

# ODISHA REVIEW

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# National Song

**Vande Mataram !**

**Sujalam, suphalam, malayaja shitalam,**

**Shasyashyamalam, Mataram !**

**Shubhrajyothsna pulakitayaminim,**

**Phullakusumita drumadala shobhinim,**

**Suhasinim sumadhura bhashinim,**

**Sukhadam varadam, Mataram !**

---

The song, Vande Mataram, composed in Sanskrit by Bankimchandra Chatterji, was a source of inspiration to the people in their struggle for freedom. It has an equal status with Jana-gana-mana. The first political occasion when it was sung was the 1896 session of the Indian National Congress.

# National Anthem

**Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka, jaya he,**

**Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.**

**Punjab-Sindhu-Gujarat-Maratha,**

**Dravida-Utkala-Banga,**

**Vindhya-Himachala-Yamuna-Ganga Uchchala-Jaladhi-taranga.**

**Tava shubha name jage, Tava shubha asisa mage,**

**Gahe tava jaya gatha,**

**Jana-gana-mangala-dayaka jaya he Bharata-bhagya-vidhata.**

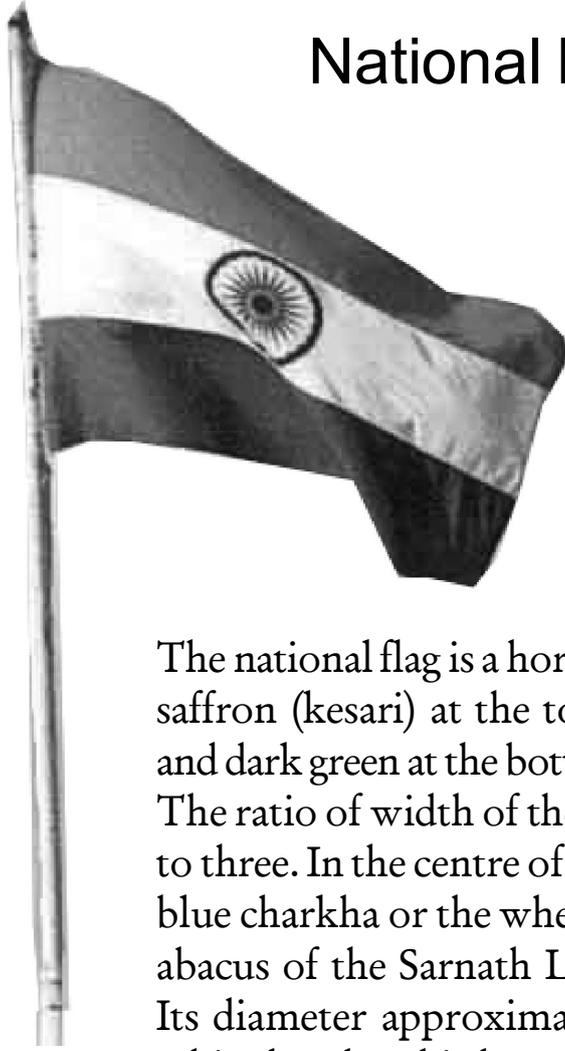
**Jaya he, jaya he, jaya he, Jaya jaya jaya, jaya he!**

---

The playing time of the full version of the National Anthem is approximately 52 seconds. A short version consisting of first and last lines of the stanza (playing time approximately 20 seconds) is also played on certain occasions.

The song, Jana-gana-mana, composed originally in Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore, was adopted in its Hindi version by the Constituent Assembly as the National Anthem of India on January 24, 1950. It was first sung on December 27, 1911 at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress. The complete song consists of five stanzas.

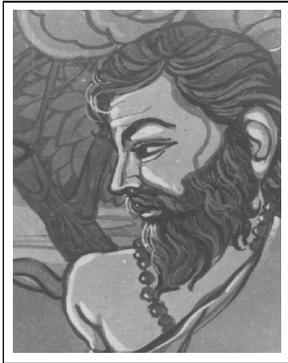
## National Flag



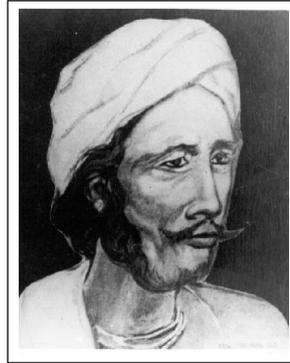
The national flag is a horizontal tricolour of deep saffron (kesari) at the top, white in the middle and dark green at the bottom in equal proportion. The ratio of width of the flag to its length is two to three. In the centre of the white band is a navy blue charkha or the wheel which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Ashoka. Its diameter approximates to the width of the white band and it has 24 spokes. The design of the national flag was adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on July 22, 1947. Its use and display are regulated by the Indian Flag Code.



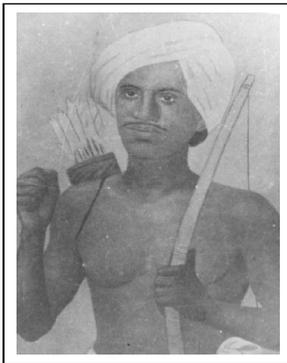
# MARTYRS FROM ODISHA



**Jayee Rajguru**  
(1739-1805)



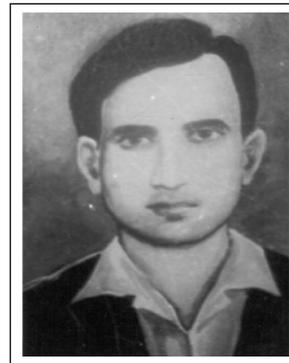
**Veer Surendra Sai**  
(23.01.1809 - 28.02.1884)



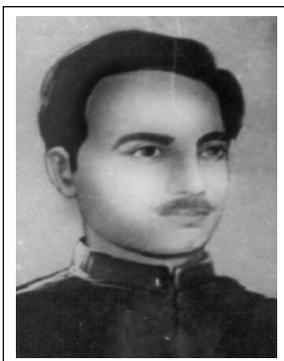
**Birsa Munda**  
(Died in Ranchi jail in June 1900)



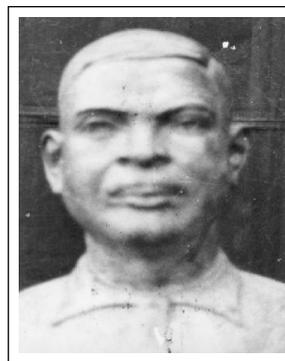
**Baji Rout**  
(Shot dead on 11.10.1938)



**Raghunath Mohanty**  
(18.07.1910 - 04.04.1941 hanged)



**Dibakara Parida**  
(30.11.1911 - 04.04.1941 hanged)



**Laxman Naik**  
(22.11.1899-29.03.1943 hanged)

## OUR SINCERE OBEISANCE



**Prof. Dr. Ganeswar Mishra**

Born : 28 October, 1942

Demise : 10 August, 2015



**Prof. Hrudananda Ray**

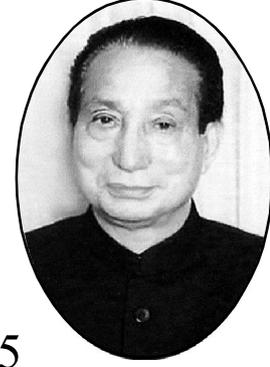
Born : 10 May, 1930

Demise : 27 July, 2015





सत्यमेव जयते



*Message of*  
**Dr. S. C. Jamir**  
Hon'ble Governor of Odisha  
On the Occasion of Independence Day - 2015

Dear Sisters and Brothers !

I extend my warm greetings to all of you on the auspicious occasion of the Independence Day. This day carries pride and glory for all of us. It reminds us of the sacrifice and patriotism of our great freedom fighters like the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel and innumerable great souls who laid down their lives for the sake of our Motherland. I pay my humble tributes to the great leaders of Odisha like Utkalamani Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Pandit Nilakantha Das, Pandit Godabarish Mishra, Acharya Harihar, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Harekrushna Mahtab, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Malati Choudhury, Maa Ramadevi and many others whose sacrifice has made our long cherished dream fulfilled.

Odisha has contributed significantly to the freedom struggle of India. The heroic struggle and selfless sacrifice rendered by our great heroes like Jayee Rajguru, Buxi Jagabandhu, Chakara Bisoi, Veer Surendra Sai, Chakhi Khuntia, Birsa Munda, Saheed Laxman Naik, Baji Rout, Raghu Dibakar and many other immortal souls will inspire generations to come. Today, we recall with immense gratitude the courageous deeds of our valiant soldiers, our Martyrs and Defence Personnel.

Odisha in the 21<sup>st</sup> century holds a plethora of possibilities. Priority is accorded to harness resources which endows our State aplenty, for development of the State and our people. State Government's committed efforts have brought about perceptible development in all spheres. The State Government's efforts in ameliorating the living condition of the tribals, the

deprived, poor and the differently-abled and above all the development of backward areas like K.B.K. has yielded the desired result.

Odisha has forged ahead in inducing changes in the infrastructural development in different sectors. Mahatma Gandhi once said “India is the country of villages. The soul of India reverberates in our villages.” Hence, strengthening of village economy as the key sector has become the thrust area of development.

The State Government has made significant progress in the sphere of fiscal management. Flagship programmes like Aahar, Niramay, Biju Express Way, Biju Pucca Ghar Yojana, Odisha State Treatment Fund, Mukhya Mantri Sadak Yojana, Biju Gaon Gaadi Yojana, Biju Krushak Kalyan Yojana, Odisha State Policy for Girls’ and Women have been accorded top priority. The State Government has successively bagged ‘Krusha Karman Award’ for significant agriculture productivity.

The first mega event of 21<sup>st</sup> century provided a unique opportunity for the State Government. We had the proud privilege to celebrate the Nabakalebara - Rath Yatra this year after a gap of 19 years. The concerted efforts of the State Government in organizing the Mega Festival and making it a grand success have been widely acclaimed. Keeping in view the huge influx of tourist pilgrims from across the globe to witness this world famous nine day long sojourn of the Trinity, the State Government has effected massive infrastructural developments in areas like road connectivity, transport, crowd management, Police arrangements and Traffic control, high quality surveillance system, infrastructure development of Tourist sites, health services and sanitation, sewerage and drainage system, drinking water supply, uninterrupted power and water supply, tourist information kiosks, multimedia campaign for the convenience of tourists and pilgrims. The State Government has constructed projects like Malatipatpur bus terminal, fly-over connecting Malatipatpur and Puri-Konark Marine Drive, State of the Art Maternity and Child Care Hospital etc. for the benefit of the tourists.

Progress lies in peace. Thus, we believe in maintaining Peace and Harmony. Through peace and harmony, the State Government endeavours to sustain the pace of development. The Independence Day is the day of resolution. On this august occasion, let us take a pledge to work unitedly for the growth and development of our State.

*Jai Hind.*



*Message of*  
**Shri Naveen Patnaik**  
Hon'ble Chief Minister of Odisha  
On the Occasion of Independence Day - 2015

On the occasion of Independence Day, I convey my best wishes to all of you. On this sacred occasion, I pay my homage to the great leaders as well as patriots like the Father of Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Netajee Subhas Bose, Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Dr. Ambedkar, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Utkal Gourav Madhusudan Das, Veer Surendra Sai, Saheed Laxman Naik, Maa Rama Devi, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab, Biju Patnaik and others who had participated in the freedom struggle.

On this occasion, I also pay my deep reverence to the valiant Jawans who laid down their lives for the sake of our country.

Indian Freedom Struggle has spread the ideal message of peace and non-violence across the world. Odisha, the land of peace and non-violence, also played a pivotal role in the freedom struggle of the country. Odisha has contributed a lot towards the prosperity of India.

Development is no more the monopoly of urban areas only. Today, with the co-operation and involvement of 4 crore Odias, the village has become the focal point and it has contributed immensely, taking Odisha towards the path of development. The poor people in the villages and the Adivasis in Koraput and Kalahandi have all become a part of our development process. It is a delightful matter that the youths in Bonda Ghati have come forward to accelerate the pace of development in their areas as well.

The cross sectoral development of different categories of people starting from the farmers of Kondhmal to the weavers of Bargarh, labourers of Rourkela, Kendu-leaf pluckers of Rairakhol, tribal students of Koraput and Nowrangpur and construction-workers of Bhubaneswar has paved the way for realization of the dream of all. The welfare programmes of the Government have reached each and every person. All these have inspired the people to march ahead.

The State Government has launched “Biju Pucca Ghar Yojana” with a view to convert all thatched houses in the villages into Pucca houses. Till now, construction of 5 lakh 70 thousand houses has been completed. The State Government is all set to launch Odisha Housing Mission to provide houses to the poor people in urban areas. The structure of Panchayati Raj system is being strengthened for the development of villages. There is no dearth of funds for the development of the villages. Over Rs.16,000 crore will be provided to the Panchayats during the next 5 years. Hence, to make every village and Panchayat a model village and a model Panchayat, the people in the rural area should work with competitive spirit.

Owing to the hard labour of the farmers of our State, Odisha has achieved national award 4 times. On this auspicious occasion of Independence Day, I convey my heart-felt congratulation to the farmers. In the current year, rain-fall has been scanty in some parts of the State. As we are aware and alert about this situation, adequate measures have been taken not to put the farmers at a loss.

Due to various reasons, some problems had emerged in the field of Industrialization. However, there has been a gradual shift in this situation and now, there is a rapid visible industrial growth. Due to this, I believe, our State Government would be successful in generating employment opportunity for more than 3 lakh people in manufacturing section by the year 2019. Expeditious steps have been taken to recruit for 70 thousand vacant posts in Government sector.

We aim at a balanced growth of different areas, different categories of people from multiple fields. Today the women of our State have been successful in creating a distinct identity in every field. As usual, the State Government is always attaching priority and will continue to do so for the protection of women and to safeguard their rights. The State Government’s welfare programmes have infused a sense of hope in the mind of the poor, old men and women, Adivasi and oppressed group. Differently abled persons are marching ahead with self-confidence. The State Government is always with them and would extend co-operation for all times to come.

Youths had played a significant role in the freedom struggle of the country. The youth power is always at the forefront in the development of the country after independence. It is matter of great pleasure that the capability of the youths has been enhanced today to transform the dream into reality for their own self, for their families and for the country. This is the vast treasure and energy for independent India.

The general public in the villages, street vendors in the urban area, farmers, workers, women, students, youths, Adivasis and oppressed group jointly constitute India. Thus, empowerment of each stakeholder can make a prosperous India and the value of freedom can be preserved as well.

Jai Hind.



*Message of*

**Shri Atanu Sabyasachi Nayak**

Hon'ble Minister, Health & Family Welfare,  
Information & Public Relations

On the Occasion of Independence Day - 2015



I convey my best wishes and warm greetings to the brothers and sisters of Odisha on the happy occasion of 69th Independence Day.

15th August is a day of pride, glory and immense pleasure for every Indian. Our forefathers fought the Independence struggle in order to free this country from the clutches of the oppressors. They won the battle of freedom on the principles of Non-violence and Non-cooperation. Unshaken patience, supreme sacrifice and extraordinary patriotism of those greatmen brought us the cherished freedom which remains a brilliant illustration before the world.

Let us come together, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, to celebrate unitedly this national festival by paying respectful homage to those who have dedicated their lives for our motherland and to work with profound promise to build a prosperous and developed nation in order to enhance it's identity more vigorously.

Let the Independence Day be a celebration of tribute and commitment.

*Jai Hind.*



## *Editor's Note*

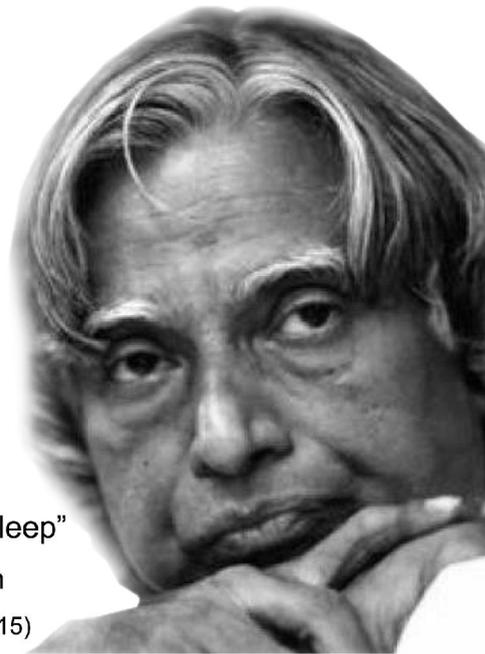


As Odisha pays tribute to the  
"People's President" Bharat Ratna Dr.APJ Abdul Kalam,  
this Editorial Page is left blank in memory of the legend.

"Dreams  
is not what you see in sleep  
is the thing which doesn't let you sleep"

- A.P.J. Abdul Kalam

(15.10.1931 - 27.07.2015)







## Syncretism in Jagannath Cult

*Dr. Mohammed Yamin*

Primarily pre-Aryan visionaries have led the foundation of spiritual thoughts of Hindus. The concept of 'soul' is borrowed from the autochthonous saints and seers. Originally Jagannath deity was worshipped by Sabaras in the form of 'Nilamadhava' and subsequently it occupied the highest and important position in the Hindu pantheon which came to be known as 'Purusottam'. Later on it absorbed all the major religious philosophy and movements and emerged as a unique syncretism. The syncretism of Jagannath cult is highlighted in the elements of Tantrik Buddhist, Jainism, the Saiva, the Sakta and various denominations of Vaishnavites. Thus the Jagannath cult absorbed all into one and makes it universal.

In mythology Lord Jagannath is described as the deity of the Sabaras. The Sabaras were originally the inhabitants of the land when the Aryan intrudes, they face them and gradually Sabaras were Aryanised and emerged as a mixed race and the original Sabaras followed their own faith in their forest tracts. With the advent of Jainism and Buddhism the foundation of the Aryan cult was shaken. Subsequently to counteract the popularity of those faiths and draw the goodwill of the Sabaras they included their God into the Brahminical fold.



Scholars have the opinion that Jagannath was a Buddhist deity. Initially the founder of Tantric Vajrajana of Buddhism king Indrabhuti invoked the name of Jagannath in his work *Jyanasiddhi* that:

*"Pranipatye Jagannatha Sarbajina Barachirtam  
Sarvo Buddhomaya Siddhi Vyapino  
Gaganopamam".*



He also treated Lord Jagannath as Maha Buddha. Famous archaeologist Alexander Cunningham in his work *Stupa of Barhut* and *Bhilsa Topes* described Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra as the representatives of the *Tri-Ratna* i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Historian Fergusson also corroborated this view. According to the philosophy of *Dasavatara* Buddha is worshipped as the ninth incarnation of the Vishnu. In the rituals of the Jagannath temple the Lord Himself is dressed in Buddha Vesa in full moon day of Vaishakha.

In Asiatic countries Buddhism gave rise to a synthesis school of Art and Architecture. The image of Buddha is well known in India, China, Japan, Burma, Indonesia and Siam where the idol of Jagannath is treated in the form of Buddha. In Bali of Indonesia interestingly in daily rituals of Buddha God is addressed as the Jagannath. The daily rituals begin with the following Veda Buddha Sloka i.e.,

*“Ksmasava Mam Jagannath Sarva Papa Vinashanam  
Sarbo Karya Pranadevam Pranamami Suresvaram”.*

The recitation of Lord Jagannath in prayer suggests the holiness. Most probably king Indrabhuti introduced Vajrajana Buddhism in Bali. Siva was worshipped in Bali as Jagannath and priest recite hymn like:

*“Omksamum Siva Deva Jagannath Hitamkara”.*

It is well established fact that Jagannath was the Buddha incarnation of Vishnu. All religious creeds like the Shunyavada or Vahayana Vajrajana, Sahajajana of Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism and Sakta worship etc. have contributed to the cult of Jagannath.

It is based on records that the followers of Jainism believe Lord Jagannath as their *Jinanatha* or *Adi-Jina*. In 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE Jaina

Tirthankara Parswanatha preached Jainism in Odisha, the Kalinga king Karkandu was the disciple of Parswanatha and being influenced by him he established Rishavanath statue, the *Adi-Jina* of Jainism in Purusottama Kshetra. Later on his name was converted to *Jinanath* and *Kalinga Jina* which was worshipped as Jagannath. The Vishnu Purana and Sreemad Bhagavat Gita also discussed about Rishavanath. The Jainas are the first idol worshippers of the world to universalize their commandment. They have prepared the black stone statue of the Lord subsequently which was turned to a wooden statue without leg having the similarity of the statue of Jagannath. In *Jyanasiddhi* of king Indrabhuti in the verse ‘*Sarva jina Bararchitam*’ established the jainatwa in Jagannath which recognized him as the emperor beyond Hinduism.

After the decline of Buddhism in 8<sup>th</sup> century CE during the period of Keshari dynasty Adi-Shankaracharya came to Odisha for a mission to revive the Vedic and Tantrik form of worship in all Gods and Goddesses and eliminate the Buddhist influence in Hindu rituals. He revived the Purusottama cult in Sri Kshetra, one of the four Dhamas of the Hinduism as strategic effort to unite Hindus across the four parts of India. In his *Gita Vasya* he justified that the Madhava worship earlier in Sri Kshetra was Gita’s Purusottam i.e.,

*“Atosmi Loke Vede cha Prathitah Purusottamah”.*

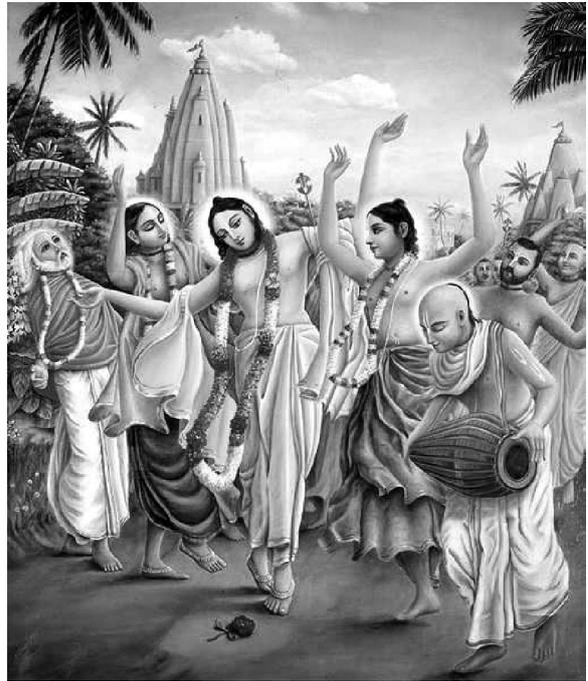
From the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE to the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century CE the Jagannath cult was influenced by Vaishnavism. In this period various denomination of Bhakti movements brought to Odisha a sense of religious unity in their thoughts revolving round Jagannath cult. Ramanuja (1017-1137 CE) with his *Vishista Dwaitavada* (Qualified monism) and *Pancharatra Paddhati*



during the period of Chaodaganga Deva (1077-1147 CE), Nimbarka with *Dwaita Dwaita Vada* in 12<sup>th</sup> century CE, Vishnuswami in 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century CE, Madhavacharya in 12<sup>th</sup> century CE with his Yogic philosophy, Narahari Tirtha during the period of Bhanudeva-I (1264-1276 CE) and Narasimha Deva-II (1278-1306 CE), Rai-Ramananda (1299-1410 CE), Sridharaswami in 15<sup>th</sup> century CE, Ballavacharya (1476-1532 CE) with a *Sudha Dwaitavada* and *Vrajalila* all have exercised their profound influence in the worship of Jagannath, these forces combined to give rise to a religious cult different from others and became mass religion of the people of Odisha which centred around Lord Jagannath.

In 16<sup>th</sup> century CE the Neo-Vaishnavism or the cult of love was introduced by Sri Chaitanya in Odisha. The Neo-Vaishnavism was absorbed into the cult of Jagannath and Sri Chaitanya feel Jagannath in the form of Sri Krishna. The demise of Sri Chaitanya gave rise to a new tradition that he got absorbed within the God of the 'blue mountain'. The cult of love propounded by him was known as *Raganuga* mingled with various Yoga practices which became very popular amongst the masses for centuries.

Lord Jagannath was not restricted to any sect and caste. Not only the Hindus but many devotees of other faiths and religions have been attracted for the glory of the Lord. The Muslim saint Kabir, Jabana Haridas and Salbeg surrendered before the Lord with their thoughts. In 1512 CE saint Kabir arrived at Puri and deeply influenced by Lord Jagannath, he established *Ram-Rahim* cult and believed in *Nirguna panth* but his devotion towards Lord Jagannath was passionate. In his memory the Kabir Chaura monastery was built and still stands in the seashore of Puri. Kabir worked for the salvage of the



humanity above from orthodoxy. The devotees who visited the monastery were blessed with 'Tanka torani' and broom touch which was highly appreciated by the believers of other religions.

Saint Haridas or Jabana Haridas, a passionate devotee of Jagannath born in a Muslim family of Bangla Desh came in contact with Sri Chaitanya at Nabadwipa and visited Puri with him. During his stay at Sri Kshetra Puri Sri Chaitanya arranged *Mahaparasad* for him as his entry to the temple was restricted due his Muslim adherence. Sri Chaitanya regularly offered *Tulsi* leaf to him. His abode Siddha Bakula Matha is still present at Puri.

Sikh Guru Nanak redeemed others too by his presence as stated by Sri Aurobinda. During his stay at Puri Nanak visited the temple of the Lord Jagannath and performed *Arati* going round and round the idol of the Lord with earthen lamps, incense and flowers and beating of cymbals and drums. Nanak described the Lord Jagannath thus:



“When in the salver of the sky, the lamps of the sun and the moon and the stars, studded like jewels, pay homage to His magnificence, and wind wave fragrance to Him of all the mountain’s and all the woods are in bloom to shower flowers on the path of His chariot, and unstuck melody of the word rineth through space, how can we pay homage to Him with our small minds and rituals-yea, Him whose seen and act not seen, who hath a myriad eyes, and act no eyes and who can only be experienced and never described”.

When Rabindranath Tagore’s father Maharshi Devendranath heard this *Arti* being sung at the golden Temple Amritsar came in ecstasy and started dancing with joy ‘*Wonder; O wonder*’ he is reported to have said ‘*my God is a wonder*’.

Lord Jagannath is not confined to a single heart, single mind and single person. The name has broader connotation beyond the reach of human mind. Originally He is known as ‘*Jagatara Natha*’ means ‘Master of the Universe’. So He is free from one soul. He symbolizes union of all religions above the caste, creed, colour and

ethnicity. The car festival of Lord Jagannath is the symbol of syncretism of universal brotherhood and cordiality among the humanity. He is above from all but belongs to all. In this auspicious religious occasion of *Navakalevara* or re-embodiment festival of the Lord the harmonious flow of the spiritual cultural syncretism in Odisha is reflected.

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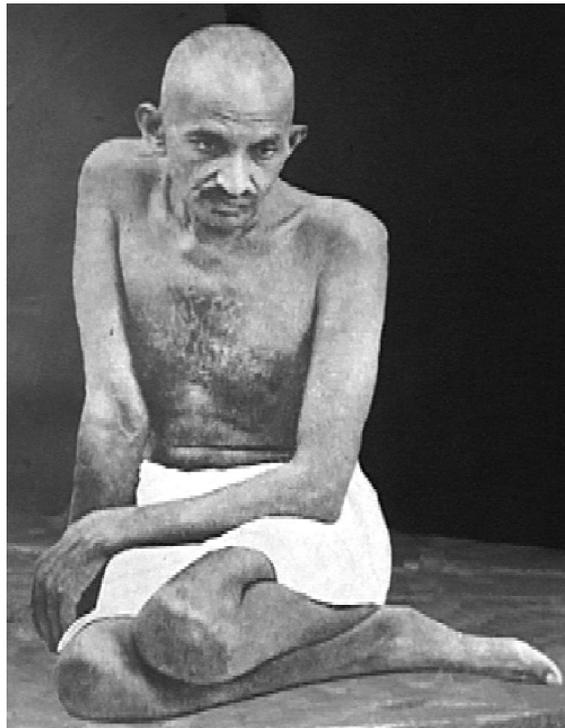


## Swaraj : The Gandhian Vision

*Alok Kumar Ray*

Gandhi did not contact any idea, institution and individual that he did not transform. Ideas gathered novel meaning and significance, individuals were inspired by new messages and aspirations and institutions acquired added relevance after association with Gandhi. Swaraj is one of those many ideas that obtained Gandhian imprint when it passed through the prism of Gandhian thought. Thus Albert Einstein said, “Generations to come will scarcely believe that such one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth.”

The term Swaraj or independence as it is commonly understood was not a term of Gandhian coinage. The term Swaraj had already gained considerable currency in the political vocabulary of India before Gandhi gave serious thought to it. Of course Swami Dayananda gave the war-cry of ‘Swaraj is our birth right’. The term was used by Bal Gangadhar Tilak as late as



1896-97. Lala Lajpat Rai though was in America during partition of Bengal in 1905 advocated the slogan, “Swaraj” that India was for Indians. The extremists within the Congress had won an ideological victory on having Swaraj accepted as the goal of the Congress and announced as such from its platform at Kolkata. The Kolkata session was remarkable for the slogan Swaraj which Dadabhai gave and which at that time caught the people of the country in a frenzy of effort for the attainment of that ideal.

The term Swaraj appeared in Gandhi’s writings for the first time on Nov 3, 1905 while Gandhi was writing about Shyam Krishna Verma, an India patriot, scholar, administrator and humanist who had abandoned his lucrative profession in India and had gone to England, donned the life of an ascetic and had accepted an indicative mission to convert Indian students to the doctrine of Swaraj. Gandhi



gave serious thought to the question of Swaraj in the year 1903 and during his return from London to South Africa, in answer to the Indian School of Violence and its prototype in South Africa, he wrote for the columns of the Indian opinion, a series of articles on Swaraj that subsequently appeared in book form with the title "Hind Swaraj". The spirits of Swaraj expounded in this booklet remained almost the throughout Gandhi's life with slightest modifications in matters of details, hence his first blue-print on Swaraj.

For quite a long time, Gandhiji's use of the term Swaraj did not signify anything beyond enjoyment of dominion status within the framework of British Empire. That under Gandhi's leadership the Indian National Congress had made the campaign of Non-Co-operation in 1920 implies Gandhiji's policy of co-operation with the British Government till this time even while participating in the nationalist struggle for Home Rule i.e. Self-Government. His objective was never snapping of relationship with Britain or with the British people. Even the ultimate objective as per Gandhi's own admission was, "Swaraj within the Empire if possible and without if necessary". In Congress session of 1928 Gandhi moved the resolution on Dominion status against the demand of Swaraj or independence of progressives like Nehru and Bose.

In subsequent years complete independence or Purna Swaraj became Gandhi's immediate goal. However if complete independence or Purna Swaraj implied falling of the fetters of British political control it did not signify for Gandhiji. With advancing years in course of his conversation with Fischer during Second World War he said, "I am not interested in future promises. I am not interested in independence after war. I want independence now." All the same he did not wish that an

independent India's contact with British people and the British Government shall be snapped forthwith. After independence India would not pursue a policy of isolationism but healthy cooperation with British people. Hence although Gandhi was the champion of Swaraj as Earl Mountbatten of Myanmar styled him, he was real friend of British people. He laid a solid foundation for the development of Indo-British friendship.

The Gandhian concept of Swaraj has a far broader and deeper significance than English equivalents like freedom or independence. Swaraj for Gandhi had both negative and positive implications. Negatively speaking it of course implied severance of political relationships with British and particularly termination of British political control over India. It was meant the end of western culture, western system of value and western political system of which Britain stood as the living symbol. Hence Gandhi realized that what is very much significant for the attainment of Swaraj is not mere freedom from political control but freedom from the vicious influence of western civilization. The western civilization had promoted man's goodness instead of goodness and worldliness instead of Godliness and under their weight India and Indians sank deeper and deeper. The materialistic civilization of the west was founded on machinery. The real Swaraj of Gandhi was freedom from the baneful effects of machinery or craze for machinery.

Besides, Swaraj in the political sense of the term did not mean for Gandhi mere freedom from British control, he also meant thereby freedom from western political influence. Not only British system of government, but all foreign systems of governments were discarded by him. Thus negatively speaking Swaraj for Gandhi meant freedom from the influence of western civilization, western system of value, machinery



and above all foreign type of political institutions apart from freedom from political control.

The termination of the darkness of the night may not necessarily presage the birth of the glorious day. The dawn may be the harbinger of a misty and foggy morning, a gale and storm – laden day and an inclement afternoon. Likewise freedom from foreign domination, of the clutches of western civilization sense of value and political institutions may not bring the desired outcome. Swaraj must aim at bringing far-reaching changes that will herald a new dawn where as he pointed out performance of duty will get optimum importance as he again said that civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. What is more important for Gandhi, Swaraj as a positive concept signifying development of the nation in a definite direction. This positive aspect of Swaraj to Gandhi was four dimensional i. e. political, social, economical and moral. The positive aspects of Swaraj constitute the kernel, where as negative aspect like freedom from foreign domination form the shell or sheath of Swaraj.

#### **Political Dimension of Swaraj :**

Gandhi's predecessors who indulged in much of intellectual and political gymnastics on Swaraj, considered Swaraj mainly from the political angle. Besides, this political aspect of Swaraj primarily concerned with the freedom from British imperialistic domination and transfer of political power from the British into the hands of Indians. They felt that once political power is acquired by Indians the power will be so utilized that Indians in general will profusely benefit. But Gandhi since the day he gave serious thought to the question of Swaraj gave equally important thought to the issue of instrumentality for the exercise of such power and the manner of such exercise. Gandhi believed that freedom from

British yoke and introduction of Indian rule may not solve the real riddle. Nature of government and its spirit was more important for Gandhi than the colour of skin and the nationality of governing personnel. He was well aware of the oppression, humiliation and repression perpetrated by Indian princes over millions of innocent people of that time. He feared transfer of power might be concentrated in the hands of few Indian princes. Thus Gandhi while thinking of Swaraj understood it in the sense of people's Swaraj. The peasants, the workers, the disabled and the incapacitated would not be excluded rather there would be emphasis on the lot of the weaker sections of the society. There must be democratization in the matter of possession and exercise of power and the purpose of such exercise would be in line with the language of Abraham Lincoln that, the government should be one of the people, by the people and for the people.

#### **Social Dimension of Swaraj :**

While thinking of a type of people's Swaraj Gandhi had in mind a state of social existence where each individual irrespective of his religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, residence or parentage will enjoy equal social status. Thus the society shall be an integrated community devoid of any artificial and manmade distinctions. It shall be a society inspired by the spirit of social equality, equality of status and identical dignity of all of its members irrespective of a variety of natural and manmade distinctions. Gandhi was even prepared to concede to the physically, mentally and economically deficient people additional privilege in order to enable them to make up their deficiencies. In his address at Srisungur Gurudwara he emphasized that Purna Swaraj was the complete possession of all, because it was as much for the prince as for the peasant, as much for the rich land owner as for



the landless tiller of the soil, as much for the Hindus, as much for the Muslims, as much for the Parsis and of the Christians as for the Jains and Sikhs, irrespective of any distinction of caste or creed.

### **Economic Dimension of Swaraj :**

Swaraj as conceived by Gandhi has its economic dimensions too. Political domination of the country by Britain led to economic subjugation of India and provided an opportunity to the ruling power and the ruling class to indulge in an act of exploitation of India. Hence Gandhi like his compatriots realized that termination of British rule in India would free Indian economy from foreign control, put a halt to economic exploitation of India, prevent the draining out of resources from India to the metropolitan country, open the floodgates to India's economic prosperity and thus lead to economic Swaraj apart from the Swaraj of the political sense of the term. The concept of economic Swaraj of Gandhi has an economic bias. Swaraj to Gandhi was a means to the economic emancipation of the masses. Gandhi was painfully aware of the conditions of destitute masses. Hence when Gandhi thought of Swaraj he considered it as poor man's Swaraj. Swaraj for Gandhi signified removal of poverty, hunger, destitution, deprivation and exploitation. Negatively speaking economic Swaraj implied elimination of the exploiters and positively it meant providing some additional facilities to the poor and unprivileged so that they enjoy freedom or Swaraj from the excruciating pains of wants, scarcity, poverty, and destitution. Swaraj laid as much stress on material prosperity of all as on their intellectual development, moral upliftment, physical fitness and social elevation.

