as well as the atrocities of the local zamindars, and tried to awaken them by personally involving in various local issues. They made the peasants understood that the unholy nexus between the zamindars and the colonial government was the fundamental cause for their plights. In Oder to streamline the day-to-day activities and to reach at the door of the poor peasant, the UPKS helped many *Krushak Sanghas* established at district levels as well as village levels i.e., Cuttack District *Krushak Sangha* , Puri District *Krushak Sangha*. The UPKS organized meetings, Conferences and Sabhas within or without Odisha. It were under those leaders that once unorganized and scattered peasant community were so well organized that the UPCC ,once adamant to class **organizations** with an elite social basis , unilaterally accepted all the peasants' demands in its 'election manifesto. The UPKS chalked out many objective issues out of numerous subjective issues of the peasants, throughout the colonial Odisha moderately, and pressurized the government to consider the same in a positive manner during Biswanath Das ministry. In nutshell, it could be concluded that the Socialist leaders were successful in accomplishing the objectives of Creating a class approach; Publishing the *Krushak, Sarathi* etc., to reach at the people and to disseminate the revolutionary ideas and propagating the radical ideas among the masses; Expanding the mass base of Congress party for future struggle for independence.³⁸ On the other hand , the UPKS too failed in many respect. First, It utterly failed to institute any peasants organization in the feudatory states in colonial Odisha in that period. Secondly, it failed to be a "class organization" due to usual conflict with the right wing elements of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, who considered it be a part within UPCC. However, the way they performed throughout the above said period had left a strong and indebt legacy on the peasants' struggles for legitimate rights in the years to come in Odisha.

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- [33] *The Samaja*, op.cit. , 2 September 1937.
- [34] *Ibid.*
- [35] Chandi Prasad Nanda, op.cit. , pp. 79-80.
- [36] Urmila Das , *Peasant Movements In Orissa Under British Raj,(Peoples Movements In Orissa During The Colonial Era, Edited* by A. C. Pradhan and A. K. Patnaik), Bhubaneswar, 1994, p.25.
- [37] Amal Kumar Mishra, op.cit., p. 137.
- [38] Urmila Das, op.cit. , pp.27-29.