### **Moral Dimension of Swaraj :**

Without the moral dimension of Swaraj, the political, social and economic dimensions of

Swaraj will lose their real significance. Gandhi treated Swaraj as a synonym of Ram Raj without any Hindu doctrinaire sense of the term. By this he meant Divine Raj, the Kingdom of God. Rama symbolized justice and equality, truth and charity. Under Swaraj moral precepts, sense of idealism, spiritualism and divine qualities and virtues should inspire the conduct of individuals and so also the political, social and economic system. Gandhi realized the irreligious and immoral tone in western civilization. Thus he warned against the vices of western civilization, materialistic craze and advocated freedom from its clutches.

Gandhi was a practical idealist and when he thought of Swaraj he also gave serious thought to the question of appropriate technique for the attainment of the same. But what is very much significant is that his approach to the question of technique for the attainment of Swaraj is as much novel as his concept of Swaraj itself. Like his idea of Swaraj, the techniques of Swaraj, described below are multi-dimensional in nature.

**Non-Violence :** Gandhi rejected violent technique in favour of non-violent one as various considerations weighed the balance in favour of the latter. He was sure that violence was not the appropriate answer to eradicate the ills of India. He emphasized a technique that was in conformity with Indian cultural heritage. His idealistic emphasis on the indivisible bond between the end and the means and practical, pragmatic and utilitarian outlook necessitated to adopt non-violence as the most appropriate technique for attainment of Swaraj. For him means and end were convertible terms and the nature, quality and character of the end were completely dependent on the nature, quality and character of the means adopted for the attainment of the same. **He was convinced that if the end was good and noble, it could not be attained by evil means.** When



he rejected violent techniques as inappropriate for the attainment of Swaraj he advised a militant-sort of non-violent technique that was differently styled at different times as passive resistance, civil resistance and Satyagrah with non-cooperation and civil disobedience as the modus operandi. Gandhi was an apostle of non-violence, yet he was not an apostle of cowardice. Non-violence for him was not the non-violence of the weak and the coward but the strong and the brave.

**Self-Control :** Gandhi argued India lost her freedom because her people shunned self-control and were enamoured of licentious conduct. They were tempted to the dazzling British wares by which the latter's trade flourished in India. If sacrifice of her time honoured conduct of self-restraint and self-control spelt loss of freedom, re-adoption of the same norm may usher in an era of freedom. Indians would shed their passion for the dazzling wares produced in British factories. Then the British economic interest would receive a setback. He said the real home rule was self-restraint or self-control. The reaffirmation on self-control would halt the corrupting influence of foreign value system and materialistic civilization of the west. Economically self-control would enable the millions to share the property possessed by few. Socially it would lead to social equality. The higher caste people could mix with the so-called untouchables only by practicing self-control. Self-control on the part of the rulers is an independent state will enable the ruled to enjoy liberty and freedom. This will be a healthy and non-violent check on the power obsession of the men in power.

**Decentralized economic and political power :**

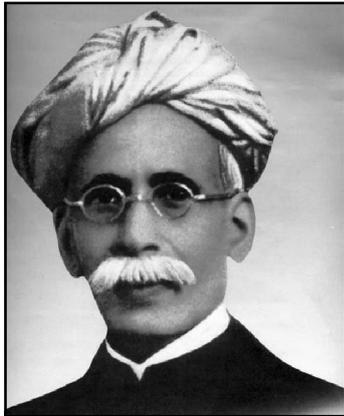
Swaraj presupposes adoption of technique of political and economic decentralization for the sake of its realization.

Gandhi had thorough knowledge about how people's liberties were being crushed in both capitalist and communist states. Centralization of power leads to tyranny in socialist countries. In such countries political and moral Swaraj of individuals suffered grave casualties because of its concentration of political, economic powers in the hands of the state. Gandhi also witnessed that in the so-called free world or the capitalistic world Swaraj in the social and moral sense was absent. He realized that in order that Swaraj shall be real people's Swaraj, people in general should possess economic and political power for all practical purposes. In Purna Swaraj all must be prosperous, happy and villages would be self-contained villages and also village communities. Every village should be a republic or panchayats having full power. Every village has to be self-sufficient and capable of managing its own affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world.

To sum up the Gandhian doctrine of Swaraj is different from others in the sense that it is positive in nature. Apart from signifying termination of domination by British the positive aspect of Swaraj is a four dimensional concept and the means to achieve it is also three dimensional in nature. Therefore as Srinivash said, he is untouchable and unapproachable, he had reached the summit of purity.

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## Utkal Gourab Madhusudan Das

*Panchanan Agrawalla*

For many more generations to come Utkal Gourab Madhusudan will continue to occupy a place of profound veneration in the hearts of millions of people of Odisha and inspire them to patriotic works and social activities. For about half a century he continued to guide and influence the social and political life of the State. He sacrificed all his wealth for the cause of Odisha and her people. Born on 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1848 in a middle class Zamindar family in Satyabhamapur village of Cuttack district (Odisha) in an early period of British rule over this part of India, Madhusudan played a very notable historic role for the renaissance of the dismembered Orissa Province and her crippled literature, culture, arts and crafts.

Madhusudan belonged to the first generation of Indian nationalist struggle and belonged to the category of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Rames Chandra Dutta. Like them his conception on the contemporary economic problems was crystal clear. He was aware of the aspect of the colonial rule and was worried about the draining away of India's resources. A keen student of history and an ardent admirer of Orissa's glorious heritage, Madhusudan was aware of the harmful effect of British economic policies upon flourishing cottage industries. Orissa was famous for gold and silver filigree works of gossamer delicacy. But inroad of machines had

jeopardized this artistic native craft. Madhusudan's nationalism immediately took interest in rescuing this glorious cottage industry of Orissa from ruin. Inside his own residential premises he set up a large factory in 1897 employing one hundred fifty craftsmen at his own expenses. The factory soon became famous as Orissa Art Wares and produced beautiful filigree works of extraordinary artistic excellence. Revival of an old native industry was not his only aim. He was eager to restore the craftsmen of Orissa to a state of economic prosperity. In 1902, on the occasion of John Wedderburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal's visit to the Orissa Art Wares, Madhusudan urged upon the distinguished visitor to encourage the industry by giving liberal grants and to create an incentive among the workers by awarding prizes. Madhusudan often arranged industrial exhibitions to display the products of the Orissa Art Wares and sent large quantities of beautiful specimens as presentation to foreign dignitaries. The press was eloquent in praising the laudable efforts and felt amazed at the lavish investment made by Madhusudan.

Madhusudan was a great exponent of Swadeshi. Before the Indian National Congress came to think of the Swadeshi movement, he launched a movement in favour of indigenous goods. His Swadeshi programme included a



scientific study of the ancient and indigenous system of medicine. On the occasion of the Utkal Union Conference, he advocated the use of home spun cloth with a view to revive the ancient weaving industry in Orissa. He would himself turn up with *dhoti*, *chadar* and coat made of *khadi*. From the rostrum of the Conference he appealed for starting a *charakha* movement in Orissa. For such early initiative taken in revival of the indigenous spinning and weaving industries.

Madhusudan was requested by Gandhi for guidance- "You will of course teach me how to spread the message of the spinning wheel in Utkal (12.08.1925). During the course of his visit to Orissa in 1925." Gandhi came to the Utkal Tannery and being highly impressed with the undertaking, bestowed fulsome praise on Madhusudan for his admirable efforts. As a member of the Imperial Council (1913-1916) Madhusudan tried to impress upon the Government that the development of industries in the country was their obligation. Industrial development would lead to a general economic prosperity in the country. The decadent and wretched conditions of industries in India were due to the insulator influence of the British rule. In a voice ringing with bitterness he said; That is feeling of the weaver who has taken to plough, leaving his loom, that is feeling of the artisan whose hand stands paralyzed to day, that is feeling of the artisan's son who took to English education with a view to get employment as a clerk, but failed to secure such employment, and that is feeling of an old man( himself) who has associated intimately with artisan during the last quarter of a century and has noticed their struggle for existence( proceedings of Imperial Council (1914-15).

**Puri Jagannath temple case-** In 1885 the Raja of Puri Sri Dibyasingh Dev was

transported for life being convicted in a murder case. The then Government instituted a civil case against the Raja for taking over possession of the Puri Jagannath temple. The Dowager Rani Surjyamani Pattamahadei challenged this as the mother guardian of minor Raja Mukund Dev. Mr Madhusudan Das, though was a Christian, defended the Rani in this case for the protection and preservation of age old sanctity of the Puri Jagannath temple and the Raja of Puri who is held in great esteem by the entire Hindu world and who performs the most important work, the "Chhera Panhara (brooming of the Lord Jagannath Rath) before the beginning of Rath Yatra ceremony. The Rath Yatra ceremony of Lord Jagannath would have lost its sancity and historicity of Utkal connected with this ceremony would have been affected very much. The lower Court however gave the decree in favour of the Government. Therefore, the District Judge appointed a receiver to take over the possession and management of the temple. Mr. M.S.DAS went to Caclutta to consult the eminent Barristers of that time about this case. Three eminent Barristers Gurudas Banerji, Evans and Woodruff whom Mr Das showed the records advised him not to proceed further in that case as they saw no chance of the defendant's success in the High Court. Despite this disappointing advice Mr. Das did not lose his faith in God. He himself prepared the case briefings and printed the papers at his own cost and thereafter consulted some other Barristers who gave opinion. Then an appeal was filed in the High Court. A Division Bench which heard this case had set apart three days for appellants lawers to argue the case. On the day of hearing the Court room was packed to its capacity as the case had aroused all India interest. The Barristers of the Rani finished their arguments within three hours instead of three days. The Judges who heard the case were simply charmed



by the brief and effective style of the argument and thanked the Barristers in the open Court. The Barristers who were magnanimous persons and men of high character told the Court that the praise for this brief and argument was mainly due to Mr Das, a young lawyer from Cuttack. The Judges were much pleased with Mr. Das and invited him to an evening party where he was introduced to other judges and eminent persons of Calcutta. Immediately after that the Lt. Governor of Bengal invited him to the Government House for having compromise with the Rani over the Puri temple affair. In 1888 a deed of agreement between the Raja of Puri and the Government was made. Mr Das had won a great victory for the Jagannath temple and Puri Raja holding high traditional honour and dignity of the historic Temple of the Hindu world. Two other cases in which Mr Das had exposed the conspiracy and mischief of the local British officials were equally important.

Madhubabu was home tutor of Ashutosh Mukherji, who subsequently became Sir Ashutosh and most illustrious educationist of Bengal. Sir Ashutosh had life long respect and regard for Mr Das as Madhusudan gave free private tuition. Madhu Babu was also teacher of Shyamaprasad Mukherjee. SP Mukherjee was the founder of Bharatiya Jana Sangh. Madhusudan Das passed away on 4<sup>th</sup> feb 1934.

On 13th feb 1953 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave speech at Cuttack "Madhusudan Das was a great man not only of Orissa but the whole India, I had been hearing his name for last fifty years. Though I had no opportunity to meet him directly yet I have seen him from a distance. He was a very great friend of my father. During this

period whenever the affairs of Orissa came up for discussion and consideration, the name Madhusudan absorbed all this and came in to prominence. You all know all that he had done for Orissa."

According to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India — "I first met M.S. Das when I came to preside over the Bihar Students Conference which was held at Motihari in the year 1912. We travelled together on our own way to Champaran and conversation I had with him in the train and on the steamer left an indelible impression on my mind about his personality, intellectual depth, fearlessness and love and devotion to country. In a long life full of varied activity he was ever striving to serve the people and as he told me, although he ruined himself financially he never sent his hat round for the public help."

According to Dr. Harekrishna Mahtab— "Madhusudan was inspired by two cardinal virtues of Christianity-humility and forgiveness. Though a Christian, he believed in the essential equality of religions."

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## Nationalist Struggle in Odisha

*Pritish Acharya*

The modern state of Odisha was formed on 1 April 1936. Being the heartland of the ancient kingdoms of Kalinga, Utkal, Odra, Kosala, Tosali and Kangoda, among others, the state has a deep and colorful past. The nomenclature 'Odisha', derived from 'Odra', has been in use in some form or other since the early fifteenth century. While in Hindi and other north Indian languages it was pronounced as Oorisha and Udisha, in English as well as in official use it was Orissa till 2011. In popular parlance, 'Kalinga' and 'Utkal' are the most used names for the state in the historical context, symbolizing the prosperity, maritime glory, sculptural and artistic skills of the land. However, other names have mostly gone down to the pages of history.

From 1568 to 1803, Odisha remained under the control of the Afghans, the Mughals and the Marathas. Finally, it passed under British rule in 1803 AD. In the beginning the local rulers here had welcomed the British, for it meant redemption from the oppressive Maratha rule. For example, the Raja of Khurda had promised to provide a large contingent of his native troops, called Paiks, to the invading British against the Marathas. ( For details see B. C. Ray, Orissa under the Marathas, Cuttack, 1963) However, soon after the coming of the British East India Company's rule, both the local rulers and the people realized that it was

harsher than the Maratha rule; land revenue was collected more stringently; land holdings of many people such as the priests and village headmen, which until then remained tax-free, were assessed for revenue payment; the local rulers were subordinated, which caused great resentment in the minds of people, who traditionally revered them. The consequence was large scale local civil rebellions under the leadership of traditional rulers and leaders. The beginning was made in Khurda. The 'Raja' of Khurda, on the advice of his Chief Minister cum Royal Preceptor- Jayi Rajguru, adopted a hostile attitude against the British in 1804 and inaugurated the tradition of anti-British resistance in the state. Since the ruler of Khurda Mukunda Dev II was a minor, Jayi Rajguru spearheaded the stir. He mobilized the *paikas* (local peasant militia) for fighting the British. He was later captured and hanged by the British in 1806. Since then a number of civil rebellions broke out against the British to resist the colonial changes. Despite being stamped out by the superiorly equipped opponent, they strengthened the tradition of defiance in the state.

Mention may be made of the revolts and rebellions in Paralakhemundi (1780), which then had been in the Madras Presidency and got occupied in 1768. Khurda rose again in 1817 and this time it was under the leadership of Bakshi



Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Mohapatra, a local Zamindar and commander of the prince. The revolt was suppressed in 1822, but it made the Bukshi a valiant leader of the region. In Ghumsar (1835), the Khond Rebellion was initiated against the British by the local chieftains in the Ganjam district.

In the western parts, Surendra Sai (1809-1884), a claimant to the throne of Sambalpur, led a revolt against the British between 1827 and 1864. The great Revolt of 1857, which occurred during this time also, had an impact on Surendra Sai, for he escaped from the jail in Hajaribagh, when the rebel Sepoys attacked and opened the gate. On his return to Sambalpur, Surendra Sai re-kindled the revolt, which had temporarily collapsed after his arrest in 1840. His rebellion in Sambalpur was mainly a tribal and peasant rebellion, supported by the tribal Zamindars of Ghens, Kolabira, Paharsirgira, Machida, Laida, Loisingha, Lakhanpur, Bheden, Patkulanda, etc. Surendra Sai died in the Asirgarh jail in 1864. Other notable civil and tribal revolts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century included the revolt in Angul (1848), in Bamanghati, Mayurbhanj (1866), in Kendujhar (1867 and 1891-93), in Nayagarh, (1893), in Ranapur (1893), in Kalahandi (1881). Some of these revolts, like the one in Kendujhar, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century targeted the local princes, for the later allied with the British and enthusiastically brought the colonial changes on British behalf. (See Fakir Mohun Senapati, *Atmajivana Charita*, Cuttack, 1986 (new edition).

Nationalism in its modern form arose in Odisha in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as a strive for linguistic and cultural identity of the local people, especially the new intelligentsia. Since the Odia speaking regions were not under a single provincial administration and were attached to different Presidencies and provinces, (the Bengal

Presidency and Madras Presidency and Central Provinces), the people as a language and cultural group felt ignored and neglected. The language controversy served as an enlightenment of the Odias. The Odia language and literature developed both quantitatively and qualitatively during the period. The main protagonists were Fakirmohan Senapati (1843-1918), Radhanath Ray (1848-1908), Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) and Gangadhar Meher (1862-1924). The intelligentsia got united on the issue and demanded amalgamation of the Odia speaking tracts into one provincial administration and the formation of a separate province. The Utkal Sabha and the Utkal Union Conference, both led by Madhusudan Das (1848-1934), played an important role in organizing the people on socio-cultural and political issues. In 1903, the representatives of the Odia speaking tracts of Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal formed the Utkal Union Conference (UUC), locally called Utkal Sammilani, at Cuttack to spearhead the Odia movement for the formation of a separate province. In 1905, Sambalpur and the adjoining feudatory states were amalgamated with the Odisha division. In 1912 the Bihar and Orissa state was carved out of Bengal. The UUC led the Odia movement up to 1920. In 1919, a group of young nationalists led by Gopabandhu Das (1877-1928) demanded its merger with the Indian National Congress (INC). A year after that it merged and inaugurated the non-cooperation stir in the state.

The Odia movement striving for a linguistic and cultural identity for the people had emerged in the post-famine period, i.e., after 1865-66. Quite a good number of socio-political organizations came up on the initiatives of modern intelligentsia for providing a common forum and a kind of common understanding on issues of



general concern. Notable among them were the National Society(1878), the Utkal Sabha(1882), and the Utkal Hiteishini Sabha of Paralakhemundi (1881). Till the formation of the UUC in 1903 these organizations worked as the nerve centres of the incessant socio-political activities in their respective localities in Odisha. Their association with the newspapers and journals like the Sambad Vahika, Utkal Dipika, Utkal Darpan and the Swadeshi gave them the added strength and recognition. Besides, there were a few other newspapers such as the Samskaraka, the Sevaka, the Oriya O Navasambada, Gadajat Basini and Sambalpur Hiteishini with a nationalist mission.

The nationalists in Odisha since then participated in the anti-colonial stir and vociferously demanded a separate province that would include, besides other Odia speaking tracts, the Ganjam Agency (district) of Madras Presidency. In order to gauge the public opinion in Ganjam the government appointed the Philip and Duff Commission in December, 1924, which did not yield any favorable results for the Odisha unionists.

Notwithstanding the stand of the Congress a group of Odisha leaders welcomed the Simon Commission in 1928 and the Report of the Attlee Sub-Committee, for they considered it to be a step towards achieving unification of Odia tracts into a separate province. The sub-committee recommended the creation of a separate Odisha province on 13 September, 1931 and the government announced the formation of the Odisha Boundary Committee under the chairmanship of Samuel O'Donnell to demarcate the boundaries of the proposed province. The new Province of Odisha came into being on 1 April, 1936 with Sir John Austin Hubback as the Governor.

## Freedom Movement

The freedom struggle was gaining ground alongside the Odia linguistic and cultural movement, known as the Odia movement at the popular parlance. Leaders from Odisha had been regularly attending the annual sessions of the INC. They had also been disseminating the Congress resolutions in local meetings and through the local Press. In 1909, Gopabandhu Das, along with other leaders established the Satyavadi school in Puri district, which remained a hub of the freedom movement in Odisha. This was a unique and innovative experiment attempting to popularize nationalist education as an alternative to expansive western education as well as the insufficient traditional education. Its objective was to infuse scientific knowledge, human virtues, social qualities and patriotic feelings in the students there at a very minimum and affordable infrastructure.

The Non-Cooperation movement was spearheaded by Gopabandhu Das and other leaders in Odisha. 'The Samaj'(1919) brought out by Gopabandhu and his Satyavadi friends became an effective voice of the leaders to the people. Earlier Utkal Dipika(1866) brought out by Gouri Shankar Roy from Cuttack along with Sambad Vahika(1867) from Balasore and Sambalpur Hiteishini(1889), from Sambalpur had inaugurated the vernacular nationalist press in Odisha. Gandhi visited Odisha in March, 1921. His visit gave a tremendous fillip to the non-cooperation movement. He addressed mass meetings at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Satyabadi, Puri and Berhampur.

After the Lahore session of the National Congress in 1929, 'Purna Swaraj' through mass civil disobedience became the national demand. On 26 January, 1930 mass meetings were organized and Independence Day was celebrated



in various places of Odisha. Like Dandi in Gujarat, Inchudi on the Balasore coast was selected by the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee for breaking the 'Salt-Laws'. On the same day (6<sup>th</sup> April, 1930) the volunteers, led by Gopabandhu Chowdhury, Rama Devi and Acharya Harihar Das, began their march to Inchudi from Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack.

Gandhiji's visit to Odisha, in May 1934, rejuvenated the Congress workers to invigorating activities. He visited Sambalpur, Angul, Puri, Cuttack, Jajpur and Bhadrak, holding meetings and discussions to uplift the depressed classes. In 1934, a powerful section of the Congress Party formed the 'Socialist group'. Nabakrishna Choudhury led the group. The socialists and communists spearheaded the Utkal Provincial Kisan Sangha and championed the cause of peasants. The States People's movement, locally known as Prajamandal movement, in Nilagiri, Dhenkanal, Ranapur, Gangapur, Talcher and Mayurbhanj in 1937-39 was a major development after the formation of the Congress ministry in the state in 1937. The Provincial Congress had earlier won the Assembly Elections in 1936 by highlighting the agrarian issues and the Zamindari misrule in the state.

The Quit India Movement was a great story in Odisha, as in other parts of the country. Early in the morning of 9 August, 1942, all prominent Congress leaders, such as Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrishna Choudhury, Biswanath Das, Pranakrishna Padhiary, Harekrishna Mahtab, were arrested.

The large scale arrest of the nationalist leaders backfired in the form of mass fury. There was student strike in Ravenshaw College, mass upsurge in the tribal belt of Koraput leading to police firing and parallel governments in many places such as Chhatra and Iram in Balasore and Talcher. In Dhenkanal a guerrilla squad was formed under the leadership of Baishnav Patnaik and looted the *thana*. Most of these places had witnessed police firing and killing of people.

In 1946, the Congress got an overwhelming victory in the provincial elections. Harekrishna Mahtab was elected leader of the legislature party to form the government. Soon after the independence, Mahtab and Sardar Patel, the Home Minister of India, resolved to integrate all the 26 princely states, locally called Gadjats, into the province of Odisha. On 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1949, Mayurbhanj became the last princely state to merge with Odisha. With this formation and establishment of the state became apparently complete.

To conclude, like India, Odisha provides rich varieties in all spheres of life and society with Odia being the unifying tag. Probably, this has been the strength and vigor of the land and the people of the state.

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## Gandhi, Patel, Nehru and Subhas

*Dr. Atul Chandra Pradhan*

Now the work of Congress leadership before and after independence is being reviewed. It is true that there is a basic difference between the Congress party of pre-1947 period and that of post-1947 period. While the former was a multi-group revolutionary party, engaged in the struggle for liberation from the colonial rule, the latter is a party in power, though deeply concerned with nation building in spite of lapses and deviations from revolutionary ideology. On the eve of independence Mahatma Gandhi wanted the transformation of Congress into a social service organisation. Those who heeded him entered the nebular and amorphous Sarvodya Movement. It is true that those who are now at the helm of affairs at the Centre after long years of electoral battle are the legitimate successors of those who were critical of the 'pro—Muslim' and 'secular' policies and credentials of the Congress party. One should not however be blind to the fact that in terms of real politic. There is no difference between the 'secular' Congress and the 'Hindutva'- based BJP which has already identified itself with the legacy of Congress leadership.

It is held in certain quarters that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has been denied his Legitimate right to be the first Prime Minister of India, that Nehru's faulty economic policies and policy on

Kashmir and Indo-China border have created a legacy of problems for the posterity and that Patel would have handled these matters in a better and pragmatic way. A quarter century after the choice of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime Minister of India, Chakravarty Rajagopalachari wrote, "Undoubtedly it would have been better if Nehru had been asked to be the Foreign Minister and Patel made Prime Minister."

Patel joined the National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's stewardship in 1917; he successfully organized Bardoli peasant movement in 1928, he was the organiser of the Congress party; he was elected as the President of Congress at its session, held at Karachi in 1931, he acted as the Chairman of the Parliamentary sub-committee of the Congress for the period 1935-40. Patel played a firm and decisive role in the integration of princely states; but for his timely action Hyderabad would have become an ulcer in the body politic of India. A leader of peasants, Patel did not subscribe to socialism because of his pragmatic outlook. Patel's dexterity and efficiency as an administrator and a leader has been lauded by many including the British Viceroy Lord Wavell. In May 1959 Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India wrote, "That there is today an India to think and talk about is very largely due to Sardar Patel's statesmanship and firm administration."



In 1916, at the Lucknow session of Indian National Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time; he led Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement in United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Nehru became the President of Indian National Congress in its Lahore Session of 1929, which adopted the resolution on complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. Fourteen years younger than Patel, Nehru was very popular among the masses, particularly youth for his sacrifices and idealism. It is said that Mahatma Gandhi regarded Jawaharlal Nehru as his political successor. When he became the President of the Congress in 1936-37 for the second time he tried to incorporate socialism into the Congress party's programme. Again he became the President of the Congress party in 1946, when Maulana Abul Kalam Azad withdrew. Azad writes in his memoirs that he made a mistake by proposing the name of Nehru instead of Patel for the Congress Presidency. After being unanimously elected as the President of Congress in April 1946, it became easy for Nehru to be the head of interim government and the first Prime Minister of independent India.

As Prime Minister Nehru laid the ideological foundation of the Young Indian republic by putting before it the ideals of democracy, secularism, socialism, non-alignment and promotion of scientific temper. Through socialism and application of science and technology Nehru wanted to solve the problem of inequality and poverty in Indian society. He laid emphasis on planning, public sector, development of heavy industry, rapid industrialization and application of science, technology and atomic energy. To develop an independent economy Nehru was opposed to investment of foreign capital and acceptance of foreign aid. To give protection to domestic

industries the Nehru government followed the policy of import controls which made them uncompetitive. The Nehru government used industrial licensing to promote the growth of public sector. Overmanning in public sector made commodities costly. Because of import controls the foreign suppliers became unwilling to sell technology. As a result Indian firms remained technologically backward. India got caught in a low-growth trap. Between 1960 and 1979 India's per capita GDP grew at an average rate of 1.1 per annum compared to average growth of per capita world G.D.P. of 2.7% per annum.

In the early post-Independence years many in India regarded socialism as the most suitable model of development for the country in view of Communist Russia and success of Communism in People's Republic of China. Under these circumstances the Congress Party adopted socialistic Pattern of society (1955) and Democratic Socialism (1964) as its goals. Nehru was not opposed to private sector; he followed a mixed economic policy. Even if Patel had become Prime Minister, it is doubtful whether he could have followed a fully liberal policy. But pragmatic as he was, he would have moulded the economic policy in a different way. "It is fair to assume," says Ashok V Desai, "that a Patel government would have dismantled the import controls inherited from the War and would not have introduced industrial licensing."

The Congress leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Bose had different approaches in political matters. Subhas Chandra Bose openly spoke of his disbelief in Gandhian principle of non-violence. Gandhi opposed Bose's election to the Congress presidency for the second term. In spite of Gandhi's opposition, when Bose got elected to the Congress presidency in 1939, anti-Bose Congressmen rallied round Sardar



Vallabhbhai Patel. Nehru, though committed to Gandhi's leadership did not subscribe to the latter's views on non-violence and small scale village industries. In October 1945 Nehru wrote to Gandhi, expressing his scepticism about some basic tenets of Gandhism expounded in the latter's booklet *Hind Swaraj* (1909). Nehru did not agree with Gandhi's view that a village should necessarily embody truth and non-violence and factory civilisation was based on exploitation and violence. In the first Cabinet formed after independence Nehru was Prime Minister and Patel was Deputy Prime Minister; both of them had sharp differences. On 6 January 1948 Nehru wrote to Gandhi mentioning his "temperamental difference" and differences "In regard to economic and communal matters" with Patel; he wrote, "In the present set up either I should go out or Sardar Patel should go out." Towards the last days of Gandhi's life there was difference of opinion between Gandhi and Patel over the question of release of Rs.55/- crores from the exchequer of undivided India to Pakistan. Patel opposed the release and linked it to Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir. Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Mountbatten considered it dishonourable for India to stop the release of Rs.55 crores to Pakistan. On 14 January 1948, as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, the Cabinet decided to release the amount to Pakistan. Expelled from Gandhi-dominated Congress Subhas Chandra Bose steered on independent course; he organised Forward Bloc and Indian National Army and

most probably died in plane crash in 1945. Gandhi fell a victim to the bullet of a Hindu assassin who at the time of trial accused the Father of Nation of being pro-Pakistan and pro-Muslim. Patel died of cardiac failure in 1950. Nehru lived fourteen years more and died as the Prime Minister of India.

Both Gandhi and Nehru were idealists in their own ways. No doubt Patel's pragmatic statesmanship resulted in the integration of the princely states with the Indian Union. But idealism also has a dignified place in politics, and statesmen and leaders can claim to be judged not only by their achievements but also by motives and ideals. Nehru was a staunch advocate of decolonisation. In 1949 he convened a conference in New Delhi to extend support to Indonesia's struggle for freedom. In UNO India played a leading role in accelerating the process of decolonisation. Nehru laid down non-alignment and Afro-Asian unity as the basic foundation of Indian foreign policy, which was appreciated by AB Vajpayi, the External Affairs Minister in the Janata government, formed in 1977.

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# Healthcare Consumerism : A Study

*Ashutosha Mishra*

## **Abstract**

*For any product or service to be produced and marketed demand is very vital. Healthcare is no exception to that. Here emergency and urgency being the criteria special emphasis has to be put on the demand side. Based on information and perception level at the consumers' end. Perception based on different criteria alongwith the price paid by the consumer make an interesting demand analysis. This, coupled with the level of satisfaction analyses the emerging 'consumerism in health care' as a part of Health Economics.*

**Keywords:** *Consumerism, Health Economics, Perception*

## **1. Introduction**

The service components of health care are closely linked to health care outcomes. Healthcare is marked by some special components. The empathetic words of a Nurse makes the injection painless. The patience of the doctor and confidence of the patient towards him make a huge difference to the consumer satisfaction and the subsequent perception. One aspect of health care quality that is being increasingly recognized for its importance is the influence of patient perception (Coughlin 2015). Even though the patient's perception of quality relies more on the service aspects of health care, it correlates well with objective measures of health care quality. In Deloitte's consumer surveys, two out of three respondents point to service or quality issues when asked for the reason behind a dissatisfying hospital experience.

Deep understanding of the consumer's perception and the associated demand is vital in an environment that places patients at the centre. How an individual perceives health care is unique and intensely personal, and it is important to understand how the consumer rates the provider. His ratings could take many aspects like; access to care; meaningful and understandable information; the smoothness of admission procedure, high quality emergency care, quality staff behaviour, high level of confidence in the doctor, hygienic tangibles constituting a congenial environment, dependable and affordable diagnostics and participation in their own health care and treatment that includes pre-treatment financial options and smooth financial settlement. Higher ratings mean higher expectations. Expectations about the quality of care are linked to perceptions of care, and when patients' perceptions are positive their clinical experience



and outcomes are more likely to be positive. In its 1999 report, "The State of Managed Care Quality," the US National Committee for Quality Assurance found that health plans with the highest satisfaction scores for the service aspects of health care also have the highest clinical quality scores.

In Economics, demand is always at a price. The price is paid as per the perceived marginal utility (price < MU). This perceived utility decides the level of expectation. This expectation is the true reflection of demand. Expectation from different aspects of health care taken together constitutes the demand for the current study.

The perception level could be increased in the absence of genuine wisdom or information. Health care being a guided-care, in the absence of product knowledge owing to the high technicalities can certainly paint a larger than life portrait of itself influencing consumer perception or demand. This Supplier Induced Demand (SID) can be defined as the amount of demand that exists beyond what would have occurred in a market in which patients are fully informed. The simple adage, "if you build it they will come," applies to SID and the medical profession (Strano, M. 2013). It appears when resources are available, overutilization occurs even when improved quality and outcomes are uncertain. Research suggests that the doctor-providers who invest in imaging equipment privately order more expensive tests like CT scans and MRI tests than doctors who haven't made the investment."

Through high quality assets, equipments and appropriate marketing techniques the providers have been very successful in drawing the demand (expected perception) in their favour. This high demand may not be at a lower price following the law of demand. The current study makes a candid attempt to decipher the demand from that angle.

Lower level of perception towards public health continues to create headache for the policy makers. The falling demand even at a low subsidized price finds the interest of the economists as they see health care as an exception to law of demand. The health care industry strains the nation's resources in a big way and that is why it is under increasing pressure to perform. At relatively high price the private health care providers probably command better perception towards different facets of care. This is probably why the Draft National Health Policy-2015 considers 'Strategic purchasing' both from private and public health providers assuming the private sector to be working on same footing alongside government for the greater cause of social healthcare.

Against the backdrop the current study tries to investigate the nature of demand in health care empirically using perception as representing demand and total expenditure as a determinant of the price paid for it.

## **2. Methodology**

### **2.1. Significance :**

The study conducted aims to understand the price-demand relationship in health care sector. Health care industry marked by special features like urgency, immediacy and accuracy is definitely an exception. The typical mental set up of the consumer may distort the operation of law of demand which raises a lot of anti-consumerist questions to be answered by further research.

### **2.2. Objectives:**

1. To investigate the nature and pattern of demand in health care industry.
2. To compare private and public health care in regards to demand and expenditure.



### 2.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Data for the purpose is basically primary. Four hundred twenty structured questionnaires were used to collect data through direct personal investigation. As health care is provided both by public and private authorities the total number of health care providers was listed. Quota sampling method was followed to sample out the four sampling units; two from public and two from the leading private providers. The public providers selected are Capital Hospital, Bhubaneswar and S.C.B. Medical College cum Hospital, Cuttack. The two sampled from among the private providers are Kalinga Hospital, Bhubaneswar and Sum Hospital, Bhubaneswar. Data were exposed to spss-21.0 for analysis. Simple analytical tools like average, ratio, t-test, F-test etc. were used.

For analytical purpose the per day expenditure in both private and public health care was treated as the price of health care. The total expenditure by patients incurred over a number of days can be written as per day health care price multiplied by the days of treatment.

Hence  $TE / \text{No. of days} = \text{per day price of health care}$ .

The total expectation ratings (on the four point Likert scale) of individual respondents was considered as his demand for analytical purpose. Eight parameters were sampled out of the questionnaire. Those are admission process, emergency care, staff behaviour, confidence on doctor, financial planning before treatment, post treatment financial settlement, cleanliness of wards, test results. Perceptions towards these parameters together decide the strength of preference towards providers. These perceptions are the perceived marginal utilities which is compared with price to decide the demand, the bottomline being  $MU = \text{Price}$ .

### 3. Literature Review

Papers and articles were extensively followed to gain an insight into the nuances and changing facets of health economics. Some of them are briefed below:

*S Wadhwa*.(2002) in his study, “*Customer Satisfaction and Health Care Delivery Systems: Commentary with Australian Bias.*” has explored the changing character of health care demand with the Australian system in the backdrop. He notes that the current health care consumer is better educated and the best informed it has ever been. Health care organizations must address those aspects of service that consumers most readily appreciate: access to care; relationships between physicians, meaningful and understandable information; and participation in their own health care and treatment decision making processes. All facets of the health care system will need to understand the interplay between internal and external consumers and suppliers and change their management practices accordingly to accommodate the needs of the modern health consumer. Care and due diligence however needs to be exercised to ensure that consumer rights are not over emphasized at the expense of health care quality.

*Ben Jonash, Jeff Wordham, Sheryl Coughlin*(2015) in their contribution, “Rising consumerism: Winning the hearts and minds of health care consumers” contributed to Delloit survey have given emphasis on the consumer and his service experience. They have found that the service experience is increasingly important for consumers, and many seek meaningful involvement in medical evidence and decision-making. The change in consumer want is clearly visible. The tension in the shift to a customer-service orientation is the divergence between



changing consumer expectations and a health care industry unused to dealing with consumerism.

Cinda (2007) has made a study titled, 'Consumer are King' on the status and importance of the consumer in true consumerism. Focusing on consumerism, the author feels that the changing expectations from public health care are three in number; consumerism, consumerism and consumerism. In the coming days the hospitals must look inward and prepare accordingly. Consumerism, including the push for pricing transparency, quality measures and pay-for-performance programs is only going to intensify. While the federal (US) government might have its attention focused elsewhere, state and local governments as he finds out are putting healthcare at the top of their agendas, grappling with ways to provide universal healthcare even as resources diminish.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

The primary data collected through 420 questionnaires were exposed to SPSS software to investigate and compare the demand and expenditure pattern of the health care sector.

**Table-4.1 mean demand between types of health care**

Type	N	Mean	Std. Devia tion	Std. Error Mean	T	Df
Govt.	210	14.73	2.225	.154		
Pvt.	210	27.83	2.316	.160	59.103*	418

The difference in means; 14.73 for govt. and 27.83 for private health care, is established to be genuine as the computed t-value 59.103 is significant at 5% level. Hence subsequent discussions will be comparison between government and private health providers.

#### 4.2. Mean Component wise Expenditure, no.of days treated and per day expenditure at Govt.& Private hospitals

	Type	N	Mean	t-value
Medicine	Govt.	210	3340.33	7.913*
	Pvt.	210	15683.33	
Tests	Govt.	210	1565.00	9.199*
	Pvt.	210	7658.33	
Others	Govt.	210	15154.70	5.009*
	Pvt.	210	66202.00	
Total	Govt.	210	20060.03	6.084*
	Pvt.	210	89543.67	
days	Govt.	210	9.60	4.266*
	Pvt.	210	6.50	
Per day exp	Govt.	210	2828.2882	8.070*
	Pvt.	210	13000.1948	

As the table indicates, there is significant variation in the mean expenses towards medicine, tests, other expenses and total and per day expenditure and also in number of days between the govt. and pvt. Health care substantiated by significant values of *t*.

**Table - 4.3 Ratios of Components to Total expenditure**

Components	Type	N	Ratio	t-value
Medicine: total expenditure	Govt.	210	.2452	0.134 <sup>NS</sup>
	Private	210	.2478	
Test: total expenditure	Govt.	210	.1090	4.026*
	Private	210	.1523	
Other exp: total expenditure	Govt.	210	.6458	2.102*
	Private	210	.5999	

Medicine: Total Expenditure ratios of both the types are not significant and there is no



significant variation between the two as shown by the t-value. The ratios between others including bed/cabin charge, food, transportation and surgical fees etc and total expenditure seem to be the heaviest component of health care.

Using percentile method the respondents were categorized into low medium and high classes basing upon their per day expenditure. As can be seen the percentage of low expenditure incurring patients is high in public and low in private and vice versa in case of high expenditure group.

**Table-4.4 Level of expenditure wise Average demand in case of government**

Level of Expenditure	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Low	140	14.20	2.022
Medium	56	15.25	2.126
High	14	18.00	1.038
<b>Total</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>14.73</b>	<b>2.225</b>

As can be seen as the expenditure (reflecting price per day of health care service) increase from low to medium to high the mean demand is also increasing with reasonable standard deviation.

**Table-4.5 ANOVA on Demand in respect of level of expenditure in government**

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between levels	204.167	2	102.083	<b>25.432</b>	.000
Within levels	830.900	207	4.014		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1035.067</b>	<b>209</b>			

The variation in demand between levels is acceptable as the computed F value (25.432) is significant at 5% level ( $P < 0.05$ ). In reference to table 4.4, it may be seen that the increase of per day expenditure raises the demand. This implies violation of law of demand.

**Table 4.6 Level of expenditure wise Average demand in case of Private**

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Medium	84	28.42	2.191
High	126	27.44	2.324
<b>Total</b>	<b>210</b>	<b>27.83</b>	<b>2.316</b>

**Table 4.7 ANOVA on Demand in respect of level of expenditure in private**

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	47.639	1	47.639	9.230	.003
Within Groups	1073.528	208	5.161		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1121.167</b>	<b>209</b>			

As the level of expenditure increases the mean demand decreases from 28.42 to 27.44. This implies the law of demand applies to higher-end consumers of private health care.

The variation in demand between levels is acceptable as the computed F value (9.230) is significant at 5% level ( $P < 0.05$ ). In reference to table 4.4, it may be seen that the increase of per day expenditure reduces the demand. This implies compliance of law of demand.

## 5. Conclusion

There is significant difference in demand of the patients willing to be treated at private and government set ups. Difference was clearly seen in mean expenses in medicine, tests, other expenses. Total and per day expenditure were found to be significantly high in pvt.care. *Medicine: Total exp* ratios of both the types seem to be equivalents. The ratios between *others* (bed/cabin charge, food, transportation and surgical fees etc) and total expenditure are found to be the heaviest component of health care. It was found that the percentage of low expenditure incurring patients



is high in public and low in private and the reverse in case of high expenditure group. It was found as the expenditure (reflecting price per day of health care service) increase from low to medium to high, the *mean demand is also increasing* with reasonable standard deviation. It was found that the mean demand falls as the price(expenditure) increases in private care. This indicates that the law of demand applies to the high- end consumers of private health care.

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# Central Administrative Tribunal : An Introduction

*Gitanjali Bastia*

## Abstract

Parliament has enacted Administrative Tribunal Act with a view to easing the congestion of pending cases in the High Court and other courts in the country. The Tribunal is a substitute of High Court and has inherited the power to issue 'any direction, order or writ under Art 226 and 227 of the Constitution with respect to service matters. Tribunals are a 'Judgment seat; a court of justice; board or a committee appointed to adjudicate on claims of a particular kind. They are adjudicatory bodies invested with judicial and quasi-judicial functions. The Administrative Tribunals are expected to play an important role in the redressal of citizens' grievances. Tribunals are supposed to serve as alternative institutional mechanism to High Courts. They must therefore be able to inspire public confidence by providing themselves to be a competent and expert mechanism with a judicial and objective approach. The Government of India has enacted an Act known as Administrative Tribunal Act 1985, subsequently Central Administrative Tribunal [CAT] at the Centre and State Administrative Tribunal [SAT] in States have been established to deal with the service matters. Establishment of Central Administrative Tribunal under the Administrative Tribunal Act 1985, is one of the most important steps taken in the direction of development of Administrative Law in India. CAT has been established for adjudication of disputes with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or other local authorities within the territories of India or under the control of Government of India.

Key Words : Central Administrative Tribunal [CAT], State Administrative Tribunal [SAT], Adjudication, Quasi – judicial, Institutional mechanism, Articles of Constitution [Art ].

## Introduction :

In the present day era Administrative Tribunals are a world wide phenomena. The Administrative Tribunals are mostly of twentieth Century origin. Administrative adjudication is a dynamic system of administration, which serves, more adequately than any other method; the varied and complex needs of the modern society. Institution of Administrative Tribunal is a noble phenomenon. Administrative Tribunals exist not only in India but

in many other countries. The purpose of such institution is to provide a new type of public oriented justice. Courts in India provided adjudication to aggrieved persons in service matters and to this Administrative Tribunals, Central Administrative Tribunal [CAT] at the centre and State Administrative Tribunal [SAT] in States, provided an alternative ways of adjudication. The establishment of Administrative Tribunal has become necessary since a large number of cases relating to service matters are



pending before the various courts. Tribunals are a 'Judgment seat; a court of justice, board or committee appointed to adjudicate on claims of a particular kind'<sup>1</sup>. The essence of the meaning of the word tribunal which can be culled out from the various Supreme Court authorities is that they are adjudicatory bodies [except ordinary courts of law] and invested with judicial and quasi – judicial functions as distinguished from administrative or executive functions. According to Servai, 'the development of administrative law in a welfare state has made administrative tribunals a necessity.'<sup>2</sup> Administrative Tribunals are authorities outside the ordinary court system, which interpret and apply the laws when acts of public administration are questioned in formal suits by the courts or by other established methods. They are not a court nor are they an executive body. Rather they are a mixture of both. They are judicial in the sense that the tribunals have to decide facts and apply them impartially, without considering executive policy. They are administrative because the reasons for preferring them to the ordinary courts of Law are administrative reasons. By Section 46 of the Constitution [Forty-Second Amendment] Act 1976, after part XIV of the Constitution Part XIVA was inserted which relates to Tribunals. In the said inserted Part XIVA article 323A stipulates that Parliament may, by law, provide for the adjudication or trial by Administrative Tribunals of disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of any state, or of any local or other authority within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India or any corporation owned or controlled by the Government. In order to give effect to the aforesaid constitutional stipulation by providing for the establishment of an

Administrative Tribunal for the Union and a separate Administrative Tribunal for a state or a joint Administrative Tribunal for two or more states, the Administrative Tribunals Bill was introduced in the Parliament. The Administrative Tribunals Bill provides for the jurisdiction, powers including the power to punish the contempt and authority which may be exercised by each Tribunal. The Bill further provides for the procedure to be followed by the State Tribunals and exclusion of the jurisdiction of all courts, except that of the Supreme Court under article 136 of the constitution relating to service matters. The Administrative Tribunals Bill also further provides for the transfer to each tribunal of any suit or other proceedings pending before any court or other authority immediately before the establishment of such tribunal as would have been within the jurisdiction of such Tribunal if the causes of action on which such suits or proceedings are based had arisen after establishment. The Administrative Tribunals Bill having been passed by both the Houses of Parliament received the assent of the President on 27th February, 1985. It came on the Statute Book as the Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 [13 of 1985]. It came into force on 01-07-1985 as far as the provisions of the Act relate to the Central Administrative Tribunal; with a view to easing the congestion of pending cases in various High Courts and other courts in the country Parliament had enacted the Administrative Tribunals Act. The constitutional validity of this Act was challenged before the Supreme Court in *S.P. Sampath Kumar v Union of India* [1987] 1 SCC 124; AIR 1987 SC 386, on the ground that the exclusion of judicial review of the High Court violated the basic structure of the Constitution. Negativating the contention the Court held that no matter the judicial review, which is the basic feature of the Constitution cannot be violated; but it is within the power of Parliament



to amend the Constitution so as to substitute, in place of High Court, another alternative mechanism of judicial review, provided it is not less efficacious than the High Court\*. The Administrative Reforms Commissions [1966-70] recommended the setting up of civil service tribunals in India to function as final appellate authorities in respect of orders inflicting the major punishments of dismissal, removal from service and reduction in rank. The Supreme Court in its Judgment in 1980 observed that civil servants should not waste time in fighting battles in ordinary courts and suggested the establishment of such tribunals. The establishment of Administrative Tribunal has become necessary since a large number of cases relating to service matters are pending before the various courts. It is expected that the setting up of such Administrative Tribunals to deal exclusively with service matters would go a long way in not only reducing the burden of the various courts and thereby giving them more time to deal with other cases expeditiously but would also provide to the persons covered by the Administrative Tribunals speedy relief in respect of their grievances. The provisions of the Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 do not apply to the members of Parliamentary forces, armed forces of the Union, officers or employees of the Supreme Court or to persons appointed to the Secretariat staff of State / Union Territory Legislatures. After the constitution of the Tribunal in 1985, the institution of cases in the Tribunal has increased tremendously but the rate of disposal of the cases has also quantitatively increased. The Tribunal follows the principles of natural justice in deciding cases and the procedure prescribed by Evidence Act or CPC [Civil Procedure Code] does not apply.

There are different types of Administrative Tribunals, which are governed by the Statutes,

rules, and regulations of the Central Government as well as State Governments.

### **Historical Background of Establishment of Central Administrative Tribunal**

The Tribunals in India have a very engaging history, dating back to the year 1941, when the first Tribunal in the form of the Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal, was established. After independence for a long time, a search was going on for a mechanism to relieve the courts, including High Courts, and the Supreme Court, from the burden of service litigation, which formed a substantial portion of pending litigation. As early as 1958, this problem engaged the attention of the Law Commission, which recommended for the establishment of tribunals consisting of judicial and administrative members to decide service matters.<sup>3</sup> In 1969, Administrative Reforms Commission also recommended for the establishment of civil service tribunals, both for the Central and State civil servants.<sup>4</sup> Central Government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of J.C. Shah, of the Indian Supreme Court in 1969, which also made similar recommendation. In 1975, Swaran Singh Committee again recommended for the setting up of service tribunals.<sup>5</sup> The idea of setting up service tribunals also found favour with the Indian Supreme Court, which in *Kamal Kanti Dutta v. Union of India*,<sup>6</sup> advocated for setting up of service tribunals to save the courts from avalanche of writ petitions and appeals in service matters. In the meantime, various States had established their own service tribunals. It was against this backdrop that Parliament passed the 42nd Amendment, which added Part XIV-A in the Constitution. Articles 323-A and 323-B enabled Parliament to constitute administrative tribunals for dealing with certain matters specified therein. The Enactment of Administrative Tribunals Act in



1985 opened a new chapter in administering justice to the aggrieved government servants in service matters. Article 323 A provided that Parliament may by law provide for the adjudication or trial by administrative tribunals of disputes and complaints with respect to recruitment and conditions of services of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union, or of any state, or of any local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India, or of any corporation owned or controlled by the Government. Parliament passed a law to establish administrative tribunals in India. Parliament was further empowered to prescribe by law the jurisdiction, power, authority and procedure of such tribunals and also to exclude the jurisdiction of all courts except that of the Supreme Court under Article 136. Empowered by these enabling provisions of the Constitution, Parliament enacted Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 for the establishment of Administrative Service Tribunals for deciding service disputes of civil servants of the Centre as well as of the States which was amended in 1986.<sup>7</sup> Thus the enactment of Administrative Tribunals Act 1985 opened a new chapter in administering justice to the aggrieved government servants. It owes its origin to Article 323A of the Constitution which empowers the Central Government to set up by an Act of Parliament, the Administrative Tribunals for adjudication of disputes and complains with respective recruitment and conditions of services of persons appointed to the public services and posts in connection with the Union and the states. The Act visualizes a Central Administrative Tribunal [CAT] for the Centre and State Administrative Tribunal for a particular state.

CAT enjoys the status and power of High Court and is expected to have the same

jurisdiction as that of the High Court<sup>8</sup>. Orders of CAT are not open to challenge before the High Court. In disposing of cases, it follows the principles and norms of natural justice, they are distinguished from the ordinary courts with regard to their jurisdiction and procedures. This makes them free from the shackles of the ordinary courts and enables them to provide speedy and inexpensive justice. Appeals against its orders lie only with the Supreme Court of India. The aggrieved person may appear before it personally. It is a multi-member body whose members are drawn from judicial and administrative streams so as to give it the benefit of expertise legal as well as administrative fields.

The Administrative Tribunals deal exclusively with service litigation and are free from the formalities of legal technicalities. The Central Administrative Tribunal [1985] has regular Benches operating at the principal seats of High Courts. CAT consists of a Chairman, who has been a sitting or retired Judge of a High court, Vice- Chairman, and members. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman hold office for 5 years or till the age of 65, whichever is earlier, whereas members enjoy a term of 5 years or continue up to 62 years. They are ineligible for reappointment after retirement. The employees of the CAT are required to discharge their duties under the general superintendence of the Chairman. Salaries and allowances and conditions of service of the officers and other employees of the Tribunal are specified by the Central Government. Pursuant to these provisions the Central Government have notified the CAT [Staff Conditions of Services] Rules, 1985. The CAT is empowered to prescribe its own rules of practice for discharging its functions subject to the Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 and Rules made there under. For this purpose, the Central Administrative Tribunal Rules of



Practice, 1993 have been notified. Similarly, the purpose of laying down a common procedure for all Benches of the Tribunal, the Central Administrative Tribunal [Procedure] Rules, 1987 have been notified. Under Section 17 of the Administrative Tribunal Act, 1985, the Tribunal has been conferred the power to exercise the same jurisdiction and authority in respect of contempt of itself as a High Court. The CAT is a growing institution with increasing responsibilities and load of work. Most of the states have established their administrative tribunals under the Administrative Tribunals Act. But only a few organizations have been brought within the jurisdiction of the CAT. The CAT has strived to achieve speedy justice to the litigants to a considerable extent, despite many constraints faced by it. To assist the tribunal in achieving its goal, the necessary support is provided by the personnel ministry at the Centre. The tribunal has proved its worth and effectiveness against odds.

### **Provisions of the Act:**

Establishment of CAT under the Administrative Tribunal Act 1985 is one of the most important steps taken in the direction of development of Administrative Law in India. The Tribunal is a substitute of High Court and has inherited the power to issue 'any direction order or writ under Article 226 and 227 of the Constitution 'with respect to service matters'.

Section 4[1] of the Act provides for the establishment of Central Administrative Tribunal [CAT]. It also empowers the Central Government to establish an administrative tribunal for any State on receipt of such a request to establish an administrative tribunal for any State by the State Government.<sup>9</sup> Section 5, provides the composition of tribunals and Benches there of. According to sub-section [1] of section 5, each

tribunal shall consist of a Chairman and such number of Vice-Chairman and other members as the appropriate government may deem fit. Section 5 [2] further provides that a Bench shall consist of one judicial member and an administrative member. Section 5[4][b] authorises the Chairman to transfer the Vice-Chairman of a Bench or other members there of to any other Bench.<sup>10</sup>

Section 6[1][2] and [3] of the Act prescribes qualifications for appointment as Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Judicial Members, and Administrative Members. A person shall not be qualified for appointment as the Chairman unless he is or has been a judge of the High Court or has, for at least two years, held the post of a Secretary to Government of India, or any other post under the Central or State Government carrying a pay scale which is not less than that of a Secretary of the Government of India.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, a retired person can also be appointed as Chairman of the Administrative Tribunal if he fulfills any of the above qualifications.<sup>12</sup> Similarly a person shall not be qualified for appointment as Vice-Chairman unless he is or has been a judge of a High Court, or Secretary to Government of India or of any State, carrying the pay scale of not less than that of the Secretary to Government of India; or held the post as Additional Secretary to the Government of India, or has, for a period of not less than three years, held office as a Judicial Member or an Administrative Member.

The qualification for appointment as Judicial Member are laid down in sub-section [3] of section 6 of the Act. It lays down that a person shall not be qualified for appointment as Judicial Member unless he is, or has been, or is qualified to be, a judge of a High Court; or has been a member of the Indian Legal Service and has held a post of Grade 1 of that service for at least three



years.<sup>13</sup> For the appointment of an Administrative Member, it is necessary that he has for at least for two years held the post of an Additional Secretary to the Government of India, or any other post under the Central or State Government, carrying a scale of pay which is not less than that of an Additional Secretary to the Government of India, or has, for atleast three years, held the post of a Joint Secretary to the Government of India, or any other post under the Central or State Government, carrying a pay scale which is not less than that of a Joint Secretary to the Government of India. In addition, he must have adequate administrative experience.

The appointment of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and every other member of CAT is to be made by the President of India in consultation with the Chief Justice of India. Similarly, the appointment of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and other members of an Administrative Tribunal for a State is to be made by the President of India in consultation with the Chief Justice of India and the Governor of the concerned State.<sup>14</sup> The tenure of the office of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman has been fixed as five years or 65 years of age, whichever is earlier and 62 years for members. Central Administrative Tribunal [Salaries and Allowance and Conditions of Service of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Members] Rules, 1985 framed under Section 35[2][C] of the Act provide under Rule 5 that Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Members on appointment to the tribunal, if they are in Central or State service, would seek retirement from that service and that in case of a sitting judge of a High Court, who is appointed as Chairman or Vice-Chairman, his service in the Tribunal shall be treated as actual service within the meaning of paragraph II[b][i] of Part D of the Second Schedule of the Constitution.

Rule 5 further provides that on retirement he shall be entitled to receive pension and gratuity in accordance with the retirement rules applicable to him. Under Section 10 of the Act, Central Government has power to prescribe by rules the salaries, allowances, and other terms and conditions of service, including pension, gratuity and other retirement benefits. However, these can not be changed to the disadvantage of the person after his appointment as Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Member of the tribunal.<sup>15</sup> Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Member of a Tribunal can resign from office by notice in writing under his hand addressed to the President of India. However, he shall continue to hold office until the expiry of three months from the date of receipt of such notice by the President, or until a person is duly appointed as his successor enters upon his office, or until the expiry of his term of office, whichever is the earliest, or unless he is permitted by the President to relinquish his office sooner.<sup>16</sup>

In the same manner, sub-section [2] of Section 9 of the Act lays down the procedure for removal. It lays down that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or the President of India could remove any Member from office on ground of proved misbehavior or incapacity. For this purpose, an enquiry is required to be made by a judge of the Supreme Court after such Chairman, Vice-Chairman or other Member had been informed of the charges against him, and he has been given a reasonable opportunity of being heard in respect of those charges. Procedure for such an enquiry can be regulated by the Central Government by framing rules.<sup>17</sup>

Section 2 of the Act further provides that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and any Member of a State or Central Tribunal, on ceasing to hold such office, shall become ineligible for further employment under the Government of India, the



Government of State, including employment under any other authority within the territory of India or under the control of the government, or under any corporation or society owned or controlled by the Government. However, a Chairman, Vice-Chairman or any Member of CAT can be appointed as Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Member of the State Tribunal and vice versa. Furthermore, after ceasing to hold office, such functionaries cannot appear, act or plead before anywhere they were Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Member.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the establishment of Central and State Administrative Tribunals, the Act makes provision for the establishment of joint administrative tribunal for two or more States on the request of such States. Sub-Section [5] of Section 4 inserted by the Administrative Tribunals [Amendment] Act, 1986 provides that the Central Government may designate all or any of the members of Bench or Benches of the State Administrative Tribunal as member of the Bench or Benches of CAT and vice versa.<sup>19</sup> According to Section 5[1], each tribunal shall consist of a Chairman, and such number of Vice-Chairmen and judicial and Administrative Members as the appropriate government may deem fit. However, subject to the other provisions of the Act, the jurisdiction, powers and authority of the tribunal may be exercised by Benches of such tribunal. Each Bench is to consist of one Judicial Member and one Administrative Member.<sup>20</sup> Chairman has also been given the power to transfer a member from one Bench to another.

Section 14 of the Act confers jurisdiction, powers and authority on CAT and provides that from 1 November 1985, the tribunal shall exercise all the jurisdiction, powers and authority exercisable immediately before that day by all courts, except the Supreme Court, in relation to

recruitment, matters concerning recruitment and all service matters of Central civil servants.<sup>21</sup>

Section 15 confers similar jurisdiction on State Administrative Tribunal. The language of Section 14[1] is wide enough to cover all service matters concerning the persons covered under the Act where the allegation is the violation Art 311 or any service rule framed under Art 309 of the Constitution, including Article 14 and 16.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, even in case of infringement of fundamental rights of the civil servants, the forum will be the tribunal. Thus, the tribunal has authority to decide the constitutionality of any statute, rule, regulation or notification.<sup>23</sup> For this purpose, the tribunal can exercise all jurisdiction, power and authority exercisable by all courts, including the writ jurisdiction of High Courts under Article 226 of the Constitution. Ordinarily, the tribunal shall not admit an application unless the applicant has exhausted the remedy available under the service rules as given under Section 20. Section 21 provides for a period of limitation of one year is also provided for making an application from the date on which the final order was made by the Government against the civil servant. Under Section 17 the tribunal has power to punish for its own contempt.

Section 2 provides that the tribunal can be moved by filing an application before the Registrar of the tribunal along with the prescribed fee of Rs.50 and relevant documents.

Section 19[3] provides that on receipt of an application, the tribunal shall, if it is satisfied after such enquiry, as it may deem necessary, that the application is a fit case for adjudication or trial by it, admit such application; but where the tribunal is not so satisfied, it may summarily reject the application after recording its reasons.



As per Sec.23, an applicant can even send an application through post and can plead the case with or without an advocate.<sup>24</sup> The Act provides for an informal and non-technical procedure. The tribunal is not bound by the technical rules of Civil Procedure Code, 1908 [CPC], but is only required to act in conformity with the rules of natural justice. However, the tribunal shall have the powers of a civil court under the CPC in respect of matters specified in the Act, as given under Sec.22.

Section 24 lays down conditions as to making of interim orders. Sec 24-27 provide that the tribunal can not pass *ex parte* interim order but under certain circumstances, it can grant interim order for a period not exceeding 14 days on application, Chairman has the power to transfer a case from one Bench to another. The decision of the tribunal shall be by majority, but if the members are equally divided the matter may be referred to the Chairman. Because the tribunal exercises the jurisdiction of the High Court, it can issue writs, but generally tribunals do not issue writs. Order passed by the tribunals shall be final and shall not be called in question in any court including High Court, except the Supreme Court by way of special leave petition under Article 136 of the Constitution, because an administrative tribunal set up under the Act is a substitute of and supplemental to the High Court in service matters. As a necessary consequence to this, the tribunals are not under the writ jurisdiction of the High Court and are not bound by their decisions; no matter they may have a persuasive value. The tribunal has inherited the jurisdiction of the High Court in service matter, therefore, in exercise of its power of judicial review, it cannot interfere with the penalty imposed by the disciplinary authority on the ground that it is disproportionate to the proved misconduct, if the findings as to misconduct are supported by legal evidence.<sup>25</sup>

The Act does not provide for any appeal or review of the order of the tribunal except that a person aggrieved may file a special leave petition before the Supreme Court. However, after the decision of the Supreme Court in *L. Chandra Kumar vs Union of India*, service tribunals have been brought under the jurisdiction of High Courts and their decision now shall be appealable before the High Courts also.

Under Section 15, an administrative tribunal has power to interfere with the findings of an inferior tribunal; however, such power is limited to cases where inferior tribunal has allowed inadmissible evidence, or has prevented evidence, or has based its conclusion on an erroneous view of law, or the conclusion reached is such which no reasonable man can draw on the existing material on record.<sup>26</sup> Section 3[q][v] of the Act gives wide jurisdiction to the tribunal by using the expression ‘any other matter whatsoever.’ But wide does not mean unlimited. The Supreme Court in *Union of India v Rasila Rani*,<sup>27</sup> held that matter relating to eviction of unauthorized occupants from government quarters does not come within the purview and jurisdiction of administrative tribunals. In the same manner, a tribunal can not interfere with the discretionary jurisdiction of the State in matters relating to determination of conditions of service; alteration thereof by amending rules, Constitution, classification or abolition of posts, cadres, or categories of service; amalgamation; bifurcation of departments; reconstitution; restructuring of patterns etc. However, this is subject to limitations and restrictions envisaged in the Constitution<sup>28</sup>.

Supreme Court has held that Section 28 of the Administrative Tribunals Act, 1985 and the ‘exclusion of jurisdiction’ clauses in all other legislations enacted under the aegis of articles 323 and 323B of the Constitution would be



unconstitutional; *L. Chandra Kumar v The Union of India*, JT [1997] [3] SC 589; AIR 1997 SC 1125. The Court held that the jurisdiction bestowed upon the High Courts under articles 226/227 and upon the Supreme Court under article 32 of the Constitution is an element of the inviolable basic structure of our Constitution. All decisions of the administrative judicatures are subject to scrutiny before a Division Bench of the High Court within whose jurisdiction the Tribunal involved falls. By bringing back the tribunals within the jurisdiction of the High Courts, they served two functions. Whereas saving the power of judicial review of legislative action vested in the High Courts under Articles 226 and 227 of the Constitution, it will make sure that flippant claims are filtered out through the method of adjudication by the tribunal. The High Court also will have the advantage of a reasoned decision on merits, which is able to be of use thereto in finally deciding the matter. In sight of this decision the prevailing provision of direct appeals to the Supreme Court under Article 136 of the Constitution conjointly stands changed. Currently the aggrieved party are going to be entitled to move the High Court and from the decision of the Division Bench of the High Court, he will move the Supreme Court under Article 136 of the Constitution. The Court saved the constitutionality of Section 5[b] by providing that whenever an issue involving the constitutionality of any provision arises, it shall be referred to a two-number Bench, one among whom must be a judicial member. Though this classical case, the court has, in one sense, tried to avoid wasting the jurisdiction of constitutional courts from encroachment by the assembly by invoking the doctrine of 'basic structure of the Constitution.'

The advantages of the tribunals are numerous. There is no need of payment for court fees, legal representation, or pleadings. As there

are no complex procedures, there will be speedy justice. This system also reduces the burden of pending cases in regular courts. The weight of expert opinion endows the administrative tribunals with a higher level of professional expertise and transparency. Administrative Tribunals and courts have come under considerable criticism. It has limited or non-existent right to appeal. It has separate laws and procedures that circumvent the celebrated judicial principles followed by regular courts in the country. Further, the decisions of administrative tribunals /courts are not documented, preserved or known to the general public. However, in India, there is a common feeling among laypersons that Administrative Tribunals do not act impartially and as a result, citizens fail to secure justice.

### **Conclusion**

In view of the increasing role of administration in citizens' life, the administrative tribunals are expected to play an important role in the redressal of citizens' grievances. Tribunals are essentially those bodies of the Executive branch of the government who by virtue of some statutory provision have the power and duty to act judicially in determining disputes which come before it.<sup>29</sup> Tribunals as stated earlier are distinct from the ordinary courts of the land and as per *Chandra Kumar's* case they are not on par with the High Courts but serve a supplemental function to the High Courts.

The Administrative Tribunals were conceived as and constitute an effective and real substitute for the High Courts as regards service matters and were supposed to serve as an alternative institutional mechanism to High Courts, they must therefore be able to inspire public confidence by providing themselves to be a competent and expert mechanism with a judicial



and objective approach. Thus, as tribunals have 'come to stay'<sup>30</sup> and the basic premise of the establishment of tribunals is sound, resolving the current issue will help in improving the tribunal system in India, and hopefully, will make the process of litigation easier for those who wish to approach the tribunals.

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## Marx and Vivekananda on Socialism

*Souribandhu Kar*

Some great men shake the world; others shape the world. Rarely do personalities emerge who shake and shape the world. Marx was universal and he effected human progress everywhere. Vivekananda burst on the world's Parliament of Religion at Chicago and addressed his message of humanism. Both Marx and Vivekananda was lover of humanity and opposed to social injustice. Let us have a closer look on the social justice as explained by Marx and Vivekananda.

Karl Marx and Swami Vivekananda were two outstanding personalities who influenced human thought in a very significant manner during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Marx was born in 1818 and died in 1883; Vivekananda, born in 1863, died in 1902. Though they were contemporaries for 20 years, they did not know each other personally nor did they directly influence each other.

To understand their viewpoint, we have to analyze the time in which they lived. The nineteenth century was critical period in the history of human civilization, when four powerful strands had coalesced producing a profound impact on the course of humanity's onward march. These were capitalism, science and technology, industrialization and imperialism. Every corner of the world was affected by its irresistible impact.

The salient characteristics of this age have been brought out by C.L. Wayper thus : "The age — was one of great physical and technological achievements. Marx was almost lyrical in his enthusiasm for its technical perfection ..... He writes in communist Manifesto, '..... subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigates, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground.... 'what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour? It was an age that was becoming increasingly rationalist and materialist, an age which, at once valued technical achievement and confidently anticipated that such achievement would become bigger and better. It was an age in which the products of technical achievements were very unevenly spread; an age of growing wealth for many and, so it seemed, of increasing misery for more. It was an age in which religion was no longer exercising its former appeal and the world had grown colder in consequences. It was an age in which civilization was not as impressive as technical achievement ..... An age then, of achievement and suffering, of strident scientific assurance and fading religious faith, of apparent fulfillment and of a great and growing



emptiness, an age of which it could be said, as Milton said of his time:<sup>16</sup> 'The hungry sheep look up and are not fed'— this was the age in which Marx lived.

At the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, Germany or rather Russia was in a state of turmoil. The slogan of French Revolution was liberty, equality and fraternity. This became wildfire all over Europe. The Napoleonic wars had created and strengthened sentiments of patriotism and nationalism in every part of Europe. The powers of hereditary monarch were declined. The Industrial and mercantile middleclass gained strength. A new class of proletariat arose out of Industrialism. This has disrupted and displaced the centuries old feudal relationship. The university of Bonn and Berlin became the nerve centre for secular and scientific learning and this has given rise to new class of scholars, philosophers, writers and scientist. Peoples feelings and ideas were reflected on various publication of periodicals. Revolutionary and seditious propaganda gained momentum. It was in this period of ferment, challenges, revolt, repression and eager expectations of a radically new world that Karl Marx was born in Trier in 1818.

The social, political, economic, religious and psychological situation in India was in all round ferment at the time of Swami Vivekananda.

India lay prostrate at the feet of the foreign conqueror. As Swami Ranganathananda has put it, "His (Swami Vivekananda's) life coincided with the most dynamic period of modern transition in India, which resulted from the contact of the age-old Indian culture and tradition with the youthful cultures of the modern west. Out of that ferment arose modern Indian renaissance which had already proceeded with uncertain steps for more than half a century by the time Vivekananda

appeared on the scene and which found him the most effective representative and exponent."

Indian's religion, culture, philosophy, social system, in short, everything, become objects of challenge. Sardar K.M.Panicker described the 19<sup>th</sup> century as one of the three determining periods in Indian History. "The issue raised in this period was the confrontation of the superior, expanding and highly dynamic civilizations, with an old static and , as it appeared, decaying culture..... The Hindu society was thus confronted with a dynamic civilization, which was convinced not only of its own incomparable moral greatness, economic strength, technological and scientific superiority but was moved by a firm belief that the form of life it represented was the final one to which all others must conform. This was in some way a graver challenge than the two previous ones. If she failed, to meet it, the danger was not that Hinduism might disappear, as in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but that Indians, as people might, for all times, fall back in the race for progress and be reduced to a position of a semi-civilized, ineffective people with no contribution to make to the world. The philosophies of ancient India might be studied by the curious and the scholarly as the ideas of ancient Egyptians are studied today". He continues: "In the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this dangerous tendency was checked by the emergence of an outstanding all-India leader Swami Vivekananda."

So, both Marx and Vivekananda were towering personalities, inspired by a burning passion and steered by firm determination to transform the society around them. They exerted a direct impact on the contemporary society.

The sharp distinction between the Marxist idea of world transformation and that of the Hindus has been brought out by Dr.



Radhakrishnan. ‘In its concern for the poor and the lowly, in its demand for a more equitable distribution of wealth an opportunity, in its insistence on rational equality, it gives us a social message with which all idealists are in agreement. But our sympathy for the social programme does not necessarily commit us to the Marxist philosophy of life, its authentic conception of ultimate reality, its naturalistic view of a man and its disregard of the sacredness of personality’.

“The chief elements of the Marxian creed”, says Radhakrishnan, are the theory of value which describes the methods by which the workers are exploited by the capitalists, the hypothesis of dialectical materialism, the economic interpretation of history, the class theory of progress and a defense of revolution as the method by which the workers are to attain power.”

The cornerstone on which the entire Marxist philosophy is built up is ‘dialectical materialism’. The materialism that Marx expounded is known as dialectical materialism, because in it, “materialism and dialectics are indissolubly interconnected. Marxist dialectics examines the world in constant motion, change and development.

Marx applied the dialectics to the material development of society. The human society too has evolved from primitive communism, through slavery and feudalism, into capitalism through their process of dialectics, which Marx describes by the term ‘Class Struggle’. Under capitalism there are two classes, the capitalists and the working class. Class war between these two is inevitable and inherent. Out of that will emerge a new synthesis-socialism.

Dr. Radhakrishnan points out, ‘The socialist programme of the Marxist is more

adequate to the real needs of mankind and to the exigencies of production by modern technical means. The demand of socialism is a moral demand. This theory appeals by its very simplicity, and its plausibility is increased by the facts that economic phenomena are of great importance in life and history — The emphasis on the importance of economic conditions is correct; the suggestion that they are exclusively determinant of history is incorrect—. If economic forces condition historic evolution, it does not follow that other forces do not. The forces of economic necessity and religious idealism may interact and mould the future history.

Swami Vivekananda’s philosophy is based on Vedanta. The Vedantic approach is very comprehensive and takes into account the fact that truth, though essentially one, is perceived differently. There are three board different levels of perception – *dvaita*, *visishta duaita* and *Advaita*. Vikekananda’s philosophy is diametrically opposed to that of Marx. Marx believes the fundamental reality consists of matter, whereas according to Vivekananda, it is spirit.

A.V. Rathna Reddy says in his book, ‘The political philosophy of Vivekananda’ that the Swami believed that ‘the social evolution is not different from the evolution of the universe. The law of universe operates in society also. As the universe is not static but dynamic, no institution in society is sacred and eternal. The social evolution is based on the principle of rise and fall.’”

The Swamiji’s concept of process of social evolution is that “materialism and spirituality prevail alternatively in society. Civilization means manifestation of spirituality. When people are enmeshed in materialism, in sensuous pleasure, their creativity does not manifest, their latest capacities lie in the dormant condition and thus



takes place a gradual degradation of culture. But when spirituality ascends, the dormant creativity is let loose, leaving its stamp everywhere, in arts and crafts, in thoughts and deeds, in organization. In this period, the barrier of privileges breaks down as no one claims exclusive powers and greater harmony and peace exists in society.”

Swamiji does not believe in conflict or class war as the mechanism for social evolution. He said, ‘you must take care not to setup class strife between the poor peasants, the laboring people and the wealthy classes’. Swamiji believes that economic advancement is a necessary precondition to spiritual fulfillment, as much for individual as for the society.

Swami Tapasyananda in his book ‘Legacy of Swami Vivekananda’, says: “what he longed for was not an endless pursuit, as in many so called advanced countries of today, of higher and higher standards of living and sophistication of life pattern, but the provision of the minimum requirements for healthy and contented life, which along can provide man with the leisure and reserve of mental energy required for the pursuit of spiritual values.

An environment neither of extreme enjoyment nor of base indulgence and misery can generate ‘vairagya’ or revulsion and non-attachment to the fleeting worldly values. Only a via media in the social and the economic situation can foster “vivek” discrimination-the parent of renunciation and spiritual aspiration and thus favour the rise of impressive men of spiritual genius who can deliver the saving gospel, the message of India to the young and powerful nations of the world”.

Swamiji witnessed terrible misery, the crippling poverty, the paralyzing slavery and the inhuman exploitation of the masses, the hypocrisy

and priestcraft in India and all these made him to look up the philosophy of socialism as a probable ray of hope, if not as permanent sunshine. He had explained say he turned towards socialism.

“The other systems have been tried and found wanting. Let this be tried — if for nothing else, for the novelty of the thing. A distribution of pain and pleasure is better than always the same persons having pains and pleasures. His attitude to socialism, as he summed up, “I am a socialist, not because it is a perfect system, but because I believe that half a loaf is better than no bread.” Whereas Marx gave unqualified support to socialism.

While Marx’s socialism was essentially materialistic in concept, Vivekananda never subscribed to such a brand. As V.K.R. V.Rao puts it, “the engine of social changes must have its proper fuel; and this according to Vivekananda, could only come from spirituality and the Vedanta, which proclaimed the innate divinity in man and the sameness it gave all men as the basis for social ethics of non-exploitation and universal human welfare.”

Swami Vivekananda believed religion (and not politics) as the path of change whereas Marx believed that religion was the opiate of mankind and that it must be done away within the interest of human welfare. Vivekananda’s socialism was no way antithetical to religion. His standpoint has been explained by Swami Gambhirananda thus; ‘Though the people had to be fed and their standard of living to be raised, this was not to be achieved at the cost of religion’.

Besides, he found no incompatibility between social progress and spiritual advancement. He wanted the masses to rise with their spiritual intact. ‘Can you give them(the



masses) their lost individuality without making them lose their innate spiritual nature? - he used to ask. His motto was elevation of the masses without enfacing their religion. Vivekananda tells us that, of all the forces that have worked, are still working, to mould the destiny of human race, non certainly is more potent than the manifestation of which we call religion. Everything goes to show that socialism or some form of rules people will certainly want the satisfaction of their material needs, less work, no oppression, no war, more food. What guarantee have we that this, or any civilization, will last unless it is based on religion, on the goodness of the man? Religion goes to the roots of the matter. If it is right, all is right. Socialism, as conceived today is a product of materialism, but the present crisis is not merely in the outside world, but also in the soul of man, and it can be resolved only by religion which raises man to the divine state.”

Another difference between Swami Vivekananda and Marx is in their concept of socialism. According to Vivekananda, 'Freedom is the only condition of growth; take that off, the result is degeneration.' “He lays emphatic stress on the growth of the individual where as Marx lays the entire stress on centralized society or cumulative life. But the ideal social life cannot be achieved if the individual has to sacrifice his soul or individual existence.”

Probably the basic difference between the socialism as envisaged by Marx and that by Vivekananda, is that the latter has built his concept on Advaita Vedanta, whereas Marx had materialistic sustain. But both Marx and Vivekananda has intense concern for the toiling masses. Marx saw to what depth of degradation, the working class, whom he called the proletariat,

was reduced as a result of capitalist exploitation. Marx also knew that of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeois today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class”.

Both Marx and Vivekananda find the intense concern for the welfare of the humanity but both of them saw ‘Man’ in different lights. For both Marx and Vivekananda, the world was their arena, and humanity, the object of their service. But while Vivekananda choose Advaitya Vedanta for bringing social justice to millions of Indians and humanity, Marx approached dialectical materialism and proletariat revolution to ameliorate the ills of mankind.

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## Anti-War Agitation in Odisha (1939-40)

*Dr. Prabodha Kumar Ratha*

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 overshadowed all other events and captured the high attention of the people. The anti-war agitation was geared up after the policy announced by All India Congress Committee towards British Government in October 1939. Both the Congressmen and the Socialists severely criticised the Government for dragging India into an unwanted war and for their betrayal of India's interests. They advocated for :-

- No tax campaign
- Strikes on Railways as best methods to fight with the Government

The leftists in Odisha decided to

- first carry on their struggle on economic issues
- then political agitation
- a state peoples agitation with a view to strengthen the scope of their movement. They organized tours and series of meetings in different districts.

The Congress Party in Odisha decided to stand by the decision of the all India Congress Committee.

The Congress Ministry in Odisha resigned on 4<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1939. It received sympathy from political fields as well as from public. The leader started mass contact campaign. They trained volunteers for ensuing campaign.

A certain section of Muslims was conscious of the anti-national character of the Muslim League and its activities. Between 7<sup>th</sup> to 13 June 1940 they preached the message of the Congress among the Muslims. They condemned Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah. They advocated

Muslim support to the Congress and put importance on Hindu-Muslim unity and communal harmony. The activities of Muslim League created strong resentment among Hindus. A branch of Hindu Mahasabha was formed at Puri on 29 January, 1940 with Raja of Madhupur as its President. It advocated co-operation with the British in the War, holding that India should be content with Dominion status in the circumstances.

The action of the Viceroy in withholding his consent to the Madras Estates Land Act Amendment Bill evoked strong criticism among the general public, especially the peasant population of Odisha. As a protest, a Kishan rally was held in the Ganjam district from 21<sup>st</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> January 1940 which was organized by Ex-premier Biswanath Das.

The Anti law agitation launched by the Congress was strongly disapproved by the land holders of Odisha as they considered it to be prejudicial against their vested interests. They looked the British as patrons and guardians of the privileges enjoyed by them. In their opinion a Constituent Assembly based upon adult franchise or consisting of members of the Provincial and Central Legislature would not solve the problems of the Country.

The Odisha branch of Muslim League that was started for the furtherance of Muslim interest in the province was affiliated to the all India Muslim League, Delhi with effect from 25 February, 1940. A Provincial Committee of the Forward Block with Dibakar Patnaik of Ganjam as its President and Ashoka Das as Secretary was formed.



The Civil Disobedience Movement was started by the Congress in Odisha from April 1940. A training centre for initiating the volunteers into the culture of Satyagraha was opened at Bari in Cuttack district. All District Congress Committees were directed to nominate volunteers and depute them to Bari to undergo training. A Satyagraha Committee was formed in order to supervise and encourage constructive work in the province and submit fortnightly reports to the All India Congress Committee on the progress made in the preparations. Towards later part of April 1940 the UPCC was dissolved being converted into Satyagraha Committee while fore-ranking leaders were appointed to control and guide the actions of the Committee. Some of the prominent Congress leaders under the leadership of Gopabandhu Choudhury set out on a campaign of mass propagation. From Bari they worked from village to village explaining the Political situation to the people and exhorting them to get ready for joining the movement for independence under the banner of Congress. In a meeting held at Cuttack on 24 April 1940 the Congress leaders of the province decided that all active Satyagrahis should spin and push through the sale of *Khaddar*, whereas District Boards, Municipalities and Local Boards under Congress influence were to be utilized in the spread and propagation of the Congress constructive programme. Another part of the Congress Reorganization Programme in the Province was the opening of four Departments of UPCC consisting of :-

1. A Programme Department controlled by H.K. Mahatab.
2. A Harijan Department entrusted to Radhakrishna Biswasroy.
3. A Minority Department under Maulana Mahammad Atahar.
4. A Charkha Department in charge of a sub-committee.

During the period the socialist programme was one of decisive action. The purpose of the

socialists was to attract to their party the important Rightists as well as the wavering communists. A few circulars issued in June 1940 by Surendranath Dwivedi, President of the Utkal Congress Socialist Party were designed to achieve this purpose.

The anti-war agitation was carried on in Odisha with vigorous earnestness by the united efforts of the Congress, the Socialists as well as Congress sympathizers among the students and Communists. The British Government was blamed by all the parties concerned for prosecution of the war. People were dissuaded from helping the Government in any way in its war efforts either with manpower or money.

An association called Orissa Congress Swaraj Dal was formed in October 1940 with Pandit Godavarish Mishra as its President and Dibakar Patnaik as its Secretary. They were of view that the war measures of the Government should not be resisted by the Congress. They now redoubled their efforts to obtain support for the formation of a coalition ministry.

The Congress leaders of Odisha endeavoured to popularize the new form of individual Satyagraha as evolved by Gandhiji. This was the outcome of Congress dilemma – to start or not to start mass movement during war years. One may argue that the movement was a dress rehearsal for the Great Movement of 1942. No doubt this prepared the background for Quit India Movement of 1942.

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## Haripura Gada : The Bhanja Capital in Ruins

*Maitreyee Mohanty*

History is a reconstruction of the glorious past by critical observation and analysis of the testimonies of the past in the form of monuments<sup>1</sup>. The history of the famous Bhanja Kings of Mayurbhanj can not be complete without a reference to Haripura Gada, the second capital of the Bhanja rulers before the town of Baripada was founded and served as the new Capital of Bhanja kingdom. Though in ruins now, it offers ample materials for ancient history of Mayurbhanj.

According to an account Maharaja Harihara Bhanja, a powerful Bhanja King founded the city in 1322 Saka corresponding to 1400 A.D. He named the capital Hariharpur after his own name and shifted the capital from Khiching. Hariharpur finds a prominent place in the history of Bengal and Odisha of 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century and also in the writings of Vaishnava poets of Gaudiya School as Chaitanya Mahaprabhu passed through this place in his way to Puri<sup>2</sup>.

The Capital of Bhanja Kings suffered a great deal at the hands of the iconoclast Kalapahada. All the members of the royal family were compelled to run away and took shelter in hill recesses. From that time onwards Haripur had to face the onslaught of the Muslim invaders from time to time but the Paiks of Mayurbhanj could repel them on account of the strategic

position and the heavy fortification of the palace.<sup>3</sup> The proof of fortification of Haripur Gada was found from Akbarnama, the biography on Emperor Akbar which states that Daud Khan, the Sultan of Bengal is known to have taken refuge here when he was attacked by the powerful army of Emperor Akbar.<sup>4</sup>

When Mughal rule spread in Odisha, Mayurbhanja could save itself from Mughal invasion under Bhanja King Vaidyanath Bhanja. Mention is made of the prosperous condition of the Kingdom and its capital Haripur in "Rasika Mangala" written in about 1542 Saka (1620 A.D) by Gopijanavallabha, a disciple of Rasikananda. Raja Baidyanath Bhanja was the first scion of the dynasty to adopt the Vaishnava faith initiated by Rasika Ray. Raja Baidyanath Bhanja built a magnificent brick temple in honour of his tutelary God Rasika Raya inside the fort as a mark of his devotion for his *guru*. Though now in ruins this temple is still regarded as the vestige of the glorious deeds of the Bhanjas.<sup>5</sup> The temple is the first example of a brick built religious monument of the period. No other example of a brick built temple with such superior craftsmanship is found in Odisha or Bengal.

Though in ruins the excavated portion of Haripur gada speaks volumes about the



contributions of early Bhanja Kings to the growth of monuments, art and architecture in Mayurbhanj. The eastern side of old Haripura Gada is 1091 feet and the western side is 1702 feet, whereas the northern and southern sides of the fort are 652 feet and 686 feet respectively.<sup>6</sup> A little to the north of the courtyard of once magnificent Rasika Raya temple lies the ruins of Ranihanspur. It formed the south-western portion of the palace and consisted of apartments with adjoining bath rooms. To the eastern side of the Ranihanspur once stood the Durbar hall and the retiring chamber studded in front by the sculptured stone columns and arches of fine designs.<sup>7</sup> The unearthed portion of the fort has also brought to light numerous stones with skilful works of art and remnants of ornamental plaster work from the eastern portion of the building and the middle of the Hall.

A remarkable feature of the plaster works on the floor and on the walls of this period was that they are not less than three centuries old but the combined mortar has been transformed into such a hard substance that it can be easily taken for as a superior class modern cement.<sup>8</sup> To the north-west of the palace and behind the old court stands the Radha Mohan Temple. The Radha Mohan temple is in sharp contrast to the majestic Rasika Ray Temple. It is a plain rectangular block of building made of bricks and covered with chuna plaster. The sanctuary of the temple was separated from the outer hall by perpendicular wall joining the two sides. It would not be out of place to mention here that as Radhamohan temple was situated within the outer courtyard compound it was eventually meant for the male members of the household.<sup>9</sup>

The style of architecture found in the Rasika Raya Temple bears a striking similarity to the architecture found at Vishnupur (Mallabhuma)

in the temples erected by Raja Virattambira and his descendants. The curvilinear form of roofing in this temple is believed to be the Goudiya styles of architecture. This style of architecture was later adopted by the Delhi Emperors in all architectural designs and in course of time adopted in different parts of the civilized world.<sup>10</sup> On the south east of the temple of Rasika Raya at a distance of 270 feet and outside the front enclosure lies the temple of Jagannath. The image of Jagannath which was formerly placed inside the temple has been brought to Pratapapura where the deity receives daily offerings. The artistic decorations of the outer walls of the temple have lost much of their beauty. But the artistic decorations of the back walls are fairly in tact, though the plaster and whitewash have crumbled down. The temple was very artistically painted in various beautiful colours and on close examination of the side walls traces of paintings are still observed.<sup>11</sup>

There is also a stone image of Goddess Mahisha Mardini, known by the name of Gadachandi in the clumps of bamboos at Badapada, a place situated within the limits of Haripurgada. It was formerly enshrined on the south side of Haripura Gada (Plate No. 35). The people of the area believe that the above image of Goddess Gadachandi is the oldest to be found in the locality. Also a small image of Goddess Kota Basini at present known as Kotasini is found standing by the side of the image of Goddess Mahisamardini in the same bamboo grove of Badapadai. It is popularly believed that Kotasini is the presiding deity of Haripura Gada. On proper scrutiny the image of Goddess Kotasini appears to be much older than the images of Gadachandi. The image of Kotasini though greatly disfigured with time, still retains a striking resemblance to that of Goddess Janguli Tara (Plate No.27). It may be taken as evidence of



the influence of Tantrik Buddhism existing in Haripur.<sup>12</sup>

Though Haripura Gada now lies in ruins, it is a testimony of the prosperity and elegance of the Mayurbhanj Kingdom during the rule of the ancient Bhanja Kings. The analysis of fragments of the ruins of the fort reveal the acumen of the craftsmen in the field of plaster work. The splendour of the sculptured walls reveal the mastery of the sculptors of the period. Rasika Ray Temple is the one and only majestic brick built temple of the Eastern India.

The Haripura Gada in its architectural style together with the encompassing temples provide an interesting case study for a researcher on historical sites and monuments of Mayurbhanj.

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## Bhagaban Sahoo : The Forgotten Hero of the Freedom Struggle

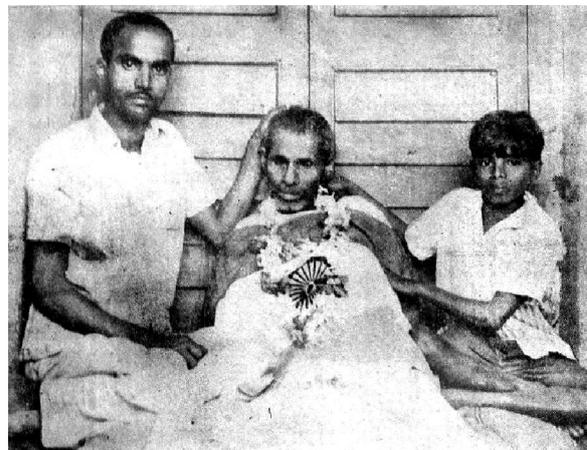
Rajashree Sahoo

The history of freedom struggle of India is enriched with the sacrifices of untold number of soldiers out of which few received due recognition in the annals of history. A large number of them are either ignored or they are not treated properly because of their obscure origin, illiteracy, poor background or lack of self-aggrandisement. The prime purpose of the present paper is to highlight about such a great personality who dedicated his life sacrificing all the pleasure and happiness for the cause of the nation. He is no other than Bhagaban Sahoo of Kasapa village of Jajpur district, about whom the present work would focus.

To analyse the life-story of Bhagaban Sahoo is indeed a romance of history. Born on 6<sup>th</sup> June 1908, his educational background was confined to village *Chatasali* where he learnt *Varnavodha* (alphabets), *Rasakrida* (Srikrishna's play-story) and fundamentals on Mathematics.<sup>1</sup>

While he was in *Chatasali* he displayed his inclination towards struggle and virtually joined in the mainstream of the national struggle at the age of twenty two being inspired by the local freedom fighters.<sup>2</sup>

He was a man of uncompromising, undaunted, bold and brave personality who exhibited daring skill to tolerate all brutalities committed to him with ungrudging attitude by the British authorities. How it is thrilling to imagine a horrific scene that a man hanged from upside down (i.e. leg upward and head



downward) which was ignited fire facing interrogation from the British officers to leak out the names of other fellow participants in the disaffection work against the British government? He is our Bhagia Bania, later on called as Biplabi Bhagia, who remained tight lipped during the above said torture shouldering all the responsibility on him. He was not a mass leader to be recorded in history nor his role was so insignificant to be rejected for record. Like him many unknown freedom fighters establishing link between masses and the leaders remained on the border line to be taken care up to bring them from people's memory to the history on record. Bhagaban seems to have been neglected as he was very poor and illiterate inspite of his tremendous sacrifice for the nation.

Lahore Congress of 1930 passed a resolution of complete independence as the goal



of India. Soon after Gandhiji declared civil disobedience movement popularly known as Salt Satyagraha. The Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi and Srijang inspired young Bhagaban to jump into the freedom movement.

In the year 1930, two prominent Congress workers of Jajpur namely Bipin Bihari Mohanty and Balaram Pati organized a meeting at Ahiyas adjacent to Kaspā, Bhagaban's native village. In the face of strong opposition of the Union President, Bhagaban took up the challenging task of awaring people through drum beats and clarion calls in fourteen nearby villages. As a result three thousand people attended the meeting and became aware of the call of Gandhiji. Subsequently Bhagaban himself organized two meetings at Chhatrapara and Uttarkul *Hat*. He gave a call for actions not mere slogans. He immediately started picketing before opium and *ganja* shops at Jajpur.

In the year 1931, he joined the "Banara Sena". He along with Kartik Chandra Mahapatra of Haripur, Sushil Chandra Mohanty and Kalandi Mohanty of Mallikapur, and Rasikananda Das of Gandakul hoisted the national tricolor flag in the Office of the S.D.O. Jajpur. So he was arrested, severely beaten and sent to jail for two months.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as he was released from the jail, he with the above four revolutionaries raided the Court of Jajpur. Bhagaban forced the S.D.O. to leave the chair and proposed to run the Court. As a result he was beaten on the head by the police and was sentenced to four month's imprisonment and was sent to Cuttack jail.<sup>4</sup>

After his release he did not lose his courage and enthusiasm rather went to Balasore with Dhaneswar Das of Rahanā and offered picketing before excise shops. He was given twenty-one cane-lashes with two months' imprisonment and sent to Balasore jail. He was

so brave that just after his release from jail he marched with sixty freedom fighters to unlock the Swaraj Ashram at Cuttack. He accompanied with Subas Ch. Bose, Nabakrishna Choudhury, Binod Kanungo, Lingaraj Misra and Rajkishna Bose had completed the work. Therefore along with other revolutionaries Bhagaban Sahoo was sentenced to one month imprisonment in Cuttack jail.<sup>5</sup> Bhagaban protested against the low-grade treatment to inmates in the jail and other such actions of the jailer. So he was beaten seriously and tolerated third degree punishment by the police.

After some months he again marched to Cuttack with one hundred freedom fighters and attacked one of the officers who was responsible for ill behaviour to the revolutionaries in the Swaraj Ashram Case. So he was arrested and sent to Patna jail for six months.<sup>6</sup>

Bhagaban Sahoo started a spinning centre at Ahiyas and inspired many people to be self-reliant and to wear Khaddar. He became a spy and confidential letter bearer while taking sojourn for six months in the *Ashram* of Gopabandhu Choudhury at Bari. He was carrying the secret correspondence with Nilambar Dash of Soro, Pyarimohan Das of Balasore, Chakradhar Behera, the leader of Kanika agitation and Gopinath Das of Bhadrak on foot and handing over the reply to Nabakrushna Choudhury at Cuttack via Kendrapara.<sup>7</sup>

The Quit India Movement of 1942 was so violently precipitated in both Jajpur and Bhadrak that it put a serious pressure on the British. When Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab was arrested, Bhagaban remained in the building of Mahatab and played a vital role in this movement. Police firing at Eram causing the death of 27 freedom fighters created sharp reaction in the mind of Bhagaban. On August



17, 1942, he with Baishnab Charan Nayak set fire to the Bhandaripokhari P.S. and the residential quarters of the police. The Post Office of the locality was burnt down and the road was cut off to prevent the police force to move.<sup>8</sup> The next day four persons were killed and several others were injured by police firing at Bhandaripokhari. As a result of this a tense situation was aroused throughout Balasore district.<sup>9</sup> There was firing at Dhamnagar on 21st September 1942 in a similar incident.<sup>10</sup>

In the year 1942-43, Jajpur and Bhadrak faced severe famine. Bhagaban called upon the congressman to loot the paddy granaries of zamindars and as a result, in the presence of Padmanav Ray five thousand people under the leadership of Bhagaban Sahoo looted the Granary of Pankaj Devata at Suradiha and helped the famine-stricken people. In a meeting at Chhatrapara, Bhagaban Sahoo instigated the violent freedom fighters to set fire to the Dak Bungalow of Chhatrapada, Dasarathpur Water Tax Office, Jayantara Police Out-Post, Ahiyas Dak-bungalow and Dasarathpur E.T. School and it was immediately accomplished.<sup>11</sup> Bhagaban's action made the British administration perturbed and a chaotic situation spread all over.

The next day it was decided in a meeting at Ahiyas presided by Padmanav Ray to destroy Railway telephone connection and force the S.D.O. of Jajpur to wear Khaddar. In the meantime Kaipara (Kalamatia)<sup>12</sup> witnessed a horrible and tragic incident in which four persons were killed in police firing and 17 others were injured. The news spread like wild fire all over the district and the freedom fighters decided to gherao the S.D.O. Office and capture the police station of Jajpur.<sup>13</sup>

On the 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1942, defying all government prohibitions a large number of Congressmen strongly mustered in the campaign led by Padmanava Ray, Baidyanath

Das, Bhagaban Sahoo, Santanu Kumar Das, Nrusingh Charan Panda and others and advanced towards the Office of the S.D.O. Revolutionaries from Bari, Binjharpur, Dharmasala and Korai joined them. Almost 30,000 freedom fighters assembled in front of S.D.O.'s Office shouting slogans against the British to quit India. It was not possible to control the agitated mob by the S.D.O. but he requested the police force not to open fire. Padmanav Ray, Bhagaban Sahoo and Baidyanath Das forced the then S.D.O. Ratnakar Sarangi to wear Khaddar. In the meantime an aeroplane appeared in the sky and dropped some explosives to frighten the people. The crowd immediately dispersed in haste and panic.<sup>14</sup>

On their way home, the violent mob and the revolutionaries under the leadership of Bhagaban Sahoo raided and burnt Ramabag Post Office and Mandarkhanda Irrigation Tax Office.<sup>15</sup> The next day Bhagaban Sahoo was arrested and given third grade punishment to expose other names involved in arson and loot cases etc. He took upon himself the responsibilities of all the violent action. He was charged by IPC-143, 430 and 342 and remained as under-trial prisoner in Cuttack jail bearing batch No. V.T 741. There were 55 cases of arson, mail robbery, dacoity and looting of granaries in Jajpur sub-division that Bhagaban Sahoo took upon himself. So he was charged in 17 section of IPC and 3(IV) and 35(IV) of DIR and was sentenced to 29 years of imprisonment by the Trial Court and put in the Cuttack jail since 8<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1942. He was a second class prisoner bearing batch No. 12365/A. Later on his punishment was reduced to nine years and three months rigorous imprisonment by the Appellate Court. In spite of that he was so fearless that he bore the punishment whatever inflicted on him. He remained in Cuttack jail from November 8, 1942 to September 22, 1945. Then he was



transferred to Russelkonda jail. He was finally set free in the year 1946. He had been sent to jail 4 times and given very bad treatment.

In the post independent India the course of history took a twist. The leaders turned into politicians enjoying and ruling the States or Nation in different administrative capacities ignoring the lay freedom fighters. Lucrative feathers were added to their glory by making ministers or other executive heads. Under such prevailing situation, Bhagan Sahoo married a blind girl which also indicated about his social service. As he was a destitute and landless, it became difficult for him to earn his subsistence. Lack of proper education deterred him to find out a job. The extreme physical torture virtually disabled him to do hard labour. Third degree treatment in the jail had made him weak and diseased for which he was unable to do hard labour. A great freedom fighter became a street beggar in the long run.<sup>16</sup>

Poverty did not break down his love and passion for the nation. On every 15<sup>th</sup> August and 26<sup>th</sup> January, during the flag hoisting ceremony, he used to come to the Ahiyas High School. In the year 1972 on the Silver Jubilee Celebration Day, though it was too late, he was felicitated by V.V.Giri, the President of India, as the front-ranking freedom fighter and was given an allowance of Rs.200/- per month. It was too meagre for him to sustain in the old age. So he began begging from door to door to support his family of wife, one son and one daughter. In the year 1976 he was paralysed and passed away on 28<sup>th</sup> February 1977.<sup>17</sup>

Neither history nor his contemporary freedom fighters treated him with due weightage. Had he been born in Tamil Nadu or somewhere else, other than Odisha, he must have emerged as a great hero receiving great prestige and honour. His contributions to the

freedom struggle should have been incorporated in the text books to inculcate in the minds of the students “what is true patriotism and nationalism”. He is a man who left a legacy of paradigms to be followed by the generation after generation. Bhagaban Sahoo’s great contribution was forgotten and he was ignored by his own countrymen.<sup>18</sup>

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## Tribal Resistance Movement in Odisha

*Balabhadra Ghadai*

Tribal resistance movement in Odisha, an integral part of Indian freedom struggle presents a wide spectrum. By temperament, tribals are simple, innocent and nature-loving people. In cultural complexities, economic backwardness and political primitiveness, they are differentiated from the rest of the people. They have their own social, cultural and religious identity, their own taboos, make beliefs and peculiar compulsion of life style and therefore any attempt of the administration of an alien rule to make an inroad into the tribal society by way of reformative and correctional changes, however laudable, is bound to be resisted by the tribals with their individual and collective might.

Soon after the British occupation of Odisha in 1803, freedom struggle began in different parts of Odisha in form of armed resistance, protest and rebellion against the alien authorities. The defective land revenue system and administrative vagaries of the British rulers continued to cause discontent among the people and as a result, there broke out an armed rebellion by the masses in 1817, under the leadership of Buxi Jagabandhu Bidyadhara, the military Commander of the Raja of Khurda. The rebellion began when about 400 Kandhs from Ghumusar entered into Khurda and joined with the rebellious Dalbeheras and Paiks under Jagabandhu's leadership. They plundered Banpur and adjoining areas, reducing the Government buildings and Police Stations into ashes. From Banpur the insurgents proceeded towards Khurda. On the way hundreds of Paiks joined them. Government offices at Khurda were taken by complete surprise. At Khurda

official buildings were set on fire and treasury was looted.

In 1835 a rebellion broke out in Ghumusar under the leadership of the Kandh leader Kamal Lochan Dora Bisoyee who had tremendous loyalty to Raja Dhanurjaya Bhanja for restoration of Bhanja family to power. The Kandhs became violent. In an encounter they killed 13 sepoy and 2 European officers. A vigorous military operation was undertaken by the British to suppress the Kandh insurgents and most of them were either shot dead or hung upon the trees. The rebellion was suppressed for sometimes, but the British authorities could not catch hold of Dora Bisoyee in spite of having announced a reward of rupees 5000/- for his capture. He escaped from Ghumusar and took shelter in Angul. The Raja of Angul handed him over to the British authorities. Thereafter Dora Bisoyee was made a state-prisoner in Ooty near Madras. There he breathed his last in 1846 leaving behind a glorious legacy of brave and resolute struggle against the British. After his sad demise, his nephew Chakra Bisoyee continued the rebellion in Ghumusar for two decades from 1837 to 1856. All attempts to capture him failed. This valiant Kandh Chief never surrendered to the British in spite of the British offer of pardon. After all the Ghumusar rebellion provided the proper background to the rising of the subsequent freedom movements in and around Odisha.

Towards the end of April 1868 the Bhuyan Sardars revolted in Keonjhar. The town of Keonjhar was invaded and the oppressive



Dewan Nanda Dhal along with some of his associates was abducted. The rebellion was suppressed with a strong hand and most of the Bhuyan Sardars surrendered. Ratna Naik, the leader of the rebellion, was captured by the Paiks of Pallahara on the 15<sup>th</sup> August. Ravenshaw tried the case of the Bhuyan leaders at Keonjhar. The captured rebels, numbered 183, were sent for trial. Among them Ratna Naik and six others were sentenced to transportation for life, and the rest to different periods of imprisonment.

During the last part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Bhuyans of Keonjhar again raised a revolt against the despotic rule of Raja Dhanunjay Bhanj and his officers. The immediate cause of the rebellion was the construction of a canal known as 'Machhakandana Jhara' from Bararaon Pahar (hillock) to Keonjhar which would flow the stream water to the capital. The cutting of stone was done completely by the 'bethi' system in which the Bhuyans were required to render inhuman physical labour. It was strongly repulsed by Dharanidhar who instigated the Bhuyans and other tribals like Bathudi, Kolha and Saunti to rise revolt against the tyrannical rule of the Raja. The Bhuyans looted the granaries and procured guns and cannons to wage war. The revolt of the Bhuyans took a violent turn. Later, the British Government arrested Dharani by hatching a conspiracy. Dharanidhar was detained in Cuttack for seven years. Later he was released in 1897 and led the life of a Saint.

The resistance movement of Sambalpur led by Surendra Sai against the British imperialism was mainly a tribal rebellion. Of course, the passion of the Gadi (throne) of Sambalpur was the cause of the origin of the Great Rising. But by and large it aimed at making Sambalpur free from British yoke and restoring native rule. The tribal Zamindars of Ghens, Kolabira, Paharasirgira, Machida, Kodabag had joined the rebellion espousing the cause of Surendra Sai. Some of them lost their estates, some were killed in the battle, some were arrested

and hanged and many were imprisoned. Although the Great Rising was finally suppressed, it shook the very depth of the British rule in Sambalpur.

The Quit India movement assumed the character of a formidable mass uprising in the district of Koraput which is mostly inhabited by the Adivasis or aborigines. It was on August 21, 1942, under the leadership of Lakshman Naik tribals from different villages holding Congress flags and lathis reached the Mathili Police Station and tried to hoist the flag there. Lakshman Naik was not allowed to hoist the flag as the magistrate Mujibur Rahman ordered lathi charge on the demonstrators. Lakshman was mercilessly beaten. In this scuffle that followed, the local Forest Guard G. Rammaya was beaten to death and some police men sustained injuries. So the police opened fire on the mob and five people died on the spot and seventeen injured. Lakshman was falsely accused of beating the Forest Guard to death at the break of dawn on March 29, 1943 by 5.30 am. Lakshman Naik gallantly marched towards the Gallows in the Berhampur Central Jail. There ended his life and he was buried inside the Jail compound. He was not at all worried for this punishment. Rather he told his fellow convicts on the previous night of hanging "I know Swaraj will definitely come. But I feel sorry that I shall not be able to see Swaraj". With his death passed away a great leader of the tribals and a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi.

An analysis of the tribal resistance movement in Odisha reveals that it was mass oriented, wide spread and violent. In spite of the barbaric methods of repression by the British, the exemplary courage and spirit of nationalism displayed by the tribals in anti-colonial uprisings had its profound impact on India's freedom struggle.

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## Education – A Tool for Empowering Women

*Pradipta Kumar Biswal*

The Asian and Pacific Centre for women and Development defines “Empowerment as a process that aims at creating the conditions for self-determination of a particular people or group.” Empowerment refers to enabling people to take charge of their own lives. For women, empowerment indicates the importance of increasing their power and taking control over decisions and issues that shape their lives. Literally to empower women is to give power to women. Delegation of power does not mean to feeling of superiority and dominance upon others. It is a sense of internal strength and confidence to face life. It facilitates for taking part in decision making and capacity building to contribute towards national development.

### **The Constitutional Guarantee:-**

The Following articles safeguard the women.

Article 14 - Equality before law.

Article 15(1)- Prohibition of discrimination on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth in the matter of public employment.

Article 16 - Equality of opportunity.

Article 39(d)- Equal pay for equal work.

Article 51(a)- Renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 15(3)- The Constitution allows state to make special provision in favour of women and children.

Article 42 - Securing just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief.

National policy for Empowerment of women came into force from 2001 which emphasizes –

- Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potentialities.
- The de jure and de facto enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres-political, economic, social, cultural and civil.
- Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life.
- Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment and equal remuneration, occupational health



and safety, social security and public office etc.

- Strengthening legal systems aiming at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
- Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.
- Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.
- Elimination of discrimination and all form of violence against women and girl child.
- Building and strengthening partnership with civil society, particularly women's organisations.

Though the different departments has certain agenda for empowering women by developing their overall efficiency and economic condition, Education plays a pivotal role in capacity building of women. The department of Women Empowerment and Child Development implements the following programmes.

1. The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) programme – This is a flagship programme of the department while providing 'Anganawadi' (Creche) Services and health and nutritional supplements to infants, ICDS also provides pre and post natal care for pregnant and lactating mothers.

2. Kishori Balika Yojana (Scheme for Adolescent girls)- It is a part of ICDS programme and a special scheme for adolescent girls that was initiated from 2001. The scheme is intended for adolescent girls in 11-18 age groups who belong to the BPL family. Training programmes in manifold dimensions are provided in this scheme. The areas include health and nutrition, family

welfare, providing interpersonal skill and making them self-independent through vocational skills.

There are certain other programmes like old age pension, pension scheme for widows/ homeless/ disabled, Financial assistance to destitute widows, for remarriage of widows, grant to female students who have passed intermediate from BPL family to pursue her study.

Education is a powerful weapon for empowerment of women. It is an investment in human capital. Education develops awareness among the women regarding their potentialities for active participation in restructuring the society. Realizing the key role of education in empowering the women several schemes have been launched.

Under Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (Education for All) necessary steps have been initiated to reduce gender gaps.

- (i) Early Child Care Education (ECCE) centres: These centres are playing a pivotal role in preschooling as it includes all children in the 3-6 age group. As the girl children usually look after the siblings they get deprived of primary education. But the ECCE centre facilitates the education of girl children. So that ultimately they get enrolled in primary education.
- (ii) National Programme on Education for Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL): This programme is chalked out since 2003 to increase the enrolment rates of girls belonging to SC/ST category at elementary stage. It emphasises on enrolment, retention and quality education.
- (iii) Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV): This scheme is meant for girls belonging to the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), religious minorities and



below poverty line (BPL) households for bridging the gender gap. Those schools are opened to give chance to rural deprived girls to have their study upto or beyond class V.

- (iv) Innovative scheme for the adolescent girls: This scheme intends to provide life skill education so that adolescent girls will be self confident.
- (v) Mahila Samukhya (Education for women's Equality)

The objectives of Mahila Samukhya are :

- a) To create tolerance and mutual respect for women.
- b) To ensure that education becomes accessible to the socially and economically marginalized women and girls.
- c) To encourage and promote a gender based discourse in the society.
- d) To enhance self-image and self-confidence of women and enable them to critically analyze their role as individual women and as members of the society so that they can begin to challenge that role collectively and initiate a process of social change.
- e) To collectively participate in decision-making and seek equal rights and opportunities for a more egalitarian society.
- f) To enhance participation of women and girls in formal and non-formal education programme. Education Department of Ministry of HRD launched Mahila Samakhya as a major programme for bringing about women's development and empowerment in 1989 on a pilot basis in 6 states of India with funding from Netherlands Government.

National Literacy Mission plays a key role in providing literacy to all. This Mission

creates awareness towards literacy, nutrition, environmental protection and skill formation. Adult Education programme was launched in the country on October 3, 1978. It covers the entire population in 15-35 age group by the end of 1983-84. In this programme special emphasis is laid on to equip women with necessary skills and education to improve their economic status and wellbeing in the society.

The National Girl's Education Programme, 2004 aims at providing extra facilities and economic assistance to girls for education at primary level. This programme intends to remove gender gap by constructing model schools and provision of text books, stationery, uniform etc.

Mid-day-Meal programme has been started by the Central Government. It ensures nutritional food to the students of class I to VIII. This scheme aims to promote enrolment, retention and attendance of children in primary school. Due to this project enrolment and retention of girls has increased.

Siksha Karmi Project (SKP) has been implemented since 1987, with assistance from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). The fundamental objective of this project is universalisation and qualitative improvement of primary education in remote and socio-economically backward villages of Rajasthan, with primary focus on girls. Keeping in view the teacher absenteeism the project uses the novel approach of substituting teachers in dysfunctional school with local youth known as Siksha Karmis. They are provided with training and supervisory support.

Bihar Education Project (BEP) was launched in 1991, with a purpose of bringing about qualitative improvement in the elementary education system in Bihar state. This gives



importance on the education of the deprived sections of society such as SCs, STs, and women.

### **Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (APPEP)**

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has adopted this scheme in the areas where there is very meager female literacy rate. It is a two directional activity of improving classroom transaction by training teachers and developing infrastructure of the school.

### **Programmes undertaken in Odisha**

The Govt. of Odisha also started schemes like establishment of model public schools in block level, supply of bicycles to the students of class 10 free of cost, upgradation of primary schools to upper primary and high schools, supply of four pairs of uniforms free of cost, training to teachers through Samarthya Programme, appointment of Sikha Sahayakas etc. for the development of education. Self-defence programme for girls, supply of laptop to meritorious students, establishment of high schools, making the schools child friendly by "Ama Vidyalaya" Yojana, organization of personality development camps for girls, training of MTA members, organization of "Meenamela" are commendable steps of the Govt. of Odisha for empowerment of women. These schemes are very much helpful for motivating the girls in attending the schools. This helps in the path of women empowerment.

### **The dimensions of women empowerment**

Dimensions of women empowerment include :

- (i) Economic empowerment: Unless there is economic emancipation women empowerment is not possible. Though the women work hard in and outside the home they enjoy very negligible portion of the

family income. Women's economic right is definitely a vital index for enhancement of their status.

- (ii) Social empowerment: Social participation of women should be equal to men. They should be empowered to exercise assertiveness in collective decision making. They should be allowed to participate actively in socio-economic activities.
- (iii) Physical empowerment: The women shoulder the productive and reproductive responsibilities and do many tedious activities in home. The male dominant society is not ready to recognize their contribution for a healthy home and prosperous society. Physical empowerment is dependent upon each of the other dimensions as all have contributory effect.
- (iv) Psychological empowerment: Women have a negative view of their potentialities and importance in the society. Though they contribute a lot still then they are not psychologically ready to recognize it. It should be recognized by all sections of the society.

### **Hurdles in the path of Empowerment :**

In spite of several commendable steps taken for women empowerment by both central and state government wide gap still persists among the literacy rate of male and female. Many factors are responsible for non-enrolment and high dropout rates of girls.

1. Poverty is attributed as main cause for which girls are deprived of education. The girls have to look after the siblings and do household works and even work outside to supplement their family income.
2. Due to lack of parental awareness girls are not getting chance for education. Parents prefer boys' education to girls' education.



3. Early marriage of girls is also a factor responsible for the high dropout rate of girls.

4. Lack of separate institutions for girls is also a vital cause of non-enrolment and dropout of girls. As ours is a conservative society parents in some cases are reluctant to send their girls to co-education institutions.

5. Insecurity for girls is a major concern which deters girls' education.

6. Fixed school hour do not suit girls in rural areas, as they are wanted for domestic work or in the field.

7. Lack of sufficient number of lady teachers is also another obstacle in the path women education.

8. Lack of hostel facilities is another hindrance in the way of women education.

9. Gender based prejudices in India is the major hurdle in the path of women empowerment. In India a girl is disadvantaged as soon as she is born, she is discriminated in feeding, attention, clothing and care. The family is ready to spend more money on male children for their clothes, schooling, health care and nutrition than on female children.

To achieve the goal some corrective measures may be taken.

1. Community awareness for equality should be created at all levels. The old notion that place of women is in the kitchen should be changed. The young generation should feel that they are no way inferior to their male counterparts in academic, social, political and economic spheres.

2. The attitude of parents should be changed towards co-education.

3. Separate schools for girls should be provided where there is demand.

4. Fifty percent of the total strength of teachers should be lady teachers so that girl students will be attracted towards education.

5. Improvement of infrastructure of the school is another aspect of strengthening girls' education.

6. Child Care Centres like Anganawadi / Balwadi and ECCE Centres should be opened so that the elder sisters will be relaxed from taking care of their younger brothers and sisters. It will facilitate them to attend the schools.

7. More number of residential schools should be established as per demand.

8. As poverty is the major concern for low literacy of girls, adequate incentives should be provided to girls.

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## Tribal Women's Struggle Against British Raj : A Study on Koraput

*Dr. Binodini Das*

This paper is an humble effort to highlight about the women in margin whose strength and valour, the undaunted spirit to fight, the untold sufferings and self-sacrifice to liberate Mother India from the British yoke are not yet received proper recognition. Till now, history ignores to make their names as household words like the names of Kuntala Kumari Sabat, Rama Devi, Malati Chaudhury, Sarala Devi, Jambubati Devi, Parbati Giri, Abartti Laxmi Bai, etc., of Odisha. The contributions of tribal women to the freedom struggle of India is indeed thrilling and romantic. They proved that absolute confidence in one's own strength and power, the true love for the nation, boldness and the spirit to tolerate torture and humiliation would lead one to achieve one's objective. Their absolute dedication to the cause of the nation set the paradigm for others to be followed.

The first struggle led by a tribal woman against colonial rule appeared in 1848 AD in Debadangara, a feudatory state, which was given by king Krushna Deva of Jeypore (Koraput) as a *jagir* to his general who conquered Subalayâ in 1676AD. The generous king also constructed there a palace for him. The last ruler of this hill-tract region was Paramananda Patra who was succeeded by his queen Umâ Devi in 1835 AD as he had no son to succeed. Umâ Devi was too old to carry out the burden of the administration and she voluntarily abdicated in favour of her

daughter Bângarâ Devi. In 1848 AD, taking the advantage of the dispute between king Krushna Deva and his son, the British established its direct hold over the Jeypore State encamping a British regiment of troops called Shivaji Sena under the supervision of police superintendent, Sulait. This created displeasure in each people starting from lay subjects people, to king, feudatory chiefs, zamindars, *muthadars*, etc.

Koya queen Bângarâ Devi was shortly insulted by Captain Macneil who obstructed the performance of *Maria* sacrifice during Wâlupu festival. Her self-consciousness and freedom loving mind pricked her to such an extent that she chalked out plans and programmes how to expel the British from this land. The infuriated and revolted queen carried out negotiations with the hostile rulers of British Raj like king Man Subedar, a feudatory chief of Chhodavaram of Rampâ which was adjacent to Malkangiri and the revolted leader Saunta Bhupati of Golcunda. The allied forces carried a tough struggle against the British to which was also added the Rohilla soldiers of Bhadrâanchal, a frontier state of Motu-Malkangiri and a feudatory state of Nizam of Hyderabad. Meanwhile, history took a different turn as a few disloyal and treacherous fellows conspired how to dethrone the queen from the power. When this matter was brought to the notice of the queen, she took a stringent action



by mutilating their noses. After this incident, these fellows fled away towards the British administrative office situated at Narasimha Patana where they informed about the queen's strategy.

A tough battle was fought between the queen's allied forces and the troops of Shivaji regiment led by agent Reed at Malkangiri in which the queen was severely defeated and her minister Emma Raju was imprisoned. An agreement was signed in which the queen had given her consent not to carry out disaffection against the British rule in future. Her mother Ummâ Devi and her imprisoned minister Emma Raju died shortly after this incident. The British took over the charge of her administration directly in the year 1865AD. In such critical situation, the queen entrusted the sole burden of the state to her *diwan* Sanyâsi Patra. Her allies, Man Subedar and Bhupati Saunta, carried persistent struggle against the British in the forest of Chintapalli where eight British soldiers were killed. But Man Subedar was caught hold by the British and was sent to Berhampore jail leaving Bhupati Saunta to carry out the struggle alone.

The self absconded Koya leader Tamma Dora carried out a secret communication with Malkangiri and inspired the queen to a great extent. The bold, brave and freedom loving Koya queen Bângarâ Devi, dared enough to reintroduce *Maria* sacrifice in 1866 AD ignoring the strict surveillance of the British when her *diwan* Sanyasi Patra was running the State administration. Four disloyal and non-obliged persons were killed and two new taxes called *mutfar* and *sâyar* were imposed by her to increase the State-revenue. These activities of the queen not only dissatisfied her subject people, but also, it gave a golden opportunity to the British to dethrone the queen and to imprison Sanyasi Patra in Visakhapatanam jail. The British entrusted the collection of the state to the manager of the king of Jeypore.

In spite of this debacle, the queen was not disheartened rather with a spirited zeal she managed her escape surreptitiously to Konavaram in 1872AD where she was assisted by Tââmâ Dorâ's followers to recruit a huge force for herself. In 1879 AD, she got the information about the untold miseries and torture inflicted by the British people upon her subject people. She did not idle away her times. With a chalked out programme, the newly recruited forces marched ahead under her guidance on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1880 destroying and raising the police station in Padiagrama to the ground simultaneously killing six British soldiers. Immediately, Macued brought more forces from Hyderabad to put down the uprising, but was defeated on 6<sup>th</sup> May. Once again the queen was reinstated on the throne.

In July 1880AD, a tough battle was fought between the revolted Koyas led by Tââmâ Dorâ and queen Bângarâ Devi and the British which resulted in the utter defeat of the Koyas. Their leader Tââmâ Dorâ was slain while running from the Rampa forest. The queen was too old to bear this defeat. She became bedridden out of painful thought and remorse and she passed away after few days. Her struggle for freedom was not ended with her death; rather it had sown the seeds to be germinated with more vigour spreading the cult of nationalism, patriotism, courage, self-sacrifice, boldness, etc. She fought for the cause of independence. She deserved proper treatment in the records of history.

Similarly, history seems to be too unkind to record properly about Gurubâri Jâni, a true patriot and nationalist who left a legacy of rare courage, braveness, self-sacrifice and boldness for future generations to be followed for the sake of the nation. Her contributions to the freedom struggle of India is really unforgettable. She was a resident of Garudagudâ village situated at the outskirts of Dâbugân in the district of Nawarangapur. Both she and her husband,



Râidhar Jâni, were the freedom fighters. She with a group of women freedom fighters came to Sakhigopal in Puti district to be trained and educated in the art of struggle.

A training centre was established at Sakhigopal with Acharya Hatihara Das as superintendent with a vision to train up the people in the art of struggling against the British Raj so long Swaraj had not been achieved. Gurubâri Jâni and her associates during their stay here for one year and two months were trained in the art of how to deliver speeches, to carry out constructive programmes and to demonstrate bravery under whatever circumstances by the stalwarts like Krupasindhu Hota, Sunamani Devi, Buddhei Apa and Suka Apa, etc.

Around 1940 or 1941, Râidhar Jâni met Sub-Collector Praffula Tripathy in Berang Pur while carrying out a huge procession. He vehemently spoke against the freedom struggle and left for Amarakot. Râidhar Jâni was so hurt with his words that he with other co-workers demolished a bridge on the highway connecting Berang Pur and Amarakot. Prafulla Tripathy was put into trouble while returning back and immediately issued warrants against two master minds, Râidhar Jâni and Muhammad Bâji.

Râidhar remained self-absconded and roamed around different regions organizing freedom fighters and only in the night returned to home for sleep. One night, around five hundred policemen holding bayonets gheraoed his house. As no other chance was seen to escape from there, Râidhar climbed upon an extensively branched *Haridrâ* tree standing on the courtyard of his house. The police became too vindictive as they did not trace out Râidhar. They, immediately, dragged Gurubâri from the house and made her half naked. The torture was not finished here. Putting the bayonet on her chaste, she was threatened to tell about her husband's whereabouts otherwise she would be killed and her breasts

would be mutilated. She remained firm without telling any thing about her husband rather she delivered a fiery speech addressing the police- **"Are you human beings or beasts? Though, you earn your bread through your services to British Raj, you are the citizens of India. You will also get benefits when the country would achieve freedom. You are insulting and humiliating the prestige of a lady patriot. Have you no mother, sister or young daughter? What will happen to your mind and thought if someone would drag your daughter-in-law and make her nude on the road? You just think that way."**

The police freed Gurubâri but caught hold of her son and tied him on the *Haridrâ* tree. He was also threatened at the point of bayonet to tell about his father's whereabouts. The boy maintained utter silence. The desperate police left the boy and started to torture and beat the villagers. Finding nothing, they returned to their station in town.

Nation must pay homage to this great tribal lady who sacrificed honour, dignity and prestige for the sake of the nation. She is unique and incomparable. Her love for the nation, bravery, courage, strong resolution and confidence would encourage both tribal and non-tribal women.

During Quit India Movement of 1942, the tribal women like Budwal Devi and Sobha Ganda took active role in the struggle. They dedicated their lives for Congress movements. There were also other tribal women in Koraput who joined in the mainstream of national struggle about whom history maintains utter silence on the plea of paucity of source materials.

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## Relevance of Gandhi and Vinoba

*Rabindra Kumar Behuria*

I know nothing which is of greater value than reading the Gita. And yet, I have found a living person who follow the philosophy of Gita in his own life. He is my master and lives in an Ashram on the bank of Sabarmati river in Gujrat said Vinoba Bhave, while concluding his fiftieth talk on Gita. Perhaps these were the apt words in which a disciple could pay tribute to his master. Acharya Vinoba Bhave is not known for wasting words superfluously, for he does not possess even a grain of sycophancy in him. Being a student of Mathematics and also having a scientific temperament, he knew the worth and significance of the word as medium of expression. His estimation of Mahatma Gandhi was as good as any judicious person could give. Not only does it shed proper light on the character of Mahatma, but also speaks volumes on the character of his follower.

The whole gamut of man's activities today constitute an indivisible whole. You can not divide life - social, economic, political and purely religious in to water tight compartments. I do not know of any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis for all other activities, which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of sound and fury signifying nothing. The man said this was Mahatma Gandhi. He believed in the wholeness of human life and sanity of society. To

him, human life was a synthetic whole which could not be arbitrarily divided. It was a gift from nature to be used carefully and judiciously. A life was destined to be lived decently and worthily. In order to do so it had to be regulated in consonance with a design or a integrated scheme. It was to be guided by some basic principles and desirable values.

Gandhiji lived his life in conformity with the principles and values which he cherished most. Life for him was a God given gift and as such it was desirable that it should be integrated and purposeful. It was to be harmonious whole. His teachings and schemes of reforms reflect the same integration and purposefulness. These qualities provide him with a basic unit of purpose and aim. This unity might not appear on the surface only because Gandhiji had no time and perhaps no desire to reduce them to a system. For Gandhiji was never an intellectual in the academic sense of the term. He was neither a scholar nor a philosopher anxious to establish a theory of what he perceived around him. He was pre-eminently a man of action. He has written a great deal and on various subjects but it was more to guide people to action rather than presenting a thesis to decorate scholarly parlours.

Many of Gandhiji's ideas are noteworthy and revolutionary. They grew out of creative mind.



Such creative process in his mind was generated by the challenges of his time and his earnestness to cope with those challenges. For him historical precedents and examples were no barrier to fresh thinking and discovery. Much of his direct contact in the life and the practical experience it offered him. At times, he did remember the old masters, but rarely quoted them. His studies were instinctive and more of general nature. For instance in placing before the nation the programme of *khadi* and village industry, he did not systematically work out all the implications of his scheme in the language of an economist. Neither did he write a scholarly thesis to prove the need for, and the value of decentralised industry in the economy of India. Instead, he gave simple and homely reasons and illustrations for his new and revolutionary ideas. He tackled of the poverty of the masses and their enforced idleness and never forgot to emphasize the fact that real India lived in her villages.

The world is in a crisis. Old order is changing but the new is yet to emerge. All systems are crumbling. Socialist model of the Soviet Union has collapsed and capitalism in on the verge of collapse. Even in India, the rate and pace of change is great and many old methods, values and institutions are losing their credence. However, the Gandhian alternative is emerging to the fore for the peaceful solution of the problems that confront the modern society.

Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba demonstrated the efficacy, as well as the necessity, of people's involvement in resolving problems. No progress can be achieved without the active participation and involvement of people.

Thus, Gandhi and Vinoba had immense faith in the ability and capacities of the people in the process of social change. In fact, they advocated GRAM SWARAJ, democratic

decentralisation, so that people can become partners of progress. Gandhi and Vinoba believed in democracy and had immense faith in innate wisdom and capabilities of common people. They lived closer to the common people and one among them. The strength of Gandhi and Vinoba was their simplicity.

Acharya Vinobaji in one of his remarks said science plus spirituality form Gandhian thought. One of the major reasons of the present day crisis is absence of that blending of science and spirituality. Gandhian philosophy of Sarvodaya - welfare of all is based on the ancient scriptures and tradition of India. All sages and saints of this land have prayed and worked for the good of not only all humans but of all creation. It is very heartening that the latest science has also come closer to this philosophical approach. Some of the basic principles of ecology are limitation, complexity and interdependence. Ecology tells us that if a part or section is harmed or destroyed it will affect the whole. This also gives strong philosophical and scientific basis to non-violence. If you harm others, you are harming your ownself.

The power of non - violence is manifested even in the life of an individual, but it becomes a mighty power through mass movement as shown by Gandhiji during the freedom struggle. Peoples power is manifested when they adopt non violent means. It is for all those who have faith in Gandhian Ideology to awaken the inner power of the people and make them realise the greatest power on earth is people's power. Violence and war have never been able to solve any problem. They have lost all relevance in this nuclear age. Nuclear weapons are more dreaded than understood. Vinobaji could see that the nuclear weapons are a blessing in disguise as they could make humanity realise that violence is futile. In



this background, non-violence assumes special significance. It is not violence alone that can offer solutions to various problems pestering humanity. One of the major problems is how to bring about a social change? Vinobaji's Bhoodan Movement had proved the efficacy of non-violence in this field. The objective of Bhoodan Movement was not only to redistribute the land to the landless and home to the homeless but also to bring about change in the attitudes of people which could have the way for a non-violent revolution. We would like to tell our friends who are using violence to bring about a revolutionary change that they should not waste their energies in this futile exercise. Revolution "Yes" but violence - "No". Then how to fight the exploitation, injustice, corruption, inequality, they would ask. We the humble followers of Gandhiji, would like to assert with conviction based on practical experience that these evils can be successfully fought with a non-violence method as we are doing in various fields in this country.

Gandhi and Vinoba are embodiments of people's power. They did not occupy any position but they wielded enormous authority through their moral power. They were one with the people and enthused them to move ahead to achieve social change.

The non-violent movement under their leadership not only strove for political independence but also for change in all spheres of life. Their aim was not mere political Independence but total social reconstruction. They inculcated new outlook and values in the minds of innumerable people. A happy blend of political struggle with constructive work created a new sense of responsibility and was helpful in training generation of workers to carry forward the struggle for social reconstruction. It is the time to turn the tide again in favour of idealism, large

heartedness and collective efforts for the national reconstruction. As partisan approach is the bane of nation progress, and the communal frenzy in the name of caste and religion leads to social and political disintegration, it is high time that we learn lessons from the past and, follow the path of Gandhi and Vinoba.

Gandhiji had strongly advocated the decentralisation of political and economic power in favour of more or less self-sufficient and self-governing village Panchayats. He regarded these local institutions as the models of non-violent organisations. The 73rd constitutional Amendment invigorating the Panchayati Raj system is a timely and decisive step in the right direction. It is also most appropriate to analyse in the present day context, the Gandhian ideals as to how far the village Republic will meet the demands of decentralisation with people taking more responsibilities in governing their own affairs instead of a platonic approach of guardian planning. In the words of J.C. Kumarappa "You can not have dictatorship in economics through centralised planning and democracy in politics." We have to strengthen the Panchayati Raj, the grassroot democratic institution.

On April 30, 1936 at Sevagram during his prayer meeting Gandhiji said "I can only try to persuade you to shed the ideas on caste and untouchability. Gandhiji's purpose in life was to fight poverty, remove exploitation and put an end to suffering and starving of poorest people of India - Harijans and down-trodden and untouchables. His idea was to uplift the untouchables in all respects by giving equal status and equal justice. Gandhiji attempted for this and he was successful in his attempts.

The Gandhian concept of secularism stemmed from his unflinching conviction that fairness and justice to all was an inextricable part



of truth, which for him was the quintessence of religion. For Gandhiji, secularism was the best manifestation of religion.

We are at the crossroads of history. Learning lessons from the past, we have to adopt innovative approaches for ushering in social change. We have to grow beyond the sectarian considerations of caste and religion and strengthen the secular ramparts we guard. Intercaste and inter-religion marriages will facilitate the casteless society. The tiny steps taken by innumerable individuals will pave way for social integration in the country.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, the founder of Bhoodan Movement, hardly known outside India before 1940, became a world figure. Prime Minister Nehru warmly lauded his work in the Parliament. President Rajendra Prasad termed Bhoodan as not merely “a gift of land” but the spirit behind it gives a vision of the social order that Mahatma Gandhi envisaged and kindles and enlivens the hope of its attainment. The Time Magazine featured this man on foot in its cover story and hailed him as the dynamic disciple of Gandhi.

The Bhoodan March of Vinoba began and continued for more than thirteen years in different parts of India, covering a total distance of 36,500 miles, more than the circumference of the earth. During this Padayatra he collected 4.4 million acres of land as free gifts, out of which about 1.3 million acres were distributed among the landless farm workers. The Bhoodan Movement was followed by Gramdan and Jeevandan Movements. Vinoba had also received 1.6 lakhs villages as Gramdan, especially in Bihar and Orissa. All this had been achieved single handedly. In Jeevandan, the person who created a thrilling joy was Jay Prakash Narayan, who, while dedicating his life said “Despair had seized

our hearts after the attainment of independence”. As the light of Bhoodan Yagna spreads out, these doubts and darkness scatter away. The task before us all is to sustain the new outlook by concrete work and to make it a reality.

The concept of Bhoodan Movement forms an important aspects of social thought of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. It is based on the concept of trusteeship of Mahatma Gandhi. It is an attempt to bring about land reforms in a peaceful manner. It is a part of the constructive programme based on Gandhian philosophy and social reconstruction. The concept of “dan” or ‘gift’ is not based on the concept of charity but it is based on equitable distribution. This concept has emphasized the need for transforming the society so that the inequality that exists today should go. The concept of Boodan eliminates the possibility of violence and force. It aims at getting the rightful claim to the poor people in a legitimate and peaceful manner. Vinobaji has laid great stress on change of heart as envisaged by Gandhiji. Boodan is nothing but establishment of a social order which is based on freedom, public good and does not recognise the need of violence. In such a society, everybody is guided by the welfare of the whole of the community and the betterment of all persons. Prof. Norman D. Palmer a foreign critic, says, “Bhave, an elderly Gandhian who professes to have no interest in politics as such is nevertheless on the strongest political forces in India. The walking Messiah and Saint was invited by Bertand Russel to join the Anti Nuclear March in London in 1962. Characterizing him as a symbol of the role of conscience in human affairs Arthur Kestler met him thrice and termed the Bhoodan Movement as the greatest Peace Revolution since Gandhi.

For building a Sarvodaya society in India, Gandhiji gave 18 fold programme. These are communal unity, removal of untouchability,



prohibition, Khadi, other rural industries, Nai Talim, Adult Education, upliftment of women, Education in Health and Hygiene, provincial language, national language, economic equality, upliftment of Kisans, uplift of labour, uplift of laborers, uplift of Adivasi, uplift of students. Gandhi was a many splendored personality a person who kept the highest standard of morality in politics, a great political strategist who evolved and practised politics of the capture of state power through a prolonged mass movement, an orthodox religious believer who stood for the social liberation of women, the ending caste oppression and in general application of reason to all aspects of social life, a person who had the vision of a world where all conflicts would be settled without violence.

Gandhi was not a politician in the Machiavellian sense, but he did what his knowledge priori taught him. He never lost touch with his spirituality even in the moments of his great political engagements. He like Machiavelli and others did not separate religion from politics but tried to provide a synthesis of the two. Gandhi, primarily based all his social and political doctrines on the religious and spiritual view of human life.

The Gandhian constructive programme was illustrative and with the changing times and situations new programmes, new ideas and innovative approaches were adopted to fulfil the aims and aspirations and needs of the present generation. Gandhiji and Vinoba Bhave have shown us the method and path to follow. The details have to be worked out by each generation, keeping in view of the Vicissitudes of time and circumstances. Gandhi was never dogmatic and he was ever changing in his experiments with truth.

Following openness of methods, fearlessness and commitment to the basic ideals of Gandhi, we have to plan our programmes and chalk out strategies which are relevant to our times. It is the peoples initiative and peoples power and social action that would strengthen democracy and Gandhism.

The worldwide events reveal the necessity for peaceful coexistence among nations and people and also with the environment. In this endeavour for social justice and ecological balance, Gandhi and Vinoba provide us with the much needed direction and inspiration.

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## Attitude of Youth Towards Status of Women

*Dr. Sasmita Behera, Chandrashree Lenka,  
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### Abstract

The objective of the study was to assess and attempt to change the attitudes of youth towards the status of women in Bolangir town with respect to various aspects, the present status of women in the family with reference to role of women in decision making and division of labour in the performance of household activities. A sample of 100 respondents in the age group of 20 to 22 was selected in Bolangir town out of which 50 respondents were from the families where the mother was employed outside the home and the mothers of another 50 respondents were full time homemakers. Interview schedule was used as the tool for data collection. It is revealed from the current study that girls in general and adolescents with employed mothers had a more liberal attitude towards the progression of women in society. Mutual Participation in decision making with regard to finance management, household purchase, child care and social activities was prevalent in the families of employed home makes, whereas in the families of full time home makers, power of decision making still remained in the hands of male members of the family.

**Key Words:** *Stereotyped roles, Adolescents, Familial status*

The trend of demeaning women and restricting them to stereotyped roles needs to be changed by making people educated and aware that Indian women need to be respected and honoured as equal partners in society. In this context our future citizen's adolescents have an important role to lead the society on a progressive path. It is very essential that adolescents should develop a positive attitude regarding status of women.

A women's status in the family is the key indicator of her status in society. So, a change in

the attitude of family members is of great significance in improving the status of women in the family. The husband should treat her with as a co-partner and step forward to help in the domestic sphere.

Changed attitude is not only important among husband but also among the other family members especially the adolescents who have an important role to play in the future. They can challenge the old values, express their ideas and can bring change in the fabric of society. So a study has been undertaken to assess the attitudes



of adolescents /youths towards status of women. For this opinion of a sample of 100 respondents in the age group of 20-22 was selected in Bolangir town out of which 50 respondents were from the families where the mother was employed outside the home and the mothers of another 50 respondents were full time homemakers. The socio-economic characteristics of the sample revealed that majority of the adolescents were graduates living in nuclear families with an income range of above 8000 per month. Medium sized families were prevalent among half of the sample.

The opinion of respondents was recorded on different aspects such as attitudes towards status of women in respect of familial, socio-cultural, educational and occupational, financial etc. Present status of women with reference to role of women in decision making and division of labour in the performance of household activities.

### **OBSERVATION AND DISCUSSION:**

#### **Status of women in today's context:**

A majority of the female respondents and adolescents of employed mothers expressed that women should not be dependent on men for help and support. A marked change in the status of women was noticed due to provision of facilities for women in education and employment, and increased awareness of women about their status. Greater percentage of females and respondents of employed mothers opined that the women should have an equal status as that of men and they should be men's complement and not their possession.

### **ADOLESCENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS STATUS OF WOMEN**

#### **(a) On familial status of women:**

It includes opinion pertaining to marriage, child rearing, and role of women in the family.

Majority disagreed to the statements such as 'marriage is an ultimate aim of a woman's life', 'woman should worship her husband like God' and 'woman should be a subordinate to her husband'. The degree of disagreement was more among the female students and adolescents of employed mothers when compared to male students and adolescents of full time homemakers. Irrespective of sex and employment status of mother, almost all the adolescents approved the equality of women in deciding about the family size. Female respondents and adolescents of employed mother category had a liberal attitude towards the statements like 'equal role for women in family decisions', 'cooperation of husband in household activities'. Males and adolescents of fulltime homemakers expressed more traditional attitudes like 'Women's life is centered around home only' and 'Women's primary duty is to satisfy the needs of the family members'.

#### **(b) On socio-cultural status of women:**

Majority strongly felt that female children should be given the same treatment as male children in the family as well as same facilities and opportunities to improve their status.

Sample expressed that women should be provided with equal opportunities in all specialized areas. Irrespective of sex and the employment status of mother the respondents agreed with gender equality in availing the opportunities and facilities provided by the society.

#### **(c) On educational and occupational status of women:**

The respondents strongly agreed to the question of 'women should be given freedom to choose their education of their own interest,



‘provision of equal educational opportunities for women’. Besides this the greater percentage of adolescents felt that education will help the women to manage their household efficiently. The degree of agreement regarding women’s education was greater among females than males. Employment status of mother did not seem to exert a great influence on majority of the attitudes. Female respondents and adolescents of employed mothers expressed their favourable attitude towards women being given equal opportunities in employment at par with men, and seeking employment to make use of their spare time and suitability of women for managerial and administrative work. Women respondents strongly rejected the negative statements such as ‘women are soft and fickle minded to hold high posts’, ‘working women neglect their families’ and ‘employment of women leads to unemployment of men’.

**(d) On Economic status of Women:**

Higher percentage of female and adolescents of employed mother strongly opined /felt that ‘women need economic independence’ and ‘should contribute to the family income’ and assume ‘equal responsibility to improve the standard of living of the family’. Majority of the selected sample realized that there should be perfect agreement between the spouses and equal opportunity for women in handling family finance and equal status for women to take decisions on financial matters. Greater number of females had expressed a favourable attitude in assigning an equal status of women in the family finance management. On the contrary, more number of males firmly stated that man should dominate and have a control over family finance.

**B. PRESENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND ROLE IN DECISION-MAKING:**

Decision making in the family is a critical element in the status of family members. One of the aspects of the status of women in the family is the extent of their power in the management of the economic resources of the family. The opinions observed on this aspect are as follows:

**(a) Decisions regarding finance management:**

In general an equal role was played by both father and mother of adolescents with regard to decisions related to savings, account keeping and budgeting. Women’s dominance was witnessed in deciding about housekeeping expenses.

Among the families of employed homemakers, women seemed to have assumed an equal role with men in all aspects of finance management except decisions pertaining to housekeeping expenses. In this aspect, superiority of men was noticed among the families of full time homemakers and this practice indicates a lower position of women in such families.

**(b) Decisions regarding Household purchases:**

From the study of the opinion of respondents it was observed that (Table-1) joint decisions were predominant irrespective of employment status of the mother with regard to purchase of immovable properties. Decisions pertaining to movable properties were entrusted with women in employed homemakers’ families. In these families, women had played an equal role with men. On the contrary, the prevalence of men’s dominance was noticed among the families of full time homemakers or housewives regarding household purchases.



**Table-1 - Role of women in Decision-making with regard to household purchases  
(in percent)**

Activities	Employment status of mother											
	FT				EM				Total			
	Mother	Father	Mother & Father	Mother with other	Mother	Father	Mother & father	Mother with other	Mother	Father	Mother & Father	Mother with other
<b>HOUSEHOLD PURCHASE</b>												
<b>Purchase of immovable property</b>												
Purchase of house	—	26	74	—	1	18	81	—	0.5	22	77.5	—
Purchase of land	—	27	73	—	1	16	83	—	0.5	21.5	78	—
<b>Purchase of movable property</b>												
Purchase of consumer durables	26	46	27	1	43	16	41	—	34.5	31	34	0.5
Purchase of furnishings	21	56	23	—	36	13	42	9	28.5	34.5	32.5	4.5
Purchase of jewels	42	29	29	—	62	4	33	1	52	16.5	31	0.5
Purchase of clothing	52	23	25	—	59	8	26	7	55.5	15.5	25.5	3.5
Purchase of vehicles	—	50	50	—	—	46	54	—	—	48	52	—

There is significant difference between full time and employed homemakers in household purchase.

FT- full time mother, EM- employed mother

### (c) Decisions regarding Child Care and Social Activities:

The employment status of the mother seemed to play an important role in reducing male domination in matters of education, career and marriage of children.

The study reflected the trend of mutual participation of mother and father in majority of the families especially among the employed

homemakers' families. Employment of women has really helped to bring about a change in the economic power structure of a family in favour of women.

### (d) Division of Labour in the Household Responsibility:

Detail of the findings is given in Table -2 on division of labour in the performance of household activities.

**Table-2 - Division of Labour in the performance of household activities  
(in percent)**

Activities	Employment status of mother											
	FT				EM				Total			
	Mother	Father	Mother & Father	Mother with other	Mother	Father	Mother & father	Mother with other	Mother	Father	Mother & Father	Mother with other
Managing the family income	2	62	36	—	4	20	76	—	3	41	56	—
Purchase of grocery	68	9	9	14	19	13	24	44	43.5	11	16.5	29
Purchase of perishables	67	5	7	21	21	11	38	30	44	8	22.5	25.5



Meal Planning	63	1	1	35	23	6	7	64	43	3.5	4	49.5
Cooking and serving food	56	—	1	43	24	—	3	73	40	—	2	58
Care of the house	49	1	4	46	26	—	12	62	37.5	0.5	8	54
Care of children	44	1	26	29	10	—	24	66	27.0	0.5	25	47.5
Care of sick	44	3	24	29	9	—	35	56	26.5	1.5	29.5	42.5
Counselling the children	13	8	73	6	2	1	91	6	7.5	4.5	82	6
Entertaining the guests	23	1	62	14	2	—	55	43	12.5	0.5	58.5	28.5

There is significant difference between the full time and employed homemakers in performing the household activities 'alone'  
FT- full time mother , EM- employed mother

In general, all the household activities were performed by the homemakers except managing the family income, counselling the children and entertaining the guests.

The area of finance management was dominated by men in full time homemakers' families whereas women were co-opted in employed homemakers' families. However the burden of doing the household activities 'alone' was found to be the predominant trend in full time homemakers' families. On the other hand, employed homemakers sought the help of others in performing household activities. This clearly exposes the fact that household is still under the purview of women.

### Summary and Conclusion:

Girls and adolescents with employed mothers had positive attitudes towards status of women which comprises areas such as familial, socio-cultural, educational, occupational, financial aspects than their counterparts. Mutual participation in decision-making with regard to finance management, household purchases, child

care and social activities was prevalent in the families of employed homemakers whereas in the families of full time homemakers, power of decision-making still remained in the hands of male members of the family.

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## People's Movement in Nayagarh (1938-39)

*Prasanta Kumar Narendra*

The State of Nayagarh is situated between 19°53<sup>1</sup> and 20° 20<sup>1</sup> northern latitude and 84°48<sup>1</sup> and 85° 15<sup>1</sup> eastern longitude with area of 588 square miles. On the north the state is bounded by the states of Daspalla and Khandapara, on east by Ranpur state. On the south it is linked with British Indian Subdivision of Khurda under Puri district whereas on west it is bounded by Ghumusar Taluq of Ganjam District under Madras Presidency. According to 1901 census the population of the state was 1,40,779 out of which only 9 were Christians and 585 Muslims.<sup>1</sup> Out of the total area, about 217 square miles were cultivated or otherwise occupied and remaining portion of the state comprised of forests, hills, shrubs, jungles and other wastelands.<sup>2</sup> Total Revenue of the state was Rs.4,36,842.<sup>3</sup> The state paid Rs.5525-4-1 as Jumma to the British government.<sup>4</sup>

Raja Krushna Chandra Singh Mandhata who was invested with ruling powers in 1933 at the age of 22 completed his 28<sup>th</sup> year in 1939. The younger brother of the ruler Kumar Brindaban Chandra Singh a diploma holder in Agriculture was put in charge of agricultural farm at Mahipur.<sup>5</sup> Dewan of the state was Babu Hare Krishna Samanta who was on a long leave on health ground and finally retired and then the Assistant Dewan Babu Janardan Nanda, B.A. remained in charge of Dewan from the beginning of the year upto 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1939 when he

was confirmed for the post.<sup>6</sup> Land Records Tahasildar was Babu Akshaya Kumar Ghose.<sup>7</sup> Tahasildar was Babu Udayanath Patnaik, B.A., Inspector of Police Abantinath Santara, forest officer babu Fakir Charan Panda, Deputy Inspector of schools babu Mahadev Das, Chief medical officer Dr. Brindaban Chandra Biswal MBBS, Veterinary Assistant Munshi Mahmud Baig, Overseer babu Binod Bihari Mohanti, Debottor Manager babu Krishna Chandra Lalla, Headmaster, Brajendra Secondary school- babu Lingaraj Mishra, B.Ed.<sup>8</sup> Most of these officials of the state were outsiders. Even if the ruler wanted to employ the local people in those posts, the Dewan and others wanted to employ persons from outside.<sup>9</sup> It proved the high-handedness of the Dewan who could easily cajole the ruler that fittest persons were not available in locality. That was partially true in some cases but in other cases like the post of a teacher could have been filled up by an educated man from the state. So that the problem of underemployment would have been solved to a certain extent. Discrimination in employment was a factor for people's discontent.

The miserable economic condition of the people of Nayagarh was a strong factor for people's discontent. Like other states Nayagarh was basically an agricultural state. There was no industry in the state. The chief source of revenue was land and forest. The cultivators had no



proprietary right over their land. Occupancy right could not be alienated without the permission of the ruler which could be obtained at a very heavy fees. The rate of transfer fees fixed by the state varied from Rs.90/- to Rs.5/- per acre according to the quality of the land.<sup>10</sup> The Dewan of the state continued to remain in charge of the administration of land till the end of December 1942. The land revenue of the state was realized on 2 equal Kist viz;<sup>11</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> kist- 1<sup>st</sup> January

2<sup>nd</sup> kist- 15<sup>th</sup> February

The burden of taxation on the people in different forms was heavy. The rate of rent on agricultural land was much higher in comparison with the neighbouring district of Ganjam and Puri. For same class of land for which the people of Ganjam had to pay only Re.1/- while those of Nayagarh had to pay Rs.3/14/-. People of Ganjam did not pay any rent for homestead land, people of Puri paid rent of Rs.4-6-3 per acre whereas the people of Nayagarh paid Rs.12 to 15 per acre of homestead land. Besides they had to pay 3 annas as local cess, one anna as school and hospital cess and one anna as forest cess on every rupee of rent.<sup>12</sup> The Sarbarakaras were collecting land rent from the people, for which they were enjoying rent-free Jagirs.

Forest rules were very strict and oppressive. People were forbidden to cut 32 varieties of trees. Even, as per the forest rule they could not cut trees from their holdings. People could not kill wild animals who often destroyed the crops. People had to pay grazing fees whether or not the cattle graze in their villages. The cess was levied on each cow and buffalo. Besides that there was a fee of Re.0-8-0 per cow, Re.0-4-0 for calf and one rupee per buffalo for grazing in reserved forests. Fines for breach of grazing and forest laws were very heavy. The unscrupulous,

petty forest officers and peons often took advantage of those laws to exact illegal gratifications from the people.<sup>13</sup>

The education and health systems of the state was not in good condition. There were 2 dispensaries one at headquarters and another at Odagaon. There were one High School, one M.E school, 3 U.P. and 71 L.P. Schools in the state.<sup>14</sup> Still the state collected cess of 6 pies in rupee for each service of education and health from the people. Moreover the artisans such as blacksmith, goldsmith, carpenters etc. had to pay a professional tax of one rupee per year. It seems, therefore, the only important work of the people of Nayagarh was to pay and pay to the state.

Besides, there were a number of forced exactions from the people. 'magana' or compulsory contributions was being levied from the people on certain occasions like the marriage ceremony of the ruler or the silver jubilee of the Raja. It was compulsory and failure to pay led to heavy fines. The system of 'rasad' or compulsory supply of provisions to Raja or his officers or guests while on tour was in practice in the state. 'Sunia'<sup>15</sup> or New year's Day Bheti was not realized from the people but from the Sarvarakaras and Jagirdars. 'Bethi' or unpaid forced labour was in vogue in the state till 1932 when it was replaced by a Bethi cess of anna three each rupee of rent. Since then that bethi cess had been renamed "Road Cess" and bethi in several forms had again been demanded from the people for which a nominal wage was sometimes paid. The Sarvarakaras and police officers used to snatch away a portion of what was paid to the people by state. They were doing a lot of hard work like carrying stones and metals from distant places for construction of roads and bridges. They were forced without payment to extinguish forest fires. Even during the time of harvesting people were forced to do bethi.



Moreover the ruler exacted heavy *salamis* for appointing castes headman, for granting permission for social feasting and processions on the occasion of marriage or funeral. For using palanquins, *sabaries* and *masals* (country torch) in procession, pre-permission was necessary and *salamis* were paid by the people. The money collected was not going to the state treasury but to the privy purse of the Raja.

The Durbar also levied succession fee on the heirs on the death of the owner of the land. Fees were collected for granting permission to adopt a son.<sup>16</sup> That was the worst part of the state's policy of taxation. People's condition got deteriorated day by day. After paying several kinds of taxes to the state the people were left a meagre amount to sustain their families for a year. Aggrieved people were in the lookout of an occasion for long to do away with the exploitation and oppression meted out on them.

Civil liberty of the people in Nayagarh was non-existent. The system of law and justice was not well organised. Appeals filed in the court of Raja against the judgment of Dewan remained pending for long as the ruler was not holding his court regularly. Corruption was rampant in the state. All the officials from top to bottom were engaged in corruption. By that time one constable of police or a mere forest guard was enjoying more power in the Garjat state than the present police commissioner or a chief conservator of forest in modern Odisha. Those officials were habituated in taking bribe forcibly from the people to fill up their own pocket.<sup>17</sup>

Raja Krushna Chandra Singh most of the time lived outside the state.<sup>18</sup> The administration of the state therefore was run by Dewan. Since the state had no codified law, he ruled the state as per his will. Corruption was order of the day and maladministration reigned supreme in the state. After returning from foreign country the ruler

frequently visited Puri and Calcutta and stayed for good number of days.<sup>19</sup> The expenditure for unnecessary tour of the chief had been borne by his innocent subjects. The state, on the other hand, did nothing for the welfare of the common people. People did not get drinking water in summer season and had to go miles together for that purpose. In the rainy season the rivers overflowed because of the torrential rain and the flood destroyed the paddy and houses of the people. People did not even get a single straw to thatch their house and feed their cattle. They had to live in open air under the sky.<sup>20</sup> To the appeals of relief for flood and drought, the administration always paid a deaf ear. Sometimes due to shortage of rainfall, crops failed and people had no food to survive. Persons having acres of land had to go for cooli work on streets.<sup>21</sup> Even many of them left for Calcutta or Rangoon to earn their livelihood. Police atrocities on the people had crossed all the limits. It seemed that people had no freedom of speech or expression. One Lingaraj Behera of Saranakula was beaten mercilessly for reading a newspaper called "Krushak".<sup>22</sup>

If anybody wanted to express his view on any issue, the police tried to suppress him by using slang language and third grade method. Even the religious persons who lived on begging in the state were not spared from police atrocities. Another example of police atrocity was evident from the fact that a village Choukidar named Bhika Mallik was severely beaten by the Police S.I. Benudhar Babu for not informing him about the political meeting held at Bolgarh.<sup>23</sup> Absence of a transfer policy in police department in the state had made police oppressive by nature. In 1920 in another incident police atrocities had crossed all the limits. On the suicide of a beggar, the police started to exact bribes from the innocent people of the locality. The police threatened them to implicate in false cases if they did not pay the bribe. One Gati Mangaraj and others had sent a



telegram to the Political Agent about the incident. On the inquiry as the allegations could not be substantiated owing to the maneuvering of the state officials, Gati Mangaraj had to undergo rigorous imprisonment for a long period.<sup>24</sup> The absence of civil liberty in Nayagarh could be marked in the dismissal of Padmanav Mishra, a U.P. school teacher who was allegedly reported that he had gone to Delanga to attend a meeting at Gandhi Seva Sangha. The state was fearful lest, he might influence others for agitation in the state. Thus he was dismissed from his post.<sup>25</sup>

**Betel Leaf Agitation:** Under such socio-economic hardship, when the people were in misery, another act of the ruler had made the people bold enough to raise voice against the state. That was an agitation of the people known as Betel Leaf Agitation which was directed against the state monopoly on betel. The state had not only imposed taxes on betel but on other tobacco items such as *bidi*, *gundi*, *Gudakhu* and kerosene. Those were the essential commodities of the people. So people became very much aggrieved.<sup>26</sup> Particular pan or betel was widely used by the people in the state both for digestive reason and for religious reason as well.

As the demand for betel leaf was more in the state, the small shopkeepers benefited most from its sale. But the ruler without caring for the large number of shopkeepers had introduced monopoly licence of selling betel leaf in the state since 1934. The state derived an income of about Rs. 1000/- from that source.<sup>27</sup> As a result the small shopkeepers lost their business and livelihood. The price of betel increased enormously.<sup>28</sup> That system had worked as a great hardship on the people. As a result of that system betel-leaf sold 4 or 5 times dearer than in the neighbouring British area. Even the supply was not regular and satisfactory.<sup>29</sup>

Now the people started agitation against the monopoly licence of betel leaf and took a vow

not to chew betel so long as it had not been cancelled. So the boycott movement had spread all over the state. The prominent leaders of the movement travelled from village to village to support the boycott movement. Nobody except few government officials used betel.<sup>30</sup> The state had suffered a loss due to the movement. The Dewan ordered the police to arrest and assault those who persuaded the people not to purchase the betel leaf. In the meantime cases were registered against Narayan Nanda and Bharat Sahoo from Odagaon, Biswanath Mishra from Itamati. Moreover some other leaders like Ganapati Ram, Banchhanidhi Panda and Akrura Moharana were called to the police station at Itamati and were severely beaten by the police S.I. Benudhar babu.<sup>31</sup> To curb that movement the authorities had taken recourse to false and concocted cases against the leaders of the movement. So they were convicted and imprisoned.<sup>32</sup> Narayan Nanda of Odagaon had also been fined Rs. 30/- by the Dewan. Reports on the popular discontent had been published in different Odia weekly, but the Chief who had come from foreign countries, did not glance at those newspapers. So he remained silent and unmoved knowingly. Therefore the Dewan enjoyed all powers to handle the situation in his own way. In spite of severe oppression and atrocities on them, the people continued the Betel leaf Agitation. In the process, as the licence holders suffered heavy loss for a longer period of time, the ruler had no other option but to lift the monopoly licence on betel.<sup>33</sup> Success of the people in their first phase of the movement made them confident to struggle with determination against the oppression and maladministration in the state.

**Formation of Prajamandal in the state:** On the call of the Odisha State People's Conference and with the advice of Sarangadhar Das the people of Nayagarh wanted to form Prajamandal



in the state. In order to continue the movement systematically to get their demands fulfilled Narayan Nanda had given a call to the fellow people to assemble at Dangibandha village under Ganjam district. The meeting was held under the presidentship of Suryanarayan Patnaik, the Congress worker of Ganjam. In that meeting the aims and programmes of AISPC were discussed and decision was taken to form the Prajamandal in the state. As per the decision people from all parts of the state started to assemble at Odagaon on 28<sup>th</sup> June 1938 and a Prajamandal was formed temporarily on that day under the presidentship of Narayan Nanda at the sacred shrine of Sri Raghunath Jew of Odagaon.<sup>34</sup> Sri Narayan Nanda was elected as temporary President along with Kuber Sahoo as Vice President, Bharat Nayak as Secretary, and Laxman Moharana, Banchanidhi Senapati, Sudarson Prusty, Janardan Subudhi, Haribandhu Acharya, Iswar Patsani, and Laxman Sahoo as members. The Durbar wanted to destroy the Prajamandal at its bud. So it arrested Narayan Nanda, the President, Prajamandal and other workers in connection with betel leaf agitation and thrown to the Jail. They were not given bail nor allowed to have an advocate to fight their case. But people became more courageous with such type of activities of the Durbar. On 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1938 the executive committee of the Prajamandal decided to form the Prajamandal of the people of Nayagarh at Odagaon on the sacred day of Bhadrav Purnima (full moon night) falling on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1938. Accordingly the first regular Prajamandal (People's Association) was organized at Odagaon on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1938 on the full moon day of Bhadrav.<sup>35</sup> At least 10 thousand people had assembled there to form the Prajamandala. Banchhanidhi Senapati presided over the meeting.<sup>36</sup> In the meeting following names of the members of executive committee of the Prajamandal were declared. Banchhanidhi Senapati- President, Kuber Sahoo-Vice

President, Bharat Nayak and Narasingha Nanda Joint secretary, Laxman Moharana, Narayan Nanda, Kasinath Panda, Ramakrishna Adhikari, Janardan Subudhi, Sudarsan Prusty, Haribandhu Acharya, Laxman Sahoo and Iswar Patsani-Members.<sup>37</sup> A lot of things were discussed in the meeting including people's civil liberty and other demands. Moreover, it was resolved in the meeting that in every village one village branch of the Prajamandal would be formed.<sup>38</sup> So that people would be activated for the movement against the state to get their demands fulfilled. Then after a lot of deliberations, a memorandum containing various demands of the people, had been prepared which was to be submitted to the ruler for redressal. It was the first historic document of the Nayagarh Prajamandal movement which contained 17 demands of the people as follows:<sup>39</sup>

1. Right to hold meetings and to read newspapers should be guaranteed.
2. Bethi or labour without wage should be abolished.
3. The public collection known as *magan* for the purpose of marriage, Upanayan and funeral functions of the ruler was to be abolished.
4. Lawful rights of the tenants over the land had to be ensured. Land transfer fee and Dakhal-Kharaj fee be abolished. Attachment of cultivation appliances and crockeries for the recovery of the land revenue be banned. The collection of land revenue on uncultivable sand deposited, flood-damaged land should be kept in abeyance till the land was made cultivable.
5. The utilization of forest products fuel, bamboo, twigs etc. be allowed without any royalty and boundary restrictions. The grazing tax must be abolished. The protection of the crops against the damage



- caused by the wild animals be allowed without payment of fees.
6. Import and Export control should be abolished in order to facilitate the sale of agricultural products in and outside state.
  7. The licence fees on the business of betel leaf, tola, Karanja, Kusum etc be abolished. Taxation on sugarcane cultivation be abolished.
  8. Those who had only the homestead land should be exempted from all taxes. Those who exclusively depended on selling fuelwood for their livelihood should be exempted from the payment of fees.
  9. The backward class people such as Hadi, Pana, Doma, who earned their livelihood by making baskets out of bamboo should be exempted from the tax levied on bamboo.
  10. Necessary steps should be taken to make bridge on the rivers Dahuka and Sulia.
  11. All the rules and regulations of the state should be published in Odia and notified for the information of the general public.
  12. Paddy granary should be kept in each *pargana* as was done previously.
  13. There should be facilities for irrigation in the areas likely to be affected by drought.
  14. Restrictions on intoxicating articles like opium, wine, ganja should continue as it was before.
  15. Those government officials found engaged in collecting bribes from the people must be arrested.
  16. Professional Taxes must be abolished.
  17. Full responsible government of the people be established in the state. It should run as per laws for the protection of the interests of the people.

The President of the Prajamandal forwarded the memorandum containing the demands of the people for favour of consideration of the ruler. When the ruler saw that memorandum, he immediately rejected the demands he left no stone unturned to crush any sort of movement of the people. The state police was asked to arrest the leaders and crush the movement. Simultaneously Gundas (ruffians) were hired to create disturbances in the meetings of the Prajamandal. The persons who helped the Prajamandal workers in providing food and shelter were punished. In protest against such repressive policy of the ruler mammoth public meetings were organized on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1938 at Bahadajhola and on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1938 at Godipada.<sup>40</sup> The actions of the Durbar had been condemned and resolutions were passed to continue the movement.

The people all over Nayagarh became very much enthusiastic in participating Prajamandal Movement. Guided by the Congress, the Nayagarh Prajamandal organized Swadeshi Movement in the state. People were encouraged to use Charkha and wear handspun Khadar.<sup>41</sup> This movement continued for months together. The Raja tried his best to suppress the movement but failed.

**Agitation against Grazing Tax:** Like the betel leaf agitation, the people of Nayagarh started another vigorous agitation against the Grazing Tax. The grazing tax used to be collected in the month of December every year. But all of sudden the ruler ordered his officers to collect that tax in the month of September instead of December. The Prajamandal appealed the ruler not to collect that tax in September. But the ruler was adamant in his decision. In protest the Prajamandal launched agitation against the Durbar. People were asked not to pay the grazing tax. The state could not get a single anna from that tax. Then the forest officers, at the instance of the chief, captured the



cattle from the grazing land of Odagaon, Bahadajhola, Godipada and other places and put them into the Kine houses.<sup>42</sup> It was declared that unless the grazing tax was paid, these animals would be sold off in auction. When the date of auction was announced nobody came forward to participate in it as a protest against that unlawful action. The officers in charge of auction work faced a lot of difficulty in auctioning the cattle. At Nuagaon hundreds of *satyagrahis* were lathi-charged while protesting against the move of the ruler to auction the cattle seized by his officer. Sudam Charan Barik, Narayan Behera and Krupasindhu Patnaik were seriously wounded.<sup>43</sup> But the people continued the movement. On 17<sup>th</sup> October 1938 the Durbar threatened the people with dire consequence if the movement was not stopped. It had a positive impact on the people. Thus they started to organise village panchayats in every village to counter any repressive measures of the Durbar. The panchayats created awareness among the people to have solidarity and unity to fight against injustice<sup>44</sup>.

In order to protest against the brutality of the ruler, the 'Gadajat Day' was observed all over the state on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1938. On that day processions and *hartals* were held throughout the state and a largely attended public meeting was held at Godipada. The prominent leaders like Krupasindhu Patnaik, Biswanath Patnaik, Ananda Charan Dora and Chakradhar Moharana etc. were harassed and tortured by *gundas* for addressing the meeting.<sup>45</sup> Simultaneously on 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> October 1938 about 10,000 tenants including several thousand Khonds and aborigines moved towards the royal palace and surrounded it for getting their demands fulfilled. The Raja tried his best to persuade the people not to join hands with agitators and promised 7 concessions.<sup>46</sup> The CSP leaders like Gangadhar Mishra and others were said to have incited the tenants to cut down trees from forest. Even the tenants harvested

unripe paddy in order to store it in Bolgarh, prior to the launching of a no-rent campaign.

On the other hand in order to deal with agitators, the officials of state had visited several Muslim villages like Keranga and Mukundaprasad etc. of Khurda police station to enlist Muslim youths for service as constables in Nayagarh.<sup>47</sup> At the same time in order to counteract the Prajamandal Movement the Raja encouraged the formation of another association known as "Prajabandhu Samiti." It was constituted in November 1938.<sup>48</sup> It consisted of 21 members who were rich businessmen, Sarbarkaras and landlords known for their loyalty to the ruler. The Samiti was propagating the attitude and interest of the ruler for the welfare of the common people and distributing pamphlets in this regard. The people were very well known about such propaganda and did not pay any heed to this.<sup>49</sup> Rather in order to fight against the reactionary measures of the ruler, the Prajamandal started reorganizing panchayats in villages.<sup>50</sup> The ruler's activities were condemned by every village Panchayat. Through distribution of pamphlets and meetings, it tried to expose the defects of Raja's administration. The Prajamandal also directed the people not to keep relation with the members of Prajabandhu Samiti and employees of the ruler.<sup>51</sup>

In the meantime the Nayagarh Prajamandal had published a pamphlet under the heading "The second appeal of the Nayagarh Prajamandal". The hand bill criticised the alleged mal-administration in Nayagarh state and the system of demanding 'Bethi' and 'veti' by the ruling chief. It was circulated among the people in the villages in order to make them very much active in carrying out the Prajamandal Movement in vigorous way. The pamphlet runs as follows :  
<sup>52</sup>

Many plans are being adopted to suppress our agitation. The school teachers have been ordered to dissuade villagers from attending



meetings. They have been asked to hold meetings to preach loyalty. The Sarvarakaras and Chaukidars have been instructed to coerce people into offering their signature on blank paper in order to superscribe later the words "I belong to the Ruling Chief." Many proclamations are being circulated on behalf of the Nayagarh Durbar. Although we are made to put down forest fires, to serve for shikar, to make roads and to clear the forest all without payment, the Durbar has now published that there is no 'Bethi' in the state. You all know how we enjoy. The alleged right to the trees in Kabuliyat lands, as proclaimed by the Durbar, we now pay Rs.6/- for a cartload of fuel. In addition we pay Rs.1/6 or Rs.2/- per cart to bring it from a coupe. It may be true that the Durbar has opened English high schools, but who studies there ? We have no food and rags to cover our bodies. How can we get English education paying Rs.10/- or Rs.20/- a month ? The teaching of weaving is confined to schools. We don't reap any benefit from these schools. We all know that the poor do not get any relief in hospitals which are meant for babas only. The hopes raised by the Durbar by saying that it would open mines and provide labour for thousands are still unfulfilled and in God's hand. The Durbar alone knows about its declaration to the people that it would convene a Legislative Assembly to frame laws for the people. This news has not reached the masses.

What happened to our demands? There is no sign of any consideration of our demands, but we now see that the Durbar declares that our demands are unauthorized. The worthlessness of the declaration of the Durbar has, it is regrettable to note, been exposed by its criticism of agitators who are called thieves and dacoits. The Durbar's first mistake was the classifying of the demands of Prajamandal as the writings of few cheats. It is disturbing and un-reasonable to find that the disturbances at Odagaon which were pointed out

in an appeal of the Prajamandal have left the ruling chief unmoved. The Durbar has lied in asserting that we are instigated. The Durbar has lied in asserting that we are instigated by the people of British Odisha who are described as looting us. Finally the threat of removing some of our so called rights has been levelled against us. It further threatens us with assaults and imprisonment if we do not give up the agitation.

Threats and propaganda like the ones carried on by the Durbar will continue, but we should not be alarmed and should push on with our agitation. God will help us.

People's anguish had been clearly seen against the ruler not only for the mal-administration but also for the attempt to suppress the movement by hook or by crook. Definitely that pamphlet had aroused the people to fight for their demands. On the other hand the ruler, instead of granting their demands, tried to suppress the agitation ruthlessly. In his arrogance, he could not see the writings on the wall, and rather unwittingly precipitated a crisis. In order to suppress the movement the chief requisitioned police forces from Nepal as he was the son-in-law of Nepal. On 4<sup>th</sup> of December a batch of about 12 police constables in civil dress from Nepal passed through Khurda to Nayagarh. More policemen were expected to come very soon to help the ruler. Simultaneously the ruler had also deputed a special officer to Calcutta to report to the Resident for Eastern States on the present situation in the state and requested him to send a detachment of British force to the Nayagarh state for assistance.<sup>53</sup> When the people came to know about such designs of the chief to suppress their movement, they became more aggressive. The ruler, then promulgated a special regulation on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1938 known as "Regulation of Nayagarh State." It was an Ordinance, which was enforced with immediate effect. It had prohibited



the general meetings, associations and processions etc. in the state. The circulation and reading of newspaper was banned in the state.<sup>54</sup> The police was empowered to arrest the people and search their houses without warrant. The ordinance was meant for seizing civil liberty and suppressing the movement of the people. The Prajamandal named it as “Black Act.”

But the ordinance had no impact on the people’s movement in the state. In defiance to that ordinance, the Nayagarh Prajamandal held a special session on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1938 at Kuanpara in Ganjam district.<sup>55</sup> After a careful discussion many resolutions were passed in the meeting. These were, to defy the state Regulation, to violate the Forest Act, to organize meetings, processions, to read the newspapers, to continue grazing tax agitation and to release the arrested workers etc. The session was followed by a training programme for the satyagrahis. In protest to it the Prajamandal offered Satyagraha. Large number of educated youth and students of the state came forward to join the satyagraha. They had formed an association known as united youth union and published a bulletin named “Ahimsa Veri”. It preached against the acts of the ruler.<sup>56</sup> The union created awareness among the people for Satyagraha. The proposals of the Kuanpara session of the Prajamandal, like establishment of representative government in the state, withdrawal of the state regulation and other demands of the people had been submitted to the Durbar by the President of the Prajamandal for fulfillment. The ruler rejected the proposals. Soon the people started procession, hartal, meetings and agitations throughout the state in large scale. Ahimsa Veri was distributed among the people for arousing their sentiment. Many Satyagrahis like Maguni Panda, Brajabandhu Satapathy, Bhubaneswar Adhikary and other 19 were arrested. Satyagrahis like Gadadhar Maharana and others were beaten at Nandighor. Prajamandal workers like Harihar

Prusty, Lingaraj Pradhan, and Mahadev Dakua of Damasahi were arrested. President of the Prajamandal, Banchhanidhi Senapati, Vice President, Kuber Sahu, Secretary, Bharat Nayak, and Narasingh Nanda and member Godavarish Mishra were arrested and sent to jail.<sup>57</sup> They were severely tortured there. On 29<sup>th</sup> December 1938 the Prajamandal met at Odagaon to discuss future course of action arising out of the arrest of their top leaders. It was unanimously decided to continue the movement. At that time it was propagated by the durbar that the arrested leaders would be sent out of the state. The Prajamandal immediately ordered its workers to propagate the message and request the people assemble at Nayagarh on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1938. Accordingly people in thousands assembled in front of the palace. People blocked all the roads to the Nayagarh. Excitement prevailed in the state. People not only surrounded the Palace and Kacheri and blocked the roads but also closed the entrance gate of the Jail. Movement was at its heights.

Apprehending trouble the ruler wired to the Political Agent, who by that time was camping at Dhenkanal for help. The Raja and the officials were frightened to see such a sea of crowd. He immediately came to the people and discussed with Prajamandal workers like Laxman Maharana, Sridhar Dash, Sukra Behera, Laxman Sahu and Udayanath Prusty. After a long deliberation, an agreement was made between the Raja and the Prajamandal leaders.<sup>58</sup> According to the agreement it was decided that all the arrested Prajamandal workers would be released by 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1939, all the cases registered against the workers would be dropped, establishment of a representative government soon, granting of civil liberty, and fulfillment of other demands of the people. It was also demanded by the Prajamandal that the Raja would announce all these concessions on 9<sup>th</sup>



January 1939. Some leaders were allowed to meet the political prisoners inside the jail. On the advice of the Prajamandal the people left Nayagarh for their homes. A copy of the agreement concluded with the raja had been sent to the Secretary, OSPC, Sarangadhar Das. He advised the workers of the state to remain alert, because the Raja might detract from the agreement.<sup>59</sup> He also told them to collect fees from the people for a fighting fund to meet any exigency in future for the movement. The Political Agent Major Bazelgatte arrived at Nayagarh on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1939<sup>60</sup>. He advised the Raja not to agree to the demand of the people like the establishment of the representative government in the state.

Next day Major Bazelgatte rushed to Ranpur to settle some problems and was killed by the people on 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1939. It was a turning point in the Prajamandal Movement in almost all states. Being panic the ruler of Nayagarh had accepted most of the demands of the people. Instantly all the Prajamandal workers were released from jail and cases against them were withdrawn.<sup>61</sup> Moreover the people, like the ruler also became unnerved and panic after the murder of Major Bazelgatte and voluntarily suspended Satyagraha without waiting for the direction from the Odisha state people's conference.<sup>62</sup> As per the agreement the ruler announced many concessions on 9<sup>th</sup> January 1939 like free trade of agricultural commodity would be encouraged and betel leaf monopoly was abolished. But the Durbar announced to set up an Advisory Committee in place of the representative government of the people. The Prajamandal rejected that proposal outrightly. On 5<sup>th</sup> March 1939 the durbar announced the date of election to the Advisory Committee. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1939 election was held. Prajamandal did not participate in the election. The Raja got his men elected uncontested in the election. The first meeting of the Advisory Committee was inaugurated by the

Raja on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1939.<sup>63</sup> On that occasion the Durbar announced some concessions like relaxation of grazing tax, reduction of road cess of one anna and restrictions on the use of forest was relaxed.<sup>64</sup> The Raja scolded and warned the Prajamandal of dire consequence if it continued the movement in future. At the same time with the outbreak of Second World War in September 1939 the movement became inactive.

Although the Prajamandal movement in Nayagarh remained quite for some time, still the fire of discontent of the people was burning. Outside the state at a place called Bhimpada under Begunia Police Station in Khurda subdivision, a meeting of about 100 members of Nayagarh Prajamandal was held under the Presidentship of Sridhar Dash. Some people from Khandapara and Ranpur states had also attended it. The local Congress workers had made all the arrangement for that meeting. The 3 resolutions passed by the AISPC at Poona on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1940 were read out and unanimously passed. Another resolution requesting the Raja of Nayagarh to establish a "true responsible democratic government" in the state was passed. The president through his speech criticised Mr. J. Bowstead, the chief secretary to Government for not recognizing their association.<sup>65</sup>

However powerful the ruler might be, he had to succumb to the power of the common people. The people of Nayagarh had proved it through their movement. They did not sit quietly for good until they achieved success. Although the movement became calm for few years, it became vigorous in subsequent years in 1942 and 1946. The final struggle sealed the fate of the ruler in 1948 and the state of Nayagarh became part of Province of Odisha.

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## The Role of Utkal Sabha in the Socio-Political Awakening of Odisha

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The 19<sup>th</sup> century reawakening in Odisha generated the desires for its territorial integrity as well as participation in the national struggle for independence. There are various factors leading to the growth of socio-political awareness in Odisha especially among the intelligentsia who formed several organizations to spearhead different movements. The political consciousness of the people in Odisha had been sufficiently roused by the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A big public meeting was organized at Cuttack on 30 June 1882 to celebrate the occasion of the adoption on new scheme of local self-government in India by Lord Ripon's Government. Madhusudan Das, Hariballabha Ghose, Priyanath Chatterjee, Madhusudan Rao, Bipin Bihari Mitra were among others who spoke on the occasion and they observed that the people were prepared to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to them by the new scheme of local self-government. They desired that the people should be allowed to elect their representatives to the local bodies in order to make them more effective and popular.<sup>1</sup> A public meeting in this connection was also held at Puri in the first week of August 1882 and similar opinion were expressed.<sup>2</sup>

Incidentally, an association named '*Utkal Sabha*' was started at Cuttack in 1882 to spearhead the socio-political activities of the

people. Soon after its formation in 1882, the *Utkal Sabha* took keen interest in matters of national importance like Ilbert Bill. The *Utkal Sabha* was soon regarded as the most prominent political organization of the intelligentsia in the principal towns of the Odisha Division during last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first meeting which ushered the *Utkal Sabha* into existence was held in the premises of the Cuttack Printing Company on 16 August 1882. Many leading personalities of the town were present on that occasion and they decided to establish a permanent organization in order to champion the cause of the people and to help the institutions of Local self-government particularly in the district of Cuttack. The first office-bearers were also nominated in that meeting. Choudhury Kasinath Das and Gauri Sankar Ray were chosen as the first president and secretary of the organization respectively. Besides there were two vice-presidents and a few members of the executive committee.<sup>3</sup> Madhusudan Das, who had come away from Calcutta and had joined the Bar at Cuttack, was associated with the *Utkal Sabha* from the beginning.<sup>4</sup> Gauri Sankar Ray, the editor *Utkal Dipika*, the leading journal of Odisha, acted as the secretary of the organization for a very long time. In fact, most of the meeting of the Sabha were held in the premises of the *Utkal Dipika* itself and through this journal, Gauri



Sankar gave due publicity to the activities of the organization. Again the *Utkal Sabha* organized a special meeting on 21 May 1883 to discuss the Ilbert Bill. The members unanimously agreed to support it and they sent a petition to the Governor-General for acceptance of the bill.<sup>5</sup> In 1886 petitions were sent to the government for reconstructing the legislative councils in order to give more representation to the Indian people in those bodies.<sup>6</sup>

The political consciousness was further aroused after the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1885. National Society of Baleswar and Utkal Hitaisini Samaj of Ganjam appeared in the scene. All those organizations associated themselves with Indian National Congress from 1886 to 1903. 72 participants from Odisha attended the first session of the Congress at Bombay. On March 3, 1886, the Utkal Sabha organized a public meeting under chairmanship of Madhusudan Das to discuss the resolutions of the first session of the Congress. All leading men attending the meeting and took part in the deliberations. The Congress activities were warmly received by the elites of Odisha. Those were popularized by the Utkal Dipika and the Sambad Vahika. Except the partial modification of the resolution, all other resolutions were accepted in that meeting.<sup>7</sup> The modified resolution related to the examination for entering into Indian Civil Service it was felt that the candidates should not be asked to go to England due to apprehension for the loss of caste. Madhusudan Das, G.C. Ghose, H.B. Ghose and Kalipada Banerjee from Utkal Sabha; Baikuntha Nath De, B.C. Das and R.C. Mandal from National Society; besides a few other attended the second session of the Congress at Calcutta in December 1886. Thereafter delegates from Odisha, nominated these associations, attended the Congress sessions held at different places. Rev. Shem Sahu,

John Samson Rout, Munshi Muhammad Atahar, Bhagaban Chandra Das, Ramesh Chandra Mandal, Gauri Sankar Ray and Madhsudan Das took keen interest in the activities of the Congress in its early years. Madhusudan Das and Gauri Sankar Ray attended the third session at Madras. Thus, Odisha's delegates attended the sessions. They spread the messages of the Congress in Odisha. Gradually the Congress became more and more popular among people from various walks of life. Especially the leaders of the Utkal Sabha like Madhusudan Das, Gauri Sankar Ray acted as the pioneers in bringing the message of Congress and its liberal ideas to Odisha in the last two decades against the British authorities. However, the energy and enthusiasm of the leaders in Odisha was soon diverted to a different problem and that dissociated some of them from the national mainstream for about two decades from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The first proposal for the unification of the scattered Odia-speaking tracts under single administration came from Raja Baikunth Nath De of Baleswar and Bichitra Nanda Pattanaik of Cuttack in 1875.<sup>8</sup> They presented a memorandum to the Government in this regard. In November 1888 Sir S.C. Bayley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, visited Odisha. He was presented a memorial by the Utkal Sabha of Cuttack and among other things, he was requested to give attention to the problem of uniting the Odia-speaking territories of Madras, C.P and Bengal under one administrative unit so that its all round development would be possible. On 20 June 1895, the Utkal Sabha sent a memorandum to Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, protesting against the unjust and arbitrary measures. It is curious to note that in July 1895, H.G. Cooks, the Commissioner of Odisha, supported the movement for amalgamation of the



Odia-speaking tracts. It was the first official support extended to the demands of the people.<sup>9</sup>

Early in 1903 a small group of enthusiastic Odias assembled in the town of Rambha on the shore of Chilika lake. Encouraged by the Raja of Khallikote they decided to establish the Ganjam Jatiya Samiti. Its first sitting was held in April 1903 in the town of Berhampur and was attended by many representatives from the Odia-speaking tracts in different provinces. Such a common gathering gave expression to the desire of the Odia-speaking people for amalgamation of their areas under a single administration. At the same time, the Utkal Sabha of Cuttack summoned a public meeting under the Presidentship of Madhusudan Das in which it was decided to send a memorial to the Governor-General praying him (1) "to transfer to the Odisha Division to the Odia-speaking portions of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagpatam, Sambalpur, Chhotanagpur and Midnapur so far as this can be done having regard to territorial contiguity" or (2) "to raise to Odisha Division to a Chief Commissionership like that of Assam, retaining the judicial supervision of the High Court at Calcutta and the educational connection with the Calcutta University, whichever of these two measures is in the opinion of the government better calculated to secure the advancement of the race".<sup>10</sup> Finally, the representatives of the Odia speaking tracts of Madras, the Central Provinces and Bengal met in a conference at Cuttack on 30-31 December 1903. It was the historic gathering of Utkal Sammilani which met amidst unprecedented enthusiasm and spearheaded the Odia Movement till the formation of a separate province in 1936 and independence of India.

The socio-political awakening of the people in Odisha was quite evident from such a Sabha. The Odia Movement, which thus began

in 1903, was the first and pioneering attempt in India to achieve the freedom.

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## Ranpur Rising of 1893

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A number of popular risings occurred in the Princely States of Odisha during second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century and first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the latter part of 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century the insurrections in Princely States were generally spontaneous and sporadic. Sometimes these were caused by internal issues and feuds. These were mostly non-political and directed against the *Rajas* whom the insurgents sought to pressurize for gaining certain rights and concessions and not against the colonial power. The disturbances in Daspalla in 1914; the Khandapara risings of 1893 – 94 and 1897 – 98; the Nayagarh *meli* of 1894 – 95 and 1892 – 93; and the Ranpur rising of 1893 come under this category.

In Ranpur, the maladministration of the rulers led to an open revolt in the state in 1894.<sup>1</sup> There was no regular and systematic land revenue settlement in the state for a long time.<sup>2</sup> The ryots were compelled to pay their rent-in-kind. This system proved harmful and caused hardship to the ryots. As the people demanded the redressal of their grievances, the Raja Benudhar Bajradhar Mohapatra made a summary settlement of his state for a period for 3 years with effect from 1877 in which rent-in-kind of certain villages was changed to rent-in-cash. It was followed by another settlement in 1880-81 in which the ryots

were made to pay  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the assessed *Zama* in cash and  $\frac{1}{4}$  in kind. The Paikas were required to pay  $\frac{7}{8}$  in cash and  $\frac{1}{8}$  in kind. The settlement resulted in the total land revenue of Rs.42,926/. It was a decennial settlement, which was to end in 1889-90. It had just doubled the land revenue levied on the people.<sup>3</sup>

The people of Ranpur suffered because of various oppressive measures of the Raja and his underlings. Raja Benudhar Narendra Mohapatra was an old and weak ruler and the administration of the state was virtually run by dewan Guruprasad Das and his Subordinates. Guruprasad was a cruel and corrupt person. So the people complained against him to the Raja and to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Cuttack. But the latter turned a deaf ear to the problems.<sup>4</sup>

In March 1893, the situation worsened, when there was partial failure of crops in Ranpur due to untimely rain and flood. As a result, the price of the paddy gradually went up. In such a situation, the officials of the Raja demanded the one-fourth of rent-in-kind i.e., paddy at the rate of 64 seers per rupee from the people.<sup>5</sup> Some people paid rent-in-kind out of fear and some fled from the state. The officers of the Raja punished the offenders severely. Even some of



them were imprisoned. The rapacity of the officer-in-charge of the Grain Department became so much intolerable that in January 1894 the people of both hill tracts and the plains resorted to open revolt against the authority.<sup>6</sup>

In the state of Ranpur, the insurgents took resort to loot, arson and assaulted the *amalas* and other subordinate officials of the Raja in different villages. Gradually thousands of insurgents assembled in the *Garh*. They demanded the dismissal of the dewan Guruprasad Das, the abolition of the system of payment in kind, *Bethi*, *Magan* etc.<sup>7</sup> The Raja invited the rebel leaders for discussion. But they refused to listen and committed outrage.<sup>8</sup>

Then the Raja sought the military help and advice from the Superintendent.<sup>9</sup> At the instance of the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, the District Magistrate of Puri marched to Ranpur with a strong force in order to control the situation in March 1894.<sup>10</sup> He dismissed Guruparasad Das from the Dewanship and appointed Loknath Mishra in his place. But there was no immediate solution to the problem of collection of land revenue in the state. The rebellious activities continued. Subsequently, the Superintendent sent more British troops to Ranpur and the rising was suppressed ruthlessly. A total number of 13 rebel leaders were imprisoned in the jail at Cuttack.

The system of payment in kind was abolished. Warning was issued to the officers in charge of the settlement, not to take recourse to corrupt and oppressive practices. Gradually the situation began to improve.<sup>11</sup>

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## Shreeharsa Mishra : A Freedom Fighter

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Odisha is rich in giving birth to some of the eminent persons who create history in and outside the country. Shreeharsa Mishra was one among them. Shreeharsa was born in a remote village named Chhamunda near Jagannath Prasad of Ganjam District on 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1917. Both the place of birth and the date of birth became remarkable for the baby who fought for the country in the war of independence of India. Ram Chandra Mishra and Jema Devi was his father and mother. The dedicated culture, disciplined behavior of the very conservative Brahmin family taught Shreeharsa to work selflessly for the motherland. Shreeharsa was admitted in the village school in 1924. But the misfortune came to him that he lost his father in 1927.

Shreeharsa Mishra was the eldest son of his father and other two sisters and a brother also there in the family. On the demise of the *kartta*, the father of the family, all were shocked and so Shreeharsa left his school studies for two years. Again in 1929, Shreeharsa was sent to Chingudi Sasan of Paralakhemundi Zamindari to continue his rest of school education, residing at one of the distant relations and taking food in a Math freely. During



the study, on a response to the call of Mahatma Gandhi, he joined in the freedom struggle. He was only 13 years of age. He left the house on the Mahavishuba Sankranti i.e. on the 13<sup>th</sup> April, of 1930. Due to his tender age, he was not taken in the team of freedom fighter but Shreeharsa was taken in "Banar Sena" who were to assist the senior strugglers of independence.

Shreeharsa Mishra at the first instance along with the team led by Niranjana Patnaik, Biswanath Das, Shashi Bhusan Rath, Sarala Devi, Banamali Moharana, Antaryami Panda, Gouri Sankar Patnaik all veteran congress workers chalked out a plan to loot the salt godowns of Huma. Police arrested some of the leaders like Biswanath Das and Niranjana Patnaik in the first round. Then Balam Maharana took the lead and continued Satyagraha of looting the Huma salt godown on June, 1930. Shreeharsa Mishra, Narsu Satapathy, Gouri Sankar Patnaik and Narasingh Sahu were in the team. The group was given indirect support by Lingaraj Panigrahi and Ananta Tripathy Sharma. Near about five thousand Satyagrahis including one thousand women strikers joined the



rally. Police arrested the team members and sent to the Jail. Shreeharsa Mishra, Narsu Satapathy were sent them to Chingal Peta Reformatory Jail for two years. There were about four hundred such Satyagrahis who were released on Gandhi-Irwin pact after ten months of imprisonment on 14<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1931. In the Chingal Peta Reformatory Jail, Shreeharsa was asked to bow down his head and show respect to the images of Merry and King George V<sup>th</sup>. Shreeharsa disobeyed the jailer, and for the disobedience he was beaten like anything, given food without salt and compelled to wear Jute gunny bag without the usual dress. After freed from the jail, Shreeharsa was sent to spread the message of freedom struggle, civil-disobedience in Sorada and Badagada. During his visit, police again caught him and sent to Berhampur for six month on 14<sup>th</sup> Jan 1932, with a fine of Rs. 200/-. After released he worked with double spirit and such again arrested on 26<sup>th</sup> Aug 1932, and sent to Cuttack jail and then shifted to Patana camp jail to avoid local unrest. The Satyagrahis of South Orissa, especially the activities of Shreeharsa became the headache for the British Govt. as well as to the local police. The Government wanted to surpress the movement by torturing the activists in different ways. Police had listed many false allegations against Shreeharsa and again arrested him on 23<sup>rd</sup> Jan, 1933. Shreeharsa had to spend this time in Cuttack jail. Once at the beginning of his career in freedom struggle, police arrested Shreeharsa and when requested by his mother Jema Devi to release the boy, police agreed to free the boy on the condition not to join the freedom fighters and to go silently without the slogan of “Bande Mataram”. Mother Jemadevi agreed with the term and signed and got Shreeharsa with her after release. Shreeharsa after freed get a tri colour flag in his hand, uttered the national *mantra* of freedom fighters “Bande Mataram... Bande

Mataram” throughout the way to his village without caring the police. Shreeharsa was very courageous. He was organizing many anti-government activities, civil disobedience movements and Satyagrahas in different regions of Ganjam and also in the State. So, police had an eye on his every activity. Government again arrested him and imprisoned him in Cuttack jail. But being pressurized on the local anti-government protest for release of their dear Shreeharsa, police shifted him secretly to Rajmahendry jail in the night. He was released from the said jail in 1934.

Shreeharsa was also a social worker. After release he went to serve the flood affected destitutes. He was a close associate of Lingaraj Mishra, Pran Krushna Padhiary, Satyanarayan Sengupta, Adwait Ballava Ray while serving the severe flood affected families of north and central Odisha. After some days Shreeharsa was sent to Allahabad congress office to work there and to gain lot of experience. The Allahabad Congress office was working at that time in the “Ananda Bhaban” the ancestral house of Nehru Family. This gave him a chance to work with all veteran congress men like Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Ballavbhai Patel, Acharya Kripalini, Lalbahadur Shastri, Sarojini Naidu and others. Shreeharsa was feeling quite satisfied by coming in contact with these central leaders of the forum of Indian Congress. During stay at Allahabad, he got an opportunity to go to Wardha and came in direct contact with Mahatma Gandhi, Santha Vinoba Bhave while he was staying at Sabarmati Ashram.

Shreeharsa returned from Allahabad and directed to work with the President, Ganjam District Congress Committee Dibakar Patnaik. Shreeharsa had profound experience, training and patriotism to reorganize the freedom struggle mostly in the rural India. Shreeharsa was a very



intelligent, genius and loving person. He had utilized the time in the jail in learning different languages. He got mastery over the languages like English, Hindi, Telugu, Bengali and Sanskrit along with his own Odia language. He had also lot of love and affection towards his mother tongue and so worked for the unification of Odia speaking areas for the formation of separate Odisha province. To explore both the purposes of Odia language and to spread the messages of freedom struggle, he joined with the senior freedom fighter Shashi Bhusan Rath and his weekly first Odia newspaper published from 1913. He wrote many articles on war of independence which were published in the Asha, Niankhunta etc. Shreeharsa had his foresight on the non-violence struggle slogan of Mahatma Gandhi which was very torturous and passive. Again the Indian Congress was giving full military support to England in the Second World War which was against the will of Shreeharsa. Some of the leaders support the theme of Subhas Chandra Bose "Give me blood I will give freedom". The policy was tit for tat. There was the difference of opinion in between Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Bose. Dibakar Patnaik resigned from Congress and joined in Forward Bloc and became one of the National Vice Presidents of Forward Bloc. Shreeharsa joined with the forward Bloc and started the work for establishment of a transmission centre and a military base of Ajad Hind Bahini based at Gopalpur-on-sea in 1938. At that time Shreeharsa was about twenty one years of age. He left his house and his mother since the day of Mahabishuba Sankranti of 1930. The widow mother was alone to maintain the family. On the request of his mother Shreeharsa married Maithili Devi of nearby village in 1940. As an activist of Forward Bloc along with Dibakar Babu, they had a plan to attack the British Government by a troop of Ajad Hind Bahini. To make this plan fruitful he

i Shreeharsa Mishra was a writer. He utilized his precious time in the jails in writing the experience of his struggling. He worked as a sub-editor of the reputed "Samaja" in 1948 and then the editor of this most popular daily. During his editorship he went to the countries like England, Baharin, Iran, Italy, France etc. Out of the experience he wrote two books named "Paschima Diganta and Bipulach Prithibi". The book Bipulach Prithibi is now a course piece for P.G Students of Biswabharati University of Shanti Niketan. He had other books like "Swadhinatara jayajatra, Lauha Manaba Sardar Patel, Acharya Kripalini, British Sasanara Chakratale. During the war of independence, he joined as Sub-editor in Sashibhusan Rath's weekly Asha, again as sub-editor in "Samaja" in 1948 and as an editor from 1958 to 1964. He was the editor of Biju Babu's Kalinga and Janashakti. In the year 1967 he became editor of "Prajantra" and continued in the post till 1981. Again he joined his first piece of Odia daily newspaper "Dainika Asha" and continued as such till his last breath at 2.30PM of 8<sup>th</sup> April 1984 at Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati Medical College Hospital of Berhampur.

At the demise of Shreeharsa Mishra a light which starts lighting since 1917 came to an end after 68<sup>th</sup> year of his illuminating journey. Shreeharsa will be remembered as symbol of dedicated personality for the county men who gave boundless happiness (Harsa) to all others living in the desert of sufferings as a true hero in the Indian war of independence.

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## Why India has Prevailed Multi Party ?

*Om Prakash*

The Indian general election of 2014 was held to constitute the 16th Lok Sabha, electing members of Parliament for all 543 parliamentary constituencies of India. In the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, 464 political parties contested (6 national parties, 39 state parties and 419 unrecognized parties), along with 8251 independent candidates. 36 political parties are currently represented in Lok Sabha. Ten political parties have only one member and six parties are represented by two members in Lok Sabha. Proliferation of parties can be traced to the making and unmaking of chief ministers by the Congress high command in the 1980s.

Only BJP (282) and its alliance have won 336 seats while INC 44, IUML 2, CPI 1, CPM 9, ADMK 37, AAP 4, AITC 34, BJD 20 seats respectively. Though Biju Janata Dal (BJD) has won 20 out of 21 Lok Sabha seats in the State, it is neither in NDA alliance nor in opposition party but playing a major role as a pressure group in Parliament for the interest of Odisha. There were more than 1593 registered and unrecognized political parties in Indian political map as per the report of Election Commission of India.

Why does India have so many parties? The most popular argument links the participatory upsurge among hitherto marginalized sections of society during the 1990s to the explosion in the number of parties. Majoritarian politics around the issues of *Mandal* and *Mandir* sharpened caste and religious cleavages, which also led to the creation of more parties.

Our view, however, is different. We claim that the increasing interference of the central government (especially the Congress high command) in state politics in the 1980s, after Indira Gandhi returned to power, is an overlooked factor in explaining the explosion in number of parties in the 1990s. During the 1950s and 1960s, state party bosses presided over the “Congress system” (to use Rajni Kothari’s memorable phrase) and ran the traditional party machines. These state party bosses were at loggerheads with Indira Gandhi. Consequently, between 1967 and 1975, she did almost everything possible to prevent new, independent centres of power in states from rising again. She split the Congress party in 1969, delinked state and national elections in 1971, and de-institutionalized the Congress party.

### **PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA**

There is nothing like a ‘system’ of political parties in India. There are more than a hundred political parties which are dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the country, but the features of a ‘system’ are missing. This is not to say that the party system in India does not make sense.

Even in 1951 there were as many as 77 parties. In the coverage of territorial area and membership there is wide divergence among political parties in India. Any one is free to start his own political party. This situation has enabled mushroom growth of political parties.



Emergence of regional parties is a post-Independence phenomenon. Regional parties generally do not subscribe to definite and identifiable political ideologies. They are based on either communal or regional loyalties and generally revolve around locally influential leaders. The links which they maintain with the national parties are varied. Many national parties themselves do not have clear ideologies and, through their manifestos and announcements, show pragmatism rather than idealism. This is not to deny that different political parties do take definite stands regarding major national and international issues and problems. The Election Commission recognizes political parties as national or state parties on considerations of poll percentage. A political party getting 4% of total votes cast in a general election gets recognition as a state party. A political party which is recognized as a state party in four or more states is considered a national party. This recognition of political parties is meaningful only for the allotment of symbols to various political parties.

The concept of dominant party arose in the context of the fact that since Independence, only one political party had held predominant number of seats in the Lok Sabha. The Indian National Congress which spearheaded the Freedom Movement in India automatically took over the reins of power in 1947. Till the party split in 1969, it was monolithic. This monolithic party dominated the Indian Political scene like a colossus. Again in 1971, the Congress emerged as the dominant party of India and continued to be so till it was overthrown in 1977. For some time it appeared that the Janata Party had simply taken over the status of the dominant party from the Congress(R), but this expectation was belied in two years. After the general election in 1980, again Congress (I) emerged as the dominant party of India which dominated the political scene till 1989. But the desertion of V.P.Singh from Congress (I) to form a national political party called Janata Dal (JD) proved fatal for Congress

(I). On the other hand, the increasing influence of BJP on the national scene also undermined the prospect of Congress (I) to capture the power. It is worth-noting that in certain States of India, regional parties also have remained as dominant parties for some period or the other, i.e. DMK, Telegu Desam, National Conference, Samajwadi Party (SP) Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), etc. The formation of United Front Government at the Centre in 1996 increased the influence of these regional parties in shaping the course of Indian politics manifold.

Fragmentation of political parties has been going on ever since Independence. The first major break-up occurred in the Communist Party of India in 1964. The split in the Congress followed in 1969. Practically every major political party in India has undergone splits repeatedly. Since there is no norm for starting a party, every dissident who goes out of the party and every unwanted political leader who is thrown out of a party tends to start a new political party.

Merger and unity of political parties has been proceeding apace parallel to fragmentation. The formation of BLD in 1974 by the merger of seven then existing parties is an important instance. A still more impressive event was the formation of Janata Party in 1977. However, experience shows that mergers have not been very successful since the original units had often been revived in some form or other as a result of the disillusionment caused by the working of the new party. In fact, United Fronts formed for fighting elections and coalition governments have been more successful than merger moves or merged parties. When this is the case, there is little scope for real polarization of parties. Polarisation envisages coming together of certain opposition parties to pose an effective challenge to the ruling dominant party, either at the Centre or at the State level. Polarisation bristles with problems such as ideological and emotional unification, self-sacrifice of some of the top leaders of the parties, etc. Some in India would argue that we should have a two-party system in



which the ruling party and the opposition party change positions periodically. But this is in the realm of imagination. Polarisation cannot be brought about through theorizing or legislation.

#### **RULING PARTY:**

A political party that has come to power in a State or at the Centre is a ruling party. When a United Front rules, each constituent of the front may be called the ruling party. A ruling party has to be differentiated from the Government of the day. When there is a blurring of this differentiation, there are bound to be frictions between the ruling party and the opposition parties.

#### **OPPOSITION PARTIES:**

In a State, all political parties other than the one which has formed the government should be considered opposition parties. It may so happen that the ruling party at the Centre is an opposition party at the Centre is an opposition party in a state. Opposition parties generally do not come under a single umbrella. They may form different groups for the sake of convenience of operation but such grouping is purely temporary. It is possible for all opposition parties to be united in their opposition to the ruling party of the day. But the unity of all opposition parties on the basis of any other programme is generally non-existent. A formal recognition may be granted to the Opposition in a legislature in the form of special status to the Leader of Opposition. Generally, the leader of the legislature party of the largest opposition party is given this status. He may sometimes be accorded the rank of a Cabinet Minister and may be given due weightage in Government functions.

#### **CONCLAVE POLITICS:**

Conclave is the name given to a secret meeting where decisions are made in secrecy, e.g. a meeting of Cardinals to elect a Pope. But meeting of opposition political parties in conclaves is a very recent phenomenon in Indian politics. The first conclave of opposition parties for which the then Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama

Rao took the initiative was held at Vijayawada. Although a conclave may not result in the merger or polarisation of political parties; it is a useful device through which the political parties in a parliamentary democracy may exercise their influence through collective decisions.

#### **RECOGNITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

A multi-party system prevails in India. Attempts to evolve a two-party system have been unsuccessful. Though there have been talks of polarization of political parties, fragmentation of parties has been going on unabated. For the purpose of allotting symbols in election the Election Commission distinguishes between recognized and unrecognized parties. The list of recognized parties is revised after every general election, taking into account the number of votes polled by them. The criterion applied now is that a recognized state party should get at least 4% of the total valid votes cast in the state. Alternatively it should return at least one member to Lok Sabha for every 25 members elected from the State. If a party is then recognized as a State Party in at least four states it is recognized as a national party. The recognised national parties at present are Congress (I), Bharatiya Janata Party, Janata Dal, C.P.I., C.P.I (M), Bahujan Samaj Party. Some of the well-known state parties are National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu, Akali Dal in Punjab, Telegu Desam in Andhra Pradesh, Assam Gana Parishad in Assam.

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# Exploring the Lost River(s) at Konarka : A Multi-Disciplinary Approach

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## Abstract

This paper focuses on the identification, analysis, documentation and interpretation of various myths, legends, oral traditions, folklores, cultural practices as well as scientific data that indicate the existence of river(s) around Konark, which lies on the east coast by the Bay of Bengal. While tradition talks of a holy river known as Chandrabhaga near Konark, currently no river is there. Did a river exist? Where was it located? What role did it play in community life? How did it possibly disappear? The paper attempts a comprehensive review of ancient and contemporary texts, oral traditions and folklores, epigraphic documentations, old illustrations and photographs and interviews with the elderly people of local communities to arrive at the conclusion that there is a very high probability that a river existed near Konark. This is supported by the existing scientific data. The challenge is to go through conflicting indicators, identify consistent components and to come up with a working hypothesis with the support of scientific evidences. This would both contribute to history and myth and to further some location-specific scientific explorations.

Keywords: *Myths, oral tradition, folklore, socio-cultural practices, cultural heritage, coastal heritage belt*

## Introduction

Konark is a small town in Puri district in the state of Odisha and lies on the east coast touching the Bay of Bengal. It is well known for the 13<sup>th</sup> Century CE Sun Temple which is one of the most important structures epitomizing the vast cultural heritage and glory of the land. Many legends, myths and folklores indicate that the Konark Sun Temple was originally built on the mouth of a river named Chandrabhaga but in the course of time the river has dried up and been reduced to a small pond and the present shoreline is nearly about 3 km from the temple. In this study, history, mythology as well as science play a vital

role in attempting to decipher the past. The main objective of the study is to identify, analyze, document and integrate various myths, legends, oral traditions, folklores, and cultural practices associated with the Chandrabhaga River and the Konark temple and also to identify the palaeo-channels around Konark through satellite images and remote sensing to emphasize the existence of the mythological river Chandrabhaga near Konark temple. In the future, further exploration along these lines may even throw light on the possible reason for the collapse of the temple.

## Methodology

The methodology proposed for the work is (a) identification and reviews of ancient and



contemporary texts; (b) analysis and reviews of folk tradition and Hindu beliefs; (c) identification and analysis of socio-cultural practices; (d) identification and documentation of archaeological evidences, paintings and photographs; (e) and correlation of the findings that emerge with scientific evidences.

The textual exploration primarily focuses on identification, classification and analysis of myths and legends from various texts. Folk tradition plays an important role in reconstructing the past. It includes review of literature on myths and legends and field work. The socio-cultural practices comprise many religious practices, festivals, rituals and sacred ceremonies of a community. The visual references comprise archaeological evidences and carvings which have been excavated from the site. Some archeological sites having ruined temples and monuments along the channel can be helpful in finding the lost river. There are some old paintings and photographs which might be helpful for our study. Also, scientific evidences consisting of analysis and interpretation of satellite imagery and snapshot taken from Google Earth as well as data integration in the GIS platform are interrelated to trace the palaeo-channel of river(s) around the Konark region.

### Review of Literature

The Chandrabhaga River is considered to be the one of the holiest rivers of Odisha. Its name is mentioned in *Puranas* and many sacred scripts. We also find the name of the river associated with many rituals and festivals of Odisha. There are also many myths and stories related to the river. River Chandrabhaga has been described as a sacred river in many myths and it is believed that whoever takes a bath in the Chandrabhaga river will be cured of leprosy and barrenness.

The *Samba Purana* (500-800 CE) narrates the story of Samba who was cursed with leprosy and was advised by Sage Narada to worship the Sun God at *Maitreyavana* on the bank of Chandrabhaga River to cure his ailments. He meditated with devotion, after taking bath in the Chandrabhaga River for twelve long years and was finally cured. As a sign of obligation and reverence he constructed a temple dedicated to the Sun God in *Maitreyavana*, on the bank of the Chandrabhaga River and also brought eighteen *Magha* Brahmins from *Sakadwipa* to perform the daily rituals of the temple. This is a very important myth as it appears many times during different ages. The *Bhavisya Purana* (500-800 CE), *Madala Panji* (1078-1150 CE) and The *Kapila Samhita* (14<sup>th</sup> century CE) also narrate the same story of Samba and the holy river. Historians like R. L. Mitra (1880), Pandit K. S. Mishra (1919) and many others had also mentioned the same story of Samba in their works. The *Baya Chakada* (12<sup>th</sup> Century CE), the temple manual which constituted all the records of the Konark temple on palm leaves during its construction mentions that King Langula Narasimha Deva appointed Sivai Santara as the minister, for temple construction and ordered to construct a Sun Temple on the mouth of the Chandrabhaga River. The *Sarala Mahabharat* (15<sup>th</sup> Century CE) is a work by Odia poet Sarala Das and it states that a large number of people used to visit the *tirtha* of the Chandrabhaga in the Odia month of Magha on the Sukla Saptami day.

However, with the help of the above mentioned texts, it is quite possible to imagine that a Sun Temple was built in the mouth of the *Chandrabhaga* River but the waterline receded with the course of time.



### Myths associated with oral tradition

Traditional material on this exists in the form of oral literature which is communicated from one generation to another through stories, songs, compositions and verses. One such tale is that of Dharmapada, the twelve years old son of Chief architect, Bisu Maharana, who sacrificed his life by jumping from the top of the temple to the river Chandrabhaga to save his father and twelve hundred craftsmen. After thousand years, the Sun Temple is in a state of ruins but Dharmapada still lives in the folklore and in the aspiration for every young craftsman of the region.

One of the most notable folklore is of the story of Sivai Santara and the goddess in disguise of an old lady. As the temple was supposed to be built on the river mouth, many problems occurred and everyone was in distress. So, one day an old lady came and offered Sivai Santara some hot *Prasad* (porridge) of the village deity, but while eating he put his hand into the middle and his fingers were burnt due to severe heat. The lady then suggested how to eat the porridge and from her words he realized his mistake and ordered his workers to close the side of the shoreline and then laid the foundation of the temple and started the construction of the great temple of Konark.

These folk stories are very popular among the local people. Even today, these stories are narrated by grandparents to children. On an initial inspection, they suggest at least the following few things: (a) existence of water body near the temple, and (b) difficulty related to the water body in building the temple.

### Rituals and Festivals associated with the river

*Magha Saptami* and *Samba Dashami* are the most important festivals of Konark Sun temple. *Magha Saptami* falls on the 7th day of the

bright half of the Hindu month of *Magha*. Every year on this day many pilgrims gather to take holy dip in the Chandrabhaga River that is reduced to a shallow pond and welcome the rising Sun with prayers. A fair also takes place on this occasion known as the *Chandrabhaga Mela*. The particular day is also known as *Ratha Saptami* and is marked as the birthday of Lord Surya. *Samba Dashami*, celebrated on the 10th day of the waxing phase of moon in *Pausha* month, as per traditional Odia calendar is also very significant. This day is dedicated to the worship of the Sun God and the legend of '*Samba Dashami Brata Katha*' is recited and prayers are made for the well-being of all family members. Another unique festival is the *Ratha Yatra/ Chaitra Yatra*. As per *Kapila Samhita* and *Brahma Purana*, it was a famous festival carried out in ancient times when the temple was in a functional state and was performed on *Chaitra Sukla Sasthi* day. Again, without going into the details, the presence of these cultural practices point to both the existence and purported holiness of the river.

### Pictorial Evidence

Visual evidence, especially from earlier times, can be historically very relevant. Some pictorial evidences were discovered which suggest the existence of water bodies near the Konark temple. The figure below show a painting by James Fergusson (1837 CE) in which a water body is clearly visible in the background and a part of the main sanctum is still standing; also some rare photographs by William Henry Cornish (1890 CE) are recovered from the British Gallery, where water body is visible in the background. A very relevant illustration of the Konark temple drawn in nine pieces of palm leaves is also retrieved which is currently preserved in Banaras Hindu University's Bharat Kala Bhawan. The



masterpiece is a complete sketch of the temple and can be seen in the Alice Boner Gallery.

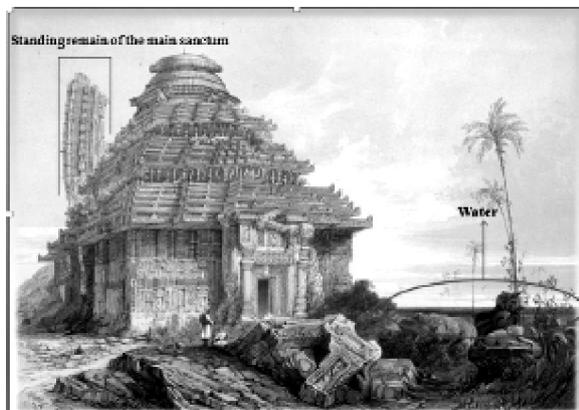


Fig 1: Painting by James Fergusson

### Study Area

During the initial exploration from a scientific perspective, based on the various cultural and historical evidences, the broad study area chosen was the Konark-Puri region from latitude 19°30'N to 20°30'N and longitude 85°30'E to 86°30'E.

### Exploration by the Research Team

Another less known temple has been identified by historians, testifies the existence of water way system in and around Konark. The archaeological heritage which provides sufficient evidences to corroborate the existence of the Chandrabhaga river system is the *Gangeswari* temple situated in a small village named *Gop*, better known as 'Mini Konark' among the local people, strengthen our assumptions and hypothesis about the river system. The village is 20 km from Konark, and villagers have a saying that this was the campsite of the 1200 artisans who constructed the Konark Sun Temple. The temple is dedicated to the village deity *Gangeswari Thakurani* and has striking resemblance with the Konark temple in certain ways. The area where the temple stands is known

as *Bayalisbatti*. Some patches of water bodies near the temple were also identified, which according to the villagers, are the remains of an ancient river (tributary) called *Patharabhasa Nai* which joined the Chandrabhaga River somewhere near the main construction site of Konark temple and was a medium of transporting stones and sculptures to the construction site of the temple.

Even now there are huge blocks of stones beneath the water of the village pond, revealed in the dry months. While the rivers flow only during floods, palaeo-channels can be traced up to 2 km from Konark temple.

The most important geographical evidence is a pool named after the Chandrabhaga River; very close to the seashore, where people take holy bath/dip on the occasion of *Magha Saptami*. The pool is an enclosed portion of a larger water body where the *Chandrabhaga Mela* is held every year even today. Local people believe it to be the last remains of the glorious river Chandrabhaga and adore the purity and sacredness of the holy place.

Hence, an attempt has been made to corroborate the findings from myths, legends, folklores and other historical references with scientific evidences. This will give more confidence on the existence of past river system and heritage sites.

### Scientific Study

The study includes observation of the work area with the help of Google earth, and satellite images; analysis and interpretation of satellite images and the processing of those images help to identify synoptic view of the lost river that cannot be easily identified through the field survey. An initial assessment by looking at the geology, vegetation, moisture content as well as relevant snapshots of the study area are taken from the



Google earth suggest that traces of palaeo-channel or previously existing river systems, can be identified in and around Konark region.

### Conclusion

The exploration through various approaches, all point in one direction – the existence of water bodies near the temple and the possibility that the river Chandrabhaga and other smaller channels, very active at that point of time in history, were used to carry building material for the construction of the temple. While for the people of Odisha and for the pilgrims of the *Chandrabhaga Mela* that the existence of the river is a certainty, for both historians and scientists, it is important to procure evidence for such a claim and to map the path that the river(s) followed. Based on this first step, one will be able to retrace the history of the river, its decay and also explore why all this happened. It is also expected that this first step will help us answer the next set of questions that are all the more pertinent for us. Why did the river system dry up? Why did the temple collapse? Was the sea always this far away from the temple or have geological processes led to this state of affairs?

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# Bid Rigging Under the Competition Act 2002 as Amended by Competition (Amendment) Act, 2007

*Jajati Kesari Samantsinghar*

Fair competition among the entrepreneurs and industrial houses are all the more welcome because it helps development of national economy in bringing greater level of efficiency, productivity and innovation, this ultimately helps the growth of national economy by providing scope for better and wider choice of the products and services. It also helps consumers by way of assuring lower prices of the products and services.

Therefore, in order to get rid of unfair competition speaking otherwise, to promote and sustain competition in markets, to protect the interest of the consumer and to ensure freedom of trade etc, the Government of India brought the Competition Act, 2002. Thus the objective of the Competition Act, 2002 as amended by the Competition (Amended) Act, 2007 is to provide, keeping in view of the economic development of the country, for the establishment of a Commission to prevent practices having adverse effect on competition, to promote and sustain competition in markets, to protect the interests of consumers and to ensure freedom of trade carried on by other participants in markets, in India.

Section 3, Sub-section (1) of the said Act speaks about the prohibition of any such agreement that causes or is likely to cause any appreciable adverse effect on competition within India and sub section (2) there of declares all such

agreements as void. Similarly, sub section (3) raises a rebuttable presumption that any agreement entered into or decision taken by enterprises or association of enterprises or persons or association of persons including cartels engaged in similar trade of goods or services which interalia directly or indirectly results in bid rigging or collusive bidding shall be presumed to have an appreciable adverse effect on competition.

The explanation to section-3, sub-section (3) of the said Competition Act defines bid rigging as any agreement between enterprises or associations of enterprises or persons or associations of person as referred to in sub-section (3) engaged in identical or similar production or trading of goods or provisions of services, having the effect of eliminating or reducing competition for bids or adversely affecting or manipulating the process for bidding.

Substantially speaking bid rigging occurs as a result of collusion between the bidders to keep the bid amount at a pre determined level. Bidding parties intentionally collude with each other to achieve their end of keeping the bid amount at a pre determined level through act of manipulation, collusion while acting in concerts Bid Rigging is anti- competitive.



Both Government and Private bodies resort to bidding in order to procure goods and services at a competitive price favourable to the buyer inviting bids. However, the sole objective of securing favourable prices and conditions may be arrested if the prospective bidders with intention of keeping bid price at a pre determined level act in collusion and manipulative manner. Such collusive bidding is otherwise known as bid rigging and negates the very purpose of inviting tenders and is inherently anti competitive.

Bid Rigging or as may be called collusive bidding may be effected in so many ways like collusion for identical bids, agreement for bidding lowest price, agreement to submit inflated bids, agreements not to bid against each other, agreements to drive out outsiders bidders agreement designating bid winners in advance on a rotational basis etc .Agreements which tend to eliminate or distort competition shall be covered under bid rigging having adverse effects on fair competition.

#### **Bid Rigging may be of different kinds :-**

In certain cases one or more competitors who are expected to bid or have earlier bid may strike a secret deal and thereby agree to withdraw or not to participate in the bidding so that, the designated winning competitor's bid is accepted. This is known as bid suppression.

Cover bidding or; complementary bidding as is otherwise known is the most frequently form of collusive bidding, where the bidders or competitors agree to quote the bid price either too high or it may sometimes happen that the bidding is laded with such terms and condition that will not be acceptable. The intention is not to get the bid approved or accepted but only to make a show of interest in genuine competitive bidding. The real intention to defraud the purchaser by facilitating the acceptance of a bid is pre

determined. Secretly. Subcontracting is another form of bid rigging where successful bidder grants subcontracts or supply contracts as consideration to the competitors who had agreed either to refrain from bidding or submitted a cover bidding with the intention of losing it.

In Bid rotation all bidders conspire to submit bids but take their turns to quote the lowest price.

In the case of **A Foundation for Common Cause and People Awareness Vs. PES Installations Pvt. Ltd (PES) reported in 2012 Comp LR 588 (CCI)**, the Competition Commission of India while adjudicating whether the Parties had contravened provisions of Section 3 (3)(d) read with section 3(1) by indulging in process of bid-rigging in matter of tender for supply, installation, testing and commissioning of Modular Operation Theatre (MOT) and Medical Gases Manifold system (MGMS) to sports injury centre (SIC), Safdarjung Hospital, New Delhi has held as under:

“5.57 The parties named in the information have manipulated the process of bidding by reaching and understanding among them not to compete. PES and MPS submitted ‘complementary’ bids in order to provide comfort to the procuring authorities that there are three bids in response to the tender inquiry to avoid any question being raised on lack of competition in the tender process. These two entities were not participating in the bid process to compete with MDD but they were only submitting ‘complementary’ ‘cover’ or ‘courtesy’ bids so that the procurement process does not get stalled due to the lack of enough competition. Complementary bidding is done when some competitors agree to submit bids that either are too high to be accepted or contain special terms that will not be acceptable to the buyer. Such bids are not intended to secure the acceptance of a



procurer, but are merely designed to give the appearance of genuine competitive bidding. Complementary bids tend to defraud procuring entities by creating a camouflage of genuine competition to conceal the inflated bid prices. Further, in another tender of JPNA Hospital (subject matter of another case no.40 of 2010 against the three bidders), the contract was awarded to PES wherein MDD and MPS submitted complementary bids in order to show that there are enough competing parties in the tender.

5.63 The Commission observes that while there is no evidence of a written agreement among the parties, the evidences brought out above are enough to conclude an understanding or meeting of minds amongst them to manipulate the process of tender in the instant case. Any party who is part of some kind of understanding which is not acceptable in the eyes of law will tend to manage the entire process of tender in such a manner which does not arouse suspicion in the minds of procuring authorities. However, the procuring authorities should also be vigilant enough to recognize the signs of collusions form the conduct and behaviour of the parties participating in the tender process. The commonality of errors in the bid documents, abnormally high bid prices quoted by the losing bidders as compared to L-1 bidder should have provoked the procuring entities to doubt the entire process. Since the procuring entities did not consider it fit to question the bidders, the contract was awarded at an abnormally high price quoted as compared to the estimated cost."

In the case of **Director General (Supplies and Disposal) Vs. M/s. Puja Enerprises Basti and Ors. reported in 2013 Comp LR 714 (CCI)**, the Competition Commission of India observed that in the present case on a perusal of entire circumstances i.e. quotation of near identical prices despite these

units having been located in different geographical locations with varying tax structure and different margins; possession by one bidder of Performance statements of other bidders; meeting under platform of Trade Federation and failure on part of parties to provide any reasonable explanation for same, it was safe to deduce that parties entered into an agreement to determine prices besides rigging bid.

In the case of **M/s Excel Crop Care Limited Vs. Competition Commission of India & Ors. reported in 2013 Comp LR 799 (CompAT)**, the Competition Appellate Tribunal while deciding the question whether act of boycotting tenders by all Appellants amounted to bid rigging, has held that Appellants' act of boycotting tenders could not be mere coincidence. After all, all concerns were engaged in business of supply of Aluminium Phosphide (ALP) tablets and were only manufacturers in country. They were also aware of acute need on part of FCI for safeguarding stored food grains. Tribunal observed that it could have been matter of simple calculation that total boycott would bring FCI on their knees and FCI being helpless in matter would give orders for supply to all concerned manufacturers at negotiated price as dictated by them. By boycotting tender in 2011 Appellants clearly created limitation on supply. Therefore, boycotting of tenders amounted bid rigging prohibited under section 3(3) (d) of the Act. Further, on the question of whether mere price parallelism was sufficient to sustain the charge of concert or cartelization, it was held that price parallelism on one or two occasions though might raise strong suspicion, it may not be enough for drawing the inference of cartelization. However, in this case it was not a sweet coincidence and in fact it is shown that this was not only a common pattern or practice. But this continued in case of tenders floated by other corporations. This



consistent practice and common pattern when continues for a long time, there could be no other inference excepting that of cartelization. The three decisions relied upon by Dr. Aggarwal, pertains to the old MRTP Act and would not be germane to the controversy, where we are called upon to interpret section 3, which was conspicuously absent in the old Act. Those decisions would be of no consequence.

In the case of **Technology Products Vs. Bangalore Electricity Supply Co, Ltd**, the Competition Commission of India in Case No. 58/2011 decided on 22.11.2011 has observed that a perusal of section 3(3) of the Competition Act, 2002 makes it clear that a bidding process shall be at foul with the provisions of the Act if there is some arrangement between the enterprises engaged in similar trade or goods or provision of goods. The Explanation further clarifies the meaning of bid rigging and provides that the enterprises or person in sub-section 3 should be engaged in identical or similar production or trading of goods or provision of services and the effect of bid rigging was to eliminate or reduce competition or manipulate the process of bidding. Collusive bidding has to read as a bidding resulting from collusion between different bidders. The Act does not contemplate collusive bidding as a collusion between the purchaser and the supplier. Such Collusion may call for a criminal action by state as it amounts to corruption but such a collusion would not call for an action by Competition Commission of India.

In the case of **Jupiter Gaming Solutions Private Limited Vs. Government of Goa and Anr. reported in (2012) 106 CLA 339 (CCI)** the Competition Commission of India through the dissenting note of Hon'ble Member R. Prasad has held that bid rigging is difficult to detect since it is executed in secrecy with only the participants privy to the scheme of conspiracy.

Therefore, its detection can be made only by way of assessing the suspicious conduct, patterns of abnormal activities in the bidding process, exception to the normal procedures and loss to the Government department. The existence of bid rigging in the said case also finds support from OECD guidelines which suggest certain factors which facilitate efforts of bid rigging namely; (i) bid rigging is more likely to occur when a small numbers of companies supply the good or service. The number of players in lottery business is very limited and thus it was easier for these parties to reach a collusive agreement. (ii) When few businesses have recently entered or are likely to enter a market because it is costly, hard or slow to enter. Firms in that market are protected from the competitive pressure of potential new entrants. The protective barrier helps supports collusive actions. The bid design of Government of Goa calling for higher threshold of turnover and net worth has facilitated this transaction. (iii) When the products or services that individuals or companies sell are identical or very similar. It is easier for firms to reach an agreement on a common strategy. The two companies which have submitted tender bids for lottery are definitely engaged in identical products or services. Therefore, all the factors enumerated by the OECD are applicable to the fact of the case to suggest bid rigging by the concerned parties. Thus, after considering all circumstantial evidence, manipulations in the bid documents, behaviour of the parties, the DG concluded that bid rigging in the form of cover bidding had taken place in this case in violation to section 3(3)(d) of the Competition Act.

In the case of **Shri B.P. Khare, Principal Chief Engineer, South Eastern Railway Vs. M/s Orissa Concrete and Allied Industries Ltd. And Ors. reported in (2013) 114 CLA 280 (CCI)**, the Competition



Commission of India has held that “in case of horizontal agreements as listed in section-3(3) of the Act, once it is established that such an agreement exists, it will be presumed that the agreement has an appreciable adverse effect on competition; the onus to rebut the presumption would lie upon the opposite parties.” The Commission in the instant case has inferred from a number of coincidences and indicia (identical rates, division of quantity, similar hand writing, format of covering letter, tender fee payment, past conduct etc.) that the opposite party bidders have entered into an agreement to directly or indirectly determine the prices as also to rig the bid in question.

All forms bid rigging has one common design or approach of predetermining the winning bidder by way of either limiting or eliminating prospective bidders from competition.

As the name suggests bid rigging is effected through collusive agreement. Collusive agreements are made secretly, hence it is difficult to detect bid rigging.

Sometimes bidders who are involved in bid rigging go for unusual bidding that seem to be quite odd with the competitive market and thereby enough to suggest the possibility of secret deal.

Where after inquiry it is found that there is collusive agreement having adverse effect on competition the Commission has the power to pass the following orders as per section 27 of the Competition Act, 2002 as amended 2007.

1. Direct the parties to discontinue and not to re-enter such agreement;
2. Direct the enterprises concerned to modify the agreement.
3. Direct the enterprises concerned to abide by such other orders as the Commission

may pass and comply with the directions, including payment of costs, if any; and

4. Pass such other orders or issue such directions as it may deem fit.
5. In addition, the Commission can impose such penalty as it may deem fit. The penalty can be up to ten per cent of the average turnover for the last three preceding financial years upon each of such persons or enterprises which are parties to bid-rigging or collusive bidding.

In case the bid-rigging or collusive bidding agreement referred to in section 3 sub-section 3 has been entered into by a cartel, the Commission may impose upon each producer, seller, distributor, trader or service provider included in that cartel, a penalty of up to three times of lit profit for each year of the continuance of such agreement or ten per cent of its total turnover for each year of the continuance of such agreement, whichever is higher.

The penalty can therefore be severe, and result in heavy financial and other cost on the erring party.

It would follow that if any anti-competitive agreement, including agreement for bid rigging or collusive bidding, is entered into by an association, such as a trade association, such association could also be liable to be proceeded against under the provisions of the Act, and it could be subject to any of the orders under section 27 mentioned above, including the imposition the penalty.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in a report titled “Detecting Bid Rigging in Public Procurement” has outlined that bid rigging occurs in all types of industries and circumstances and in all parts of the world.

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## Antiquities of Madhava Worship in Odisha

*Amaresh Jena*

Odisha is a confluence of innumerable religious sects like Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism, Saktism, Vaishnavism etc. But the religious life of the people of Odisha has been conspicuously dominated by the cult of Vaishnavism since 4<sup>th</sup> Century A.D under the royal patronage of the ruling dynasties from time to time. Lord Vishnu, the protective God in the Hindu conception has one thousand significant names<sup>1</sup> of praise of which twenty four are considered to be the most important. The list of twenty four forms of Vishnu is given in the *Patalakhanda* of *Padma-Purana*<sup>2</sup>. The *Rupamandana* furnishes the twenty four names of Vishnu<sup>3</sup>. The *Bhagabata* also prescribes the twenty four names of Vishnu (Keshava, Narayan, Madhava, Govinda, Vishnu, Madhusudan, Trivikram, Vamana, Sridhara, Hrusikesh, Padmanabha, Damodara, Sankarsana, Vasudev, Pradyumna, Anirudha, Purushottam, Adhokshaja, Narasimha, Achyuta, Janardana, Upendra, Hari and Srikrishna)<sup>4</sup>.

The name Madhava is third out of the twenty four names of lord Vishnu. There is a reference to Madhava in *Markandeya Purana*. The term Ma is Brahmarupini, original Prakriti, Narayani, Sanatani, Visnumaya, Mahalaxmi, Vedamata, Saraswati, Radha, Vasundhara, Ganga and Madhava is their consort.<sup>5</sup> For the first time we get reference to Madhava in the *Sruti* section

of the *Brihadaranayaka sruti*<sup>6</sup> of the *Satapatha Brahman* belonging to *Sukla Yajurveda* and *Kanva Sakha*. It is noted that the God is realized in the lesson of Madhu for which he is named as Madhava<sup>7</sup>. Another name of Madhava is said to have derived from the meaning Ma or knowledge (vidya) and Dhava (meaning Prabhu). The *Utkal Khanda* of *Skanda Purana*<sup>8</sup> refers to the prevalence of Madhava worship in a temple at Neelachala. Madhava Upasana became more popular by great poet Jayadev. The widely celebrated Madhava become the God of his love and admiration. Through his enchanting verses he made the cult of Radha-Madhava more familiar in Prachi valley and also in Odisha. In fact he conceived Madhava in form of Krishna and Radha as his love alliance. He referred to Madhava in different verses.<sup>9</sup>

The Madhava worship is very popular in Odisha. The archaeological evidences suggest its existence from the time of the Matharas, the contemporary of Guptas. The Mathara rulers embraced the Vaisnavite tenants and constructed monuments in honour of Vishnu.<sup>10</sup> The Ningondi copper plate grant of Pravanjan Varma relates that he was a devotee of lord Narayana and the other rulers of the dynasty styled themselves as Parama Bhagavata.<sup>11</sup> One king of this dynasty erected a temple in honour of Vishnu on the



Fig.1. Nilamadhava Temple, Gandharadi

Mahendra Mountain, in the ruins of which is seen a beautiful icon of four armed Vishnu made of chlorite stone. This temple may be identified with the temple recorded in the Ningodi copper plate.<sup>12</sup>

By the epigraphic sources the Madhava worship was stressed from the time of Sailodbhava rule in the old Ganjam, Phulbani and Puri districts there appear the rulers bearing the name of Madhava. As per genealogy<sup>13</sup> of this dynasty we get three rulers bearing the name Madhavaraja. The earliest of them was nick named Sainyabita - I who was ruling around 575 A.D. Hence, there must be the presence of a cult deity by the name of Madhava prior to this date for which the rulers of this dynasty were inclined to name themselves or named by their fathers as such by the influence of *Bhagavata*.

Thus, by the middle of the sixth century A.D or at the earliest by the early sixth century A.D the cult of Madhava might be existing. For the first time Madhava Varma describes god Madhava as having disc in his hand, i.e. Chakradhara an

iconographic point for his identification. In his khurda plates<sup>14</sup> he has further observed that in case of all the Madhava images worshipped in Odisha the wheel is hold in the upper right hand.<sup>15</sup> K.N Mahapatra places this king in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>16</sup> It indicates the popularity of the name Madhava worship in Odisha. The Dasapalla copper plate<sup>17</sup> grant of Parama Vaisnava Ranaka Sri Satru Bhanja Deva tribhubana kalasa issued from his capital Bhanjubalka in 812 A.D refers to Santosh Madhava. The location of the shrine has not yet been identified, but it is certain that in the image of Santosh Madhava was worshipped in the village of the same name. According to the *Sanakhemundi* copper plate grant of Indravarma Deva of the Eastern Ganga dynasty introduced the worship of Lokamadhava and Sanyabhukeswara Siva and donated land to some Brahmins. The Plate records;



Fig.2 Nilamadhava, Gandharadi

*Ekancha Srilokamadhavaya  
dattom Aparana  
ardhansam Bhattaraka  
Svyambhukesvaraya  
dattam Aparam arddhamsam  
brahmanebhyah.*<sup>18</sup>

In another grant issued in 811 A.D by the queen of Ananta Varman of the Eastern Gangas there is a reference of the installation of Sri Lokamadhava image in a temple in the village Arali located on the bank of Mahendra tanaya of Paralakhemundi. These facts

clearly indicate the prevalence of Madhava worship in Ganjam region.<sup>19</sup>

Chodagangadeva, the founder of imperial Ganga dynasty installed Chologangamadhava in



Fig.3 Nilamadhava Temple, Kantilo

Rellivalasa village of Srikakulam district (Andhra Pradesh). This has been referred to in the four pillar inscriptions (issued in 1075 A.D, 1153 A.D, 1159 A.D and 1183 A.D respectively) found in the same village. In one of these pillar inscriptions<sup>20</sup> engagement of priest, Badu and Drummers has been referred to the prevalence of Madhava worship in this region.

### Iconographic features of Madhava Images

The iconographical features of Madhava which described in various religious texts like *Rupamandana* and *Aparajitapliha* mention the four *ayudhas* in his four hands like back right hand holds *Chakra*, *Sanka* in his left back, front left *Padma* and *Gada* is symbolically represented in his front right hand. The Madhava worship started with a personal favor by the Sailodbhava kings ruling from Kongada, the present Banpur-Puri area between 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. So far we have come across three Madhavarajas in this dynasty who could have promoted the worship of this cult in Prachi valley and other areas. The



Fig.4 Nilamadhava, Kantilo

Madhava images of the Sailodbhava Period seem to have egg shaped hollows at their 'Prabha Mandala' behind their head. The images of this period seem to be below 4' in height and 1.6" in breadth.<sup>21</sup>

The advent of the Somavamsis who ruled Odisha in between 850 A.D to 1108 A.D gave a fresh impetus to the Madhava cult in Odisha. The Madhava images of the Somavamsi period are distinguished by tribhanga torana prabhas, comparatively larger images to that of the Sailodbhava period and enshrined in the brick temple separately built for the purpose. The

Madhava images of the Somavamsi period seem to vary in dimension between 4' x 2'.6" to 5' in height and 2' to 2'.2" in breadth. The association of *Avatara* images started during this period in the Madhava images along with it separately.<sup>22</sup>

The Madhava images of the Ganga period (1108-1435 A.D) seem to be of life size, massive and very between 5' to 6' in height and 2'.3" to 3' in breadth. Some of the images have decorative ornamentation on the *toranas*, which are found absent in the

earlier periods. The temples of the period are usually stone built and beautifully decorated Garuda images are seen placed in front of them.

During the Suryavamsi period the worship of Madhava is rarely found. The Sundara Madhava shrine referred might be an existing earlier one renovated by Purosottamadeva or a rare case of establishment. After the Gajapati rule we do not have any other reference to the



Fig. 5 Madhava,  
Sobhaneswar Temple, Niali

establishment of Madhava images or temples built for them.<sup>23</sup>

### Madhava images & Temples

A large number of Madhava Temples and images are spread throughout Odisha particularly on the valley of Mahanadi, Vaitarani, Rusukulya and Prachi. Among them the earliest temple is the Nilamadhava temple one of the twin temples of Gandharadi in the district of Boudh (Fig. 1). The twin temples are dedicated to four-armed Nilamadhava (Fig.2) and Siddheswara Siva. The Vishnu temple contains the customary wheel on the pinnacle and the Siddheswara temple a lingam, a rare feature in the whole architectural gamut of India.<sup>24</sup>

The Nilamadhava temple (Fig.3) at Kantilo on the bank of river Mahanadi is another centre of Madhava worship. The installation of the presiding God Nilamadhava (Fig.4) and Siddheswara Siva is assigned to the Somavamsi period. The temple built by them was ruined and the present temple is of later origin.<sup>25</sup>

Prachi valley which witnessed the rise, spread and amalgamation of important Indian religions, was the greatest centre of Madhava worship in Odisha. The tradition of worship of *Dvadasa Madhava* and *Dvadasasambhu* is still prevalent in the sacred valley. Madhava images are worshipped in the niches of the Mangala

temple at Kakatpur, the beautiful Vishnu image worshipped as Mudgala-Madhava at the village Mudgala (Fig. 8), the image inside the Jagamohana of the Someswara temple at Someswara, the Vishnu image worshipped as Madhava in the Viswanatha temple at Krishnaprasadgarh, the Madhava images at Kenduli, Madhava images at Adaspur, the Madhava images at Bolara, the Madhava images worshipped in the village Raghunathpur, P.S-Kakatpur, a Madhava image inside the ruined Siva temple at Gambharipada, and a Madhava image is placed inside the Siva temple at Nasikeswara.<sup>26</sup> Triveni Madhava is worshipped at the confluence of Triveni near Villeswar Temple. The place is popularly known as Manikarnika tirtha and is sanctified for Triveni Madhava. The *Prachi Mahatmya*<sup>27</sup> writes highlighting Triveni and Manikarnika. All the images give a clear picture of the popularity of Madhava cult in the Prachi Valley.

The magnificent temple of Madhavananda (Fig.7) and the enchanting enshrined image of Madhava in the village Madhava on Prachi valley is a marvel of architecture and of sculpture. The Madhava here is popularly known as Niali Madhava. The old temple



Fig.6 Madhava, Sobhaneswar  
Temple, Niali



Fig.7 Madhava Temple, Madhava

comprises a *Vimana* and a *Jagamohan*. A third stone structure known as *Bhoga Mandapa* is obviously of much later construction. The Madhava temple of Madhava village is one of the great temples of Odisha, the sculptor has retained many older features of style, such as classic poses and very little distortion and contortion occurs on the walls, but he was a master nevertheless and his architectural work equals some of the best temples of Orissa. Here is a temple not only worth visiting, but deserving much greater care in repair and restoration.<sup>28</sup>

The *Viraja Mahatmya* singing the glory of mother Viraja on the Vaitarani River mentions twelve Madhava images, namely Adi Madhava, Ananta Madhava, Bhoga Madhava, Champaka Madhava, Rama Madhava, Prasanna Madhava, Purusottam Madhava, Sudarsana Madhava, Janardana Madhava, Narakantaka Madhava, Basudeva Madhava and Govinda Madhava.<sup>29</sup>



Fig.8 Mudgala Madhava, Mudgala

A temple of Sundara Madhava at Purusottampur in the Ganjam District<sup>30</sup> is assigned to the reign of Purusottama Deva (1467-1497 A.D) built by him. Presumably, this is the very Madhava who is being worshipped as Sundaramadhava in the Nandigrana on the river Rushikulya. It is presumed that the image was carved out during Ganga period, whereas the dilapidated temple was renovated by Purusottama Gajapati. It is because there is no reference as to the construction of any Madhava temple in the Suryavamsi epoch.

It is said that Lord Jagannatha originated from Nilamadhava. The story of Nilamadhava recorded in the *Utkalakhanda* of *Skandapurana* has great relevance in this context. According to the story, the Nilamadhava worshipped by Viswvasu Sabara on the blue mountain was later on converted to *Darurupi* Purusottama Jagannatha. The legend has gained wide celebrity and popularity not only in Srikshetra but in the whole Odisha. On account of the popularity of Nilamadhava legend Vishnu in Odisha came to be known as Madhava.

The antiquity and wide prevalence of Madhava worship in Odisha can be attested by the following *Mangalastaka* of Madhava Chanted in all auspicious occasions:

“Mangalam Bhagaban Vishnu Mangalam Madhusudanah  
Mangalam Pundarikaksha Mangalam garudadhvajah”.  
“Madhavo Madhavo Vishnu Madhavo Madhavo Harih  
Smaranti Sadhava nityam Sarvakaryesu Madhavam”.



In view of the above discussion, it may conclude that, the worship of Madhava originally branched out from Vaishnavism, spread widely in the sacred land, conspicuously dominant the religious life of the people of Odisha and finally merged in Jagannatha cult like many other cults of Brahmanical religion.

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## English Translation of Surendra Mohanty's Mahanirvana : A Study

*Aditya Kumar Panda*

### **On the Translation**

The English translation of Surendra Mohanty's Mahanirvana by Santosh K Padhy does not read like a translation. If a non-Odia speaker reads the story, he/she will never identify it as a translation. Even if an Odia speaker who is not exposed to Surendra Mohanty and his writing will also not be able to identify it as translation. At the most, one can consider it as the Odishan writing in English. It echoes an original with Indian atmosphere and with Sanskrit names like Nilotpala, Madhubrata, Swetaparna, Shantideva etc.

One could get a definite group of readers in translator's mind when one reads the English translation of Mahanirvana. The strategy, that the translator has applied here determines for whom the translation is meant. The title itself has been foreignized. Entitling the English translation of Mohanty's Odia Mahanirvana as Mahanirvana without giving any note to this semantically loaded term could be seen as an adhoc decision that became the decision for ever. The term Mahanirvana is not known to many people in India or outside India. The story itself delimits the traditional meaning of Mahanirvana. Another point is to be noted here that this word does not have an equivalent term in English. It may be a reason on the part of the translator to accept the term as it is. Any translation of this term may signify one of the set of attributions it actually carries, but not

the whole. The names of the characters have been retained in English as they are in Odia. Mohanty wrote this story in Odia, but it has the elements which let it go beyond Odisha.

### **On the Theme**

Surendra Mohanty's Mahanirvana has a psychological underpinning that is postulated by Sigmund Freud and D.H. Lawrence. There is a conflict between natural desire and the outside controlling forces. In many of the 20th century literary texts, one can get this conflict as a theme that is woven in the texts, may it be D.H. Lawrence or J.M. Coetzee. Theme may be the same but the environment, reasons are different. Lawrence writes that natural desire is suppressed by the forces of urbanization. But Mohanty's Mahanirvana depicts a reality where natural desire is suppressed by the principles of religious austerity. In Odishan society, religion is the main force to control sensual natural desire. Nilotpala, the protagonist realizes his very natural feelings towards nature and desire, though he is a saint to his mind and as his identity.

Whenever he sees Madhubrata, he forgets that he is a Shramana. As a principle of being a Shramana, one should give up the natural worldly desires. This principle rules Nilotpala, so that he could not express his natural worldly love for Madhubrata. But he could not control himself also. His feeling towards Madhubrata was



increasing and it was driving him away from the rules and regulation of Shramana. He confessed that he has lost his peace of mind, all his spiritual austerity before the senior Shraman Shantideva:

Shantideva told Nilotpala that it is the form that has given rise to desire, desire causes sensation and sensation brings sorrow. Shramanas are governed by the principles of Buddha. Nilotpala, a character who shows us two worlds: acceptance of a world of desire that is physical and another one is the world of spiritual ecstasy, denial of physical world. Both the worlds try to pull Nilotpala but at last, the world of physical worldly desire won in such a way that Nilotpala embraced the dead body of Madhubrata. Nilotpala's surrender to Madhubrata's physical beauty is the denial of Shramana's principles of spiritual austerity. Mahanirvana represents two conflicting forces of Odishan cultural life.

Author seems to have a faith for Nilotpala's natural desires. The entire story speaks for the acceptance of the world. Discarding the worldly desire may be an act of renouncing the world for the sake of spiritual cause but it could not control Nilotpala for enjoying Madhubrata's physical beauty. The spiritual path for Shramanas is questioned by Nilotpala. He is a lover of nature also. He is mesmerized by the songs of cuckoo; which are making him mad for love.

One could get the metaphysical aspect in the story. About the kind of metaphysical experience, John Donne has written in his poetry, the same kind of metaphysical urge prevails throughout the story. Nilotpala wants to get nirvana, the spiritual experience through the physical one. He never wants to give up the worldly pleasure. Instead, he longs for the spiritual path though the worldly path. In the last scene, Nilotpala came out of the inner conflicts between desire and austerity. He saw the dead nude body of Madhubrata and embraced the stiff body, vanished towards a mountain peak. Shantideva

was stopping him. He did not listen to him, he did whatever his heart allowed him to do. Nilotpala can be considered as a prototype of a young Odishan who has been brought up in an atmosphere of restraints and strict moral codes, who when realizes his/her nature has to be in a dilemma whether to listen to the heart or to the conscience. Either he/she may become someone like Shantidev or a balanced one or someone goes for the carnal world.

Mahanirvana echoes D.H. Lawrence's famous quote, "My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But that our blood feels and believes and says is always true. The intellect is only a bit and a bridle (The collected letters of D.H. Lawrence, Hancy T Moore). Shantidev has been rejected by Nilotpala. Shramana's spiritual ways to Mahanirvana have been discarded and worldly ways to Mahanirvana have been accepted. It was the instinct that governed Nilotpala's behavior.

Human beings are biological creatures. Controlling their biological natures completely may result in disaster. Any institution whether it is a society or a monastery or any other can direct the natures of human beings but controlling them completely will take them away from the institution as it happens to Nilotpala. Suppression of natural desires may make someone a neurotic patient or may result in any other health issue. Nilotpala is innocent; this is why he does not create any complexity. Mohanty has rescued Nilotpala from becoming a psychic patient.

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## ODISHA UPDATE

### PPP PROJECTS FIRST TRACKED

Public Private Partnership (PPP) Projects under implementation in the State have been fast tracked with Chief Secretary Shri Gokul Chandra Pati taking a project-wise review of the projects in the Empowered Committee meeting. Reviewing the progress of individual projects, Chief Secretary directed the PPP Cell of Planning & Coordination Department to monitor and follow up the projects constantly till their commissioning. It has been decided to form a Committee under the chairmanship of Principal Secretary, IT to prepare the road map for carrying forward the Smart City programme. The Empowered Committee reviewed the projects like Integrated Solid Waste Management for Sambalpur, Burla and Hirakud, establishment of Spinning Mill at Keshinga, Bio-tech project at Andharua (Bhubaneswar), Institutes for Training of Trainers (4 numbers) under the department of Employment and Training & Technical Education, Roof top Solar projects in Bhubaneswar and Cuttack, Bulk water supply projects for IIT, NISER, IDCO and adjoining area, Storage and Warehousing Infrastructure, Greenfield Hospital and Health Care Network in Bhubaneswar, Energy Efficient Public Street Light in urban areas, City Bus Service in Rourkela-Biramitrapur-Rajgangpur, Municipal Solid Waste Management of Bhubaneswar, Cuttack and Puri. The issues relating to bidding parameters, signing of agreement, floating of RFT, capacity building, handholding support to the project developers and inviting of tenders etc. were discussed and resolved in the meeting. Replying to a media query after the meeting the Joint Director, Planning & Coordination (PPP Cell) Shri Jayant Kumar Mishra said that a total number of 77 projects involving investment of around Rs.22,142 cr. have been taken up in the State out of which 41 projects with investment of around Rs.5,589 cr. have been made operational and 29 projects involving investment of Rs.15,584 cr. are under implementation. Besides 7 projects envisaging investment of Rs.969 crore are in pipeline. The completed and operationalised PPP projects include market-cum-residential complex at Bhubaneswar, commercial shopping complex at Bhubaneswar, air-conditioned market complex at Bhubaneswar, city bus service for larger Sambalpur region, magnetic radio imaging centre at SCB Medical College, Cuttack, management of 9 primary health care centres in Keonjhar, Cuttack, Kendrapara and Balasore, emergency medical ambulance service, e-registration system, minor port at Dhamara, minor brownfield port at Gopalpur, driving training institute at Chhatia, upgradation of common infrastructure in Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex, upgradation of infrastructure in Plastic Park at Balasore, Palaspanga-Bameberi Express Highway, Heritage Hotel at Puri Mahodadhi Niwas, Eco Camp at Ramchandi and 3 numbers of South Indian Restaurants at Konark, Cuttack and Satpada. Besides, 14 no. of industrial training institutes at Puri, Cuttack, Umakote, Chhatrapur, Barbil, Baripada, Takatpur, Dhenkanal, Malkangiri, Boudh, Bargarh, Anandpur, Khariar and Bolangir have also been upgraded in PPP mode.

### PERFORMANCE OF CULTURE & TOURISM DEPARTMENT DURING 2014-15 GOES ABOVE 95%

The performance of Culture & Tourism Department for the year 2014-15 has gone above 95%. This assessment has been made in the High level meeting on RFD (Result Framework Document) held under



the Chairmanship of Chief Secretary. In which Secretary, Tourism & Culture Dr Arabinda Padhee presented the performance of the department in the light of RFD. The Joint Director, Planning & Coordination Department Shri J.K. Mishra presented the score card of the Culture & Tourism Department on various fronts as assessed by Planning & Coordination Department. Reviewing the performance of the department, Chief Secretary has directed to strengthen Odia Bhasa Pratisthan for enabling them to support implementation of Odia in all Govt transaction and correspondences. The department has also been asked to prepare definite action plan for linking Odisha with Buddhist Circuit. Chief Secretary has advised to prepare an estimate for having a special coach between Bhubaneswar and Boddhgaya. Further, Chief Secretary has advised the department to refurnish the art gallery of the State museum and link up the institutions imparting training in tourism and hospitality with Hunerse Rojgar Yojana. Looking to success of the department in popularizing the Nabakalebara Festival-2015 and attracting more tourists to this grand event, Chief Secretary has directed the department to prepare a regular media plan for Car Festival of subsequent years and take up the festival as a major occasion for promotion of Odisha tourism. Replying to a media query after the meeting, Secretary Dr. Padhee said because of systematic interventions and promotional activities, the tourist foot fall in 2014-15 has increased by 12% over the last year. This year around 1.08 cr tourists have come to Odisha which was around 98 lakhs during 2013-14. Dr. Padhee added that Buddha Art Gallery has been set up at Buddhist Park, Bhubaneswar, Tourism Police has been made operational and specialized documents of Nabakalebara has already been published by the department. Dr Padhee also said that trial run of Light & Sound Show at Dhauli has successfully been done and all other preparations have been completed. Available data shows that the culture department has recorded 130% achievement in development and spread of Odia language, literature, art & sculpture. Besides, it has recorded 100% achievement in many of the performance indicators like targeted infrastructure development, promotion of art & culture at grass root level, conservation & preservation of archival records and spread of awareness on library movement in the State. Similarly, tourism department has achieved 90% success in increasing the tourist footfall and 100% in community participation for development of tourism & creation of employment. The achievements of the department in other performance indicators like ensuring cleanliness in tourist centres, upgradation of OTDC complexes, effective media plan and improving public service delivery have also been remarkable.

### **COMMERCE & TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT NOTIFIES 31 SERVICES UNDER PUBLIC SERVICE ACT**

In another step towards improving the quality of governance, Govt. in Commerce & Transport Department have notified a total number of 31 services under Odisha Right to Public Services Act, 2012. This has been discussed in a high level review meeting held under the Chairmanship of Chief Secretary, Shri Gokul Chandra Pati. Presenting the updates the Secretary of the Department Shri Sanjaya Rastogi said that as of now online delivery of services is being done for 13 number of services and 18 more services have been notified under the Act in June, 2015. The progress of the projects like automated driving test track, modernized vehicle inspection and certification centre, revenue collection and road safety were discussed in the meeting. Chief Secretary directed to identify the spots on roads that are more vulnerable for accidents with inputs from police records. The department has also been directed to track the accidents being committed by drivers because of reckless driving and reflect those in their license document. Available data shows that sensor based technology embedded automated driving test tracks are being developed by the department for ensuring error free driving test result. As of now, civil construction for this track has been completed in 5 RTOs namely Bhubaneswar, Cuttack, Rourkela, Bhadrak and Mayurbhanj. Chief Secretary has directed to expedite the completion of the works in other RTO areas also. Apart from this, another 12 such tracks have been taken up in various RTOs of the State. Modernized



vehicle inspection and certification project has been taken up for checking vehicle fitness through a stringent and mechanized testing system. A model centre is being developed at Cuttack with estimated cost of Rs.15.40 cr in partnership with Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, Govt of India. Five acres of land required for the purpose has already been acquired at Arilo, Cuttack. It has been targeted to start functioning of the centre from March, 2017. Qualitative training in heavy motor vehicle has been started on PPP mode. Ashok Leyland and Tata Motors have been selected as training partners in this. As of now, Ashok Leyland have already started their institute at Chhatia and have trained around 251 youths during 2014-15. Tata Motors have started construction of 2 training centres, one at Berhampur and other at Keonjar. It has been decided to enhance training capacity of Govt LMV training institute to 500 during 2015-16. Apart from this, 76 private training institutes have been empanelled for imparting LMV training. A total number of 2068 youths have been trained in LMV during the year 2014-15. There has been significant growth in revenue collection through the department in comparison to last year. A total amount of around Rs.911 cr has been collected in 2014-15 against a collection of around Rs.860 cr. in 2013-14.

*U.K.Mohapatra, Information Officer*

### **RUPEES 75 LAKH BUSINESS IN MEGA FAIR AT PURI**

Odisha State Co-operative Handicrafts Corporation Ltd. under the brand name of 'UTKALIKA' is a State Level Apex Co-operative Society under the Administrative control of Handlooms, Textiles & Handicrafts Department, Government of Odisha. Utkalika has successfully organised a Mega Fair at Neelachal Urban Haat, Puri from 15/07/2015 to 30/07/2015 on the occasion of Nabakalebar-2015 and Car Festival. Approximately 3 lakh visitors have visited the Mega Fair. The artisans/weavers from Balasore, Dhenkanal, Koraput, Nayagarh, Sambalpur, Cuttack, Kendrapara, Keonjhar, Puri, Mayurbhanj, Bhadrak, Sonepur, Berhampur, Boudh, Athgarh, Patnagarh, Khordha and Bargarh had participated in the Mega Fair. Total 26 nos of Handicrafts artisans and 17 nos of Handloom Weavers' Cooperative societies participated in the Mega Fair. Besides, Utkalika, Boyanika, Amlan and Sambalpuri Bastralaya also participated in the fair. A variety of exclusive craft items from all over Odisha such as Stone carving, Pattachitra, applique, Brass & Bell Metal, Wood Carving & Silver Filigree etc were displayed in the fair for sale. The grand fair witnessed a sale of Rs.75 lakh as on 30.07.2015.

*Sucheta Priyadarsini, Information Officer*

### **DIRECT CASH TRANSFER FOR ST&SC STUDENTS**

Govt. of Odisha is implementing the centrally sponsored 'Pre-Matric Scholarship Scheme' for ST & SC students studying in classes IX and X with support of DFID. Under the scheme the day scholar boys and girls are being given an annual scholarship of Rs.2250 and Rs.3200 respectively. 10,000 High Schools across 30 districts are covered in this scheme. In 2014-15 more than 4.27 lakh students registered and Rs 128 crore disbursed directly to the bank Account of students. About 1560 dropouts were brought back to school. The last date of submission of application form is 31st August, 2015. Registration for the year 2015-16 is now open. Eligible students can download the application forms from our website [www.stscodisha.gov.in](http://www.stscodisha.gov.in). For more information the students can call on the Toll Free Number- 18003456722.

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